
SINO-PLATONIC PAPERS

Number 46

July, 1994

Reviews (V)

by
E. Bruce Brooks, *et al.*

Victor H. Mair, Editor
Sino-Platonic Papers
Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6305 USA
vmair@sas.upenn.edu
www.sino-platonic.org

SINO-PLATONIC PAPERS is an occasional series edited by Victor H. Mair. The purpose of the series is to make available to specialists and the interested public the results of research that, because of its unconventional or controversial nature, might otherwise go unpublished. The editor actively encourages younger, not yet well established, scholars and independent authors to submit manuscripts for consideration. Contributions in any of the major scholarly languages of the world, including Romanized Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM) and Japanese, are acceptable. In special circumstances, papers written in one of the Sinitic topolects (*fangyan*) may be considered for publication.

Although the chief focus of *Sino-Platonic Papers* is on the intercultural relations of China with other peoples, challenging and creative studies on a wide variety of philological subjects will be entertained. This series is **not** the place for safe, sober, and stodgy presentations. *Sino-Platonic Papers* prefers lively work that, while taking reasonable risks to advance the field, capitalizes on brilliant new insights into the development of civilization.

The only style-sheet we honor is that of consistency. Where possible, we prefer the usages of the *Journal of Asian Studies*. Sinographs (*hanzi*, also called tetragraphs [*fangkuaizi*]) and other unusual symbols should be kept to an absolute minimum. *Sino-Platonic Papers* emphasizes substance over form.

Submissions are regularly sent out to be refereed and extensive editorial suggestions for revision may be offered. Manuscripts should be double-spaced with wide margins and submitted in duplicate. A set of "Instructions for Authors" may be obtained by contacting the editor.

Ideally, the final draft should be a neat, clear camera-ready copy with high black-and-white contrast.

Sino-Platonic Papers is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 2.5 License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.5/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, 543 Howard Street, 5th Floor, San Francisco, California, 94105, USA.

Please note: When the editor goes on an expedition or research trip, all operations (including filling orders) may temporarily cease for up to two or three months at a time. In such circumstances, those who wish to purchase various issues of *SPP* are requested to wait patiently until he returns. If issues are urgently needed while the editor is away, they may be requested through Interlibrary Loan.

N.B.: Beginning with issue no. 171, *Sino-Platonic Papers* has been published electronically on the Web. Issues from no. 1 to no. 170, however, will continue to be sold as paper copies until our stock runs out, after which they too will be made available on the Web at www.sino-platonic.org.

Table of Contents

Review Article: The Present State and Future Prospects of Pre-Han Text Studies. A review of Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*. Reviewed by E. Bruce Brooks, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

~~~~~

N.B.: The following 29 reviews are by the editor of *Sino-Platonic Papers*.

Roger T. Ames, Chan Sin-wai, and Mau-sang Ng, eds. *Interpreting Culture through Translation: A Festschrift for D. C. Lau*.

Sau Y. Chan. *Improvisation in a Ritual Context: The Music of Cantonese Opera*.

CHANG Xizhen. *Beijing Tuhua [Pekingese Colloquial]*.

CHANG/AIXINJUELUO Yingsheng [AISINGIORO \*Yingsheng]. *Beijing Tuhua zhong de Manyu [Manchurian in Pekingese Colloquial]*.

BAI Gong and JIN Shan. *Jing Wei'er: Toushi Beijingren de Yuyan ["Capital Flavor": A Perspective on the Language of the Pekingese]*.

JIA Caizhu, comp. *Beijinghua Erhua Cidian [Dictionary of Retroflex Final -r in Pekingese]*.

Julia Ching and R.W.L. Guisso, eds. *Sages and Sons: Mythology and Archaeology in Ancient China*.

FENG Zhiwei. *Xiandai Hanzi he Jisuanji (Modern Chinese Characters and Electronic Computers)*.

FENG Zhiwei. *Zhongwen Xinxu Chuli yu Hanyu Yanjiu [Chinese Information Processing and Research on Sinitic]*.

Andre Gunder Frank. *The Centrality of Central Asia*.

HUANG Jungui. *Hanzi yu Hanzi Paijian Fangfa [Sinographs and Methods for Ordering and Looking up Sinographs]*.

W. J. F. Jenner. *The Tyranny of History: The Roots of China's Crisis*.

Adam T. Kessler. *Empires Beyond the Great Wall: The Heritage of Genghis Khan*.

David R. McCraw. *Du Fu's Laments from the South*.

Michael Nylan, tr. and comm. *The Canon of Supreme Mystery*, by Yang Hsiung.

R. P. Peerenboom. *Law and Morality in Ancient China: The Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao*.

Henry G. Schwarz. *An Uyghur-English Dictionary*.

Vitaly Shevoroshkin, ed. *Dene-Sino-Caucasian Languages*.

Vitaly Shevoroshkin, ed. *Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric and Amerind*.

Laurence G. Thompson, comp. *Studies of Chinese Religion: A Comprehensive and Classified Bibliography of Publications in English, French, and German through 1970*.

Laurence G. Thompson, comp. *Chinese Religion in Western Languages: A Comprehensive and Classified Bibliography of Publications in English, French, and German through 1980*.

Laurence G. Thompson, comp. *Chinese Religion: Publications in Western Languages, 1981 through 1990*.

Aat Vervoorn. *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty*.

WANG Jiting, ZHANG Shaoting, and WANG Suorong, comp. *Changjian Wenyan Shumianyu [Frequently Encountered Literary Sinitic Expressions in Written Language]*.

John Timothy Wixted. *Japanese Scholars of China: A Bibliographical Handbook*.

YÜ Lung-yü, ed. *Chung-Yin wen-hsüeh kuan-hsi yüan-liu [The Origin and Development of Sino-Indian Literary Relations]*.

ZHANG Guangda and RONG Xinjiang. *Yutian Shi Congkao [Collected Inquiries on the History of Khotan]*.

ZHANG Yongyan, chief ed. *Shishuo Xinyu Cidian [A Dictionary of A New Account of Tales of the World]*.

Peter H. Rushton. *The Jin Ping Mei and the Non-Linear Dimensions of the Traditional Chinese Novel*.

~~~~~

William H. Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*. Reviewed by Paul Rakita Goldin, Harvard University.

JI Xianlin (aka Hiän-lin Dschi). *Dunhuang Tulufan Tuholuoyu Yanjiu Daolun [A Guide to Tocharian Language Materials from Dunhuang and Turfan]*. Reviewed by XU Wenkan, Hanyu Da Cidian editorial offices in Shanghai.

GU Zhengmei. *Guishuang Fojiao Zhengzhi Chuantong yu Dasheng Fojiao [The Political Tradition of Kushan Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism]*. Reviewed by XU Wenkan, Hanyu Da Cidian editorial offices in Shanghai.

~~~~~

W. South Coblin, University of Iowa. A Note on the Modern Readings of 吐蕃.

Rejoinder by the Editor.

~~~~~

Announcement concerning the inauguration of a new series in *Sino-Platonic Papers* entitled "Bits and Pieces."

Review Article:

The Present State and Future Prospects of Pre-Hàn Text Studies

E Bruce Brooks

University of Massachusetts at Amherst

LOEWE Michael (ed). *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*. Society for the Study of Early China (Early China Special Monograph Series No. 2), 1993. xiv + 546 pages. \$35 from Publications, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2223 Fulton Street, Berkeley CA 94720; or £20 (or equivalent in ECU) from Sinobiblia, 15 Durham Road, Harrow, Middx, HA14PG, United Kingdom.

As the British say, or as C P Snow says they say, one should “declare one’s interest straight away”. The present reviewer has long studied the chronology and interrelations of the Warring States texts, and is presently writing a book covering, and disputing, much of the ground treated by Loewe and collaborators. He welcomes the appearance of the Loewe volume as a much-needed tool, which also defines the consensus against which he hopes to make his own contribution. This article comprises (I) a descriptive comment on Loewe and (II) on the consensus about the early texts which it reveals, plus (III–XVI) a sample of how the present writer proposes, eventually, to go beyond that consensus.

I

This work, in a gesture of respect to the 64 hexagrams of the Yì (page x), treats 64 texts “of which the greater parts could reasonably be accepted as having reached their present form before the end of the Han dynasty”; articles thus average 7·7 pages each. Within this, in almost-standard order (a precisely-standard order would have been even more convenient for readers), are given summaries of content, sources, date, authenticity, text history, commentaries, editions, translations, and indexes. Arrangement of entries is alphabetical in Wade-Giles spelling, with Pinyin forms retained in book titles; as a step toward something more serviceable than either, I here use the Hepburn system extended to Chinese by adding “v” (the linguists’ inverted v, but uninverted) for the vowel of “bug” and a few other vowel changes, plus archaic initials (and abbreviating –dž as Z in book titles) to reduce the effects of Mandarin homophony. By whatever convention, phonetic arrangement increases ease of reference, though making it proportionately difficult to obtain a chronological overview. Contributors range from established to eminent; two (A C Graham and Timoteus Pokora) did not live to see the book published. Bibliographies are at once concise and judicious, and note is taken of recent archaeology. The book is admirably set (by Birdtrack Press, in Zapf Calligraphic with characters), produced (16 signatures, hardbound without dust-jacket), and priced (US 6·25¢ per page). Every scholar in the field can afford to acquire the work; none can afford *not* to do so.

II

The reader may be surprised to find, in these clear and cogent entries, how much textual uncertainty attends even Hàn-dynasty works. But it is to the more notoriously controversial pre-Hàn works that a curious new owner of the book will likely first turn. Of late (as I found by asking participants at a scholarly roundtable), users of Warring States materials have sometimes relied, for a safe list of early sources, on such surveys as the appendix on “Sources” at the end of Creel’s 1970 *Origins of Statecraft in China*. These makeshifts are surely now replaced by the Loewe volume. To what effect?

In general, verdicts on dating can be described as on the antique end of responsible. The traditional ascription of the Yì to Jōu Wǎn-wáng is dismissed by Shaughnessy as unsupported by modern criticism. The 06th century (oh-sixth: 6th century BC) dating of Lǎudž, upheld by Chan as late as 1963, is rejected by Boltz as based on mere “lore”. Graham’s proof that Lyèdž is from the 3rd (3rd AD) rather than the 03rd century is upheld with further evidence by Barrett (who however notes that this position is still not accepted by Chinese and Japanese sinologists). All this is most admirable. But wherever reputable opinion gives a range, Loewe’s contributors tend to opt for the early end of it. Examples would include Dzwǒ Jwàn, placed by Cheng (contra Húng and Kamata) in the late 05th or early 04th centuries (hereinafter 05c, 04c); Hán Fēidž, regarded by Levi (contra Hú Shì and Rúng Jàu-dzǔ) as mostly by the real Hán Fēi, not bad for a prisoner; and Sündž, referred by Gawlikowski and Loewe (contra Lyáng and Chī) to the early 05c. The connection of the Dzwǒ Jwàn with the original Confucius circle (despite the fact that Dzwǒ-chyōu Míng in LY 5:25 cannot be of that circle) and of Sūn Wǔ with the harem girls of Wú (ignoring the close fit of Sündzian tactics with the mass army of maneuver, successor to the Spring and Autumn elite chariot force, not reliably attested until mid 04c) is thus, one might say, piously maintained.

There is also, as in the case of the Analects, some outright uncertainty, with divergent scholarly opinions simply listed, as in many a Chinese commentary, without the author taking a clear stand as to which is to be preferred; and occasional failure to push a known situation to its determinable conclusion, as with Hán Shī Wàì-jwàn and Hwái-nándž, assigned to plausible points within the lifespans of their respective authors or patrons, but ignoring political and textual evidence which, if applied, would either sharpen or extend these suggestions, and also clarify the relation of the text to its historical environment.

Finally, the conclusions themselves, “established” (page ix) or no, are here and there at odds with each other. If Yì divination reflects the practice of the 09c Jōu court (“Western Jōu” is a redundancy; as LY 17:4 shows, there was no historic “Eastern Jōu”), as is stated on p219, relying in part on linguistic similarities with the Shī; and if the Shī in turn, with its presumptive poems of that Jōu court, is from the period c01000 to c0600, as is stated on p415, why then is there, except for two irregular and thus suspect stanzas, no mention of sortilege (shī) as distinct from bone divination (bǔ; 5 times in safe stanzas) in the entire 305-poem corpus of the present Shī?

One feels, at such points, that the intended consensus does not after all quite consense.

There are, however, favorable elements in the imperfect consensus which offer some hope that, after two millennia of floundering on this subject, Sinology may be on the verge of something more adequate. One such element is the demythologizing tendency noted above as affecting the Lǎu Dǎn myth (if not yet the Sūn Wǔ myth, or for that matter the Confucius culture–hero myth). This demythologizing trend is likely to be productive of solutions that will more closely reflect the real world of the Warring States. Another positive element is a willingness to see some of these texts not as composed at a single *moment* in time, but as accumulated over a sometimes considerable *span* of time. Such is the treatment of the Gwǎndǔ chapters by Rickett, who assigns them individually a wide variety of dates from the 04c to early Hàn. The operational point here is that dates attach not to *texts*, but to *chapters or layers*. Cheng’s treatment of the Analects, on the other hand, though admitting it to be heterogeneous, leaves it as a whole uniformly valid as a source of Confucius’s ideas. The difference in handling is probably due not to any difference in the nature of the respective texts, but rather to the fact that Confucius is central for posterity, which is reluctant to relinquish anything associated with him, whereas nobody now cares two squirts of swamp water about Gwǎn Jǔng. It seems likely that the matter–of–fact Gwǎndǔ approach can be fruitfully applied also to the Analects and to other culturally “hot” texts, and that this extension of a successful method might, in these more hallowed textual areas also, lead to the solution of many long–debated and presently intractable textual puzzles. This seems a promising direction for future work.

What is missing from the Loewe treatments as a whole is a sense of the engagement of Warring States writers with current issues, and the acrimonious debate between the writers themselves, which must have characterized the period, one phase of which indeed is known as the “Hundred Schools”. As a modest expectation, we may feel that we have satisfactorily solved these texts when their contemporary urgency is individually apparent, and when their bitter opposition to each other is collectively intelligible. This goal seems now to be reachable by anyone armed with a sufficient range of single–text paradigms, and unencumbered by the old unimpeachable assumptions.

III

As a sample of how the next steps might be taken, I will here consider several texts, beginning with the Hàn, when solid biographical data sometimes exists outside the texts, and need not be, as in earlier periods, circularly deduced from the texts themselves.

Hán Shǐ Wàì–jwàn (HSWJ). Hightower infers a birthdate of c0200 (circa 200 BC) for Hán Yǐng from the Shǐ Jì (SJ) and Hàn Shū (HS) accounts (which would make him the same age as the prodigy Jyǎ Yí when they both came to Wǔn–dǐ’s court; a safer guess is c0210), and from this a date of c0150 for the HSWJ. 50 is as good as any other modal expectation for age at book composition, but rather than extrapolate life dates from Yǐng’s career, and then intrapolate back a standard book–composition expectation, we may lose less detail by simply staying with the career, not least since it may well include the immediate context and conditioning factors of the book we are trying to place.

Structure. HSWJ consists of ten series of anecdotes, most of which end in a sometimes tenuously relevant Shī quote. Hightower, and the Sž-kù editors before him, are irked by this unscholarly procedure; the Sž-kù puts HSWJ with works of Shī exegesis only because there is no other place in the catalog for it. We thus start with a question about the *nature* of the work before us. There is also the question of its *identity*: HS 30 lists a Nèi-jwàn in 4 chapters and a Wài-jwàn in 6; Swéi Shū (SS) a Wài-jwàn in 10. Yáng Shù-dá suggests that the SS's 10ch Wài-jwàn is the old Nèi and Wài run together. Hightower (in a 1948 HJAS article referenced at Loewe p126) proposes a variant of this, to account for the fact that the order of Shī tags in *HSWJ anecdotes* is not always that of our *Shī text*, divergences being especially marked at beginnings and ends of HSWJ chapters. One of these divergences (Hightower notes) is not really a difference, but evidence that the Hán-school order of some Dà Yǎ poems diverged from that of our present (Máu) text. This observation has consequences for the history of the Shī itself. For now, we may regard these sequences as simply normal in terms of Hán Yīng's text. The true differences between HSWJ and the Hán Shī (from Hightower 1948, p291f) are **emphasized** in the summary below, which cites Shī by their overall sequence numbers:

- HSWJ 1: **21 17 9 52 26 33** (1-40 incomplete but in order; from Fvng) **16**
 HSWJ 2: (53-158; Fvng)
 HSWJ 3: (270-276; Sùng) **254** (280-304; Sùng) **200 63**
 HSWJ 4: (198-230; Syǎu Yǎ)
 HSWJ 5: (1-304 in Hán Shī order; covering whole Shī) **197**
 HSWJ 6: (256-265, Hán; Dà Yǎ) **195**
 HSWJ 7: (162-168, Hán; Syǎu Yǎ) **214** (183-229; Syǎu Yǎ)
 HSWJ 8: (260-273, Hán; Dà Yǎ) **212 196 255 288 299 207 301 299 304 162 255**
 HSWJ 9: (5-80; Fvng) **29 35 37** (109-165; Fvng) **152**
 HSWJ 10: (235-257; Dà Yǎ)

Hightower feels (1948, p243) that HSWJ originally ran in Hán Shī order (or more precisely, represented two distinct traversals of that order), and that the above anomalies, together with the absence of concluding Shī tags from 25 of the total 306 anecdotes, are due to disarrangement of the bamboo slips on which the work was written. Of the 25 missing tags he says "I surmise that the quotation from the [Shī] was put at the beginning of a new column of characters; it would then frequently occur on an isolated slip, and once detached, the ingenuity of even a [bwó-shì] of the [Hán] school would be taxed to match it correctly with the paragraph with which it originally belonged". But the assumption that the tags began a separate slip is not in accord with observable practice in Hàn and Warring States texts, where sentences do not coordinate with slips, and where disarrangement thus produces grammatical chaos. The only successful bamboo-slip reconstructions known to me (Graham on Mician logic, Shaughnessy on Bamboo Annals) involve transfers of common-*length* strips not coordinated with grammatical *units*. Transfers of integral sentences or anecdotes (such as in Duyvendak's now-forgotten Dàu-Dv Jīng restructuring, or Graham's more recent Jwāngdž arrangement) are wholly unconvincing *as restorations*; they stand or fall on their merits as literary re-editings.

Even if, following Hightower, we suppose that there might have been separate-slip placement of the Shī tags, and that these, though text-internal, had become separated from the respective anecdotes (without the anecdotes themselves being disarranged!), this might at worst lead to their being wrongly reattached to open anecdotes, not to their being lost altogether. Further, whatever might be the difficulty of reattaching stray poem-tags, the proper reordering of *the anecdotes which still possessed their concluding tags*, so far from being beyond the art of a Hàn bwó-shī, would not have baffled a twelve-year-old. Why then, in the conjectured attempt to reconstitute the disordered bamboo, were these obvious resequencings neglected? And finally, the whole premise that we are here dealing with a bamboo-slip text is, as Hightower candidly notes, contrary to the HS 30 evidence, which describes a text in jywàn (rolls of silk) rather than pyēn (bundles of bamboo slips). I think we must judge this proposed reordering to be both unconvincing and unjustified. This, of course, leaves us where we began: with the messy and unscholarly HSWJ text. Even with Hightower's tidying, the HSWJ remains in any case a subscholarly production.

A New View. Perhaps, rearrangement having failed, we would do well to admit that the HSWJ *really is* a messy and unscholarly text, and try to explain it as such. First, we might reconsider Yáng Shù-dá's "too facile" suggestion that our present HSWJ contains the original Nèi-jwàn (as HSWJ 1-4) and also the original Wài-jwàn (as HSWJ 5-10). Yáng noted that HSWJ 5, which starts with Shī 1, looks like a second beginning. Indeed. Digressive as it may be, HSWJ 1-4 does eventually visit most of the divisions of the Shī; so, in a somewhat differently digressive way, does HSWJ 6-10 (HSWJ 5 is itself a short tour of the whole text). There is another distinguishing feature of HSWJ 5-10 as distinct from HSWJ 1-4: *all the cases of anecdotes without Shī tags occur in HSWJ 5-10*. It is thus, so to speak, a less finished production than HSWJ 1-4, though of much the same kind. As to what kind that kind might be, Hightower has well observed that none of the HSWJ anecdotes can safely be called original: they are, so far as can be now discovered, drawn (and altered) from various texts generally current in early Hàn: *they are popular*. So here again, as in the above-noted vagueness of the link between anecdote and poem, we discover that we have unavoidably to deal with a vulgar rather than an erudite work, or rather with two closely associated vulgar rather than erudite works.

I do not know how it may appear to the reader, but the poem-sequences at left look to me very much like a teaching order of the Shī. However full the world may now be of people operating on a contrary presumption, the simple fact is that there are pedagogically more effective approaches than opening a difficult classic at page 1 and thrusting it in the face of the student. One normally tries to find a more ingratiating line. This would apply with special force to a young or unwilling student. We may then ask: was there any period in Hán Yīng's otherwise dignified life when he was confronted with such considerations? Yes, there was: in 0145 Emperor Jīng appointed him tutor to the Emperor's youngest son, Lyóu Shùn, who was in that year, at the minimum age of 16, made King of Cháng-shān (north of Hándān, in the old Jàu territory). Here is the clash: a Shī specialist on the one hand, and a spoiled, sports-minded young royal on the other. May not the HSWJ plausibly have emerged from just this sort of confrontation?

Origin. The scenario may have been something like this. Hán Yīng, a Shī specialist, will surely have made the Shī the backbone of the curriculum he customized for the King. The pupil is 16, and so Yīng has four years at his disposal before formal lessons end at the King's majority (his 20th year). He will thus try to give an idea of the Shī in four annual cycles of regular lessons, omitting abstruse or irrelevant pieces and concentrating on those with not too difficultly pointable morals. The pupil has some official duties and many personal distractions, so that relevance and appeal are crucial; a lead-in device, using, say, a familiar or popular anecdote as a lesson-opener, will break the ice and prove the utility of the Shī as training in recognition-repartee. The lesson proper then follows. This much gives us the 4 lesson-cycles, each lesson comprising anecdote plus Shī tag, of the original Hán Shī Nèi-jwàn (nèi, here clearly not "esoteric", may mean "palace").

Details. Given this strategy, where do we begin? Not with gwān-gwān jyw-jyōu, concerning whose oddly ambivalent nature-image the learned are still writing exegeses, and whose wimpy protagonist is no figure for a hot-blooded young king to identify with. We will instead use the Szmă Syàng-rú technique (an anachronism; Syàng-rú is of the next generation, but is in the persuasion-tradition to which the HSWJ itself belongs): explore the ruler's vice as a hook for a sermon against vice. Our King is mobbed by acquiescent ladies. We cite acquiescent ladies to interest him (the concubines of Shī 21), temper his arrogance by evoking sympathy for them, and then extend this sympathy to the plaint of a common woman (the litigant of Shī 17). Both these are from the Shàu-nán section, leading to free conversation about the estimable Shàu-gūng. Then we go back to the Jōu-nán with its emphasis on marriage protocol, to read, no, not yet Shī 1, but the easier Shī 9, emphasizing the proper access to women and *preparing the way* for Shī 1. We introduce the male world with a condemnation of impropriety in Shī 52 (sharpened in the attached anecdotes to warnings against insubordination, conquest, and unrituality), and with the plaint of an officer in Shī 26. Shī 33 zigzags closer to Shī 1 with its lament of a lovesick woman (it will be a man in Shī 1), introducing (*from a woman*, cf Shī 21) the first praise of a male figure. All this uses easily-decoded poems to implant feelings of human sympathy, respect for women, public duty, and ardor for right conduct.

At which point, 15 lessons (anecdotes) have passed, and Hán Yīng, whose feelings about the enterprise were no doubt precisely those of Hightower and the Sz-kù editors, heaves a sigh of relief and at long last feels that he is safe in opening the book at Shī 1. From there, he zigzags through the early Fvng in proper order, departing from it only at final-exam time, when he introduces (as many of us would have done earlier, perhaps directly after the second Shàu-nán piece, Shī 17) the praise-song of Shàu-gūng, Shī 16, to tie the year's work together and, subtly but necessarily, to commend his pupil.

And so on, for three more years. None of this is deductive, or even demonstrable, but all of it is situationally plausible, and, unlike the alternative hypotheses, it leads us to a Hán Shī Nèi-jwàn: a "Palace Introduction to the Shī as Taught by Master Hán" in 4 fully finished chapters, representing 4 year-long series of easy, relevant, progressive tutorials, with pedagogically intelligible departures from an underlying Shī sequence of material, and all now exactly datable to the years 0144-0141.

Which is to say that the 1963 Nishimura article cited by Hightower (Loewe p128), which I have not seen, may have been on the right track. A conception of HSWJ as a pedagogical rather than exegetical work also explains the instances where successive anecdotes end *on the same poem*. Here, plausibly, is the principle of classroom economy: once you have worked up a text, exploit it from several angles before taking up the next. On this recurrent feature of the text, which is fully intelligible in practical teaching terms, the Hightower “exegetical” reconstruction sheds no light whatever.

The Nèi-jwàn. So much for the conjectural Nèi-jwàn. It brings us to the majority of the King of Cháng-shān and the accession of Emperor Wǔ, both occurring in 0140. It is to be assumed that regular tutorials stopped at this time, but it is self-evident that the original plan had been successful enough to warrant its continuation, unchanged in essential features, during the tutorial years proper. In 0140 Hán Yīng will have put aside his four-year syllabus, but he was perhaps, after all, rather pleased with it. In 0137, the King formally visited the central court, with Yīng probably in attendance, and possibly receiving imperial commendation for his performance as tutor. It is then conceivable that the Nèi-jwàn was itself presented to the throne at this juncture, and subsequently stored, as presumably all such presented texts were stored, in the Palace library.

The Wài-jwàn. For the original Wài-jwàn, only a frankly conjectural suggestion can be made. It is this: that with august approval (and wider knowledge) of his Nèi-jwàn, Yīng may have been moved to consider extending his method to a more general audience (the Wài of the title), and thus over the next few years sketched out some alternate sequences on the same general plan, concentrating this time on the more difficult pieces (there had been no Dà Yǎ at all in the Nèi syllabus, whereas there are several traversals in the Wài material). Their unfinished state (some overlap, some missing tags) suggests that these were never put to practical use, like 6 volumes of intermediate Chinese readings which I once sketched out as a projected continuation of a rather successful 4 volumes of beginning readings, the whole now deposited not in the Palace library but in my attic. The point is that, however humble the task, one is glad of its success, and may then waste more time on it out of mere momentum. If Yīng did fall into such an involvement-trap (when he could instead have been winning favor with Hightower and the Sǜ-kù editors by compiling a series of closely-argued glosses on the more inscrutable Shī passages), then the mildest assumption is that he fussed at them off and on, at the same pace as the original lessons, the 6 Wài-jwàn drafts thus perhaps occupying the years 0136-0131.

Death. If Yīng was 32 when given scholarly recognition by Emperor Wǎn (c0179; for his arrival at Jīng-dì’s court see p16 below) he will have been about 74 on his return to court in 0137. His debate with Dǔng Jūng-shū (born c0179; 31 years Yīng’s junior) is undated, but must follow Yīng’s return to court in 0137. If it was intended as a Confucian/Confucian generation confrontation to highlight the 0136 Confucian triumph, it may have occurred in c0135: Yīng was then 76 and Jūng-shū 45. Given the 80-year lifespan conjectured by Hightower, Yīng’s death will have come in c0130. Assuming that Yīng was then still in favor, his six Wài-jwàn drafts may have been presented to court (at the court’s request) by Yīng’s pupil and probable executor, Master Fēi of Hwái-nán.

So. We have spent 4 pages on HSWJ, reached a new theory of the work, and dated it to c0144–0141 (Nèi–jwàn) and c0136–0131 (the unfinished supplementary Wài–jwàn). This is only 6 to 19 years off Hightower’s c0150. Has the result been worth the effort?

I would say so. For one thing, no one will mistake Hightower’s c0150 as meaning “probably in 0150”; it is a way of saying “mid 02c”, and not really a date at all. As such, it is not subject to routine refutation (no future archaeology will turn up evidence placing the HSWJ *out* of the timespan 0180–0120). But it is *for that very reason* not actionable. It just sits there. My c0144–0141, on the other hand, looks like, and is, a real proposal. It invites reference to contemporary events, and in so doing courts refutation as a result of that comparison. To put it positively, it is a hypothesis which by its precision is liable to be confirmed or refuted by other evidence, and if refuted, to be modified in the direction of the truth. Let us subject it to that test, and see if anything turns up.

Context. What chiefly turns up is the court battle between Confucianism (favored by several emperors) and Dàuism (supported by palace womenfolk, notably Empress Dòu). As every 12-year-old knows, this battle culminated in Emperor Wǔ’s 0136 establishment of Confucianism as the official doctrine of the empire (followed in 0135 by the death of Empress Dòu), but it had a long seesaw history before then. Wǔn–dì’s giving recognition to Hán Yīng *for his Shī expertise* is an early pro-Confucian step. In 0156 Jǐng–dì took the throne, and continued to bring Confucians to court; in 0148 the Shī expert Ywán Gù offended Empress Dòu, and was forced to duel with a boar (a duel which he won only because the Emperor saw that he was given a sharp weapon). The next year, 0147, Gù was reassigned from the court to a Tutorship of the King of Chīng–hú (in old Chī); this was surely to get him out of harm’s way while still using him in the construction of a Confucian future for the court itself. The reassigning of Hán Yīng from *his* court post to a Tutorship in Cháng–shān (in old Jàu) seems in this context not like a routine chore, but like another instance of prudent relocation of national resources. This in turn means that the assignment was not a perfunctory one, but was intended to produce educational results in future. Such seriousness would explain the care with which Hán Yīng did his planning, and the pride which (as conjectured above) he felt on completing it, which is attested by the preservation of the work itself, not to mention its continuation past the period of the tutorship proper, if one may so interpret the supposed Wài–jwàn (HSWJ 5–10). The “internal” conjectures, above, may thus now be fruitfully reconsidered in the light of these external factors. As to HSWJ 5–10, the above suggestion, based on individual “momentum”, while not impossible, is also personalistic and thus thin. A better motive lies in the fact that the proposed Wài–jwàn beginning date, 0136, is the exact year of Wǔ–dì’s establishment of Confucianism, which would in turn immediately have created a much wider need for Confucianizing teaching materials. Here, then, is a real motive. And if HSWJ 5–10 were a purposive activity rather than a leisured pastime, its interruption by death in c0130, and its receipt even in incomplete form by the Hàn court (in whose archive it was thus later available to Lyóu Syàng) makes better sense.

HSWJ emerges from these conjectures as part of the history of Confucian pedagogy, before (Nèi) and after (Wài) the official establishment of Confucianism at the Hàn court.

Interplay. As such, it may have something to tell us about interactions between the several strains of thought in these philosophically tumultuous years. It is not surprising, in view of Yīng's HSWJ 1 emphasis on the ruler's empathy with his subjects, that he elsewhere comes to the defense of Mencius. In HSWJ 4:22 he cites the Sywǎndž (SZ) 6 attack on twelve philosophers, *leaving out the last pair*, who originally (pace Dubs, who would rewrite the SZ 6 text from HSWJ 4:22) were Dž-sž and Mencius. This does not make Hán Yīng anti-Sywǎndzian; the majority of his anecdotes are drawn from Sywǎndž. It merely shows that, for all his seeming eclecticism, *he has a point of view*.

Dàuism. The same applies to his relation with Dàuism. Seven HSWJ passages have sources or counterparts (ranging in size from a single line to a long anecdote) in the Jwāngdž (JZ) text. On this seeming indifferentism, Hightower has this to say (1948 p250): "The [Dàuist] sources used by [Hán Yīng] in connection with a Confucian Classic show to what extent [Dàuist] thought was acceptable to a [Hàn] Confucianist". We can now be a little more exact than this, since for us Hán Yīng is not merely a "Hàn Confucianist" but a "late transitional 0144-0131 Mencius-prone Sywǎndzian Hàn Confucianist".

The Jwāngdž (JZ) lies at some remove behind whole anecdotes or single lines at seven places in HSWJ, and Jwāng Jōu himself is characterized in an eighth; the distribution is HSWJ 1 (twice), 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8 (also twice), an exactly even division between the original Nèi and Wài. Given the nature of the HSWJ text, it is assumed that the HSWJ is secondary (if not tertiary) in all instances of common material. This of itself does not make HSWJ particularly hospitable to Dàuism per se. The Jwāngdž, however subversive in intent, is frequently Confucian in its presentational format: Confucius (as is often remarked) is quoted more often in the work than Jwāng Jōu, and Yén Hwéi appears in it as a paragon of meditational skill. Such Confucian-toned sections, further adjusted in HSWJ or its intermediate sources, account for four JZ contacts. These are: HSWJ 1:9, a blend of two Dzvǎngdž poverty stories from JZ 28:11-12; HSWJ 2:12, a chariot-driving parable with a kindness-to-the-people moral from JZ 19:14 via the version in LSCC 19E; HSWJ 7:7, a Dzvǎngdž filial piety story expanded from JZ 27:3; and HSWJ 8:3, a virtuous-refusal-of-office story expanded from JZ 28:10 and further extended (Hightower 1952 p254 n1) to have a moral opposite to the original. Even in the last case, the original Jwāngdzian principled refusal of office is actually a classic Confucian position in this ongoing issue, not a distinctively Dàuist one. If a lost JZ 27-28 were to be excavated next week, *without label*, it would be a rash commentator who would dare to posit a "Dàuist" source for them. A striking but not specifically Dàuist image, the great fish who, once stranded, becomes prey to insects, occurs in JZ 23:1 and also in HSWJ 8:36. This use of neutral or already-Confucian material, as we see from the HSWJ chapter numbers, equally characterizes the Nèi and Wài series.

None of this has anything to do with Confucian eclecticism. It rather attests the Confucian nature of the common meadow in which, at this time, the several philosophical reapers independently gathered their hay. In this unfenced field, among other grasses, Confucius, several of his followers, and several of their favorite attitudes and issues, bloomed at large, and were more or less equally available for harvesting by all comers.

The remaining three instances of JZ contact, to which for completeness we may add as a fourth the one case of HSWJ borrowing from Lǎudž, depart from this common usage and tell a quite different tale. They attest a change of stance from the sharply oppositional pre-Establishment Nèi-jwàn to the genially assimilative post-Establishment Wài-jwàn.

Two of these four Dàuist contacts fall in the Nèi-jwàn. In HSWJ 1:14 a “traditional saying” is quoted from JZ 8:3, to the effect that the senses are intrinsically selfish. The quotation formula is notable: the “common-pasture” material discussed above was simply offered in HSWJ’s own narrative voice, as a primary statement. The clearly irreconcilable content of the JZ 8:3 quote is also notable: the argument is neither classic nor current Confucian, but hedonist. Having quoted this saying, HSWJ then bends it, with a complete absence of logical connection, to a Confucian conclusion anchored with the final Shī tag. The feeling is not of a bit of common lettuce plucked for the Confucian sandwich, but of a renegade opinion strenuously lassoed off the meadow and rebranded. The second Nèi case is HSWJ 4:22, the Sywǎndž 6 denunciations, where the name of Jwāng Jōu replaces one of the original, obsolete renegade philosophers on Sywǎndž’s original list. Than this, opposition can scarcely be more openly acknowledged. The implication of these passages is that the Nèi-jwàn dates from a period of open Dàuist/Confucian conflict. This agrees with the chronological position above assigned to it: a phase of the court ideology battle in which the Confucians were momentarily in retreat.

We now turn to the Wài-jwàn cases, which we attribute to the years immediately after the court triumph of Confucianism and the death of its great enemy, Empress Dòu. And we find there a different atmosphere. The first point is that the open hostility of HSWJ 4:22 does not recur in any form in the Wài-jwàn material. The second is that when HSWJ 5:6 borrows the famous wheelwright story from JZ 13:8, with its explicit challenge to any text-based tradition whatever, it neither distances it by explicit quotation nor subverts it by rewriting. Instead, *it agrees with it*, closing with a Shī quote on the mystery of antiquity, and a final rhetorical question: who can attain to the understanding of the sages of old? The answer, obviously in the Mencian-leaning context of HSWJ, is: the perceptive Confucian. The original JZ story has been not so much *reinterpreted* as *incorporated whole* into the outlook of the HSWJ. The third and last point is raised by HSWJ 9:16, which states that the sage will not endure shame or disgrace for mere success (the classic pure-Confucian tradition, also strongly articulated in the Mencian writings). We expect that this will be gently led, as was the pure and scrupulous JZ 27:3 tale in HSWJ 8:3, into its opposite, emphasizing the need to function in the end as the saviour of the world. But no, nothing of the kind. There follows an explicit quote from “Lǎudž” (an abridged Dàu-Dó Jīng 44-46), in praise of individual contentment, ending with no Shī tag whatever, but with a reaffirmation. As with the wheelwright challenge, so with this rejection-of-fame challenge: HSWJ *simply agrees with it*.

One World. What is going on here? I would suggest: now that the court war is won, and the Dàuists are no longer to be feared, they can with impunity be simply ingathered, increasing the richness of the Confucian discourse medium, which with the end of enmity expanded at this point to become, as it still is, *simply the Chinese discourse medium*.

Legalism. To see if similar conditions obtain, we may briefly reconnoiter the Legalist counterpart frontier via the six HSWJ borrowings from the Hán Fēidǔ (HFZ).

Of these there are two in the Nèi-jwàn (HSWJ 2:5, 3:21) and four in the Wài-jwàn (7:10, 7:20, 9:11, 9:24). None is introduced by a distancing formula; as with the common-discourse Jwāngdǔ contacts, they are simply given. Nor have the Nèi-jwàn ones a Legalist character: 2:5 is a discussion between two Confucians on the result of study, 3:21 is a colloquy with a minister of Lǚ about accepting gifts. Some Wài-jwàn pieces are on this level (7:20 on choosing, 9:11 on recommending, the right men), but in others a statecraft element appears: HSWJ 7:10 (from HFZ via HNZ) tells of a minister given so much power over punishments (as distinct from rewards) that he ousts the ruler, and 9:24, the corrupting of a Róng King and the luring away of his minister by a Chín diplomat. Advice to rulers does occur in the Analects/Mencius tradition, but the Confucians prefer to present such topics as advice to ministers; the theory of the ruler/minister relation, above the level of minister procurement, is beyond their usual range. These two HSWJ tales show Yīng working in a wider range. Here, as with the Dàuist wheelwright, the Confucians after 0136 seem to have annexed intellectual ground from their former rivals.

Conclusion. In summary: (1) with both Dàuists and Legalists, there is on both sides of 0136 a zone of common practice, with Confucian figures and Lǚ rulers as characters and the trials of public service as plots, available to all three factions; (2) before 0136, the Confucians also recognize with Dàuists, *though not with Legalists*, a zone of conflict, where lines are drawn, texts are cited, and names are named, thus attesting the court conflict between the two; finally (3) from both Dàuists and Legalists, the Confucians after 0136 annex previously unshared ground, and take over nearly all aspects of the public philosophical debate. These stages show in fine detail how the Confucians, formerly one of many contending viewpoints, became after 0136 *synonymous with China*.

As for the mere HSWJ, it seems, on the above inferences, to work like this:

- 0145 Hán Yīng appointed tutor to Lyóu Shùn
- 0144 HSWJ 1 completed; lesson sequence for Lyóu Shùn
- 0143 HSWJ 2; ditto
- 0142 HSWJ 3; ditto
- 0141 HSWJ 4; ditto (Nèi-jwàn now complete)
- 0141 Lyóu Shùn reaches 20; regular lessons cease
- 0140 Wǔ-dì 1st year
- 0137 Lyóu Shùn visits court, Hán Yīng presents Nèi-jwàn (HSWJ 1-4)
- 0136 Wǔ-dì establishes Confucianism as official state ideology
- 0136 Hán Yīng remains in capital; HSWJ 5 sketched as sequel
- 0135 Confucian Hán Yīng debates Confucian Dǔng Jùng-shū; HSWJ 6 sketched
- 0134 HSWJ 7 sketched
- 0133 HSWJ 8 sketched
- 0132 HSWJ 9 sketched
- 0131 HSWJ 10 sketched (Wài-jwàn now roughed out)
- 0130 Hán Yīng dies; Wài-jwàn sketches (HSWJ 5-10) posthumously presented

IV

Hwái-nándž (HNZ). As with HSWJ, HNZ dates are often given in vague century form. Thus Ames: “first century of Hàn” (*The Art of Rulership* [1983] xiv) and Cleary: “second century BCE” (*The Tao of Politics* [1990] vii). More precise and more suggestive is Major: “immediately predates the formulation of the Han Confucian synthesis” (*Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought* [1993] p5). From this, Le Blanc (Loewe, p190) takes a step noted as “possible” by Ames and as preferable by Major, by asserting that the HNZ was presented to Hàn Wü-dì by its patron Lyóu Añ “on his first state visit in [0139]”. This plausible conclusion is capable of further development.

Lyóu Añ (0179–0122), scion of the Hàn founder Gāudzǔ and son of a rebel King, was with his brothers and over the protest of Jyǎ Yí given the title Lord (Hóu) in 0172, appointed King of Hwái-nán in 0164 at the age of sixteen, and reached majority in 0160. As a youth he was fond of books, and cared nothing for the hunt. He attempted to join the Revolt of the Seven Kings in 0154, but his minister (unnamed) took command of the Hwái-nán troops and kept them loyal to Hàn. When Añ visited court in 0139, the second year of the “New Era” (Jyèn-ywǎn) of Emperor Wǔ, Wǔ’s minister Tyén Fǎn, an old friend, met him outside the capital and observed that since Wǔ had no heir, and Añ, a grandson of the founder, was known for humane rule, Añ might eventually succeed Wǔ. This remark led Añ to prepare for the civil and military needs of a revolt. The comet of 0135 seemed to portend a new rule: the court laid claim to the omen by proclaiming a new “Era of Light” (Ywǎn-gwāng) from 0134, and Añ accelerated his own preparations. He placed a daughter in the capital to spy for him, and on a pretext returned his son’s wife to the capital, lest she pass information to the Emperor. Perhaps to defuse this tense situation, the Emperor in 0126 exempted Añ from attendance at court. But. In 0124 a duel between Añ’s son and the swordworthy Hwái-nán officer LÉI BÈI flared into an incident; BÈI escaped to Cháng-ān and accused Añ of intended treason; an inquiry followed. Añ hesitated to launch a revolt, while Wǔ-dì lingered over his responses. The affair was finally resolved by an amnesty and a reduction of Añ’s territory. Añ continued to plot with ministers Dzwǒ Wú and Wǔ BÈI; the latter, against his better judgement, and by the detention of his parents, was forced to propose a grand strategy. Meanwhile, ill feeling between Añ’s heir and his grandson by a concubine led in 0123 to another denunciation and a more serious court inquiry. Lyóu Añ cut his own throat in 0122, aged fifty-eight. Thus far Shǐ Jì 118.

Several points imply a pre-0139 HNZ. First, the speedup in Añ’s preparations after that date would have left less time for authorship. Second, Tyén Fǎn’s comment on Añ’s fame for good government might in part refer to HNZ, which at bottom is about the basis for public order (and to that extent, itself a rebellious act). Third, SJ 118 mentions Añ’s bookishness, perhaps thinking of HNZ, before the 0139 visit. It then seems that HNZ was begun *before*, and presented at least in part *during*, the 0139 visit. Major’s point, that the Dàuistic HNZ more plausibly dates from the pro-Dàuist period before 0136 than from the intellectual pax Confuciana afterward, would seem to tend to the same conclusion.

Time-span. Given an 0139 terminus ad quem, we now need a terminus a quo for this 21-chapter work. Like the prototype Lǚ-shì Chūn-Chyōu (LSCC; core dated 0239), HNZ is the product of patronage rather than direct personal composition, hence we ask: at what date, granted his *interest*, would Lyóu Añ have had the *authority* to undertake it? Probably not before his majority in 0160. This gives the maximum time-slot 0160–0140, whose 21-year length echoes the 21 chapters of the work itself; we note that at an average 1 chapter per year, HNZ would occupy all the time available for its composition. That HNZ at any rate took shape *over a period of time*, not at one go, has been suggested by Kanaya and others (all parties assume editorial finalizing, doubtless by Añ himself). Such gradual composition is implicit in the amount of HNZ internal stylistic variation: if HNZ were the product of a monster symposium, then an equally monster post-editing would presumably have yielded a more homogeneous result. I shall therefore here explore the possibilities of a gradual, cumulative composition process.

Design. Separating HNZ 21 (a summary postface), the number (20) of the chapters in HNZ is a surprisingly unresonant one for a text so alert to cosmic resonances. Nor are there in HNZ, as there are in LSCC, numerologically cogent or even constant numbers of chapter subdivisions. This lack argues against a filled-in initial outline for the work, and implies that its final shape may owe as much to arbitrary factors as to editorial intent. Given that HNZ was in some sense presented at the Hàn court in 0139, that visit itself, with its temptation to plan for world dominion, may have been an indisposing factor, further work on this project being shelved in favor of all-out preparation for rebellion. We therefore infer that the HNZ was *interruptively terminated* by the 0139 visit.

First Phase. Major notes that HNZ 3–4 are much indebted to the prototype patronage work, the LSCC (and to several other distinctive sources, including the Tyēn Wòn and a Hwáng-Lǎu work long lost and recently recovered archaeologically), and that HNZ 5 is virtually a repeat, with small additions, of the Ywè Lìng (“Monthly Ordinances”) text, a late version of which survives in the Lǐ Jì, and an early version of which was split up to make a framework for the 12 original LSCC chapters. HNZ 5, with its exclusive LSCC focus, may have been the first HNZ increment; HNZ 3–4, expanding outward from that focus, may be the second. Since almost no compilation is required for HNZ 5, it could have been annexed by the unaided Lyóu Añ in his premajority, 0161, and fully finished in 0160; we may take the latter as the earliest likely completion year. HNZ 3–4 however do imply a learned assistant, and thus have an earliest completion date of 0159, Añ himself continuing in the role of general overseer and post-editor. Major (p8) refers to HNZ 3–5 as a “subunit” of the text; if the present accretional view of the text holds up, these chapters may prove, consistently but more specifically, to be its *nucleus*.

In 0158 (see SJ 17) Añ made a court visit. As the son of a rebel, his appointment as King had been opposed at court, and the court’s eye will certainly have been upon him; these court visits were one way of monitoring, and, given their several-month duration (not to mention their cost), of disrupting, latent rebellion in the outlands. On that visit, Añ may have presented, in partial accounting of his stewardship as King of Hwái-nán, his work insofar as it existed at that time: on the present hypothesis, Major’s HNZ 3–5.

Second Phase. Between the court visits of 0158 and 0152 falls the Eight Kings revolt of 0154, preceded by much coming and going of messengers between Hwái-nán and the neighbor kingdoms of Wú and Chǔ. Añ stayed loyal on a technicality (the insubordination of his minister), but in fact had ordered his troops to join the revolt. It may be permissible to associate this psychological readiness with Añ's having reached, in the HNZ, the coherent core of basic principles found by Le Blanc in HNZ 1-8. How might this degree of completeness have been achieved? If we assign HNZ 6 to the post-visit year 0157, we must assume a pair of chapters in each of the next two years to finish the core on schedule. Ames (p14) has already noted the relevant fact that HNZ 1 and 8 are closely linked by a common Lăudž focus; HNZ 2 (and, by my own observation, HNZ 7) equally feature the Jwāngdž. As successive encapsulations, these chapters could have been added in pairs, HNZ 2, 7 in 0156 and HNZ 1, 8 in 0155, the doubled pace perhaps reflecting the excitement of the ripening Eight Kings plot. This gives us Le Blanc's HNZ 1-8 core.

0154 may well have been too eventful for regular literary work, and I posit none for that year. In whatever year, the best candidate for a next chapter is HNZ 9, on rulership. This may have a link with contemporary events: Añ, watching from the sidelines in 0154, must have asked: what if he had after all rebelled *and won*? Such thoughts lead to the rulership question, and may have been the origin of HNZ 9. If so, HNZ 9 might be from the following year, 0153. Its addition brought the HNZ to 9 chapters (the theoretical basis and its chief application), and may have reminded Añ of the 9-room cosmic míng-táng, mentioned in HNZ 9 itself (Ames p169, 205; for the 9 rooms see Major p221f). This arrogation of the emperor's cosmic symbol may have been symbolically defused by Añ's presenting it to *the proper emperor* (for evidence on these presentations, see p16 below). This would give us Le Blanc plus Ames, or HNZ 1-9, as the state of the text as of 0152.

Third Phase. HNZ 10-14 will fill the five years until the 0146 visit. An authorship change shows at HNZ 12-13, which introduce the form of an anecdote capped with a Lăudž quote (in 13, various quotes), and again at 14, which resumes a treatise format. This new increment, HNZ 10-14, might have been presented at court in 0146.

Fourth Phase. Disregarding the HNZ 21 postface as a mere flourish, and thus within Añ's unaided powers (even in a moving carriage, in 0139), the six chapters HNZ 15-20 equally well match the six available years (0145-0140) before the 0139 court visit, on which occasion it is efficient to assume that only the new HNZ 15-21 were presented.

Literary Assistants. We now turn (with one emendation from a SJ 118 commentary) to Gāu Yòu's little-used list of eight compilers, here interpreted as *successive* compilers. We have already noted some probable new-compiler indicators (Lău-Jwāng learning in HNZ 1-2, 7-8; new format at HNZ 12 and again at 14). Dividing the rest mechanically, and (after HNZ 1-9) with no more than three chapters per compiler and a new compiler after each revolt or court-visit hiatus, we reach the matchup at right for Gāu Yòu's names: Sū Fēi, Lǐ Shàng, Dzwǒ Wú, Tyén Yóu, Léi Bèi, Máu Jōu, Wǔ Bèi, Jìn Chāng. Alas for the popular image of Eight Dàist Sages alighting from cranes to bestow their transcendent wisdom upon a starry-eyed and high-minded young King of Hwái-nán: three of them are known to us – as the bravos, thugs, and plotters of revolt in SJ 118.

HNZ and Seditious. Yet more alarming: in mechanically doling out Gāu Yòu's list, we find that the thug names wind up opposite the most obviously seditious HNZ chapters: the revolt-hatching advisor Dzwǒ Wú at the usurping cosmic-rulership chapter HNZ 9, and the grand-strategic planner Wǔ Bèi alongside the military treatise HNZ 15.

Other Hwái-nán texts listed in the Hàn Shū (HS) 30 palace catalog were probably written after 0139, and confiscated after Lyóu Añ's 0122 suicide. Since they were never presented at court, and so remained unknown to the intellectual mainstream, they perished with the palace copy itself, but their content can be guessed from other Hàn local troves: Mǎ-wáng Dwēi (Cháng-shā) and Yín-chywè Shān with their maps, tactical manuals, and Hwáng-Lǎu cosmology, the crank of whose mechanical universe *any adept could turn*. Thus the Hàn kingdoms, seething with revolt, studying the twin arts of conquest and rule.

In context, it is easy to see why the court chose Confucianism, with its rare dynastic transitions and its general respect for continuity of lineage and monopoly of rule.

The HNZ Accretion Hypothesis, in any case, looks like this:

0164	Lyóu Añ (aged 16) made King of Hwái-nán	
0161	HNZ 5 borrowed from proto Ywè Ling as a guide to rule	
0160	HNZ 5 extended and finished	Lyóu Añ
0160	Lyóu Añ comes of age (at 20)	
0159	HNZ 3-4 finished	Sū Fēi
0158	visit to court; HNZ 3-5 nucleus presented	
0157	HNZ 6 finished	Sū Fēi
0156	HNZ 2, 7 finished	Lǐ Shàng
0155	HNZ 1, 8 finished	Lǐ Shàng
0154	Revolt of Eight Kings; no compilation	
0153	HNZ 9 finished	Dzwǒ Wú
0152	visit to court; HNZ 1-2, 6-9 presented	
0151	HNZ 10 finished	Tyén Yóu
0150	HNZ 11 finished	Tyén Yóu
0149	HNZ 12 finished	Léi Bèi
0148	HNZ 13 finished	Léi Bèi
0147	HNZ 14 finished	Máu Jōu
0146	visit to court; HNZ 10-14 presented	
0145	HNZ 15 finished	Wǔ Bèi
0144	HNZ 16 finished	
0143	HNZ 17 finished	
0142	HNZ 18 finished	Jīn Chāng
0141	HNZ 19 finished	
0140	HNZ 20 finished	
0139	HNZ 21 postface added	Lyóu Añ
0139	visit to court; HNZ 15-21 presented	
0139	Tyén Fǎn encourages Lyóu Añ to aspire to emperorship	
0138	accelerated preparations for revolt in Hwái-nán; no further compilation	

Proof. No doubt this HNZ theory is sufficiently vivid, but where is the proof of it? First, in its accounting, better than rival theories, for the semi-homogenized kind of stylistic discontinuity we find in the work. Second, in its incorporating more of the relevant factual evidence (Lyóu Añ's court visits; Gāu Yòu's collaborator list). As above noted, the great advantage of working in the Hàn period is that such material exists, and it is proportionately incumbent on any successful text theory to work with it. Third, its psychological consistency with the well-documented career of the text's patron Lyóu Añ. Fourth, its goodness of fit with the general intellectual and political climate of the times.

The previous conclusions about the HSWJ offer, as a fifth category, a possible test of the present HNZ theory; indeed, a challenge to the HSWJ theory. The challenge runs: if (1) the HNZ was compiled and presented in stages as above proposed, and if (2) the HSWJ was also compiled in sections during part of the same period, as above proposed, and if (3) the HSWJ is textually aware of HNZ, as it seems to be, then (4) successive stages of the HSWJ compilation should show *progressively wider knowledge* of the HNZ. Not only is this true, it is true *in terms of the increments here suggested for the HNZ*:

0151-0147	HNZ 10-14 compiled at Hwái-nán
0146	HNZ 10-14 presented at court by visiting Lyóu Añ
0146	Hán Yīng is present at court; learns of HNZ 10-14
0145	Hán Yīng reassigned for his safety to Tutorship in Cháng-shān
0144-0141	HSWJ 1-4 compiled; quote exclusively from HNZ 10-14
0139	HNZ 15-21 presented at court by visiting Lyóu Añ
0137	Hán Yīng returns to court, learns of HNZ 15-21
0136-0131	HSWJ 5-10 compiled; quote from both HNZ 10-14 and 15-21

The Eat of the Pudding. This pattern is not conclusive, but it is strongly supportive; both text theories here successfully pass the challenge that each represents for the other. If we take this as working proof of the pudding, and proceed to sample the pudding itself, we find that it contains several moderately nourishing lessons. First, there is the sequential nature of Hàn authorship, both individual and collaborative. Writing on bamboo strips, still commonplace in this period, was hard and slow, and even a local King seems to have had at disposal, at any given time, only one learned staffer who could be spared for it, from the urgent tasks of carrying treasonous letters and drilling rebellious troops. Second, there is the character of the court circle. Readers in our age of ubiquitous print and continuous message-flow do well to be reminded of the function, in Hàn intellectual life, of direct physical presence, of both books and men, at the focus represented by the court. We concluded above that HNZ 1-9 was presented at court in 0152, yet Hán Yīng, who was there from c0146, seems not to have seen it. (He may not have been continuously at court after being given a post in c0160; for an alternative possibility see p21 below). The court itself seems to have had no durable book-memory, and book-acquaintance will often have been by direct contact (the presentation copy passed around before deposit?). The loss of titles on the HS 30 list surely reflects this feature of Hàn book-knowledge: we have here not a true oral culture, but one in which personal acquaintance by ear or eye is not (as for us it is) *functionally replaced* by the mere existence of an archive copy.

V

The Hán Fēidǔ (HFZ). Levi (Loewe p136–137) views this as a Warring States work: apart from some unsolved questions with HFZ 1, parts of 30–35, 37, 39, 52, and 53, “most specialists today incline to the view that most of the book derives from Hán Fēi’s own hand, even though certain parts had been restyled”. Let us then start with Hán Fēi.

Hán Fēi. According to SJ 63, Hán Fēi was a stutterer but good at writing, a pupil of Sywǎndǔ (acknowledged as superior by fellow-student Lǐ Sǔ), unappreciated in his native Hán, who expressed his distress at government confusion and public disorder in essays (SJ 63 names HFZ 11, 49, 30–31 and 32–35, 22–23, and 12, and quotes the last in toto) comprising 10 myriad words (my count of the present text is 10·5963 myriad). Two of these (HFZ 11 and 49) reached and impressed the King of Chín. Fēi was later sent by Hán to Chín as an envoy, imprisoned by the intrigue of Lǐ Sǔ, poisoned, and died. Thus SJ 63; Chyén Mù (**Chronological Studies of the Pre-Ts’in Philosophers** [1956] #156) puts Sǔ’s Chín mission in 0234 and Fēi’s death in 0233. If Fēi was a Hán envoy in 0234 (*King An*), it may perhaps have been *King Hwèi* (died 0239) of whose neglect Fēi complained; this would give 0239 as the terminus ad quem for most of the HFZ. But the Sǔ-kù editors note that the first pieces (HFZ 1–3) address not the King of Hán but the King of Chín, and since Fēi was soon imprisoned, he could not have written the rest before his suicide. The SJ 63 notice must then be a mere inference from HFZ, in writing which Sǔmǎ Chyēn, understandably sensitive on the issue of unjust imprisonment, may have been overimpressed (as his full quotation of it implies) by the poignant HFZ 12.

The praise of Fēi and the quotes from HFZ 49 in conversations between Lǐ Sǔ and the Second Emperor in SJ 87 are not really inconsistent with SJ 63, but they also cannot be said to confirm it; they show only that in attributing words to one Chín ruler, the SJ has been mindful of the words it elsewhere attributes to the preceding Chín ruler. All the SJ speeches have been *suspected* of being what Thucydides *tells us* that his are: fictional. The specific wish of the King of Chín, in SJ 63, that the author of the text he is reading were alive so he could meet him, is a literary topos which occurs more consecutively in, and thus was probably copied from, Sǔmǎ Chyēn’s own Sǔmǎ Syàng-rú notice, SJ 117.

Invention apart, the SJ accounts thus seem predominantly based on inscenerative extrapolation from the HFZ itself, and to that same source we may ourselves now turn.

A Different Theory. First, HFZ is a lot for one man to write. Second, its doctrinal reversals (on transcendency and Confucianism) are graver than the mere evolutions of attitude in HSWJ, and imply a longer internal timespan. Third, the HFZ concern for the excessive power of feudatories is irrelevant to the Hán state (which had none) but relevant to the Hàn dynasty (which did); hence the timespan runs into Hàn. Fourth, Dàu-Dǔ Jīng quotes in HFZ 20 lie textually between the Chín (Mǎ-wáng Dwēi “A”) and modern texts, ruling out Fēi’s authorship and confirming Hàn date. Fifth, an accretion theory of the text might line up the HFZ 20 Lǎudǔ commentary and the Hwáng-Lǎu craze under Wǎn-dì, and explain the bitterly anti-Confucian HFZ 50–55 by the final showdown under Wǔ-dì. This theory, of a century-long HFZ reaching to 0136, we may now briefly explore.

Hán Fēi's Portion. HFZ 1 opens with the formula "Your servant has heard". Two points are against its being authentic. First, the formula in HFZ 3 is the more specific "Your servant Fēi", compared with which the general incipit of HFZ 1 fails to convince. Second, HFZ 1 recurs in Jān-Gwó Tsù 107 as the address of *another* persuader (Jāng Yí) to *another* King of Chín. Even Levi, as noted, admits an unsolved problem at this point. Liao **The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu** [1939, 1959] 1/1n1 notes anachronisms in JGT 107 as a speech of Jāng Yí, proving only that Yí did not speak it. Modern opinion (Crump **Intrigues** [1964] p95-96) concludes that *all* of JGT is by later rhetoricians, and the modern presumption would be that here too JGT is a source for HFZ, not the reverse. We thus solve Levi's first problem by rejecting HFZ 1.

HFZ 3. This makes a more direct authorship claim. Its point of departure would seem to be a previous remark by the King about Fēi's speech impediment, turned by Fēi into an essay on the difficulty of addressing a ruler. The piece, with its spate of precedents, seems written rather than oral in type. Liao **Works** 1/23n1 finds that some precedents "somehow or other lack coherence and even seem far-fetched". It bespeaks a pedantic and inexpert arguer, schooled in lore but unseasoned in debate. The Confucian tone of HFZ 3 may imply a term under Sywǎndž (before 0238, when Sywǎndž's patron died and the school probably closed), though this is not confirmed in the Sywǎndž (Lǐ Sž's name occurs, in SZ 15; not Fēi's). By contrast, Lǐ Sž's memorials are brisk and to the point, as befits one recorded in SZ 15 as asking Sywǎndž a question. If, with SJ 63, Sž and Fēi were both students under Sywǎndž, it was surely Sž whom Fēi admired, not vice versa.

The inexperience of HFZ 3 argues for an early date, and its taking off from an implied prior remark has, to my ear, the ring of actuality. I would start by accepting it as from Hán Fēi. Doing so forces a showdown with HFZ 2, purportedly a plea by Fēi in defense of Hán, and rebuttals by Lǐ Sž impugning it and asking to travel himself to Hán. Of this mission Bodde (**China's First Unifier** [1938] p62-77), though finally crediting its factuality, observes that it is intrinsically odd and unsupported elsewhere in the record. Also, HFZ 2 portrays Fēi as an envoy, whereas HFZ 3 has him in the role of an advisor. Of these incompatible options, we are already committed by HFZ 3 to the advisor theory. Then Lǐ Sž's mission to Hán is after all unhistorical, and all of HFZ 2 is a decorative addition in the style of the JGT, capped at a later date by the borrowed JGT 107 itself.

What are the implications of HFZ 3 *taken in isolation*? That Fēi was a schooled but not experienced courtier, with a speech impediment. His temptation to quote Shī and Shū bespeaks a pupil of Sywǎndž. His inexperience implies one who was still "in course" when Sywǎndž's school closed following the death of his Chǔ patron in 0238. Then Fēi can never have addressed Hán Hwèi-wáng (died 0239), only Añ-wáng, ruling out long-prior rejection and the writing of many angry essays. He may have had an interview after 0238 (say c0236) with Añ-wáng; if so, by the evidence of HFZ 3, he made a poor impression (kings want advice, not excuses). Chín minister Lǚ Bù-wéi died in 0235. Fēi may have gone to seek his fortune in Chín (*not* as an envoy) in 0234, been chaffed by the King and written his apologia; later, in his naivete, run afoul of intrigue, and died in Chín in 0233. These last details would then be the germ of the romantic elaboration we find in SJ 63.

Why HFZ? If only HFZ 3 was left behind at Fēi's death, rather than the great monumental HFZ text we now have, why was he a name for Legalists to shelter under? And why, in the first place, did Legalists want to shelter under any name at all?

They needed to shelter because everyone was sheltering. Confucians had Confucius, speaking with the authority of yet more ancient sages. Dàuists had Lǎu/Jwāng, associated with the workings of the cosmos. Against such splendidly arrayed opponents, who would care to appear in court merely on the merits, naked of precedents, especially in a Hàn bureaucracy becoming schooled in precedents, and especially inured to *textual* precedents?

And why in particular Hán Fēi? Partly because, once legendarized as a Chín victim, he was a Legalist who unlike Shāng Yǎng *bore no onus of association with the Chín side*, and unlike Gwǎndž was not tied to the early history of some feudal state (on the Hàn "modernizers" see Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict in Han China* [1974] p11). He was both *right* and *modern*. In this context, the paucity of Fēi's writings, his tabula rasa feature, will in fact have made him ideal as a cover name for new or syncretic Legalist thought. In our subsequent investigations, we will see what use was made of this opportunity.

Hsiao, who credits the HFZ to Hán Fēi, concludes (*History of Chinese Political Thought* [1979] 1/456) that "the Legalism of the Han dynasty ceased all further development of thought and learning, yet persisted in a struggle for supremacy with the Confucians". Cessation of development is utterly incompatible with persistence of struggle. Hàn Legalism *must have evolved* as the court grappled with its problem of both denying and assimilating the Chín heritage, and as Confucians tussled with Legalists for the last word on this and other issues. Besides resolving such trifles as the inconsistency of HFZ 2 and 3, an accretional theory of the HFZ offers the possibility of rediscovering, in the evolving HFZ, part of this presently-missing history of evolving Hàn Legalism.

HFZ 20/21. We may next check our expectation that HFZ 20/21 will coincide with the Hwáng-Lǎu vogue introduced by Empress Dòu at the court of her husband Wǎn-dì and continued through that of her son Jǐng-dì (SJ 49). We find that HFZ 20 and 21 are very different in style and in form: the first is a true commentary on the Lǎudž, which might easily be a first response to a newly-fashionable text and thus from early in the reign of Wǎn-dì (perhaps the 3rd year, 0177); the second is a set of anecdotes ending in Lǎudž quotes, implying general familiarity with the Lǎudž and thus a later date. Its form may well have been the immediate inspiration for the similar anecdotes in HNZ 12. If so, it will likely have been fresh at court as of the visit of Lyóu Ān and his party in 0152. We may credibly place it at 0154 (Jǐng-dì 3). We then further assume that HFZ 21 was editorially moved to its present place directly following HFZ 20 for thematic reasons.

This possibility, that some now-consecutive HFZ chapters may be of different date, in turn modifies our initial linear theory: the first of such a thematic cluster may be in position, but other members cannot be assumed to be so. Other areas where this situation may obtain are the self-named anecdote series: HFZ 22-23, 30-31, 32-35, and 36-39. Levi's next eight problem chapters (HFZ 30-35, 37, 39) cluster in this same text-range. Their heterogeneity is a problem for the one-author assumption; less so for the modified linear hypothesis. We may for present purposes regard them as not a problem at all.

HFZ 50–55. Of these, it is HFZ 51 which can be convincingly linked not only to events, but to events *in the general range predicted for them by the linear hypothesis*. Hsiao **History** 1/456 has noted, as a rare example of a Hán Fēi spokesman in action, the debate before Jǐng–dì on the touchy subject of dynastic transitions (SJ 121 6/3122–3123), between Confucian Ywǎn Gù, who takes the Mencian line that bad rulers may be killed, and a Master Hwáng, who argues, *exactly as in HFZ 51*, that the subject/ruler relationship is inviolable. This led to Gù’s duel with a boar (above, p8) and his later appointment as Tutor to the King of Chǐng–hǔ. By good fortune the dates for these steps can be fixed. The Kingdom of Chǐng–hǔ was set up in 0148 (SJ 17). Lyóu Chǔng was named King late in the 1st month of 0147 (SJ 59) and arrived to begin his reign in the 3rd month (SJ 17). Gù will have been appointed Tutor along with the King in early 0147, hence the duel (and the debate of which it seems to have been a sequel) was in 0148. If so, then Master Hwáng’s memorandum of it, the first portion of HFZ 51, will most likely be from 0148, and the following HFZ 52–55 will then be from the final years (0147–0137) of struggle with the Confucians. Levi’s last two problems, the summative nature of HFZ 52 and 53, confirm the last-ditch nature of these chapters, as predicted by the linear hypothesis.

The linear hypothesis, modified by the recognition of editorial resequencing of later members of certain thematic clusters, thus seems to be fairly firmly attached, either to events or to relations with other texts, at its beginning, its middle, and its end.

HFZ As A Source For HNZ/HSWJ. We next subject this theory to the independent challenge of the echoes of HFZ visible in the previously treated HNZ and HSWJ.

To the cases noted by Hightower 1948 where HNZ has been an intermediate stage in the borrowing of HFZ by HSWJ, recent scholarship on individual HNZ chapters seems to have added little. Major cites no clear HFZ borrowings in his study of HNZ 3–5. Ames gives two dozen references to HFZ in his notes to HNZ 9, most of them parallels (“cf”) rather than sources: a Shǔn Dào passage seems likelier cited from Shǔn Dào, and Confucius’s 70 disciples from Mencius 2A3 or common hearsay, than from HFZ 40 or HFZ 49, respectively. At a HNZ 9 reference to Shǐ Kwàng producing good order in Jìn, Ames (n36) cites the Shǐ Kwàng cosmic-disaster tale in HFZ 10:4, and other Kwàng appearances: Dzwǒ Jwàn (DJ) sv Syāng 18, Sywǎndž 27, Jwāngdž 2, 8 (twice), and 10. None of these contains a “good order” theme. DJ sv Syāng 14, where Kwàng expounds government to Jìn Píng–gūng, and DJ sv Syāng 30, where Jì Wǔdž of Lǔ remarks that with jywǎndž like Kwàng serving Píng–gūng, Jìn is formidable, are a more likely source for the HNZ 9 allusion. HFZ 10:4 itself is a ghost story in which Píng–gūng’s insistence on hearing the “new music” that Wèi Líng–gūng’s servant has learned produces in turn a storm, a drought, and Píng–gūng’s death. The germ of *this* tale may be Gwó Yǔ 14:7, where Kwàng predicts Jìn’s ruin from Píng–gūng’s love of “new music” (same phrase), very probably with now-lost intermediary versions.

The long HFZ 10:6 tale of a female-musician ruse is Ames’s only source for an allusion in HNZ 9. HFZ 10:6 *does* underlie the HSWJ 9:24 anecdote, but the independent (Hightower 1952 p312 n1) SJ 5 version implies a common source simpler than either one. This now-lost common source would suffice as the background for the brief HNZ 9 reference.

Chart. The HFZ influences, both direct and indirect, which turn up in the HSWJ and the carefully-studied portions of the HNZ provide the following evidence about the HFZ:

0160	HNZ 5	< nothing definite in HFZ
0159	HNZ 3-4	< nothing definite in HFZ
0153	HNZ 9	< nothing primary in HFZ
0154		HFZ 21 Lăudž anecdote series
0149	HNZ 12	< adopts the form of HFZ 21
0144 HSWJ 1		Confucianizes the form of HNZ 12 (< HFZ 21)
0143 HSWJ 2:5		< HFZ 21:13
0142 HSWJ 3:21	< HNZ 12	< HFZ 35
0134 HSWJ 7:10	< HNZ 12	< HFZ 35
0134 HSWJ 7:20		< HFZ 33
0132 HSWJ 9:11		< HFZ 33
0131 HSWJ 9:24		< HFZ 10:6

These few data-points give little corroboration, but allow useful inferences. First, the seemingly late date of HFZ 10, of which Hân Yīng could have learned on returning to court in 0137, at the end of the confrontation, would agree with the great artistry of its extended anecdotes. HFZ 10 (“The Ten Faults”) makes an odd pair with the anecdoteless “Eight Corruptions” of HFZ 9, but perhaps the numerical element in both titles inspired editorial juxtaposition. Second is the implication that HFZ 35 is chronologically more or less on a par with HFZ 21; this gives a useful correlation for the respective ends of the chapter-clusters HFZ 20-21 and 32-35. Third is a two-level view of court influences. It is almost certain that Hân Yīng was at Jīng-dì’s court in 0148, and cannot but have known of, or even witnessed, the Confucianist/Legalist debate of which HFZ 51 includes a memorandum, yet neither this nor any other HFZ controversialist material is visible in Yīng’s HSWJ. It would seem that persuasion-anecdotes and opposition-diatribes each had its proper stratum, and could be kept separate even in the mind of a single individual. The other side of this idea is the importance of the anecdote itself as a Hân literary form. The effort shown in compiling the various HFZ repertoires of anecdote and illustration prove that a ready fund of appropriate example was an important asset to a courtier. And the ease with which anecdotes rather than essays travelled between the various poles of contemporary opinion shows that the anecdote was a less abrasive, more compatible form of expression than the polemical essay or the doctrinaire petition. The anecdote medium was evidently the very substance of the common-usage pasture noted above (p9-10); it quite possibly helped preserve a tone of collegiality among otherwise opposing disputants.

Early Hân. None of this explains the chapters between HFZ 3 and HFZ 20 except to prove that HFZ 10 is out of sequence among them. We may now turn to these chapters for a final test of the theory, which predicts that (except for HFZ 10) they will correlate, in their present order, with court events in the years between Hân Fēi and Hân Wún-dì.

So juxtaposed, HFZ 4-19 can without great difficulty be seen as documenting a growth from the early remonstrances of a few Chín-Legalist members of Hân Gāu-dzū’s inner circle to the systematic advocacy of an organized Legalist positional faction.

HFZ 3. Our putative core. Among many luckless ministers Shāng Yǎng is mentioned, but *not as a doctrinal source*. Fēi's affiliations are rather Sywǎndzian, which (and not any SJ biographical fantasies) links him to the known Sywǎndž pupil Lǐ Sǐ. Sywǎndzian influence was strong all through early Hàn, and it seems likely that the preservation of Fēi's name and work was under some sort of Sywǎndzian auspice, and that there may be a Sywǎndzian element in the continuity behind the ongoing HFZ text enterprise.

HFZ 4. This memorial does not claim Fēi's authorship in its incipit, so there is no question of a group assuming his persona. Like HFZ 3, it has no theoretical content, but it does have a policy: it is against the too-great power of feudatories, who overawe local officials and threaten the capital. Unlike Lǐ Sǐ's 0221 anti-feudal memo, it is protestive rather than prospective, and must thus be in response to a real situation. This particular situation arose with the first revolts of Hàn feudatories in 0201. The HFZ 4 advice is fully consonant with Chín policy: it could well be from an old Chín hand to the new Hàn ruler.

HFZ 5. This essay (not a memorial) is on the counterpart problem: giving the emperor a remote and awesome image, to forestall flattery and to operate successfully against a palace coterie. It is in a very different style (itself mysterious, with meter, rhyme, and dark imagery of a Dàuist sort) from HFZ 4, and implies different input, though to the same recipient: a new ruler learning the ropes. HFZ 5 goes beyond, but is in the same direction as, the architectural symbolism urged by Syāu Hó in 0199 (SJ 8). A remote ruler concept is credited to Shǔn Bù-hài (Creel **Shen Pu-hai** [1974] p349), and an organized eponymous school existed by 0141 (Creel p1). But Creel finds no evidence for a pre-Hàn Shǔn school, and pre-Hàn ruler praxis is in fact not remote: Confucius's and Mencius's conversations with rulers are respectful but not abject, and Warring States audience halls seem routinely shared with cowherds or wheelwrights. Remoteness theory is however implicit in the work of Chín palace builders, and HFZ 5 too may be oldtimer advice to the new kid on the block. Of known members of Gāu-dzǔ's intimate circle, the Dàuist tone of HFZ 5 suggests, not Syāu Hó, but the strategist Jāng Lyáng.

HFZ 6. This essay, reverting to non-Dàuist style, introduces a new device of control: not ruler aura (HFZ 5) but systematic law (fǎ) as opposed to selfishness (sǐ). The policy is the same as in HFZ 4-5: to keep the flow of state events from being diverted to benefit private interests. The amenability of ministers to the law is emphasized; it is not so much the populace as the officials who are to be controlled. No other source for the law concept is needed than Sywǎndž (SZ) 11, and, again, the actual practice of the Chín court.

HFZ 7. We here leave the zone of primary advice and enter a phase of development of some concepts earlier mentioned only in passing. The "handles" of power in HFZ 5 are thus here elaborated as a topic in themselves, plus the idea of keeping officials in line. HFZ 7 implies a wish to provide a theoretical framework for the mere advice of HFZ 5.

HFZ 8. Again an earlier chapter is picked up and elaborated on; here, HFZ 5 on the remote ruler. The Sywǎndzian "rectification of names" appears, but the chief innovations are "Dàuist", including the art of not being satiated with pleasure. Hwáng-dì is quoted. The hedonism of HFZ 8 coupled with the stern injunction "never unstring your bow", suggest the Lady Chī indulgence / Chǔn Syī revolt period, 0197.

HFZ 9. These “Eight Corruptions” lead off with the danger of intrigue by the ruler’s concubines, and, following the previous conjecture, might be a protest against Gāudzǔ’s wish to set up Lady Chī’s son Rú-yì instead of the orthodox heir apparent: precisely the danger of love for the son of a concubine turns up as the third “corruption”. These abuses, along with such as the granting of favors to “uncles and brothers”, are said to threaten the loss of the state. Similar arguments were used on Gāudzǔ in the succession controversy, which ended in Gāudzǔ’s reluctant confirmation of the proper heir, in 0196.

HFZ 10, we inferred above, is inserted here by editorial fiat, as a pair with HFZ 9, which also has a numerical title. Its great literary skill implies a much later date.

HFZ 11. The situation here is utterly changed from that of HFZ 9. It is now the ruler whose arbitrary punishments are complained of, along with the arrogation of power by those unrestrained by a sense of normal procedure (shù); the enmity between procedural and unscrupulous ministers is emphasized in extenso, as is the difficulty of addressing such a ruler. The situation could easily be that of a change of ruler, leading to the “Isolation and Frustration” (the chapter title) of the intimate advisors of the former ruler; it suggests the first Empress Lǚ period (the nominal Hwèi-dì reign), c0194.

HFZ 12. This very eloquent piece takes up, though more constructively, the theme of the difficulty of addressing a ruler, already a prominent feature of HFZ 11 preceding. Further like HFZ 11, it addresses itself not to the ruler but to fellow-couriers. The danger to the state is not minimized, but the author is prepared to work with the situation. This might reflect Empress Lǚ’s hold on power after Hwèi-dì’s withdrawal from active rule in 0193. Though proximally a development of HFZ 11, this piece seems also to show a sense of kinship with Fēi’s own memorial on the subject: the heritage piece HFZ 3. The development of Hán Fēi as a heroic rather than a failed figure is thus in progress.

HFZ 13. Further on the same subject, this uses the Jade of Mr Hú allegory to show the dangers of loyal advice: never mind criticism, it is hard even to do a favor for a ruler. The use of literary allegory is an important new departure. On the content side, HFZ 13 emphasises the need for the ruler to use law and process (shù). Shāng Yǎng, cited by Fēi as merely unlucky, is here said to have taught to “Syàu-gūng” of Chín the policies which in fact Lǐ Sǐ recommended to the First Emperor, including the “burning of the Shī and Shū” (of 0213); Yǎng’s execution (Lǐ Sǐ too was executed in the end) is deplored. This shows the creation of Shāng Yǎng [read: Lǐ Sǐ] as a theorist of Legalism. The former Gāudzǔ insiders, now covert and embattled, *here give themselves historical credentials.*

HFZ 14 again points to the perils of recommending Legalism (fǎ and shù: law and process), and denounces flatterers and sycophants. Shāng Yǎng (still Lǐ Sǐ) is again praised for his policies in Chín, but these are here expressed in more general terms, as discouraging unprofitable occupations. The “chanting of obsolete books so as to disturb the present age” is ridiculed; this first recognizably anti-Confucian jab must follow at some distance the 0191 lifting of the old Chín prohibition of the Confucian Shī and Shū. With the Confucian resurgence, the “modernist” position begins to define itself directly. This piece is again addressed to the ruler, and warns obliquely of harem intrigue, and the setting aside of the lawful heir, a clear intent of Empress Lǚ from 0188 onward.

HFZ 15 lists 47 conditions tending toward the ruin of the state. Among the old ones (too-powerful vassals, unenforced laws) are some indicative new ones, including (#3) officials studying and (#10) ruler impressed by literary style, which suggest the rise of Confucian learning as a part of the official culture; also (#13) ruler allying with foreign countries, (#14 and 16) foreigners in state service, (#20) foreign women in harem, (#41) foreign residents monopolizing wealth, all of which suggest the profits flowing from an early Silk Road traffic. The peace and prosperity noted by SJ 9 for Empress Lǚ's reign would be compatible with these indications. The advance in openly Confucian learning at court marks this piece as somewhat later than HFZ 14; perhaps c0186.

HFZ 16 briefly lists 3 things to take care of, which come down to the courtiers collectively having too much power over opinion and action, which if not checked will lead to danger to the ruler. Confidentiality in receiving advice is, however, desirable. The tone is that of a protest by a minority party, though with no strong indication of who the majority party in this case might be.

HFZ 17 continues the warning of danger to the ruler, with illustrations from the Chūn-Chyōu, noting at greater length but with no greater specificity the dire effects of officials organizing between the people and the ruler, and of the ruler delegating power. This may possibly refer to the process of establishing members of the Empress Lǚ's family as local rulers and court officials, which went on between 0187 and 0180, and had become an obvious pattern by 0184. A more specific warning at the beginning of the chapter decries female-relative intrigue leading to the death of the heir. It was in 0184 that Empress Lǚ first dethroned and then murdered the youthful successor of Hwèi-dì. Neither this nor the preceding candid estimate of the sexual balance between an aging ruler and his aging wife could have been safely presented to Empress Lǚ; this piece (of which HFZ 16 may have been a sanitized and presentable version) must have been strictly an internal tract, within whatever circles were at this point associated with the HFZ.

HFZ 18. This small essay on rulership ("Facing South") disapproves of the ruler setting one faction against another. Due process (law, merit, loyalty) is defended, against its violation by unscrupulous careerists. The note of modernization, as distinct from traditionalism, is sounded with historical examples. This makes it probable that the group whose growing influence is deplored in the preceding chapters is Confucian. Shāng-Jyŵn Shū (SJS) 22 is cited by title, attesting that an increasingly definite textual basis was now being attributed to this alleged early Legalist. This is a quite rational response to the advantage held by the Confucians in their monopoly of medium-ancient sages. There is, apart from signs of advance beyond the preceding chapters, no direct indication of date.

HFZ 19 is cast in the form of a memorial to the King of Hán, and thus directly assumes the Hán Fēi persona, a natural development parallel to that of Shāng-jyŵn in HFZ 18. The emergence from covert into direct expression implies a new and safer court, and thus perhaps the accession of Wǎn-dì in 0179. The Hwáng-Lǎu tone of that court may be reflected in the denunciation of divination, at the beginning of the chapter.

HFZ 20, as a more positive response to Hwáng-Lǎu, then brings us rather naturally, in line with our initial hypothesis as subsequently clarified, to 0177. QED.

Problems With The Early HFZ. Assuming care on the part of the compilers to add nothing to the text which is openly inconsistent with Hán Fēi's authorship, these chapters match not unconvincingly, in detail and in overall tendency, with events at the Hán court. We may here resolve a few seeming disparities, and then consider some new implications.

One disparity between HFZ 4–20 and the parallel parts of SJ is the emergence of court Confucianism continually implied by the former but not the latter. This is not so unnatural. The SJ 9 notice of Empress Lǚ is not a history but a wall-poster, concerned to paint in the simplest colors her plan to supplant the Lyóu line with Lǚs; *no* events not part of this process are recorded for the years of her direct rule, 0187–0180. If there was a growing Confucian presence at the Lǚ court, the SJ, which at least in its Szmǎ Chyên phase is pro-Confucian, would not have cared to embarrass that party by emphasizing it. A similar reluctance to acknowledge the merits of a usurpation-dynasty obtains with the historiography of Empress Wǔ in early Táng. Empress Wǔ advanced young Confucians as a counterweight to older courtiers loyal to her dead husband; the same motive may have animated Empress Lǚ. The atmosphere in which young Jyǎ Yí was educated, and Hán Yíng became known for his Shī erudition, could hardly have existed without court toleration or support, of which the clearest instance is the formal 0191 repeal of the Chín ban on the possession of Confucian books. On the other side, any pro-Confucian trends at court will have greatly concerned the old Gāu-dzǔ loyalists, already suspected of unenthusiasm and thus lying low at court, and will naturally have figured largely in their memoranda of frustration, both public and internal, from the Empress Lǚ period.

Another divergence is the seeming HFZ evidence for an early Hán Silk Route, which implies that Wǔ-dì's wars were waged not to establish but to protect this foreign trade. Since wars on that scale will hardly have been undertaken as a mere speculation, that conclusion is likely whatever the HFZ evidence. The attempts (SJ 123, also SJ 116–117) to find a southwest alternate passage to India shows that this trade was already regarded, in Wǔ-dì's time, as of great national importance. It thus *could not have been new*.

Implications. One gets the impression from the early HFZ, read as a consecutive text covering the first twenty years of Hán, that the Legalists themselves gradually became not only more organized, but *more organized around a body of texts*, or rather (including the Shāng-Jywn Shū) several bodies of texts. This is quite logical if seen as a competitive imitation of the Confucians. Rather convincingly, it appears to arise, in the early HFZ, in parallel to, and indeed *in proportion to*, the gradual revival of text-Confucianism.

It would be premature to speculate on the identities of the early HFZ writers. It is obvious that there were in the early Hán stage at least two of them, corresponding in temper and interests to Syāu Hó and Jāng Lyáng, and that the wary undercover loyalism of the Empress-Lǚ-period HFZ is precisely the stance attributed, in SJ 56, to Chín Píng. The record seems to have preserved the exact name of one later partisan: Master Hwáng. It is possible that the early members were equally obscure, and that Chín insiders in the Gāudzǔ circle are simply unacknowledged in the emblematic SJ treatment of that period. But even without their names, the ideas and fortunes of the practical-politics loyalists would seem to be significantly recoverable, on the present theory, from the HFZ itself.

The Later HFZ. Our initial idea that the formation of the HFZ ran all the way up to the 0136 Confucianism victory is challenged by a line in HS 6 (1/156), which says that minister Wèi Wǎn successfully petitioned in 0141 for the dismissal of court experts in five texts: Shǔn [Bù-hài], Shāng [Yǎng], Hán Fēi, Sū Chín, and Jāng Yí. If true, this would (1) suggest that there was no Mwòdž or Mician school at this time (so infers Hsiao History 1/429), (2) indicate that the first three texts were sufficiently fixed to be systematically expounded as of 0141, and (3) seem to document two source texts for the present conflated Jàn-Gwó Tsǔ. I know of no additional evidence for the third point and will pass it. The second point is the one at odds with our HFZ theory, in that it implies a too-early cutoff date for HFZ and the parallel SJS. This is merely the disagreement, and the theory itself is not evidence against the HS passage. On the first point, a decision can be reached, since there is independent evidence (waiving the HFZ text) for a Mician presence in early Hàn: those researching Hàn military matters seem to find (though not in a form I can here cite) evidence for a Hàn Mician military tradition, and the HNZ, on whose cutoff date we here agree with Levi, gives evidence for a Hàn Mician *ethical* presence also (see HNZ 2, 11, and 13, and the phrase Kǔng/Mwò in HNZ 19, all of which appear to oppose Mician ethics *as a currently advocated philosophical position*). The substantive argument thus slightly favors the present theory over the HS 6 passage.

There are also the intrinsic arguments. First, the HS 6 initiative is surprising for one as old as Wèi Wǎn at this date (SJ 107 has him retiring that same year). Second, a Confucian victory of this extent is suspicious *in the very first year* of Wǔ-dì, though *emblematically appropriate* to his ultimate support of Confucianism. It is, as people say, “too good to be true”. Creel Shen 1 works the HS 6 line into a dramatic opening scene, much in the manner of Mattingly’s *Armada*, in order to introduce the Confucian victory. The very fact that the line lends itself to such purple passages should arouse suspicion (Szmǎ Chyēn’s “letter” to Rv̀n Añ! Lǐ Líng and Sū Wǔ! The Hàn harem-lady laments!). Third, the SJ, which at several points touches on Wèi Wǎn, and whose two chief authors were immediate contemporaries of his, *never hints at the HS 6 petition*. All in all, HS 6 would seem to be among the less reliable of the HS additions to the parallel parts of SJ.

The Final HFZ. With this out of the way, we may return to Jǐng-dì. Plagues, droughts, floods, and earthquakes occupied 0147–0145; in 0144 official titles were changed and the Emperor made a public sacrifice; in 0143 a Later Era was proclaimed. HFZ 52 openly describes the present age as “disordered” and attributes this to the employment of profiteers (Confucians); it might be from 0144, just before the official era-change solution. Earthquakes and drought recurred in 0142, and Jǐng-dì died in 0141. In 0140 Jàu Wǎn (has legend or Bǎn Gù confused the two Wǎns?) and Wáng Tsáng planned to erect a míng-táng and change court ceremonies; here may belong HFZ 10, threatening disaster if the ruler hearkens to “new music”, and HFZ 53, abridged from the “classic”, summative SJS 13, which protests laws being upset by “virtuous words”. At Empress Dòu’s instance, Jàu and Wáng were imprisoned and committed suicide (SJ 28). HFZ 54 (0139?) gives a calm, *original* summative overview of Legalist theory. HFZ 55, on mutual-responsibility groups, might echo the preparing of revolt in Hwái-nán, c0137.

VI

Summary Table. The argument so far suggests that a linear-accretion theory of HFZ solves problems in the rival instantaneous-composition theory. So, as argued above, do the accretion theories of HNZ and HSWJ. This joint summary of the three adds a point in favor of each of them: *the mutual consistency of all of them.*

- 0239 Hán Fēi proceeds with his studies under Sywǎndž in Lán-líng
- 0238 1st year of King Añ of Hán, Fēi's native state
- 0238 Sywǎndž's patron dies; school closes; Fēi returns to Hán
- 0236 Fēi seeks interview with King Añ; makes no strong impression
- 0235 Chín Minister Lǚ Bù-wéi dies, suggesting opportunities in Chín
- 0234 Fēi goes to Chín, botches interview, writes **HFZ 3** to excuse himself
- 0233 Fēi runs into palace intrigue, is imprisoned and dies
- 0221 Chín unifies Warring States into a single empire, standardizes usages
- 0213 Chín bans possession and study of Confucian and other partisan texts
- 0210 Chín First Emperor dies, ensuing chaos becomes a Chǔ/Hàn succession war
- 0202 Gāu-dzǔ accepts title of Emperor of Hàn, enfeoffs his generals
- 0201 Revolts of generals; restoration of peace
- 0201 First enfeoffments of Lyóu-family members as local kings
- 0201 **HFZ 4** warns of dangers of local rulers, advises Chín-type centralized power
- 0199 Syāu Hǜ defends magnificence of his architectural work on the new capital
- 0199 **HFZ 5** advises the ruler to be remote and mysterious to protect his power
- 0199 **HFZ 6** advocates systematic use of law to keep order at court
- 0198 **HFZ 7** develops theoretical substrate for power advice in HFZ 5
- 0197 Gāu-dzǔ here and earlier is romantically involved with Lady Chī
- 0197 Revolt of Chǔn Syī, Minister in Dài
- 0197 **HFZ 8** allows hedonism; enjoins continued military vigilance
- 0196 Gāu-dzǔ wishes to make Lady Chī's son his heir
- 0196 Jāng Lyáng plots with Empress Lǚ to support legitimate heir
- 0196 **HFZ 9** warns of dangers inherent in love for sons of concubines
- 0195 Gāu-dzǔ, unable to change heir, dies
- 0194 1st year of nominal reign of Hwèi-dì; Empress Lǚ controls court
- 0194 **HFZ 11** complains of ruler's arbitrary punishments
- 0193 Hwèi-dì, appalled by Empress Lǚ's cruelty, withdraws from affairs
- 0192 Empress yet more firmly controls court
- 0192 **HFZ 12** complains of difficulty of addressing ruler
- 0191 **HFZ 13** complains of cruelty; links Shāng Yǎng with victorious Chín
- 0191 Court revokes Chín ban on Confucian texts; Confucian learning revives
- 0188 Empress Lǚ schemes, this year and later, to replace Hàn with Lǚ dynasty
- 0188 **HFZ 14** ridicules chanting old books; warns against setting aside rightful heir
- 0187 Confucian learning gains further ground; Silk Road profits confer prosperity
- 0186 **HFZ 15** criticizes literary tone of court; warns of foreigners in state service

- 0185 **HFZ 16** complains vaguely of too much confidence in [Confucian] ministers
 0184 Many officials and local kings now of Lǚ family; dynastic plot evident
 0184 **HFZ 17** cites Confucian (!) classics, warns of concubines threatening heir
 0184 Empress Lǚ dethrones and murders nominal successor to Hwèi-dì
 0182 **HFZ 18** denounces careerist [Confucian] opponents; quotes SJS 22
 0180 Empress Lǚ dies; loyalist coup eliminates Lǚ family and restores Hàn
 0179 1st year of Wǔn-dì; Hwáng-Lǎu emphasis at court due to Empress Dòu
 0179 Hàn Yǐng (aged 31), Jyǎ Yí (aged 21) honored at court for Shī expertise
 0178 **HFZ 19** among other things denounces use of divination
 0178 Lǎudž (Dàu-Dv̄ Jǐng, DDJ) becomes popular at court
 0177 **HFZ 20** comments on newly-popular Lǎudž text
 0177 Jyǎ Yí offends older courtiers; reassigned as Tutor to King of Cháng-shā
 0175 **HFZ 22**, the first illustration-inventory; meets rhetorical need
 0173 Jyǎ Yí returns to capital as Tutor to King of Lyáng
 0172 Emperor makes Lyóu Añ and brothers Lords; Jyǎ Yí protests
 0172 Jyǎ Yí's Gwò Chín Lùn links Shāng Yǎng with evil Chín (cf sv 0191)
 0169 Jyǎ Yí dies
 0167 **HFZ 29** last Dàuist theoretical chapter in HFZ
 0165 **HFZ 30**, first of another series of persuasion-anecdotes (?)
 0164 Lyóu Añ (aged 16) made King of Hwái-nán
 0164 Symbolic 9 vessels allegedly recovered from river; plan to change era name
 0163 1st year of Wǔn-dì Later Era (Hòu-ywǎn)
 0162 **HFZ 32**, first of yet another series of persuasion-anecdotes (?)
 0161 Lyóu Añ (aged 19) starts HNZ by editing Ywè Lìng (now HNZ 5)
 0160 **HNZ 5** finished; Lyóu Añ (aged 20) appoints Sù Fēi to help compile
 0159 **HNZ 3-4** continue LSCC indebtedness of HNZ 5
 0158 Lyóu Añ visits court; presents nucleus HNZ 3-5
 0157 **HNZ 6** added by Sù Fēi
 0156 1st year of Jǐng-dì
 0156 Rebellion discussed in Wú/Chǔ area
 0156 **HNZ 2, 7** (Lǐ Shàng) quote JZ; echo excitement of impending rebellion
 0156 **HFZ 35**, fourth in the HFZ 32 series, added after HFZ 32-34
 0155 Wú/Chǔ rebellion plans further advanced
 0155 **HNZ 1, 8** (Lǐ Shàng) quote Lǎudž, ride rebellion-preparation tide
 0154 **HFZ 21** combines Lǎudž fad with anecdote craze in Lǎudž-capped anecdotes
 0154 Rebellion in Wú/Chǔ; due to minister loyalty Hwái-nán does not join
 0154 Lyóu Añ reflects on might-have-been possibilities of conquest and rule
 0153 **HNZ 9** on art of ruler (Dzwǒ Wú) mentions cosmic míng-táng
 0152 Lyóu Añ (escorted by Léi Bèi) visits court, loyally presents HNZ 1-9
 0152 Léi Bèi encounters HFZ 21 during court visit
 0152 Hàn Yǐng apparently not at court in this year; does not know HNZ 1-9

- 0151 **HNZ 10** (Tyén Yóu)
 0150 **HNZ 11** (Tyén Yóu)
 0149 1st year of Jǐng-dì Second Era (Jǔng-ywǎn)
 0149 **HNZ 12** (Léi Bèi) copies form of HFZ 21, anecdotes from HFZ 35
 0148 **HNZ 13** (Léi Bèi)
 0148 Master Hwáng (Hán Fēi school) and Confucian Ywǎn Gù debate legitimacy
 0148 **HFZ 51**, Master Hwáng's memo of court debate with Ywǎn Gù
 0148 Empress Dòu asks Ywǎn Gù his opinion of Lǎudǔ; he dismisses it
 0148 Empress Dòu, offended, forces Ywǎn Gù to duel with a boar; Jǐng-dì helps
 0148 Jǐng-dì sets up new Kingdom of Chǐng-hú
 0147 Jǐng-dì appoints Ywǎn Gù Tutor to new King of Chǐng-hú
 0147 **HNZ 14** (Máu Jōu)
 0144 **HFZ 52** abridged from parallel text-in-progress SJS 13
 0146 Lyóu Ān visits court, presents HNZ 10-14
 0146 Hán Yǐng, at court, encounters HNZ 10-14
 0145 **HNZ 15** (Wǔ Bèi) on military matters
 0145 Generally pro-Dàuist tone continues at court
 0145 Confucian Hán Yǐng made Tutor to Lyóu Shùn, King of Cháng-shān
 0145 Hán Yǐng plans four-year "Nèi-jwàn" syllabus for 16-year-old King
 0144 **HSWJ 1** shows definite anti-Dàuist tone
 0144 **HNZ 16** (Wǔ Bèi?)
 0143 1st year of Jǐng-dì Later Era
 0143 **HSWJ 2** second-year syllabus for Lyóu Shùn
 0143 **HNZ 17** (Wǔ Bèi?)
 0142 **HSWJ 3** third-year syllabus for Lyóu Shùn
 0142 **HNZ 18** (Jìn Chāng)
 0141 **HNZ 19** (Jìn Chāng)
 0141 Jǐng-dì dies
 0141 **HSWJ 4** shows open hostility to Dàuism
 0141 Lyóu Shùn reaches 20; "Nèi-jwàn" syllabus HSWJ 1-4 complete
 0140 1st year of Wǔ-dì
 0140 **HNZ 20** (Jìn Chāng)
 0140 Confucians Jàu Wǎn and Wáng Tsáng plan to build a míng-táng
 0140 **HFZ 53** (< SJS 13) warns of laws being upset by "virtuous words"
 0140 **HFZ 10** foretells disaster if ruler hearkens to "new music"
 0140 Empress Dòu opposes Jàu and Wáng; they commit suicide in prison
 0139 **HNZ 21** postface composed by Lyóu Ān in preparation for court visit
 0139 Lyóu Ān visits court; presents HNZ 15-21
 0139 **HFZ 54** gives an original summative overview of Legalist principles
 0138 Lyóu Ān, encouraged by minister Tyén Fǎn, accelerates rebellion plans
 0138 Organized work on HNZ abandoned; this text closed
 0138 Lyóu Ān plots to spy on capital and eliminate capital spies in Hwái-nán

- 0137 **HFZ 55** emphasizes spying, mutual-liability groups to prevent disorder
 0137 Hán Yīng visits court, presents HSWJ 1-4 “Nèi-jwàn”
 0137 Hán Yīng encounters HFZ 10 among other recent HFZ productions
 0136 Wū-dì appoints expositors of Confucian texts, henceforward “classics”
 0136 Confucian intellectual supremacy at court now effectively assured
 0136 HFZ and similar texts now closed; no further additions above editorial level
 0136 Need for specifically Confucian popular-exposition texts increases
 0136 Hán Yīng, at leisure, plans wide-audience Shī “Wài-jwàn”
 0136 **HSWJ 5**, brief popular tour of Shī, annexes former Dàuist territory
 0135 In absence of former diversity, court debates are now within Confucianism
 0135 Hán Yīng (aged 76) debates Dǔng Jùng-shū (aged 45)
 0135 **HSWJ 6** sketches beginning of more detailed introduction to Shī
 0134 **HSWJ 7** ditto; annexes former Legalist territory
 0133 **HSWJ 8** ditto
 0132 **HSWJ 9** ditto; absorbs HFZ 10 anecdote
 0131 **HSWJ 10** concludes sketch of popular Shī introduction (Wài-jwàn)
 0130 Hán Yīng dies (aged 81) with Wài-jwàn not quite filled in
 0130 Yīng’s disciple Master Fēi presents incomplete Wài-jwàn to court

The Hàn Dynasty. As a retrospect, before going on to the Warring States, what differences, and benefits, can be said to follow from the present view of three Hàn texts?

First, the present view sees the texts as achieved *over time*, and subject to interruptions and reinspirations during that time. The syncretism of the HFZ emerges as gradual rather than groundplanned, and its increasing use of example and illustration becomes a reasonable response to the proprietary Confucian use of precedent-citation. As for the excellence of some HFZ chapters here claimed as middle or late, this is normal. The late HFZ writers have precisely the advantage *that they follow the early HFZ writers*.

Second, the present view sees the texts not in isolation, but as related to their times, making them more humanly intelligible, whether as course syllabi or court complaints, than they have been when considered alone. It helps to know that the HNZ was compiled, not as some abstract exercise in cosmic speculation, but as part of a parallel enterprise, undertaken in the same years, by the same people, aiming at imperial conquest and rule; and that the HFZ’s elaboration of ideas is not done from an elaborative impulse per se, but to enhance the efficacy of proposals whose acceptance the writers ardently sought.

Third, the present view sees the texts as dynamically involved with each other. The interaction between HFZ and SJS, the borrowing from HFZ into HNZ, and the pillaging of everything in sight by HSWJ, are a vital feature of the Hàn ethos, and part of the rationale of the texts themselves. What are the HFZ anecdotes, but a deConfucianized, freely usable counterpart of the troves of the DJ and other proprietary Confucian texts? What is HSWJ, but a Confucian use of this free device to support a proprietary text? What is the triumph of Confucianism, but the co-optation of the Legalist universal into the Confucian proprietary, then *rendered universal* (to the benefit of the dynasty, whose proprietary rule the Confucians alone theoretically upheld) by Imperial fiat in 0136?

VII

We now turn to the Warring States, where external corroboration is often lacking, so that we must rely more heavily on inferences from internal analysis. The following necessarily brief analyses are offered merely to show that such inferences are possible, and that *in their general tendency* they converge toward a consistent historical picture.

The Analects (LY). By universal consent, the text closest to Confucian origins is the 20-chapter Analects or Lún Yǔ (LY). The Hàn establishment of Confucianism made every line of the Analects canonical, but if for a moment we ignore this cultural sanction, we will find that the Analects, *as a mere text*, is not at all impossible to analyze.

Its obvious internal inconsistencies are usually explained by the theory (adopted by Jǐng Sywǎn in Hàn, and with variations by later commentators) that different chapters represent the memory of different disciples. The internal disagreements, however, go beyond what this hypothesis will account for: parts of LY are thick with maxims on the virtue rún; others concentrate on ceremonial propriety, lǐ, and ignore rún; some deny that the Master spoke of rún at all. Something more than the emphases of different disciples, and probably covering more than a generation in timespan, seems to be involved.

Scholarship since Sùng has tended toward this same conclusion, by finding that parts of the LY seem, in style and/or content, to be later than the rest of it. Hú Yǐn (embedded in Jū Syī's commentary as "Mr Hú" and often taken as the more famous Hú Añ-gwó; see the Jū-dǔ Yǔ-lèi) pointed out a looser style in LY 11-20 as compared to LY 1-10; Itō Jinsai made this into a regular theory which still has adherents in Japan. Tswēi Shù in Chīng acknowledged this difference, but concentrated on some even more obvious ones which mark off the last five chapters, LY 16-20; Waley conjectured that LY 3-9 might be the oldest part of the material. Let it here be said in tribute to Pokora, whose last published work may well be his contribution to the Loewe volume, that he saw (in an essay in Leslie *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History* [1973] p30), that these are not *alternate*, but *compatible* views of the text, which jointly imply an accretion model. In terms of successive Analects text-states, stated in chapter-numbers:

First	03 04 05 06 07 08 09
Next	01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10
Next	01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15
Last	01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

where the new portion in each text-state is **emphasized**.

The next step in this direction is a hypothesis that the chapter is the unit of growth (the concept of a multi-chapter work *as something to write on purpose* is relatively late), and that the core chapter will be somewhere at or near the head of the work, or of its Waley layer, LY 3-9. With this much of a hint, the core is easy to recognize: LY 4 is unique in the work for the relative shortness of its sayings, its near-absence of proper names or other contextual detail, and a certain austere antiquity of language. Let us then assume that LY 4 are real transcribed Confucian sayings, and that all the rest is addenda. That is, *LY 4 alone directly represents the historical Confucius*.

LY 4 Interpolations. A conspectus of LY 4, in which each passage is represented by a summary of its contents, appears opposite. The two passages printed in italics at once stand out as atypical: In LY 4:15 *Dzŭngdž* explains a cryptic saying of the Master, and 4:26, at the end of the chapter and therefore in an especially suitable position for a later physical addition, is a saying of *Dž-yóu*, without any reference to the Master at all. We may confidently regard these *non-Confucius sayings* as interpolations.

LY 4 Pairing. Having (mentally) removed them, we more easily see a phenomenon noticed by commentators in single passages but not systematically in the text as a whole: the way in which successive sayings may be thematically or verbally paired. It will be clear from the paraphrases, opposite, that removing the *substantively extraneous* 4:15 allows the *formally parallel* 4:14 and 4:16 to constitute just such a pair. Without any help, many other adjacent sayings in LY 4 constitute such pairs. This cannot be an accident, but must instead be an intentional device of juxtaposition for reinforcement or contrast. That problematic juxtaposition was intentionally used later by the Confucian school of Lǚ (the only imaginable custodians for the growing LY text) is shown by LY 11:20 (here and elsewhere, I follow the concordance numbering of passages, which differs slightly from that of most texts or translations; this particular passage is numbered 11:21 by Waley), where Gūng-syī Hwá overhears two opposite pieces of advice to different disciples, and asks Confucius to explain the inconsistency (which turns out to be a matter of adapting to different personal temperaments), and also by the opposite estimates of Gwǎn Jùng which occur adjacently in LY 14:16–17 (with these instances of what might be called pedagogical juxtaposition, it usually turns out that the second saying registers the verdict, while the first acknowledges a subordinate issue). What we find on removing the intrusive 4:15 and 4:26 is that *practically everything else in LY 4* demonstrates this sort of pairing.

LY 4 Themes. Unpaired sayings also occur. One is 4:25, chapter-final once we remove the interpolated 4:26, whose “residence” image echoes the chapter-initial 4:1. Others occur at points which, on analysis, are rather easy to see as the ends of sections, each of which is devoted to a well-defined topic (*rŭn* in 4:1–7, good faith in 4:22–24). What we seem to have here is a basic texture of paired sayings, and a higher-level structure in which the pairs are grouped into thematic sections, some but not all of which (the filial piety group, 4:18–21, is the exception) conclude with an unpaired saying.

Antique Style. If we now examine the roots of the distinctive linguistic impression given by LY 4, we find that: (1) besides the ubiquitous coverb *yŭ* “in relation to”, we have (in 4:5) its presumptive ancestor, the full verb *yŭ* “to be in relation to; relate to”, a usage found in Warring States texts only in the fossilized nominalization A *jŭ* *yŭ* B, “the relationship of A to B” (itself found in 4:10); (2) verbal *chŭ* “take one’s place in” (in 4:1, 2, 5), where later usage has only the derived noun *chŭ* “place” plus such verbs as *jyŭ* “dwell in”; and (3) the famous aberrance *sž* (4:7) for the usual consequent-clause conjunction *dzŭ* “then” (itself found in 4:21). One obvious fact about these details is that those so far mentioned all occur in the first seven sayings, whereas a zone of later usage seems to begin not later than the *dzŭ* of 4:21. It will be prudent to exclude 4:21 itself, its 4:18–21 section, and the 4:22–25 matter following, from our reconstructed Analects core.

Rvn

- 01 It is good to **abide** (chǔ) in rvn
 02 Only the rvn man can **abide** (chǔ) extreme situations
 03 The rvn man knows what to **hate** (wù)
 04 The rvn man will do no **evil** (v; same character)
 05 One must put rvn above **desire**
 06 Nobody now loves rvn with **passion**
 07 One notes faults only to recognize the associated type of rvn

Dàu and Tyēn-syà

- 08 One who hears that the dàu obtains **will not mind death**
 09 One who is set upon the dàu **will be superior to shame**
 10 The gentleman in relation to the tyēn-syà

Competing Virtues

- 11 Preference for **local or special situations** marks the unworthy man
 12 Official actions based on **personal advantage** will arouse resentment
 13 Government based on **propriety and deference** is the only option

Dedication

- 14 Care not whether you get office, but whether you **deserve** it
 15 *Dzvingdž explains a saying of Confucius*
 16 Emphasize not advantage, but **what is right**
 17 Learn from both the worthy and the unworthy

[Filial Duty]

- 18 One may differ with parents **but must accept their judgement**
 19 One may travel away from parents **but must not go far**
 20 One should maintain a father's ways for 3 **years** (nyén) of mourning
 21 One should be aware, either way, of the **ages** (nyén) of parents

[Keeping One's Word]

- 22 The oldtimers **said little** lest fulfilment should not match promise
 23 Few now err in **too strict** an adherence to their given word
 24 A gentleman will be slow to promise but diligent to perform

[Envoi]

- 25 Virtue is not solitary; it must have neighbors (cf 4:1)
 26 *Dž-yóu warns against abrasiveness toward ruler or friends*

The Original Analects. Having done so, we then have LY 4:1–17 (less the intrusive 4:15, or 16 sayings in all) as the presumptive original extent of this text, and the only authentic record of the historical Confucius. The form of these Analectal sayings (never in *viva voce* but always as quotes attributed to “The Master”) proves that Confucius was dead when they were put together (the likely transcription date is that of his death, 0479), but their topical arrangement proves that they were meant for subsequent use, most plausibly by the proteges themselves and by any future members of the same group. The group itself must at first have been the informal circle of aspirants, by no means all of good family, who were being prepared for office under their mentor. The long survival of the group is adequately attested by SJ references to the Confucians of Lü in Hàn times, and by the rest of the Analects itself, which would appear to reflect responses to new challenges and changing conditions for an extended period following Confucius’s death.

It is worth noting, of the Confucius attested in the brief but invaluable LY 4, that contrary to the later image built up and projected by the school itself, Confucius taught informally (there is here no trace of a literal “school”, and the concluding 4:17 in fact stresses learning directly from experience), but on his own authority (there is no reference to ancient sages, and no citation of texts of any kind). The gradual acquisition of wisdom in judging others, and the strengthening of one’s own virtues and commitments, which remarkably enough are not to persons but to principles (4:16), are the whole curriculum.

Later History of LY 4. The two disciple–saying interpolations must of course be the latest material in the chapter. Somewhat earlier, and far more skilfully blended with the form of the original transcripts, is the 4:18–25 matter excised above. Those who miss the elegant link between the end of this early addition, 4:25, and the head of the chapter, 4:1, may be consoled by finding, on reflection (and personal reflection seems eminently the intended reaction to all these sayings), that the end of the presumptive original layer, 4:17, *also shows a linkage*: it and 4:1 deal with the practical task of self–education. We note in passing that the thrust of the later, superposed envoi 4:25 is analytical: it tells not how to acquire virtue (and, in 4:1, reputation) but *what virtue is*. This change represents the evolution from a *value system* into a *philosophy*, and confirms our linguistically–based impression that the 4:18–25 segment is probably later in date than 4:1–17 (less 4:15).

A Glance At LY 7. Before proceeding to frame a general hypothesis of the Analects, let us first examine another chapter: LY 7. Of its 38 concordance sayings, 7:26 has an internal “The Master said” incipit, and must be counted as two, for a revised total of 39. The following passages are suspect: (1) as not sayings at all, but rather descriptions: 7:4, 9–10, 13, 18, 21, 25, 27, 32, 38; (2) as including narrative changes of scene, which are beyond the literary range of the rest of the chapter: 7:11, 15, 31; and (3) as following a Confucius death–scene which seems to have been intended as the final passage: 7:36–37. Eliminating these 15 leaves 24 sayings, which readily fall into four thematic sections, each consisting of paired sayings plus a final unpaired saying, exactly as in LY 4.

What emerges is *a portrait of Confucius*. Some sayings recommend behavior (rather in the vein of LY 4), but many simply represent Confucius: his experiences, his character, his progress in attaining a personal goal, his failure to attain high office, and his death.

General Self-Estimate

- 01 Confucius succeeds as a transmitter: he **does not invent**
- 02 Confucius succeeds as learner and teacher: he **does not weary**
- 03 Confucius falls short in **learning from the good**
- 04 *Confucius's informal behavior*
- 05 Confucius falls short of **living up to his dream** of Jōu-gūng
- 06 Confucius's advice to beginners: Way, virtue, rǎn, cultural polish

Energy in Teaching

- 07 Confucius has never turned away a **poor student**
- 08 Confucius will not put up with an **indolent student**
- 09 *Confucius's behavior while eating*
- 10 *Confucius's conduct at funerals*
- 11 *Confucius's rebuke of Dž-lù*
- 12 Confucius **not distracted** from principle by change of illegitimate gain
- 13 *Confucius's ritual priorities*
- 14 Confucius **completely distracted** from eating by beauty of Chí dances
- 15 *Story of Confucius in Wèi*
- 16 Confucius **indifferent** to temptations to wealth and position
- 17 Confucius **intent** on continuing his studies
- 18 *Confucius's use of court dialect*
- 19 Confucius refuses illegitimate office in favor of learning and teaching

The Sources of Knowledge

- 20 Confucius is **not a sage**; he loves the past and learns from it
- 21 *Some topics Confucius avoided*
- 22 Confucius is **not a snob**; he can learn from anybody
- 23 Confucius **claims Heavenly invulnerability** to brigand
- 24 Confucius **disclaims esoteric teaching** to disciples
- 25 *Some subjects Confucius taught*
- 26a Confucius despairs of meeting a **sage**
- 26b Confucius despairs of meeting a **worthy man**
- 27 *Confucius's behavior while hunting and fishing*
- 28 Confucius is **not a sage**; he uses lower methods
- 29 Confucius is **not a snob**; he accepts any questioner
- 30 If you truly want rǎn, then rǎn is right there beside you
- 31 *Story of Confucius in Chǎn*
- 32 *Confucius's behavior on musical occasions*

Retrospect and Death of Confucius

- 33 Confucius **though energetic** has had no chance to show capacity in office
- 34 Confucius **though not a sage** has been unwearied in his teaching
- 35 Confucius dies: his life has been in itself a sufficient "prayer" at death
- 36 *Confucius ranks two faults*
- 37 *Confucius characterizes the gentleman*
- 38 *Confucius's personal manner*

LY 7 Conspectus

Confucius in LY 7 is stunningly different from the severe, frustrated empiricist of LY 4. He announces himself at the beginning of the chapter as a transmitter and not a discoverer of wisdom (whereas the whole pedagogy of LY 4 is based on confidence that earnest effort by students will invariably rediscover the same natural human values), and discontented with his own success in meeting this “outside” standard (no such doubts occur in LY 4). He goes beyond basic values to include “culture” (7:6), and is himself entranced with the elegant Chí ceremonial music (7:14); he specifically identifies the past, not the constant present, as the focal point for the learning process (7:20). Despite repeated disavowals of sagely status or esoteric teaching (7:20, 24, 26a, 28), the chapter claims mystical contact with past sages (Jōu-gūng in 7:5) and a present invulnerability based on Heaven’s protection (7:23); we are well on the way to dismissing his denials as “ritual modesty” (the later orthodox view), and *making Confucius himself a sage*.

The Language of LY 7. LY 7 is rhetorically advanced over LY 4, in such areas as parallelism based on 3-clause or 4-clause and not solely (as in LY 4) on 2-clause units; it uses situational introductions whereas LY 4 consists only of utterly contextless quotes. LY 7 is linguistically distinctive, *but not in the same way as LY 4*: a definite personality, *but not that of Confucius*, is implied. Details include the first-person pronoun usage (as against the wú/wǒ of earlier chapters, LY 7 has wú/yǎ; it also uses the connective ár in the sense of rú “if”). Both of these traits are at bottom phonological rather than lexical (they seem to involve the degree of syllabicity of medial i/y); that is, they may represent a dialectal Lǚ rather than a non-Lǚ usage. This argues an LY 7 author who was from outlying parts of Lǚ rather than the capital itself. The occurrence pattern of these dialectal traits in LY 7 is also interesting: they do not characterize the whole chapter, but occur exceptionally at what might be called emotional high-points: in 7:12 (echoing the heartfelt original saying 4:5) and in the strongest of the revisionist passages, the supernatural-protection claim of 7:23 (no LY 4 counterpart). It is typical of speakers of an acquired dialect that they revert to their original dialect when they are under stress. This is exactly what we seem to find in the double-dialect usage of LY 7.

Dzǎngdǎ in LY 8. The core of LY 8 (after removing two concentric layers of ancient lore) is a set of four sayings by Dzǎngdǎ, including a deathbed scene, 8:3 (a second, more elaborate deathbed scene, 8:4, seems like a later aggrandizing interpolation). These four sayings, perhaps a respectful reference to the four *sections* of LY 4, are clearly intended as a memorial to Dzǎngdǎ, who is portrayed as the head of a set of proteges. The easiest guess is that the circle in question is the Confucian circle in Lǚ, to which, after stages represented by the intervening LY 5 and 6, Dzǎngdǎ, the youngest of the original proteges, had succeeded. The traditional date for Dzǎngdǎ’s death is 0436, and to that year or the next we may plausibly date the LY 8 core: the Dzǎngdǎ memorial.

If Dzǎngdǎ was the leader of the Confucians as of LY 8, he becomes the likely compiler of the previous chapter, LY 7. This is confirmed by the fact that the same dialectal peculiarities which occur at the emotional high spots of LY 7 also characterize the LY 8 sayings (Dzǎngdǎ, said to be from southern Lǚ, is a plausible dialect speaker). As author of LY 7, Dzǎngdǎ created the new image of a *Heavenly-sanctioned Confucius*.

The Date of LY 9. The LY 7/8 dialectal peculiarities still occur in LY 9, which may then plausibly be attributed to Dz̄vngdž's eldest son, Dz̄vng Ywæn, succeeding him as head of the Lǔ Confucians. Another link is that many LY 9 sayings have an LY 7 counterpart, from the Heavenly mandate of 9:5 (< 7:5, 23) down to Confucius's death in 9:12 (< 7:35). A major difference is the implied cultural-political context: Confucius in 9:15 claims to reform musical practice (and the order of poems in the Shī, a text with which Dz̄vngdž's younger son Dz̄vng Shv̄n is traditionally associated) after visiting Wèi, whereas in 7:14 Chí is the source for court music. This implies a diplomatic shift from Chí to Wèi, cause for which would lie in the Chí attacks on Lǔ in 0412, 0411, and 0408. This suggests a Wèi alliance in 0407, and an earliest date of 0405 for LY 9 itself.

Chronology of LY. LY 4 we referred (above) to 0479. LY 5 contains no direct clues. LY 6 uses the posthumous name of Aī-gūng and so is after his death in 0469. LY 7 must precede LY 8, which is itself not earlier than 0436. We have just found that LY 9 is probably not earlier than 0405. These dates point to an accumulation process for chapters following the LY 4 core. At the same rate, (15 years per average chapter), the remaining *postposed* chapters LY 10–20 imply a span of approximately 165 years, suggesting an LY end-date of 0240. Examining the last chapter, LY 20, we find that it is incomplete, with a stray piece of Shū-type prose included as 20:1, and two “Confucius” sayings, 20:2–3, as the balance of the chapter. This implies interruption by some event in or around 0240. The best candidate for this event is the final extinction of Lǔ, absorbed into Chǔ in 0249, and *to that adjusted date* we may plausibly assign the LY 20 fragment. Consistently with this date, LY 16:1, an appeal to two Confucian followers to halt a conquest intended by their evil employer, could easily be a reference to the conquest of Sùng by Chí, prepared by propaganda and carried out in 0286. If so, 16:1 is from the preparatory year, 0287. 16:2–3 may similarly date from after the conquest: they are curses on the aggressor, and specify that he is fourth in line from a usurper, and one generation away from doom. Mǐn-wáng, the destroyer of Sùng, was fourth in line from the Chí usurper Tyén Hý, was driven from his state by an allied reprisal, and died in Jyŵ in 0284. We may date 16:2–3 to the reprisal year 0285. This supports the 16:1 suggestion, the 20:2–3 suggestion, and the theory of an 0479–0249 span for the LY as a whole. It also reveals (as the interrupted LY 20 already suggested) that some LY chapters were not composed at one sitting, but *themselves have a timespan*. It further suggests that external events are at least among the motives for the addition of later material to the core. LY and similar texts are thus in part not *the static memory of a founder*, but *a continuous original response to current history*.

The preposed chapters, LY 1–3, were presumably added one at a time, in reverse order outward from the LY 4 core, in a parallel sequence to the postposed LY 5–20. Easily datable is LY 3, which protests the usurpation of royal prerogatives; the most egregious instance of this was the 0357 assumption of the Jōu title King by the Chí ruler. We may then date LY 3 to 0356. At the other end, LY 1 does not share in the traits pointed out by Tswēi Shù for LY 16–20, and at the latest must precede LY 16. In such ways we can interpolate the LY 1–3 preposed chapters among the LY 4–20 regular ones, giving the sequence: LY 4–5–6–7–8–9–10–3–11–12–13–2–14–15–1–16–17–18–19–20.

Confirmatory Developments in LY. Having first found and removed interpolated passages on essentially formal grounds, as with LY 4 and 7 above, we then test this tentative order by a study of the developmental aspects of the respective chapter contents.

First, consider the status of Confucius. The steadfast but disappointed Confucius of LY 4 is later seen as: advising the Prince on appointments (6:3, 6:8), visiting Chí as an *observer* (7:14) and Wèi as an *arranger* (9:15) of court music, expert in court etiquette (LY 10 entire) and sacrifice (3:4, 3:9, 3:17, 3:21), with official dignity to keep up (11:8), declining high office in Wèi (15:1-2), ranking with Lǚ clan heads (18:3), and leaving a Lǚ ministership (18:4). The LY never forgets that Confucius never got anywhere in office, but the circumstances under which he *almost* gets somewhere grow increasingly grand.

Second, Confucius's house. It is not mentioned in LY 4; the 4:1 neighborhood, the 5:28 crossroads, and the 6:23 countryside, are the scenes of his remarks; he also visits the houses of followers (Rǎn Gǔng in 6:10, Yén Hwéi in 6:11). Only in LY 7 are students received in Confucius's home (7:7) or referred to by his "gate" (7:29), but even here interviews take place outdoors (7:22) or in villages (7:29, also 9:2 and 9:8). The elaborate domestic arrangements in LY 10 are a definite step up, surpassed in turn by his baronial residence in Wèi, complete with chimes (14:39). In 16:13 the courtyard of his mansion serves as playground for the students, and in 19:23 Dž-gùng describes it (admittedly metaphorically) as a literal palace, with its own temples and priestly staff.

Third, the methods of the "school" also change radically, and in the direction of what we know to be its final state (ritual and textual expertise) in later ages. LY 4, as noted, is wholly empirical and unauthoritarian. In 5:28 the key term sywé "study" (here better syàu, "learning by imitation") is mere empirical self-betterment, not book-memorization. In LY 7 we find tuition payments (7:7) and expulsion procedures (7:8), the organization of a literal "school". Again, a big step up occurs with memorized classics (11:6), greater teacher-student formality (11:13a, increased in 12:1-2), and the use of teaching assistants to clarify the Master's gnomic utterances (12:22). This elaborate setup (16:13) and this remoteness of Confucius (the unspeaking 17:17) continue to the end of the text.

The LY 9:1 Crux. Another test of the LY theory is 9:1, treated among others by Bodde (1933), Laufer (1934), Hung (1970), Malmqvist (1978), and Boltz (1983). 9:1 says "The Master seldom spoke of li ("profit") yǚ mìng ("fate") yǚ rǎn". Since the Analects does disparage profit, but often mentions rǎn, 9:1 is unintelligible as it stands. Scholars have tried to wrest from yǚ "and" a nuance that will *exclude* the last two items. The present theory offers a new approach. The key fact is that 9:1 is interpolated (it is not a saying but a description, and precedes the paired 9:2-3). It belongs at some later point in the text from which rǎn really is missing. Such a stretch is LY 10 through 3 to 11. This is the period after Dzǔng Ywán, when the school was headed by the Kǔng family and its doctrines were shifted from the ethical to the ceremonial. The new proprietors will have been concerned to project their different emphasis back on the earlier text, hence the interpolated 9:1, which is *literally true* of the c0337 date of its composition, but *believes* the earlier LY to which it was added. LY 9:1, then, means exactly what it seems to mean. It is not a Confucius saying, but a Kǔng-family blow, struck in an internal doctrinal war.

Informational Developments in LY. One developmental series might be specious, or coincidental, but each successive one counts as independent evidence of the soundness of the theory. At some point we must say that the hypothesis is confirmed: the LY is indeed accretional, and if read in the order of accretion, its chapters do indeed attest development. At this point, the LY is no longer a problem to be solved, but an aid in the solution of other problems: a 230-year-long string of memoranda by the Lǚ Confucians, which indirectly but unmistakably attest political and cultural changes in a period agreed to be formative for all later China, but itself almost undocumented. In a word, what the SJ *court* record was for our Hàn inquiries, the LY *school* record is for the Warring States.

Army. Among developments which the LY helps to date is the new army: a mass rather than elite force, using infantry and the sword rather than chariots and the bow, relying not on individual prowess but on group maneuver (hence the phrase “three armies” for the tactical units of left, center, and right), and requiring coordination by a new-type leader, the *jiàng* or “commander”. Ignoring interpolated passages, this force is not attested in LY until 14:19 (“army formations”) and 15:1, at the very end of the 04c. This agrees with the Chūn-Chyōu (CC), in which (apart from suspect passages containing the retrospective adverb “first”) the term for a military force is *shī* (the chariot “host”), never *jiwǎn* (“army”). The same situation obtains in the Bamboo Annals, which cover the period subtended by the Chūn-Chyōu and the Analects together: early mentions of *jiwǎn* are suspect as containing a retrospective adverb “still” (*shàng*) and also atypical: other early entries mention *only the shī*. Not until the late 04c part of the Annals is a “commander” (*jiàng*) mentioned as attending some court ceremony. These three texts, representing the two states of Lǚ and Ngwèi (or Lyáng) thus exactly agree in putting the true development in the late 04c, and also in interpolating precedents for it in their respective earlier records, presumably as part of a later court debate over its adoption, which indeed portended an enormous social as well as economic change in both countries.

The new army will have required a new agricultural basis, with greater productivity, higher taxes, and permanently available rural manpower. In Spring and Autumn, the only permanently surplus manpower were the chariot elite, who spent much time acquiring the difficult arts of chariotry and archery; mass labor was used not in fighting but in walling, and only outside the harvesting seasons. But in the diachronic LY (not to mention the CC) we see evidence of progressive expansion of farmland at the expense of wildland, and the substitution of grown food for killed food. Advanced stages of this process are attested in LY 11:14 (on the enlarging of an old government storehouse), 11:17 (threatening higher taxes), and 12:7 (accepting stores of food and arms as fundamental). LY 12:9 considers raising even the *doubled* 20% tax rate (10% was clearly “classical”). A new interest in agricultural technology is derided, but nonetheless attested, in 13:4, and the population surge itself is visible in 13:9. All this growth of people, food, and weapons is *precisely the expected precondition* for the mass army first mentioned in LY 14–15.

A scholarly exchange in the journal *Early China* (v2-4) turned on the question of why so few swords have been found in Spring and Autumn sites. The present evidence suggests that this is because the infantry/sword army *did not exist* until the Warring States.

Populism. Yet another fact we can extract from the Analects (or, for a still dubious reader, yet another proof we can adduce for the soundness of the Analects hypothesis) is the whole question of the people. The early LY is extraordinarily aloof from them, and even from government decisions which might affect them. In the 05c Analects, the mín are referred to only as a subject populace (6:2, 6:22), and even in the early 04c, attendance at their little festivals (10:7b, 10:8) is limited, reserved, and perfunctory. Beginning with LY 12, however (that is, in c0323), we find a new situation. New terms for the people (bǎi-syìng “many families” in 12:9, jùng “multitudes” in 12:22) appear. With them come new attitudes: concern for their having enough to eat (12:9), for their confidence in the ruler (12:7) and his influence on their behavior (12:19, 13:4, 14:41), and the central army issue: instructing them before leading them in battle (13:29, 13:30). It is perhaps not too cynical to see in this new sensitivity to popular needs and rights, including rights of litigation before a higher magistrate (12:13), a reflection not of burgeoning humanity per se but of the need to make war not with a lifelong trained and motivated elite, but with the large numbers of the broader amateur population. On this whole issue of citizenship and of continuity of high and low culture, the Confucians of LY 12–13 take what can best be described as a Mencian position: the one which Mencius himself advocated from the year 0320 in his interviews with the Kings of Ngwèi and Chí. The LY record on this issue thus coordinates in time not only with its own testimony on the related factors of food and fighting, but also *with the known public career of Mencius*.

Meditation. Apart from Mencius, to whom we shall return in a moment, another offstage presence in the Analects is the meditational arts and the “Dàuist” view of life which is usually associated with them. Of such techniques, and such views, there is not the slightest hint throughout the 05c Analects, LY 4–9 inclusive. LY 10–3, the early 04c Analects, are also meditation-free. A first unambiguous hint is LY 11:18b (c0337), where Yén Hwéi is cryptically described as “often empty”, the latter in all its synonyms being a standard term for the meditational state, empty of worldly distractions. Further but less positive meditational echoes are found in succeeding chapters, implying that after an initial interest, the Confucians had ruled against the new technique. Thus, Yén Hwéi himself is treated not as teacher’s pet (as of old; 5:9, 6:11) but as class dunce (in 12:1), and meditation, though admitted as equal to book-learning in 2:15 (c0317) is rejected as inferior to it in (the interpolated) 15:31 (after c0308). As for Yén Hwéi himself, he *vanishes altogether from the Analects after LY 15* and enjoys a second career with the Dàuists proper; he appears frequently, and almost always sympathetically, *in the Jwāngdž*. What we seem to have here is a meditation cult retrospectively claiming affiliation with Yén Hwéi, at first welcomed by the Analects school proper, but later rejected by it, along with its adopted emblematic disciple-figure. It will be convenient to call this splinter group the Yén Hwéi cult. It seems likely that Mencius, with whose ideas we have already seen the LY 12–13–2 segment of the text is closely linked, was a member of this cult. Assuming that MC 2A2 records private observations of Mencius, we may note that he refuses to say if he admires Yén Hwéi (which would have been an admission of heresy) but more directly describes the central breath-control technique itself.

VIII

We may conveniently continue our study of the Analects by broadening it to include:

The Gwǎndž (GZ). Rickett has shown the fallacy of the ascription to Gwǎn Jǔng, which however does imply an originally Chí-connected text. Larger Chí must have developed the art of statecraft before smaller Lǔ. When the LY, previously confined to the duties of the courtier, suddenly in LY 12–13 turns to the policies of the ruler, and when nearly every such LY 12–13 passage has a verbal or other link with a GZ passage, we may plausibly suspect an influence from this neighbor state. LY 12, for example, seems to show these GZ contacts (numbered by the divisions in Rickett **Guanzi** [1985]):

A. Respectfully Answered Questions

- 01 Yén Hwéi asks about rǎn, respectfully promises to practice the answer
- 02 Rǎn Yūng asks about rǎn; respectfully promises to practice the answer
- 03 Szmǎ Nyóu asks about rǎn; dumbly repeats the answering description
- 04 Szmǎ Nyóu asks about the jywǎndž; dumbly repeats the answering description
- 05 Szmǎ Nyóu grieves about fate; is rebuked by Dž-syà

B. Straightforwardly Answered Questions

- 06 Dž-jāng asks about wisdom; gets straight answer
- 07 Dž-gùng asks about government; gets consecutive answer (< GZ 1C)
- 08 Eminent statesman plonks culture; is rebuked by Dž-gùng
- 09 Lǔ Prince discontent with taxes; is rebuked by Yǒudž (< GZ 7C10, 7F20)

C. Technically Straight Questions and Remarks

- 10 Dž-jāng asks about inconsistency; gets poem in reply
- 11 Chí Prince asks about government; gets cryptic prose in reply (< GZ 2D45–46)
- 12a Confucius remarks that Dž-lù could dispose of litigations
- 13 Confucius remarks that it is better to have no litigations (< GZ 3C)
- 14 Dž-jāng gets recommendation about diligence in public business (< GZ 2C42)
- 15 Confucius remarks about guiding role of ritual in public business (< GZ 1B)
- 16 Confucius contrasts jywǎndž and syǎu-rǎn

D. Verbally Intricate Definitions and Contrasts

- 17 Ji Kāngdž gets punning definition of administration
- 18 Ji Kāngdž gets inverse advice about reducing crime
- 19 Ji Kāngdž gets distinction between ruling and killing (< GZ 1C, 7C7, 7D11)
- 20 Dž-jāng gets distinction between fame and influence
- 21 Confucius uses poem to answer Fán Chǐ question
- 22 Confucius uses pun to answer Fán Chǐ question (< GZ 7C7)

E. Double Envoi

- 23 Dž-gùng asks about friends
- 24 Dzǎngdž comments about friends as a medium for propagating rǎn.

LY 12 Conspectus

The Early GZ. Three of the four GZ chapters here involved have been assigned an 04c date by Rickett (p52, 91, 136), namely GZ 1, 3, 7. This is compatible with, and is indeed confirmed by, the above-noted contacts with 04c segments of the LY. Rickett (p59–60) puts GZ 2 into the 03c due to its eclectic blending of Confucian (LY, MC) and Dàuist (DDJ, JZ) sources. The LY relationship is what we are here discussing; that MC and DDJ pose no problems will be shown below. The crux is then the seemingly 03c JZ. On inspection, we find that the JZ links cited in Rickett's GZ 2 notes are inconclusive. The JZ 19 hunchback story exemplifies the “concentration” recommended in GZ 2C43, but is not *a direct literary source* for it. As for the supremely skilled persons named in GZ 2A22–24 (archer Yì, chariot-driver Dzàu-fù, wheelwright Syī Jùng), the first is referred to as highly skilled in JZ 23 and 24; the second is mentioned in a JZ 19 story of *another* driver; the third never occurs (JZ 13 has instead a wheelwright Byēn story). This looks like a lore tradition tapped in its active phase by GZ 2, and fossilized or replaced in JZ. GZ 2 then seems earlier than the 03c JZ. If it turns out to have affinities with 04c portions of the LY, we are free to draw the indicated chronological inferences.

Accretion in GZ 1–3, 7. These chapters, as Rickett notes, have early stylistic features, but *not the same ones*. They urge government control, but *by different means*. Some use numerical groupings, *some don't*. Some sections of the four correspond laterally, in that they deal with the same issue. This is best explained if they are *independent* but *parallel* texts, each with its own view, and its own order of accretion.

GZ 3 is linked to GZ 1 by the phrase mù mín “shepherd the people”, now the title of GZ 1. In GZ 3, the line “whoever would shepherd the people” (fán mù mín jǚ; SBBY [Sž-bù Bèi-yáu] text [jywæn 2] 9r11, 11r3, and 11v6) recurs as an incipit, dividing the chapter into four; the first such section is further subdivided by the word gù “therefore”, notoriously a mark of discontinuity in early texts. We thus have five divisions, which we may label in order of occurrence as GZ 3A (¶1–3 of Rickett 1985), B, C, D, and E. They appear to be successive revisions (in 3B, an extension) of the same essay. In form, 3AB and 3C end in verse, a seemingly early feature; 3C is longer and thus perhaps the later. 3D and 3E are in iterational prose, with refrains at beginnings and ends of paragraphs; 3C is more developed and presumably later. We thus infer the order: 3A, B, C, E, D. Study of the contents confirms this: 3AB assert direct control over a populace and set up local governments, 3C follows by examining motivations and recommending rewards, 3E instead urges laws to control people and officials, 3D goes beyond compulsion and advocates education to bring about the preconditions of public order. In sum:

3A	(gnomic)	setting up direct control; punishments
3B	(rhymed)	adjust levels of society; against luxury
3C	(longer rhymed)	analysis of popular motivations
3E	(iterational)	emphasis on amenability of people to laws
3D	(complex iterational)	emphasis on education for public order

GZ 3 Conspectus

Our LY 12 conspectus, above, showed contact with GZ 3C. So does that for LY 13, below (Rickett, on present evidence it would seem wrongly, transfers from GZ 3C to 3B the passage echoed in LY 13:13); there are also similarities with GZ 3E. The hypothetical LY chapter dates, not argued above, are LY 12 c0323, LY 13 c0321, and LY 2 c0317. It would then appear that GZ 3C was known in Lǚ before c0323, and GZ 3E by c0321. GZ 3A looks not unlike a prescription for the new Chǐ social order signalled by the Chǐ ruler's 0357 adoption of the Jōu title King, and so might be from slightly before 0357; GZ 3D does not figure in LY 12–13 or in LY 2, and so may postdate c0317.

As in the above LY 12 conspectus, interpolated passages in LY 13 are not shown:

A. The Aim and Methods of Government

- 01 The aim of government is to encourage the people (< GZ 2C42)
- 02 The art of government is to delegate, overlook, promote (< GZ 7C6, 7C9)
- 04 Good government, not husbandry, will attract population (< GZ 7F17)
- 05 The high art of the 300 poems is worthless if not used in public life
- 06 If a ruler is upright, his orders will be obeyed without asking (< GZ 3E)
- 09 What to do for population: enrich and teach them (< GZ 1C, 7C7)

B. The Goal and Character of the Ruler

- 10 If I had power, I could finish the job in 3 years
- 11 To abolish executions would require 100 years
- 13 One who can govern himself can govern others (< GZ 3C)
- 14 Affairs of state also concern the non-governmental person
- 15 Ruler must not be allowed to govern for his private purposes (< GZ 1A)

C. Staffing of Government

- 16 Attracting people: near approve and far approach (< GZ 1A, 2F65, 7F17)
- 17 Official technique of deliberation and delegation (< GZ 2B35)
- 19 Diligence and loyalty are valid even in foreign countries
- 20 Official scrupulousness and adroitness
- 21 Prefer the rash and hasty to their opposites

D. Character of the Officer in a Wide-Recruitment Society

- 23 Jywndž is agreeable; syău-rvn is accommodating
- 24 Liking and disliking among the villagers
- 25 Jywndž is easy to work for; syău-rvn is easy to please
- 26 Jywndž is dignified; syău-rvn is arrogant
- 27 Rvn person is unflappable and unexcitable
- 28 The officer is exacting toward friends, indulgent to brothers

E. Double Envoi: Preparation for War

- 29 Must first teach the people for 7 years
- 30 To go to war without this is to betray them

LY 13 Conspectus

GZ 1. There are five named sections, but the last two seem to subdivide: the fourth into 11 maxims and (beginning at SBBY 2v8/9) an expansion of their meaning; the fifth into a prose section ending in verse and (beginning at SBBY 3v6) a prose-only passage. These seven sections group into the five *named* sections as: GZ 1A, B, C, D-E, and F-G. B and C are built around numerical groupings (the Four Virtues of the People; the Four Desires of the People), implying a rather sophisticated theory of the populace. D and F are short; this suggests an early date, as does the presence of the seeming later exegeses E and G. Ignoring the verse peroration of F, both contain ten injunctions, positive in D (establishing the state, gathering supplies, fixing rewards and punishments, not attempting too much), and partly negative in F (one level cannot be managed like another, don't disdain nonrelatives and nonnatives). D seems very early, perhaps even pre-Kingship (c0360); F looks like lessons learned in applying the principles of D, perhaps c0355.

The exegesis 1E uses stock numerical groupings (the Five Grains), which seem later than the analytical groupings of B/C; stock groupings (the Six Relationships) also occur in 1A. The stages then seem to be: (1) no groupings: GZ 1D and 1F, along with 3AB; (2) analytical: 1C and 1B; 3C, 3E; and (3) fixed: 1A and 1E, also 3D. These stages, with the formal and substantive features noted above, suggest the order: GZ 1D, F, C/B, A/E.

We next take into account the contacts with LY 12 (c0323). These, as so far identified, are with GZ 1C and 1B. GZ 1A has an echo in the slightly later LY 13 (c0321). GZ 1D and F have no echoes in LY 12-13, perhaps because they were not yet available, or no longer current, as of the compiling of LY 12. By the previous argument, E (and G) would be too *late* to influence LY 12 or 13. These thoughts suggest a revised order: GZ 1D (c0360), F (c0355), C/B (as of 0323), A (as of 0321), E/G (later).

The Two-Way Relationship of GZ and LY. This suggests the extremely tight dating of 0322 for GZ 1A. There is another possibility, which is that besides the plausible *GZ > LY* influence, *there may be an LY > GZ backflow*. The issue in common between GZ 1A and LY 13:16 is attracting rather than cowering the populace. We have already seen a shift in GZ 3 from law (3E) to persuasion (3D); a similar shift seems to occur between GZ 1B (on enforcing punishments) and 1A (on reducing punishments). This shift can be said to be in the direction of the LY 12-13 responses to earlier GZ ideas, emphasizing public morale. This leads to a revised sequence of the GZ 1 segments: GZ 1D (c0360), F (c0355); C/B (as of 0323), A (*after 0321*), and finally the exegetical E/G.

If we add these findings to those above, we get the plausible evolutionary picture:

1D	3A	setting up direct control; punishments
1F	3B	adjust levels of society; against luxury
1C	3C	analysis of popular motivations
1B	3E	emphasis on amenability of people to laws
1A	3D	emphasis on education for public order
1E/G		conventional elaborations

GZ 1 and 3 Joint Conspectus

GZ 7. This chapter consists of a series of 20 short, mostly rhymed pronouncements (I follow the divisions in Rickett 1985), which seem to cluster thematically as follows: A (7:1–3), nature–images of state and ruler; B (7:4–5) impersonality of rule; C (7:6–10) needs of and rewards for the people; D (7:11–13) penalties; E (7:14–15) the imitation of heaven; and F (7:16–20) attracting and conciliating the people. The two separated groups (C, F) on the people rule out the idea that the sayings were grouped thematically in one editorial process (or C/F would be combined); it seems that we have in one a later return to the topic of the other. Of the two, C on the primary population must be earlier than F on attracting additional population. Again, the nature–comparisons of the ruler in A would seem on literary grounds to precede the heaven–metaphor of E; both of them are decorative or cosmological rather than merely practical, and thus perhaps relatively late. The gnomic and rhymed format of the whole of the chapter, however, is formally early, and was presumably established in the earliest section and then maintained as a matter of stylistic consistency. If A and E are relatively late, and F (added physically after E) is also relatively late, the chapter would seem to be built by concentric accretion, outward in both directions from an inside core. The simplest expansion–model that will produce these relations is one in which D (on penalties) is the core, followed by C (the people), B (effect of rewards), and A (the ruler). The two postposed sections are elaborative: first (outward from the core) E expanding on the ruler symbols of A, then F reverting to the people theme of C. The apparent accretion sequence is then D–C–B–A–E–F.

Again the GZ/LY Question. The pattern of LY relations seems to contradict this order, echoing GZ 7C and D in LY 12 (c0323); next GZ 7F in LY 13 (c0321), and last GZ 7A and E, in the astral symbol of LY 2:1 (c0317; not shown above). This F, A/E order is at odds with the A–E–F order arrived at above on formal grounds. But in view of the previous discussion, it seems more likely that GZ 7F, like 1A, is an echo and not a source of LY 13 (7F, on the conciliation of the people, reverses the earlier 7B, on the impersonality of the ruler). Viewed in this way, not only is there no conflict with the implied D–C–B–A–E–F order of GZ 7, but the date of the reverse LY > GZ influence can be closely fixed, since if the astral GZ 7E underlies the astral metaphor in LY 2:1, and if LY 2 is correctly dated to 0317, the first year of Lü Píng–gūng, then the Lü–type populism of 7F must be after 0317. We would then have the sequence: GZ 7D (early), C (pre–0323), B, A/E (pre–0317), F (post–0317). This agrees with previous analysis:

1D	3A	7D	setting up direct control; punishments
1F	3B		adjust levels of society; against luxury
1C	3C	7C	analysis of popular motivations
1B	3E	7B	emphasis on amenability of people to laws
		7A/E	cosmic metaphors
1A	3D	7F	emphasis on education for public order
1E/G			conventional elaborations

GZ 1 / 3 / 7 Joint Conspectus

GZ 2. Rickett (**Guanzi** p58) compares this aphoristic chapter with Indian writings, but dismisses (p59n2) a nearer model: the LY aphorisms. Like GZ 7, some (not most) of the GZ 2 sayings use meter and rhyme. Like LY, GZ 2 is not really formless: its sayings (numbered as divided in Rickett 1985) can be grouped by topic: 2A (1–27) on power and dignity, 2B (28–40) on leadership, 2C (41–43) on personal concentration, 2D (44–52) on solicitude for the people, 2E (53–61) on the Heavenly Way, 2F (62–82) on loyalty and impartiality, and 2G (83–85) on avoiding irreversible decisions. GZ 2, like GZ 7, avoids discursive exposition in favor of a *gnomic* approach, and it has interests uniquely its own, but it also, in its cryptic way, deals with themes treated in GZ 1, 3, and 7.

Let us consider its LY echoes. A hint of GZ 2C42–43 occurs in LY 11:15 (c0337), GZ 2D45–46 is echoed in LY 12:11, and a GZ 2B35 link is to be found in LY 13:17. This implies concentric accretion in GZ 2, with C (pre-LY 11) first, D (pre-LY 12) next, and B (pre-LY 13) third. It is remarkable that the seeming GZ 2 core is not on statecraft, but on the more individual matter of advice to an officer on tending to business, seemingly with the aid of “concentration” technique. Next comes 2D, with the dictum that the prince should be a prince and the minister a minister, picked up in LY 12:11, whose *Chí* origin is implied by the fact that “Confucius” addresses *not a Lü, but a Chí ruler*. This section seems to make the transition to advising the ruler as well as the minister; it also takes up the differentiated society which we have seen is treated in GZ 1F and 3B. Third is GZ 2B, on the conduct of government, including a maxim echoed in LY 13:17 *as the request of a Confucian disciple, employed at local Lü court, for practical counsel*. All this suggests a very close liaison between GZ 2 and the contemporary Lü Confucians. GZ 2A and E develop the theme of the awesomeness of the ruler, partly in terms of the astral metaphors also found in 7A/E, and are presumably contemporary with 7A/E.

We now come to the idea that the test of government is the happiness of its people, *and the disposition of those not its people to immigrate into it*. It has a famous expression in LY 13:16, climaxing in the phrase “the distant will come” (ywǎn-jǚ lái). This has analogues in several GZ chapters, among them 1A (which uses the exact LY phrase, and expands it into a rhyming couplet) and 7F17. Another echo of this doctrine is found in GZ 2F65, which must then belong in the same time-period as GZ 1A and 7F. This agrees with its position among the outermost GZ 2 accretion layers. We would then have:

1D	3A	7D	setting up direct control; punishments	
1F	3B		adjust levels of society; against luxury	
	2C		individual concentration	
1C	2D	3C	7C	analysis of popular motivations
1B	2B	3E	7B	emphasis on amenability of people to laws
	2A/E	7A/E		cosmic metaphors
1A	2F	3D	7F	emphasis on education for public order
1E/G				conventional elaborations

GZ 1 / 2 / 3 / 7 Joint Conspectus

Chí Legalism According to GZ 1-3, 7. However roughly and tentatively, these inferences give an idea of the way in which what we conveniently call Chí Legalism may have evolved. We first note that it evolved not from one source, but from at least four parallel and competing Chí sources, to which the contemporary LY in effect adds a fifth. Second, these four Chí sources are *ideologically quite distinct*. GZ 1 tends to be cosmic and mechanistic. GZ 2 is individual; in its origins perhaps even contemplative. GZ 3 shows (in 3B) a whole series of doctrines traditionally identified with the Mician school. GZ 7 is the earliest to articulate the “law” principle. These different advocacy positions not only evolve in response to the needs of the developing state, but *gradually converge* through mutual influence. By the end of the 04c they had already reached a considerable degree of similarity; by Hàn, if not earlier, they were joined in a single composite text. As to specific doctrinal phases of this 04c Legalist evolution, we may note the following:

First Phase. Legalism in the strict sense (public law as a means of social control) *may not have been the first step* in that evolution. GZ 1D seems to imply early efforts to bring under central control a populace previously subject to local chariot-elite magnates. 3A requires that the army have a head, suggesting a central, permanent army. This implies obsolescence of the temporarily-mustered elite chariot force, the likeliest cause of which (Griffith Sun Tzu [1963] p36) is the crossbow, archaeologically attested from the 04c. This military revolution may thus have been the stimulus for the social revolution: the ruler’s direct orders are enforced by openly military means. Penalties for nonfeasance, the military germ of later civil laws, occur in 1D, 3A, and 7D.

Elaborative Phase. GZ 1F notes errors that had apparently been made in running the new political levels on a too-similar basis. 3A had urged bringing land under cultivation; 3B tells what to do if land is cultivated and the state is still poor. 1F emphasizes the personal charisma of the ruler, and reinforces it with cosmic symbols.

Motivational Phase. GZ 1C, 2D, 3C, and 7C in their different ways (7C with the Mician term bwó-ài “undifferentiated love”, showing Mician influence from GZ 3) all expound the reward counterpart of military punishments, attesting a civilianizing trend. 3C gives a psychological theory for the new motivation policy. It assumes a trial system with appeal to central authority (whose excessive use implies a defect in local justice), and so marks a new step in the evolution of a legal structure. 3B had deplored luxuries; 3C goes further by warning of too great a population flow into cities.

Legalistic Phase. GZ 1B, 2B, 3E, and 7B variously progress to a more severe program: draconic enforcement of laws, and an increasing impersonality in the ruler. To this and earlier GZ ideas, LY 12-13 (c0323-0321) respond by accepting the larger state but erecting it theoretically on a substrate more congenial to Confucian values.

Cosmological Phase. Faintly present from the beginning in GZ 1, cosmology is now elaborated in 2A/E and 7A/E as a symbol for the powerful ruler, and as a theoretical basis for his laws and pronouncements. This is briefly picked up in LY 2:1 (c0317).

Confucianized Chí Populism. The LY 12-13 adaptation influences Chí thinking in GZ layers replacing penalties with the cheaper device of education: 1A, 2F, 3D, and 7F. The dialogue cycle is now established: Chí innovations, Lǚ responses, Chí assimilations.

IX

Dzwǒ Jwàn (DJ). This racy commentary on the Chūn-Chyōu (CC) disdains mere annotation to add material bridging the CC entries into an almost continuous narrative. So beloved is it of historians that it has all but replaced the CC itself as a source for the Spring and Autumn. Though literarily understandable, this is historically unfortunate, since the DJ can at many points be shown *to contradict* both the CC and archaeology. One instance is its tale of Jin levying iron to cast law-inscribed vessels in 0513 (Jāu 29). This conflicts with the history of laws as inferred above from the early GZ, and with archaeology, which does not attest a developed iron industry for that century. The common DJ term jywǎn “[the mass] army” for Spring and Autumn military forces violates the usage of the CC and the Bamboo Annals, which apart from a few intrusive passages have only shī “[the chariot] host”, and the evidence of GZ and LY, which imply an 04c emergence of the jywǎn infantry army, first in Chí and in subsequent decades also in Lǔ. At these and other points, the DJ clearly betrays an 04c rather than an 06c sensibility.

Confucius and the Confucians. The lavish DJ treatment of Confucius’s fame even in his early years also contradicts many LY passages attesting his early hardships. The LY itself shows the progressive growth of the Confucius legend, and the stage of it reflected in the DJ is comparable to the ministership rejected in LY 15:1–2 (of c0308). We may similarly note the expanding legend of the disciple Dž-lù. Later lore preserves two incompatible traditions: that he died in a scuffle during Confucius’s lifetime (reflected in SJ 47) and that he survived Confucius to found a school in Wèi (in SJ 121). Dž-lù’s rashness is a theme gradually developed in LY; it does not clearly surface until LY 12:12a–b (c0323). It is precisely the late, swashbuckling Dž-lù who figures in the DJ. All this suggests that the obviously Confucian DJ is using *a late 04c version* of the Confucian lore tradition, and points to a late 04c date for the DJ itself. Since the DJ here replaces 05c tradition with a newer 04c tradition *even for the history of its own school*, it would not seem to enjoy presumptive probity in pre-05c matters *outside* the school.

Date of DJ. The above signs of 04c date, and specifically of post-c0308 date, agree with the astronomical calculations of Chalmers (*Legge Ch’un Ts’ew Prolegomena* p100) which aimed at recovering the base year for the DJ calculations of the cycle of Jupiter. Chalmers suggested a DJ base year of 0305 ± 12; I here adopt the center date 0305.

The Anomaly of the DJ. Karlgren found that the DJ was not in the Lǔ language, which with its omens predicting a great future for Chí implies a Chí text. But what could have impelled Chí Confucians to offer their doctrines in the awkward medium of a commentary *on the Lǔ court chronicle*? The answer seems to be that an earlier version of the work was meant *for the Lǔ court*. Portions of it, by Karlgren’s own tests, *are* in the Lǔ language, and these tend to take a very LY 12–13 view of morale and not material well-being as the key to a happy population; they also emphasize proper lineage (which would have been taboo in Chí, ruled by the Tyén usurping house). This c0320 Lǔ viewpoint was probably the original thrust of a proto-DJ offered to the Lǔ court, which then served as the basis for the later, Chí-adapted text of c0305: the DJ which we have.

Predictions. Scholarly DJ datings have used, but drawn different conclusions from, the predictions in the DJ. Assuming that the compilers had no literal foreknowledge of events, it is assumed that fulfilled predictions imply a DJ date *after their verification*, while refuted ones imply a DJ date *before the refutation*. Arranging the major DJ political and dynastic predictions in order of fulfilment or decisive refutation, we find as follows:

Fulfilled Predictions. In order of their apparent dates of fulfilment, rather than their occurrence in the DJ narrative itself, these are:

Tsáu (etc) will perish early (Jāu 4): perished in **0487**.

Tyén will wax as Chǔn wanes (Jwāng 22): Tyén role in Chí **0483**, Chǔn perishes **0479**.

Wú's greed will bring it to ruin (Aī 7): conquered by Ywè in **0473**.

A descendant of a scion of Jīn will be a ruler (Mǐn 1): ruled Ngwèi from **0403**.

Chí will belong to Tyén clan (Jāu 3): Tyén Hó rules Chí from **0386**.

Jōu rule will last 700 years [from 01056] (Sywǎn 3): Chí assumed Kingship in **0357**.

Jàu will always be restive (Dìng 9): conspicuous restiveness in **0349** and beyond.

Wèi capital will last for 300 years (Syī 31 or 0630): moved to Pú-yáng in **0330**.

Refuted Predictions. On the same basis as above, in chronological order of outcomes (in this case, decisive nonfulfilments), we have:

Chí has limitless future (Syāng 29): Chí humiliated by allies in **0284**.

Lǔ will fall without Jì clan (Mǐn 2); fell anyway, despite survival of Jì, in **0249**.

Chín will not again march east (Wǔn 5): extinguished Hán in **0230**.

Line will long continue in Jīn (Jāu 28): "Jīn" [Ngwèi] extinguished in **0225**.

Conclusion. The chronological window, within which the DJ must have been compiled in order for all these projections either to have been fulfilled (first group) or to have been still not refuted (second group) is thus 0330/0284. The Chalmers year happens to be in the middle of this range; the point is that the range includes his date. We may without further ado confirm c0305 as the final-composition date of the DJ in Chí.

The DJ as a Chí Text. The trend of the above predictions not only favors Chí, and sanctions (above, sv 0357) the Chǔn/Tyén gradual takeover of rule in Chí, it legitimizes in the grandest possible way the Tyén Chí usurpation of the Jōu title King. Such apologetics will surely have been welcome at any time at the Chí court, and their success will also have helped the Chí court Confucians, still perhaps embarrassed by Mencius's abrupt departure after giving unsound advice on the annexation of Yēn by Chí in 0313.

Philosophically, the LY 12-13-influenced ethical populism of the DJ will have ridden the wave of Chí interest in just this viewpoint, which is mirrored in the late layers of the 04c GZ advocational texts from c0317 onward. The fixed-numerical-category diction of some of these GZ layers (the Six Relationships) is also found in the DJ.

Rosen (*In Search of the Historical Kuan Chung* [JAS v35 #3 1976] p431-434) has noted that the DJ treatment of Gwǎn Jùng makes him a Confucian legitimist. This implies that this early Chí minister had by 0305 become a figure to conjure with, and presumably the GZ groups were already beginning to claim his aegis. We will presently (below, p50) encounter a third Gwǎn Jùng theory. The DJ itself seems to be skirmishing for position in just such a late 04c controversial context.

X

Gwó Yǔ (GY). This work collects 243 stories about 8 states (including the “Jōu”) in 21 chapters; half the stories (127) and chapters (9) are about Jin. The close connection between this work and the DJ has often been noted. The old view is that GY contains DJ leftovers bundled by the DJ compiler “Dzǔ Chyōu-míng”. There is no reason to link Dzǔ-chyōu Míng (in LY 5:25 no disciple, but an older contemporary) with the DJ, though Chang et al (Loewe p263) briefly do so. That GY follows the 0305 DJ is obvious. This eliminates the Wèi theory (Loewe p264) of GY compilation from 0431 to after 0314. GY, whatever the *narrative* termini of its sections, is all “after 0314”; indeed after 0305.

Ad Quem. A latest GY date may be fixed with the aid of 3rd century archaeology. In 279 the tomb of Ngwèi Syāng-wáng (Mencius’s second Lyáng king, died 0296) was opened, and bamboo-slip texts not burned by earlier grave-robbers were presented to the then Jin court (itself claiming a heritage from Ngwèi) and studied by scholars. The final dig report of 281 (which is apparently a source for Jin Shū [JS] 51) mentions a Shī Chūn (“Master of the Chūn-Chyōu”) work comprising *the Yi divination reports from the DJ*. This proves the fame of the DJ *and attests a need to abbreviate it* for readers not prepared to pick its narrative peaks and divinatory flights out of the long, irrelevant CC. Nothing was thus simpler than to extract the “good parts” of the DJ for a wider audience. Besides these Shī Chūn *oracles*, the dig report lists a Gwó Yǔ, possibly a parallel set of *narrative* extracts aimed, as it were, at this foreign paperback market. It has turned out that in the long run the DJ stories are *less* meaningful without their historical framework, and GY has accordingly lagged behind DJ in modern esteem, but at the time it may have appeared a reasonable project to extract them, rewrite them, and add yet others to them. If this is our Gwó Yǔ (or a better text of it), its latest compilation date is 0296. Rickett (Guanzi p319) gives 0300 as “the generally accepted date” for the compilation of the GY. The present DJ/GY conclusions substantially agree; the exact range for GY is 0300 ± 4.

The Gwǎn Jùng Angle. The Chí chapter of GY is one long Gwǎn Jùng narrative. Rosen (p435) notes that it departs from DJ in suppressing unfavorable details, and in giving Gwǎn Jùng a Legalist rather than Confucian interpretation. This GY Chí chapter was then written by a Chí Legalist *as a propaganda counter* to the DJ, and was in turn expanded in a slightly different language as GZ 20, no doubt by another Chí Legalist near to what was by then the Gwǎn Jùng circle in Chí. GZ 20 sums up Hwán-gūng’s merit (with Gwǎn Jùng’s advice) as having “nine times assembled the several lords” and “brought the world under one rule”. These identical phrases in turn occur in the paired judgements of Gwǎn Jùng in LY 14:16–17. The implied scenario, plausible enough in the intensely controversialist pamphleteering of the age, is then (1) a pro-Gwǎn myth, (2) countered in DJ, c0305, (3) rebutted in the GY Chí chapter, at earliest c0304, (4) this adapted as GZ 20, after c0304, and (5) this in turn extracted in LY 14:16–17, not earlier, and also not later, than c0303, the probable last year of the Confucians at the Lǔ court. This makes 14:16–17 an interpolation in the otherwise c0310 LY 14, and gives for GY a date of c0304, the earliest year in the allowable range arrived at above.

GY in Later Periods. It was suggested above (p20) that a story in HFZ 10:4 may go back to GY 14:7, which has no direct source but only thematic precedents in the DJ. This, if true, suggests several inferences. First, the sequence DJ > GY, doubted by noone, is confirmed. Second, the GY is not simply a digest of DJ, but in large part an advance from and a development of the DJ, with a viewpoint which in the case of Gwǎn Jùng may have been controversialist, but which in GZ 14:7 comes through as chiefly fictional. The freeing of the fictional impulse would be a natural consequence of abandoning the didactic-explicatory historical motive which the DJ as an integral work surely possesses. This in turn would allow the GY a considerable vogue in the years just after its composition, as shown by its turning up in the tomb of a Lyáng emperor, who evidently also regaled himself (Loewe p342-343) with a narrative of the supposed travels and amorous encounters of King Mù of Jōu. Material of the Jàn-Gwó Tsù type, once taken as historical but now regarded as a series of exercises in persuasional rhetoric, might well have been produced at a somewhat later date as a response to this same susceptibility. The lively development of the illustrative anecdote which is evident in the HFZ repositories shows that a cognate impulse continued to function during the first 60 years of the Hàn dynasty. In none of these three story repertoires (GY, JGT, the relevant HFZ) do we have the work of an unconstrained fictional imagination; instead, that imagination operates to develop and to supplement given facts or previous tales. When HFZ 10 draws on GY 14, then, it is not yielding to antiquarian whim, but working at the evolving edge of a live common tradition which GY and HFZ somehow jointly inhabited.

The situation after the Hàn ideological homogenization of 0136 cannot but have been somewhat different, with the enshrinement of one set of texts as canonical, and the relative neglect of other sets of texts. In this phase, a relatively larger share of literate activity will have gone not to competitive expansion of previous positions, but to monolithic elaboration of the Confucian canon. This change would, among other things, have operated to make the DJ more important, and the GY less important, to subsequent generations of scholars and listeners. This trend still holds at the present time.

Cultural Geography as of c0300. Turning once more from the Hàn, with its new western political focus, to the high Warring States, we note that all of the texts so far discussed (LY, GZ, DJ, and seemingly now also GY) have a Lǔ or Chí origin. We further note that these texts together attest a lively intellectual commerce, in the 04c, between the capitals of Chí and Lǔ. Duyvendak (*The Book of Lord Shang* [1928] p71-73) notes that Lyáng, the capital of Ngwèi, was another intellectual center. The GY case, along with the Shī Chūn oracles, show that a lively commerce in books and ideas also existed between the Chí and Lyáng centers, which we know (and on the following page will be reminded) also defined between them the more glamorous early course of Mencius's public career. It is useful to reflect how modest were the distances between these centers. If we arbitrarily but conveniently equate the Lǔ capital Chyw-fù with Amherst, then the Chí capital will roughly coincide with Augusta (Maine), and the Ngwèi capital with Scranton. Chín, at this date remote rather than menacing to the eastern centers, was at Pittsburgh. The whole Warring States world scarcely extended west of the Ohio line.

XI

The Mencius (MC). Lau says, of the 7–chapter Mencius, that “in chapter 1 of the received collection, at least, we have the mature views of this philosopher” (Loewe p331). This chapter is at any rate the only one whose sayings are consistently given a context. The remaining 6 chapters can be shown to have internal variations of language, content, and form (they range from short sayings, of near–Analects caliber, to long discourses), and thus to be presumptively heterogeneous in origin.

The Mencian Interviews. Even the purported interviews of MC 1 are nonuniform in many significant ways. The conspectus below lists (1) the reference code, (2) the size in characters, (3) the state whose ruler is addressed, (4) whether Mencius appeals to direct experience, historical lore, or the Confucian classics, (5) whether his manner toward the ruler he addresses is within what seem like normal parameters or is distinctly hostile, and (6) the general topic of the interview:

1A1	152	Lyáng	Experience	Normal	Against profit
1A2	165	Lyáng	Classics	Normal	Sharing pleasures
1A3	359	Lyáng	Experience	Normal	Public welfare
1A4	125	Lyáng	Classics	Hostile	Killing the people
1A5	173	Lyáng	Experience	Normal	Kingship
1A6	155	Lyáng	Experience	Normal	Unification
1A7	1313	Chí	Classics	Normal	Public welfare
1B1	363	Chí	Experience	Normal	Sharing music
1B2	138	Chí	Classics	Hostile	Entrapment of people
1B3	267	Chí	Classics	Normal	Higher valor
1B4	353	Chí	Classics	Normal	Sharing with the people
1B5	305	Chí	Classics	Normal	Míng–táng temple
1B6	74	Chí	Experience	Hostile	Removal of King
1B7	195	Chí	Experience	Normal	Against merit
1B8	61	Chí	Experience	Hostile	Killing of King
1B9	116	Chí	Experience	Normal	For merit
1B10	137	Chí	Lore	Normal	On invading Yēn
1B11	234	Chí	Classics	Hostile	On leaving Yēn
1B12	141	Dzōu	Experience	Normal	Considering people
1B13	60	T'vng	Experience	Normal	Defending people
1B14	89	T'vng	Lore	Normal	Fatalism
1B15	165	T'vng	Lore	Normal	Option of departure
1B16	229	Lǚ	Experience	Normal	[No interview]

MC 1 Conspectus

The Original Interviews. For a start, we may notice the size of MC 1A7, at 1,313 words almost three times as big as the second longest piece in the chapter. This may have been merely an unusual occasion. But when we find that 1A7 “reverts” in its last paragraph to quoting verbatim the economic program in the next-to-last paragraph of 1A3 (though up til then 1A7 had not been about subsistence economics, and though 1A3 was spoken before a different king), we may plausibly conclude that a later 1A7 is borrowing credentials from a genuine 1A3. We then note that in 1A7 the King of Chí quotes from the Shī, a degree of Confucian culture that is at variance with the King’s previous remarks, which are those of the average sensual late-04c man. It seems likely that this detail is a piece of Confucian wishful thinking, and that other passages which contain a presumption of royal canonical expertise, namely 1A2, 1A4, 1B2–5, and 1B11, are equally suspect. Another dubious feature in these 7 passages is that 3 of them show Mencius in what a modern reader will see as an insulting posture, accusing his hearer of murdering (1A4) or entrapping (1B2) his own people (1A4), or of plundering Yēn (1B11). If we grant that these are rhetorically unlikely, we will be still more inclined to doubt the authenticity of 1B6 (in which the principle of removing a king is stated, and the King in question hastily changes the subject) and 1B8 (in which regicide is held to be legitimate). A final difficulty occurs with the merit principle, opposed in 1B7 but upheld in 1B9. Anyone as adroit as Mencius in 1B1 should show greater rhetorical consistency than this. Of the two, 1B9 fits better with Mencius’s other sayings; we therefore disqualify 1B7.

Removing these 11 passages from the 23 in MC 1, we are left with 12 which are, by definition, consistent in stance, assumption, and doctrine. This would be circular, albeit plausible, if further proof of consistency could not be found. There is however a striking further proof. In presumptively genuine passages, Mencius always contracts prohibitive wú-毋 plus the preposed pronoun-object jī 之 to the one-syllable wù, or better vùt 勿 (as Graham noted in Rosemont *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts* p272–274), whereas the pseudo-Menciana of MC 1 use this vùt, imperceptively, as just a variant negative, leading to Pulleyblank’s contention that nuances of negativity are involved (Rosemont p34–41). As sometimes happens in these controversies, both sides are right, but with certain differences: Graham (a philosopher) turns out to be right *about Mencius*, while Pulleyblank (a historian) is right *about the simulators of Mencius*.

Mencius’s Career. Lau (Mencius [1970] Appendix 1) has shown that no event in Mencius’s career is earlier than 0320. Its full course is then as follows: in 0320 saw Lyáng [Ngwèi] Hwèi-wáng, who died in 0319, and later his successor Syāng-wáng. Went to Chí in 0318, returned to Lǚ in 0317 for his mother’s funeral; was back by 0316. Gave bad advice on the 0314 Yēn succession crisis and on the Chí occupation of Yēn; left Chí under a cloud in 0313. Passed briefly through his native Dzōu, and finally became advisor to the Prince of T’vng, where presumably he died, perhaps about 0303. His followers then put together earlier transcripts of his formal interviews as a memorial immediately after his death, in the pattern already familiar for Confucius and Dzvngdž. In that compilation, the Lǚ near-interview 1B16 was entered out of chronological order so that its last line could stand as a final wry self-commentary on Mencius’s career.

Chapter Format Factors. One little-examined feature of this text is the division of its chapters into two parts, here called A and B. Some divisions narrowly miss logical breaks in the text (like the shift from Lyáng to Chí interviews in Mencius 1); they must then be dictated by size rather than content. There must in any case be a maximum size *beyond which* a roll of bamboo strips of given length is unstable and must be divided, and *just short of which* the roll becomes notably awkward. No Mencius half-chapter is larger than 2,927 words (1B), suggesting a slightly higher *upper limit* perhaps near **2,950 words**. The genuine MC 1 interviews amount to 1,992 words, which by this test would have been viable as a single roll. It is probable that *all* the MC chapters were originally single rolls, and were divided into two under physical pressure from subsequently added material.

MC 2. These 23 sayings (now divided into 9 and 14, or 2,688 and 2,452 words) are easily seen to constitute several sequences:

2A1	Chí policy
2A2	informal reminiscences of Mencius
2A3-2B1	principles of government
2B2-2B14	state protocol

Note that the third group splits across the present-chapter break. To have included the 165-word item 2B1 with its fellows 2A3-9 would have led to wordcounts of 2,853 in 2A and 2,287 in 2B. That this was not done despite the formal logic of doing so implies that, here again, the roll-size limit was a factor. It would seem that the 2,688 words of 2A are viable as one roll (if not, more 2A items, the next being the 77-word 2A8, could with no worse discontinuity have been shifted to 2B), whereas the 2,853 words of the alternate 2A seem to have been a problem. The *onset* of the danger zone for a single roll must then lie in the range 2,688/2,853; perhaps near its midpoint of approximately **2,750 words**.

With size factors disposed of, we see that the passage 2A1 and the last set 2B2-14 are in some sense both *retrospectively addressed to the King of Chí*: 2A1 is the advice "Mencius" could have offered if he had stayed longer, and 2B2-14 debate the propriety of official service, with obvious relevance to Mencius's controversial departure from Chí. If we see these as a joint public-relations effort, with its policy portion highlighted by being placed at the chapter head and the rest being added more conveniently at the end, we have a concentric layer of now-familiar type. If so, then the chapter *before the addition of this concentric layer* (2A2 and 2A3-2B1) was within single-roll limits, and was forced into a second roll by the concentric addition, the 2A1 headpiece in particular displacing the consecutive series 2A3-2B1 so that it straddled the new chapter break.

Of the remaining material, 2A3-2B1 looks like an earlier version of 2A1/2B2-2B14: a theoretical recasting of Mencius's speeches which might be an expansive addendum. But the uniquely personalistic 2A2 (except for an interpolation at the end) seems to record a conversation of Mencius with his followers, and may have been preserved as such after his death. Minus the addendum (Legge's subsections 24-28), it is 908 words long, too much for handy inclusion with the MC 1 speeches (the resulting roll would have been 2,900 words long, deep within the overload zone). It will thus have been a separate roll, and as such have come to serve, in due time, as a nucleus for further MC textual growth.

The Two Schools. Reading over the Mencius interviews, it is hard not to notice some rough edges. In 1A1 Mencius makes the tactical error of refuting rather than persuading his hearer. Even in later years, he is more censorious than a prudent courtier would be. He waffles with the King of Chí; his only counsel to the Prince of T'ing is one of despair. Despite his undoubted reputation, and despite the wide acceptance of some of his ideas, which we have seen reflected in the late 04c GZ, his program lacked the cachet of having ever been successfully applied anywhere in the world. This image crisis MC 2-3 seem intended to correct. The MC 2 addenda first paraphrase the ideas in Mencius's speeches (2A3-2B1) and later insist that the King missed his chance (2A1) and that Mencius was not in the wrong on the protocol issue (2B2-14). This apologia continues into MC 3, where among other matters protocol is still debated, and where Mencius's advice in T'ing comes in for revisionist expansion and explanation. The interviews later added to MC 1 also attest a wish to revisit the original occasions. This career-centeredness of MC 1-3 suggests a survivor group who continued after Mencius's death to trade on his reputation as a statesman. The likely location for this continued effort will have been T'ing, Mencius's last post and probably his residence at the time of his death. The prominence of T'ing in MC 3 seems to support this. Of this posthumous statecraft-centered group, Gūngsūn Chōu, who is often named in MC 2-3, will have been the probable first leader.

MC 4-7 are distinguished from MC 1-3 by some linguistic points not amenable to brief statement (amount of shift from postverbal to preverbal adverbs; degree of success in imitating the Mencian idiolect; certain ultimately phonological contrasts), and by some more blatant differences: a philosophical rather than official cast (it is in MC 4-7 that the human-nature issue surfaces), an emphasis on Mencius in Dzōu rather than in T'ing (implying that at some point a T'ing splinter group had settled in Mencius's native place), and the prominence of the disciple Wàn Jāng (who may have led the exodus from T'ing).

We thus have not one but two posthumous Mencian schools, one in T'ing (the southern, governmental school, identified with Gūngsūn Chōu) which had probably existed continuously since Mencius's death, and one in Dzōu (the northern, philosophical school, identified with Wàn Jāng), which at some point had split off from the T'ing line. T'ing was on the Lǚ/Sùng border, and the 0286 Chí conquest of Sùng (alluded to in 3B5) could have produced sufficient disturbance to have accounted for such a move; we may plausibly date the departure, and the creation of the northern school, to 0285. When Sywǎndž took over in occupied Lǚ after the partial Chǔ conquest of 0255/0254, he still seems to have found the northern Mencians with their abhorrent theories of human nature (opposed also in the 03c Analects; see LY 17:2a-b) worth combating, hence they were still operational at this date, and no doubt survived until the final conquest of Lǚ in 0249.

Interplay between the *respective last chapters* shows that the MC 1-3 school also survived until 0249. 7A32 calls Gūngsūn Chōu a primitivist; 7A39 brands him a Mician (such leanings are in fact found in MC 3). Not to be outdone, 3B5 shows Wàn Jāng as a political dunce who credits Sùng with good intentions. In reply, 7B30 makes the Mencians in T'ing (sic!) so many thieves, for whom Mencius disclaims all responsibility. Such were the cordialities among the several posthumous upholders of the Mencian ideal.

MC 4. It will also be of interest to see how apart the schools may have been at the time of their first separation. The first northern chapter, MC 4, contains 65 entries, divided into 28 and 33 (2,404 and 2,358 words) by the chapter break. We may as a rough approximation group them as follows:

4A1	on standards (lǐ emphasis)
4A2	on standards (rǎn emphasis)
4A3–11	rǎn and government
4A12–28	aspects of filial piety
4B1–32	miscellaneous doctrinal and biographical pieces
4B33	story of the Man From Chí

Ignoring 4B33, a brilliant piece of early, post-GY fiction, we note that 4A1 and 4A2 are variants of the same theme, both featuring sharp-eyed Lí Lóu but *with different emphasis*: lǐ versus rǎn. We next note that the filial-piety emphasis in 4A12–28 is compatible with the lǐ emphasis in 4A1; they are the same supersession of ethical values by family values that we have seen in the 05c/04c Analects. 4A1/4A12–28 look like an encapsulating layer, meant to impose a ritualist tone on an originally ethical text. The 4A2 Lí Lóu piece and the 4A3–11 passages all, by contrast, emphasize rǎn. They must then be the nucleus, which was swallowed and transformed by the encapsulating 4A1/4A12–28 layer. The seemingly curious replication of a Lí Lóu piece at the beginning may merely show that the original text was already known by this incipit, so that the addition had to follow suit. The 4B material would have been added last, as a parallel half-chapter to the earlier 4A.

If we analyze the original core 4A2–11, we find that it keeps to the principles *implicit in the original Mencius speeches*. That is, the splinter group either could not or did not take away with them the Mencian transcripts, but instead created an equivalent *in more analytical form*. This equivalent, which already makes the transition from politics to philosophy, then became the teaching and/or proselytizing text of the northern school.

We may now recall the 2A3–2B1 series of analytical passages which was the first addition to MC 2A2. Analysis of this set reveals that though they also keep to the general tenor of the original Mencius, the fit is not quite so close as that of the 4A2–11 nucleus. They are, so to speak, just one step further removed from the original Mencian position. We might wonder why, since they had the original speeches, the southern group needed this paraphrase at all. It may be that the impetus came from the example of the northern school, and that 2A3–2B1 were *a competitive response* to the 4A2–11 innovation.

Mencius had been a student at the Lǚ school since the mid-04c. The populism of LY 12–13, written while he was still there, very possibly reflected his contribution as a senior disciple. The Lǚ counter-influence felt in the Chí GZ groups and later in the DJ came from this same source. In his own voice, sometimes censoriously, he carried these principles to the rulers of Ngwèi and Chí and elsewhere, in speeches his amanuensis Gūngsūn Chǒu transcribed as the core text of a successor school, and Wàn Jāng later paraphrased as the text of a rival school. It is nice to have Mencius's virtual *voiceprint* in the MC 1 transcripts. But surely far more impressive is the ongoing *echo* of that voice over the last forty years of the liveliest philosophical debate China has ever known.

XII

Sywndź (SZ). This large text has, as we know from his own collation note, endured bibliographic standardization at the hands of the Hàn palace archivist Lyóu Syàng, in which many partial copies were compared and conflated to make the work we now have. The large number of these copies, and Karlgren's work on Sywndź in the commentary literature, jointly attest the energy of Sywndź's school and its influence on Hàn intellectual life down to Lyóu Syàng's time. As to the text which Lyóu Syàng produced, as a collation it does not in principle offer the kinds of internal clues to its own history which can be assumed to be present in an intact early work, and it will thus not pay us to attempt here to systematically distinguish early from late among its present 32 chapters.

We have however already encountered, and may here collectively review, a few facts relevant to Sywndź's impact on the several Confucian and Mencian schools. This impact will have occurred, or at least intensified, when he came into close contact with them, in a position of superior power, when he was appointed Director (Lìng) of Lán-líng in 0254 after the Chǔ partial conquest of southern Lǔ. The Sywndzian tone of some Analects interpolations (Waley long ago pointed out LY 13:3, and there is a subtle, almost private, satire on Sywndzian fussiness in the "disciple" sayings of LY 19) surely testify both to his presence and his power of compulsion. The war between him and the northern Mencians over the nature of human nature is one of the epic battles of the Warring States. It must have been with enormous personal and philosophical relief that Director Sywndź was able, after the final incorporation of conquered Lǔ into victorious Chǔ in 0249 (modern archaeology, poignantly, has found thousands of Chǔ coins scattered mutely about the streets of the former Lǔ capital) to shut them all down, as he thought, forever.

For three years before his appointment in Chǔ-occupied Lǔ (following that part of SJ 74 which is not based on a misreading of Mencius but seems to stem from a reliable Chí informant), which is to say during the years 0257-0255, Sywndź had been senior resident at the so-called Ji-syà circle in Chí, where he was probably able to leave his philosophical stamp on at least its Confucian-leaning members. For his first five years in Lán-líng he had wielded near-dictatorial powers over the schools in Lǔ and points south. For another eleven years after their suppression, his own school in Lán-líng had been the sole remaining Confucian voice, and had not only taught, but (as theoretical treatises in SZ 1-2 demonstrate) had trained other, future teachers. Even when the school closed after the death of Sywndź's patron in 0238, his influence, carried as Mencius's had been both by his writings (or at any rate the writings produced under his direction) and his pupils, became virtually absolute in the Confucian part of the spectrum, and remained so well into the Hàn. It was only in Hàn that the fortuitously preserved texts of these seemingly extinguished schools emerged once again into the ideological limelight, and Sywndź's own text was gradually less studied. Nevertheless, his effect on organized Confucianism, not only in its essentially authoritarian tone but in the also authoritarian implications of the "classical" canon which he largely defined, continues to be profound down to the present moment.

XIII

Jwāngdž (JZ). Roth (Loewe p56) notes the anthological nature of this work, parts of which have not survived the Six Dynasties editing process; our present text has 32 chapters plus a bibliographer's summary as JZ 33. Space does not permit a detailed unraveling of its complex riches, but we may at least roughly locate it by triangulation.

This does not mean a rush to look up Jwāng Jōu in the concordances: the general convention that living figures are not referred to by name, especially in works sheltering anachronistically under some early worthy, makes this an unfruitful exercise. Second, when there are several strands of a text (as with GZ, MC, and now also JZ), it makes no sense to pursue one supposed author to the exclusion of equally interesting and perhaps more easily findable other authors, and still less to push at what may be a non-author (this authorial fallacy, where many entries begin by building a theory on what may prove to be in the end a mere eponym, is one of the weakest features of the Loewe volume).

Chyēn's Folly. We thus forget Jwāng Jōu and look for evidences of the existence of the JZ text or any of its components. Among these are JZ chapters named in SJ 63: JZ 31 "The Fisherman", JZ 29 "Robber Jī", and JZ 10 "Opening Trunks", plus allusions to JZ 23 "Gvng Sāndž". We have seen how the SJ preferred HFZ chapters of Hàn date, and the high-numbered chapters on this list may well also be from Hàn; phrases from them are quoted elsewhere in the SJ, in Jyā Yí, and in HNZ. Perhaps, as Roth suggests, the HNZ group had some role in the final shaping of the JZ (on the other hand, JZ 30 "On Swords" looks like a hilarious satire on the gang of toughs at the Hwái-nán court). The JZ 29-31 group may thus be from *near the end* of the JZ text-accumulation process.

Waley's Claim (in *Analects* [1938] p25) that LY 18:5-7 are "anti-Confucian anecdotes . . . naively accepted by the compilers" does ill justice to these brilliant rebuttals of JZ 4:8 and 12:11, whose original Dàuist challengers flee from the questions of rhetorically victorious Confucius. LY 18:6 in particular ends with the most eloquent appeal ever made against Dàuist escapism: bad as times are, and faulty as humankind is, *we cannot but cast our lot with them*. By the c0265 date of LY 18, then, the JZ 4 and 12 cells of the JZ were in operation: attacking Confucians and being broadsided in their turn. This is probably from *near the beginning* of the same JZ text-accumulation process.

The Fall of Sùng. As to the context in which this escapism arose, we may note references to primitivistic communities (MC 3A4) and puristic individuals (MC 3B10) in the late Mencius. These cases go far beyond the principled obscurity of the 04c scholar, and amount instead to a renunciation of government and even society. This quarrel with the world might have resulted from the event that split the Mencians themselves in two: the 0286 fall of Sùng. The utter vanishing of this ancient state had a profoundly demoralizing effect, and so might have inspired the creation of a new counter-society. Anti-governmental nihilism, grim or rhapsodic according to taste, pervades the JZ. Its compilers may easily have been moved to escapism by the fall of Sùng, sustained in it by the rise of Chín, and cured of it only by the doctrinal uniformity and civic energy mandated by Hàn Wǔ-dì in his Confucian-establishment edict of 0136.

XIV

Sündž. The present 13–chapter text is the most celebrated Chinese tactical treatise; it has been commented on by military luminaries of the stature of Tsáu Tsáu. Griffith (*Sun Tzu / The Art of War* [1963] 11), based on the stage of military technology which it implies, puts it at 0400–0320, by which he seems to mean “04c, before the SJ date for the introduction of cavalry”. The CC/LY evidence (above, p39) implies that the large infantry force treated by the Sündž appeared in Lǔ in the middle 04c; the GZ proves it to have developed somewhat earlier in Chí. Cavalry was adopted by Jàu to counter an Inner Asian threat; it need not have spread at once to non–border states like Chí or Lǔ, hence its use in dating is debatable; Griffith’s Sündž conclusion may then be restated as “04c, surely by late 04c”. As to the identity of Sündž, whose authority is invoked at the beginning of each chapter, SJ 55 tells a picturesque tale of Sün Wǔ, said to have formed an army from the harem girls of King Hǔ–lǔ of Wú at the end of the 06c, and a dramatic tale of the 04c Chí strategist Sün Bìn, who defeated Ngwèi at Mǎ–líng in 0341. Since the idea of a mass army, and a fortiori a mass–army strategist, is untenable in the 06c, we must conclude that “Sün Wǔ” (Wǔ means “military”) is a back–projected mythical image of the 04c strategist Sün Bìn. Even the Sün Bìn connection seems specious: chapter 7 quotes the Jyǔn Jǔng (“Army Administration”), which conflicts with the incipit quoting “Sündž”. It seems that in Sündž 7 and in any chapters of equal or earlier date, these incipits are later additions (Sündž 7 is itself quoted, in the DJ, as the Jyǔn Jǔ), which were designed to augment the book’s authority by adding that of Sün Bìn.

Nature of the Sündž. It is notable that Sündž 1 begins, and Sündž 12 ends, with the same thought: war is essential to the life of the state. This suggests that Sündž 1 and 12 (or these portions of them) are framing material, implying a concentric growth process up to that point, with Sündž 13 (on spies) being a later addendum. Chapters 1–12 seem to refer to different evolutionary stages of the predominantly infantry force, up to its full coordinated–maneuver level, implying accumulation over time. Since much of the book stresses the costs and perils of war, and emphasizes instead parsimony, indirection, camouflage and intrigue, we will associate it not with a big country (such as Chí, for which see rather the military chapters of the GZ), but with a small country trying to play in the big leagues. Among the candidates is neighboring Lǔ, where the fame of Sün Bìn would have been known. Lǔ is also suggested by the fact that the Sündž at several points takes, on troop morale, very much the LY 12–13 line (of course, as we have seen above, this view was later influential in Chí also). We may thus suspect that Sündž is a Lǔ text, copying and recapitulating the evolution of the mass army of Chí, at some later point (probably after his death) claiming the authority of Chí’s Sün Bìn, but taking a different and milder theoretical tack due to the economic limits on Lǔ as a military power.

Nor are the military ambitions of Lǔ a mere supposition: it seems, from a document that can be detected as one source of SJ 15, that Lǔ under Píng–gǔng tried to strengthen its local prestige by alliance with Chín, but was instead reduced to vassal status by Chǔ, and from 0302 on played an essentially wary and covert role in international intrigue.

The Primary Accretional Sequence. A mass-infantry force requires large stocks of food and arms. The first hint of its emergence in Lǔ is the mention in LY 11:14 (c0337) of the enlargement of the Lǔ storehouse. Between that and the retort of “Confucius” (in LY 15:1, c0308) that he “has not studied” tactics (implying that such study was possible, and thus that such texts existed), there must occur much of the evolution of the Sūndž.

The new issue for a non-chariot army will have been fighting on non-level ground. The difficulty of securing the loyalty of troops who, unlike the chariot elite, had not been trained to war all their lives, will also have appeared early. Sūndž 9–11 deal with both terrain and morale, and should present between them any accretional sequence preserved in the work. Of them, Sūndž 9 is the most elementary. It classifies four types of terrain, mostly non-level, and notes that higher ground is advantageous (“don’t attack uphill”). It devotes much space to figuring out (from smoke or activities) what the enemy is up to; it also notes that troops’ *loyalty* must be gained before penalties can be imposed.

Sūndž 10 has a sixfold operational-terrain list, and advises gaining the troops’ *affection*, as in LY 12:7. This is a more advanced position than that of Sūndž 9.

Sūndž 11 has a ninefold analytical-terrain list, and notes that on long campaigns, mere distance will partly solve the morale problem. This is a yet more advanced stage.

Sūndž 12 begins with a section on fire attacks, and can be construed as a wholly specialized section, moving beyond the basic maneuvers evolved in Sūndž 9–11. The final portion on the importance of war to the state was probably an addition made at the same time that Sūndž 1 was added, whenever that was (like GZ 3A, several Sūndž chapters include later additions; discussion of these fine points is omitted here for space reasons).

We may conclude that one accretion-sequence in the text comprises Sūndž 9–12A, in that order, with Sūndž 8–1 presumably preposed in *that* order.

Later History of the Text. Before checking on the preposed chapters, we may glance ahead to the probable later history of the Sūndž. First would be a certain local celebrity (frugality and guile have uses even for strong states). The dispersal of Lǔ cultural treasures upon its conquest in 0249 may have led to wider celebrity, and dimmed its specifically Lǔ origins. By LSCC 17:7, which postdates that work’s 0239 postface, we find “Sūn Bìn” (sic!) mentioned as stressing “latency” (shì), the topic of Sūndž 7. Acceptance of the Sūndž in Chín (a foe of Chǐ) will have been smoothed by reattributing it to an *earlier* figure serving an *extinct* state, and in the slightly later LSCC 19B “Sūn and Wú [Chǐ]” are associated with King Hǔ-lǔ of Wú; here is the Sūn Wǔ reattribution, which *also freed up the name Sūn Bìn*. In early Hàn, the Girls of Wú tale and other dialogue matter was added to the original Sūndž, and new, elaborative essays were gathered under the name Sūn Bìn; both types of material occur in the Yín-chywè Shān tomb trove, from the early years of Wǔ-dì. A proliferation of military texts at this time is also shown by the HFZ 49 remark that Sūn and Wú were “kept in every household”. The SJ, from later in Wǔ-dì’s reign, knows the 13-chapter Sūndž in its Wú attribution, and the new “Sūn Bìn” writings. Lyóu Syàng, still later, notes that the “Wú” Sūndž had reached 82 chapters, and the “Chǐ” [“Sūn Bìn”] Sūndž 89. The former was later cut back to its old 13-chapter size; the latter was lost altogether until its recent rediscovery.

The Proposed Sündž Chapters. We now take up the remaining problem of fitting the proposed Sündž chapters into the sequence hypothesized above for the postposed ones.

Sündž 9 stands alone in the text. It represents a first attempt to reduce the conditions of the new non-chariot warfare to rules of thumb. It emphasizes cunning.

Sündž 10 is a revision of Sündž 9, and thus later. It takes a more analytical view of terrain. Like chapter 9, it emphasizes cunning, and also the independence of the commander and the affection of the troops.

Sündž 8, like 10, notes the need to disobey certain orders, but insists at the outset that the orders come from the sovereign; it is thus an adjusted version of 10. It notes certain types of terrain to avoid, and thus continues to advance over the analysis in 10.

Sündž 11 is a third reformulation of the terrain question. It introduces long-range campaigns, showing a technical and organizational advance over previous chapters. It notes that distance per se partly solves the morale problem.

Sündž 7 also emphasizes the dangers of long marches, and adds detail on factors affecting troop psychology. The chapter quotes an outside text and is itself quoted, not as the Sündž, in DJ (Sywæn 12/2; compare the same line in the interpolated LY 9:26). It was thus at this time not yet attributed (by the present chapter incipits) to Sün [Bīn].

Sündž 6 makes nearly magical claims for its ability to compel the enemy's movements; it also refers to the theory of the cyclic dominance of the Five Planets.

Sündž 5, probably close to 6 in date, also features cyclic-dominance theories; it emphasizes communications and organization, and mentions the crossbow.

Sündž 4 shows demoralization; the defense is superior, and victory can only be gained if the enemy makes a mistake. Some chastening experience, or at the very least a loss of advantage formerly conferred by rules of thumb which are now widely known, lies between this sadder-but-wiser realism and the can't-lose euphoria of Sündž 6-5.

Sündž 3 continues cautious: it is best to win without fighting, and especially risky to assault fortifications. We see here the effect of Mician defensive tactics, which give recipes for repelling just such assaults; clearly this text and the Mician tactical series were evolving in tandem, by turns finding, and blocking, a new device of assault.

Sündž 2 discourages long-distance campaigns, emphasizing their cost and their risk; the confidence of 11 about such campaigns is now a thing of the past.

Sündž 12 or its first part introduces fire attacks, probably in an attempt to break a contemporary tactical deadlock.

Sündž 1 and the peroration of 12B emphasize the role of war in the preservation of the state, probably as part of the final stage of the court debate in the vicinity of 0308; Sündž 1-12 would easily underlie the sardonic reference to tactical "study" in LY 15:1. After the dismissal of the war party in c0303, this text will have been temporarily closed.

The Final Chapter: Sündž 13. This, on the ultimate covert tactic of espionage, is the final fling of an otherwise quiescent Sündž school. In 0272 the King of Chū offered Lǔ court posts to various dispossessed parties. The Analects Confucians indignantly rejected these (see LY 17), but the Sündž group may have accepted. If so, the 13-chapter Sündž was in place by 0270. Thereafter, it was a fully closed, if increasingly classic, text.

A Note on Wú Chǐ. Though diplomatically disabled after 0303, Lǔ still had an army, and must have needed a drill manual and tactical reference for daily use. A training manual may also have tactical bite, as when the German “Hutier” tactics of 1917 attempted to solve a tactical standoff, the “riddle of the trenches”, not with new ideas but with *better-trained execution of common ideas* (Dupuy *A Genius For War* [1977] p171). The Sūndǔ group, we have assumed, was largely quiescent. We must therefore posit a distinct military party with its own text. The situation, requiring covert army development, may have resembled that of Germany under Seeckt from 1920 on (Dupuy, p209–220). There are reasons for suspecting that the Wúdǔ, with its seemingly elementary emphasis on recruitment, training, and weaponry, may have been the text of this period.

First, it was later associated as a classic pair with the Sūndǔ, and the simplest reason for this linkage is a historically linked origin, in Lǔ or wherever the Sūndǔ arose.

Second, the Wú Chǐ legend (SJ 63) includes a Lǔ discipleship under “Dzǔngdǔ” (since the only occasion for military distinction in Lǔ will have been the 0412–0408 Chǐ border clashes, this was not Dzǔngdǔ pere but his son and successor Dzǔng Ywǎn). Given Lǔ’s low rank as a military power, Wú Chǐ’s image gains nothing by this claim. *It therefore might be true*, in the limited sense that the Wúdǔ may have had Lǔ origins.

Third, the Wúdǔ shows Confucian traces, such as inculcating virtue in the troops; its beginning mixes the LY 15:1 dialogue with an LY 2:23 remark. It also incorporates ideas from the Sūndǔ (chapters 1–12). It thus maintains a continuity with the Sūndǔ group (possibly, as the anti-Chǔ party, banished from court at the insistence of Chǔ in 0303) while preserving military readiness in the field, as a post-0303 Lǔ text might have done.

Ascriptional Zigzags. We may recall that the Sūndǔ was originally unattributed. Next, probably after Sūn Bìn’s death and by 0308, a glamorous link was claimed with the tactics of Sūn Bìn. As a third step, the Wúdǔ by its ascription will have claimed descent from a Lǔ figure, and *an earlier one than Sūn Bìn*, raising the antiquarian ante (the Wúdǔ is cast as though presented to Ngwèi, balancing the “Chǐ” aura of the Sūndǔ). As a fourth step in what was now a rivalry, the legend of *an earlier Sūndǔ* who had won fame in Wú Chǐ’s homeland Wú (same character) may have been devised for the Sūndǔ. This stepwise rivalry, leapfrogging the centuries backward to some constructed antiquity, will have prepared the texts for their classic status among the works of the military canon.

Legendary Aspects. As for the historicity of these press-release ascriptions, it is worth noting some of the elements common to the Sūndǔ and Wúdǔ myths *taken together*. First, the motif of *success in far countries*, a need also felt by every Hebrew prophet and American violinist. Second, the specific Wú detail, Wú being naturally present in the (probably) historical Wú Chǐ’s name, but also suggesting military prowess due to the fame of Wú as the home of master swordsmiths. Third, for the tabloid public, we have the motif of violence against women. Wú Chǐ is said to have put away his Chǐ wife to convince the Lǔ ruler that he could be trusted with command against Chǐ. Topping this, Sūn “Wǔ” disciplines his Wú harem-girl demonstration army by *beheading its leaders*. Fighting back, Wú Chǐ’s press agents have him *not dismissing, but killing*, his Chǐ wife. As biography, this is worse than negligible; as an index of popular values, it has its uses.

XV

The Dào-Dé Jīng (DDJ). We may begin, in studying anew this much-studied work, by ducking the authorial or Lǎo Dǎn trap and going straight to the text, of which the oldest exemplar is the Mǎ-wáng Dwèi (MWD) “A” copy of the Chín period. In this, the usual Dào-Dé order of the work, grouping chapters 1–37 and 38–81, is *reversed*, yielding what has been called a Dé-Dào Jīng which orders the groups as 38–81 and 1–37. It has been assumed that Dé-Dào was the original order, but other evidence shows that it is instead *an aberration*, since references either to the text or the term, both before and after the MWD copy, uniformly imply a Dào-Dé sequence. LSCC, from pre-imperial Chín, several times refers to Lǎudž, and in LSCC 10 and 14 uses the term dào-dé freely, but *never its opposite*. From early Hàn, near the closing of the Mǎ-wáng Dwèi tomb, we have two anecdotal commentaries: HFZ 20 and its imitation in HNZ 12. Both skip around from chapter to chapter, the governmental HFZ 20 concentrating almost exclusively on the more governmental Dé section, the partly philosophical HNZ 12 including more of the Dào chapters. This merely reflects the interest of the quoting text, and tells us nothing about the source. But both subtly acknowledge the special status of the Dào chapters: HFZ 20 comments on DDJ 1 as a fundamental saying, and HNZ 12 frames its series of passages with DDJ 2 and 37, except for DDJ 1 itself the delimiters of the Dào section. From later in Hàn, SJ 63 refers to the text as Dào-Dé Jīng. Finally, the text itself, when it uses both terms, always mentions the dào as preceding, in some logical sense, the dé (DDJ 21, 38, 59), or cites them in the order dào-dé (DDJ 23, 41, 51). All this seems decisive against the *authority* of the MWD text on this point. What then is the *reason* for the apparent MWD text departure? Perhaps, in a world of endemic dreams of rebellion, because reversing the halves of the work makes it end with DDJ 37, which can be read as supporting the universal rebel aspiration:

The Way is forever without names [does not belong to one dynasty]

If Lords and Kings [lesser Hàn rulers] preserve it,

The Myriad Entities [universal dominion] will spontaneously become theirs

Affiliations. Henricks has noted, albeit not pursued, two very important features of the text which are especially clear in the MWD early copy: first (**The Ma-wang-tui Manuscripts of the Lao-tzu and the Problem of Dating the Text** Chinese Culture v20 #2 [1979] p6), the MWD copy shows clear evidence of being in Karlgren’s Lǔ language; second (p14, citing Syw Fù-gwān), it is in some stylistic and grammatical points close to the Analects. Henricks “shudders to think that someone might conclude that the [Lǎudž] was written by Confucius or one of his disciples in the [Lǔ] school!”. One may shudder or not as one likes, but this seems to be exactly where the evidence is leading. If we turn to the Analects for more light (above, p40), we find that it contains hints of the rise and fall of a nearby meditationist sect, whose first trace is in LY 11:8 (c0337), from a time when Mencius would have been a “disciple” at the Lǔ school; there is also in MC 2A2 testimony from Mencius himself about the practices of such a group.

I suggest that the DDJ is *precisely the house text of this Lǔ meditationist cult*.

End of the DDJ. As we have seen above, the early Analects interest was followed by a rejection of meditation. There remained, however, a permanent imprint on Confucian thinking (the inactive ruler of the DDJ was compatible with the ideal advice-taking ruler, as idealized by the advice-giving Confucians), though we find little actual DDJ contact from LY 1 onward. This, we have conjectured, was a period of Confucian withdrawal from court. The lessened contact would then be explained if the DDJ group had remained active at court, as the increasingly governmental tone of its higher-numbered chapters suggests. This is the statecraft portion of the text, the part which qualifies it for Creel's useful term "purposive" Dàuism, the part that the HFZ concentrated on, and the part that the MWD scribe went so far as to begin his copy with. The governmental advice in this section, even more than the circumspect tactical advice in the later Sündž, seems extraordinarily well adapted to the case of a weak country between stronger neighbors, hoping to survive through a policy of not attracting attention, and thus being still there, like some mild P G Wodehouse character, when the toughs have finished each other off. Don't (it in effect says) take a high profile, don't pursue an active policy, stay behind the curtains, don't breathe – and then will come a crash, and the burglars will have knocked each other out, the shy hero will emerge, call the police to take away the bodies, and at last marry the girl. This atmosphere of hoping for outside miracles fits the reduced range of Lǚ options, from the Chǔ vassalage of 0303 through the Chí conquest of Sùng in 0286 to the imposition of even stricter Chǔ control in 0272. Still more exactly, the reduction of Lǚ territory by the loss of its southern or Sywǒjōu area in 0255/54 seems to be what DDJ 80 is trying to put a positive spin on, in its often mistranslated first lines:

Make the country small (syǎu gwó),
 Make its people few (gwǎ mín) . . .

As so often happens in real life, the final thud, when it came, was the collapse not of the big bullies Chí and Chǔ but of Lǚ itself, when Chǔ marched into its capital in 0249 and ended the whole charade. It seems to be this fact which explains why there is no DDJ 82, just as it gives a reason for the interruption of LY 20 after only one pair of sayings.

Beginning of the DDJ. So much for the tail of the work. As for its head, we will naturally look for something more typical of the original meditative impulse that got into the Analects in LY 11:8. By far the most unalloyed of the meditation chapters, and the only one which really gives a sense of mystical ineffability, is the rhymed DDJ 14. If we regard this as the core of the work, then the chapter sequence 14–81 will be the main postposed series, and 13–1 a parallel preposed series. As to the date of DDJ 14, it has in common with LY 3 the phrase "way of the ancients" (LY 3:16) and the issue of whether one can (DDJ 14) or cannot (LY 3:9) know the old ways. If this was borrowed by the nascent DDJ for a reality which, as the rest of that chapter makes clear, is transcendent rather than literally historical, then we would place DDJ 14 after LY 3 (c0356). The later DDJ 16 use of syw "empty" might precede the use of kung "empty" in LY 11:8 (c0337). This leads to the preliminary chapter dates c0345 (DDJ 14) and c0340 (DDJ 16), and implies a timespan of almost a century, or c0345–c0249, for the DDJ text as a whole. Here we have a third Analects resemblance: the DDJ has a *similar accretional form*.

Head and Tail Accretions in DDJ. This head-and-tail accretion theory cannot however simply be borrowed from the LY; it must be established separately for the DDJ. To do this, we must show that *preposed* chapters, taken in reverse order forward from the DDJ 14 core, can be matched in form or content with *postposed* chapters, taken in normal numerical order from the same starting-point. First, let us pin down the general date of DDJ 14 and environs by showing LY links (the approximate LY dates are in parentheses):

DDJ 14 starting-point: primary meditation-text

DDJ 16 and LY 11:8 use of synonyms of “empty” for meditation (c0337)

DDJ 17 and LY 12:9 use of the term *bǎi-syìng* for the people (c0323)

DDJ 13 and LY 12:23 dispute over whether disgrace is good or bad

DDJ 19 (diminish self; curb desire) and LY 12:1 (subdue self; don’t covet)

DDJ 12 and LY 12:7 on food supply

DDJ 20 (appearing stupid) and LY 2:9 (Yén Hwéi [sic!] is stupid; c0317)

DDJ 11 (chariot wheel-hub metaphor) and LY 2:22 (chariot yoke-bar metaphor)

DDJ 22 and LY 2:5 “straight and crooked” metaphor

Now, for the same range, here are some internal, purely-DDJ, head-and-tail matchings:

DDJ 14: primary rhapsodic description

DDJ 17/13: achieving mental detachment

DDJ 19/12: avoiding sensory distractions

DDJ 22/10: keeping to a unitary principle; do not do too much

DDJ 24/8: relinquishing of credit and blame

Thus, (1) the text does expand concentrically, as shown by coordination of theme at points roughly equidistant from the DDJ 14 center, and (2) as of DDJ 10/22, c0318, the text has already moved into the area of governmental advice; ditto DDJ 8/24. It is probably no accident that this falls chronologically near the accession of Lü Píng-gūng, who may have given the “Yén Hwéi” or DDJ group a position at his court. There follows an adoption, in DDJ 25 and the corresponding DDJ 7, of the cosmology metaphor which had already figured in LY 2:1 (and was probably of Chí origin). Here, as often elsewhere, DDJ is not contributing to, but copying and catching up with, the senior LY Confucians.

From a few years later, DDJ 26 is incredulous that the ruler of a country should lose the center of power, apparently referring to the Yēn abdication crisis of 0314. The theory of opposites, cryptic in DDJ 3-2, has a more utilitarian turn in DDJ 27-28; the pull between individual and government maxims begins to be apparent. DDJ 28-29 develop the “vessel” motif (symbolizing the dispersion of power to subordinates) from LY 2:12, again perhaps an adverse comment on the Yēn ruler’s ceding sovereignty to his minister (it is nice to see the DDJ going against “Dàuist” type: choosing power over renunciation).

DDJ 1 is self-evidently the end of the concentric-addition pattern. Though wholly unintelligible if read in isolation *as the beginning of the work* (as witness innumerable articles explaining this one chapter or its first lines), it makes perfect sense as an attempt *to balance the two halves of the dualistic DDJ*, defining “desirelessness” and “desire” as equally valid spheres, and thus co-legitimizing inner cultivation and outer diplomacy. From here on, only the “desire”/diplomacy half of the agenda would be textually pursued.

DDJ and Sündž. Before considering the diplomatic half of the DDJ, we may go back to collate the DDJ and the Sündž, as a check on our inference that both these texts accumulated side-by-side in Lǔ during the same half-century.

There seems to be no awareness between the respective cores, DDJ 14 and Sündž 9. Both groups were presumably bent on their own primary agendas.

DDJ 12 and Sündž 8 share uses of fivefold numerical categories, analytical in the Sündž (advantages and disadvantages) and conventional in DDJ (colors, notes, tastes). If anything (see above, p44), the Sündž version is earlier, but both are derived from Chǐ usages and thus do not establish a lateral relation between Sündž and DDJ as such.

There are however organic links between DDJ 15 and the third postposed military chapter, Sündž 11. These include the term “subtle” (wēi) and the emphasis on quietude. These are not primarily military concepts, and we may plausibly infer that the tacticians are here applying lessons learned in the first instance from the mystics.

The postposed DDJ 22 uses the “straight and crooked” image; so does Sündž 7. The counterpart preposed chapter DDJ 10 has a line about “keeping the spirit whole”, and Sündž 7 warns about an army or commander’s “spirit being taken away”.

DDJ 8 praises water as seeking the depth, Sündž 6 as an image of tactical fluidity.

DDJ 7, 6, and 5 all work the theme of inexhaustibility, as does Sündž 5.

DDJ 4 speaks of that which is hidden but exists; Sündž 4 of concealed defenses.

DDJ 3 advocates wú-wéi; Sündž 3 advises winning battles without fighting. On the whole, we may presentably say that our separate hypotheses of text growth in DDJ and Sündž have been sustained in detail by this direct confrontation of the two.

DDJ Diplomacy. We now resume the evolution of the DDJ from the diplomatic and utilitarian point reached as of DDJ 28–29. From DDJ 30, the text seems to attack the war party by articulating a vivid anti-war stance, continued in DDJ 31. In DDJ 32–37 this develops into a theory of Lǔ as peacemaker (the quiet hegemon, so to speak) of the states, conquering without force and holding without possession. DDJ 37, which seemed to promise success in rebellion to the owner of the MWD “A” text, acquires in this context a different ring: DDJ 36–37 together are a plan for letting the great states rage together, and eventually subduing them with mystical influence. An analogous point is made, with a DDJ concept, by the Analects image of the wú-wéi ruler Shùn (LY 15:5, c0308). However opposed at other points, the Analects Confucians and the Yén Hwéi Dàuists seem thus to have stood together on the one great issue of war versus peace.

At this point, with an accumulation of material amounting to DDJ 1–37, we approach the viable limit of one roll of bamboo strips (or at least the limit implied by the Mencius). For this simple reason, and not due to any mystique attaching to the prime number 37, the old roll will presumably have been closed, and a new one begun, with DDJ 38.

This probably occurred at the time of the 0303 Chǔ overlordship. We have noted the appropriateness of the later DDJ to the dwindling of Lǔ political hopes. DDJ 70 with its image of hiding jade in the bosom is echoed in LY 17:1, and the unspeaking Heaven of DDJ 73 has a counterpart in LY 17:17. The final stage, as noted above, is the Chǔ partial conquest of 0254 echoed in DDJ 80, a DDJ 81 increment, and final extinction in 0249.

The Lǎu Dǎn Perplexity is of no importance, but it has human-interest value, and we here take up the mess that previous scholars have found, and despaired of, in SJ 63.

We remember Sūn Wǔ, a *fictive persona* created by projecting the historical Sūn Bin backward in time. The 06c Lǎu Dǎn, archivist of Jōu, is surely fictional; so, probably, is the 04c Jōu archivist also mentioned in SJ 63. Is there in SJ 63 any *plausible fact*, of which the mythical Lǎu Dǎn might be a figment? Among the most promising scraps in SJ 63 is the Lǐ-family genealogy. Genealogies are relatively likely to preserve facts. This one has its end within the lifetime of the senior SJ compiler Sǐmǎ Tán, who being of Dàuist inclination may have picked it up first-hand. It comprises: (1) Lǎudž, (2) his son Dzūng, a general of Ngwèi, (3) Dzūng's son Jù, (4) Jù's son Gūng, and (5) Gūng's great-great-grandson (sywǎn-sūn) Jyǎ, who served Hàn Wǎn-dì (reigned 0179–0157).

There is not the slightest chance that a real ancestor list would omit three generations, especially recent ones, hence the sywǎn-sūn of this last entry is simply a device to make the sequence reach further back than it should. We thus restate Jyǎ (5) as a son of Gūng. Jyǎ was then of adult age, say 40, in 0179–0157 (in the notation of Chalmers, 0168 ± 11). His ancestors went back 4 generations, the family thought, to Lǎudž. Since “Lǎudž”'s son was a general, and military careers can delay families, we calculate not the usual 25 but a longer 30 years per generation. “Lǎudž” by this estimate was 40 ± 11 years old in 0288. That eliminates him as the founder of the Yén Hwéi group and its associated DDJ (c0345; 3 more generations would have qualified him, which may be why the SJ added them). Having no predispositions, we can accept a lack of *original* Lǎu Dǎn / DDJ relationship as merely a research result and not a disappointment; the more so since earlier scholars have reached, on various grounds, exactly the same conclusion. Our sole remaining task is then to document the gradual process of associating Lǎu Dǎn with the DDJ.

The Lǎu Dǎn stories in JZ include simple and thus seemingly early ones, plus elaborate ones in which he is a Dàuist spokesman against Confucius. Perhaps the earliest, which makes no mention of the DDJ, is Lǎu Dǎn's death scene in JZ 3:5. It describes him *critically*, as one insufficiently abstracted from the world. Here we get a glimpse of a real, probably a rival, meditationist leader. The ruler in JZ 3:1 (the Butcher Dīng story) is glossed as Lyáng Hwèi-wáng; if so, then JZ 3 is a Ngwèi chapter, which would be compatible with the appearance in it of a Ngwèi general's father. There is no direct indication of date in JZ 3, but we know that the early JZ was being compiled and asserted during 0284/0249. A man 40 in 0288 ± 11 might thus die at 70 in 0258 ± 11 and still figure in the early JZ. Lǎu Dǎn, with support or at least without contradiction from JZ 3, was thus born c0328, had his own meditationist circle in Ngwèi, probably from c0284, and died perhaps c0254, while the late DDJ was still being compiled in neighboring Lǔ.

For whatever reason, Lǎu Dǎn is taken up as a JZ sage. He meets with Confucius in eight JZ stories, none of which quotes the DDJ. In parallel with this, the fame of the DDJ also grows within the JZ circle: it is quoted in JZ 10:2, without mentioning Lǎu Dǎn. Finally book and man come together in JZ 23:2, which names Lǎudž and quotes DDJ 55. This linkage is then repeated in the outside world, as by Sywǎndž 17 (which names Lǎudž and quotes DDJ 45), and several LSCC passages. At this point, the myth is complete.

Hú vs Lyáng on DDJ. One final argument–resolution, and then I will have done. Back in 1933, Hú Shì (*A Criticism of Some Recent Methods Used in Dating Lao Tzu*, republished HJAS 3 [1937] p373–397) ridiculed the arguments of Lyáng Chǐ-chāu and others in support of an 03c DDJ dating. It should be said in extenuation that Hú could also take the right side of an argument, as in his spat with Suzuki over history versus mythology in the dating of Zen texts (drawing in the process a fatherly pat from Waley, *History and Religion*, Philosophy East and West [1955]), but there it still is: a great man making a fool of himself by attacking a scientific historian, and scientific history as such, in defense of what everyone of consequence now agrees was a mere nursery tale.

Was there in 1933 a chance of being right and not wrong on this issue? I think so. One of Lyáng's points was the DDJ term *gūng* in the sense “fair”, which he claimed was an 03c usage. Hú retorted that it was “in the Analects”, scornfully noting that Lyáng's arguments *would require the Analects to be an 03c text*. The above exposition has shown that the Analects is a slippery rock to anchor a date on, stretching as it does from 0479 to 0249. Tswēi Shù, before he died in 1816, had already shown that LY 16–20 were later than the rest of LY. Hú Shì himself in 1923 (following the 1903 lead of Naka Michio) had helped to bring Tswēi Shù's work to the attention of scholars. He needed only to notice that the LY usage appears in LY 20:1, at the very end of the Tswēi segment, to confirm Lyáng's data, *and reach in fact a mid-03c dating for LY 20*. Having done that, he could next have gone on to produce a far more learned version of the present survey, and Sinology would be precisely 60 years ahead of where it finds itself at present.

The moral of this example, I would venture to suggest, is stated by LY 2:18. Historians should hear much, but set aside the dubious part and build their conclusions only on the sounder part. In this way, perhaps not one person, but the field as a whole, can have fair hopes of muddling along, ultimately, in the general direction of the truth.

Prolegomena to a Retrospect. It may be useful, before moving on to the interfiled chronological summary in the next section, to recapitulate in a few words the general picture to which the above conclusions have led us, as respects texts and states.

We may first note that the large motions of Warring States history seem to comprise an advance from subsistence to surplus agriculture, with larger tax income for states and with greater leisure for individuals to pursue commercial enterprises outside state control. The parallel growth of leisure, power, and wealth underlies virtually all public issues.

It was the followers of Confucius in Lǚ who in 0479 first adapted the technology of writing to the purposes of an ongoing ethical advocacy group (LY). Next arose competing statecraft advocacy groups in Chí, c0357 (GZ), and later the “Hundred Schools” explosion in both states, with governmental texts (Sündž, MC, DJ, Wúdž), nongovernmental texts with a later governmental role (DDJ), and controversial/fictional texts (GY, Mù Tyēndž) being produced in growing numbers in the latter half of the 04c in Chí, Lǚ, and Ngwèi.

With the 03c and the fall of Sùng comes development on the indoctrination side (SZ, centered in the new territories of Chǔ) and counter-proliferation on the nihilist side (typified in our sample by the JZ, parts of which are from Ngwèi). Both type and location seem to widen progressively as the Warring States period draws to its unification climax.

XVI

Summing Up. We might go on to examine such things as the successive revisions of the Mician ethical essays, but the above examples will probably suffice to give an idea of the lines along which it is hoped to construct a general chronology of the Warring States texts. Further examples are thus reserved for a future, and more spacious, occasion. For the present, it should be noted that the ultimate argument in favor of the suggestions and hypotheses here advanced *is that they are mutually consistent*. The summary below, besides providing a convenient overview for readers, may also contribute by illustrating that mutual consistency in a more graphic form.

Certain points not made or only briefly made in the continuous exposition, above, are included here for maximum completeness. As throughout this essay, conjectural dates are given in what is felt to be their likeliest or central form, whether or not the Christian year in question happens to end in zero. To demonstrate the geographical interplay as well as the evolutionary consecutivity of the texts, Chí/Yên events are listed at first indentation, Lǔ ones at second, and Ngwèi/Lyáng and all other ones at third:

- 0479 Confucius dies
- 0479 **LY 4** (4:1–14, 16–17) transcribed by latecomer proteges
- 0478 Analects group continues to exist around nuclear LY 4 text
- 0473 **LY 5** reveals posthumous rivalries among Confucius's proteges
- 0469 Death of Lǔ Aī-gūng
- 0460 **LY 6** finished
- 0460 **LY 6:3** refers to Lǔ Aī-gūng by his posthumous name
- 0450 Chí is cultural and ritual model for Lǔ
- 0450 **LY 7** transformed portrait of sage Confucius constructed by Dzṽngdž
- 0450 **LY 7:14** attests Chí as major cultural model for Lǔ
- 0436 Dzṽngdž dies (last original protege)
- 0436 **LY 8** (8:3, 5–7) memorial sayings of Dzṽngdž recorded
- 0412 Chí attack on Lǔ border
- 0411 Chí attack on Lǔ border
- 0408 Chí attack on Lǔ border
- 0407 Conjectured Lǔ alliance with Wèi
- 0405 **LY 9** revised Confucian portrait by Dzṽngdž's son Dzṽng Ywán
- 0405 **LY 9:15** implies Wèi as a new cultural model for Lǔ
- 0400 Control of Lǔ school passes to the Kǔng family line
- 0400 Transition from ethics to ritual values in Lǔ school
- 0380 **LY 10** ritual manual reflects ritual emphasis of Kǔng family leadership
- 0360 Chí state reorganizes along centrally-controlled lines
- 0360 **GZ 1D** states some principles for establishing a central state
- 0360 **GZ 7D** offers alternate principles for establishing a central state
- 0357 Chí ruler takes title King
- 0356 **GZ 3A** notes principles affecting the new state

- 0356 LY 3 protests Chí usurpation of royal prerogatives; has theory of ritual
 0355 GZ 1F counter-expounds additional principles for the differentiated state
 0355 GZ 3B additional principles for the differentiated state; Mician influence
 0350 GZ 2C on the art of the courtier; concentration
 0345 GZ 1C analytical theory of the people
 0345 GZ 2D analytical theory of the people
 0345 GZ 3D analytical theory of the people
 0345 GZ 7C analytical theory of the people; Mician influence
 0345 Sündž 9 core considers terrain from infantry viewpoint
 0345 DDJ 14 is core text of new Lǚ meditation group
 0342 Sündž 10 revises terrain theories
 0340 Lǚ meditation group adopts Yén Hwéi as its cult figure
 0340 DDJ 15 emphasizes subtlety (wēi)
 0340 Mencius, a student in the Lǚ Confucian school, also joins this group
 0340 DDJ 16 uses “emptiness” as a metaphor of meditation-state
 0337 LY 11 finished
 0337 LY 11:8 uses “emptiness” to describe poor Yén Hwéi’s “success”
 0335 DDJ 17 uses new term bǎi-syǐng for people; urges mental detachment
 0332 DDJ 13 defends disgrace; urges mental detachment
 0330 Wèi capital moved to Pú-yáng; last *fulfilled* prediction in DJ
 0330 Sündž 11 considers long-distance campaigns (cf DDJ 15)
 0330 DDJ 18 finished
 0328 Lǚ Dǎn born in Ngwèi
 0325 GZ 1B on amenability to laws
 0325 GZ 2B on rulership
 0325 GZ 3E on laws as establishing the basis of the state
 0325 GZ 7B on the impersonality of the ruler
 0324 DDJ 19 mentions subduing of the self
 0324 DDJ 12 on avoiding sensory distractions (cf postposed DDJ 19)
 0324 DDJ 12 on food supply (cf LY 12:7)
 0323 LY 12 finished; reacts to GZ populism/legalism
 0323 LY 12:1 demeaning of Yén Hwéi shows anti-meditation reaction
 0323 LY 12:1 satirically parrots “subduing self” from DDJ 19 (0335)
 0323 LY 12:7 on food supply (cf DDJ 12)
 0323 LY 12:9 uses new term bǎi-syǐng from DDJ 17 and elsewhere
 0323 LY 12:23 disputes value of disgrace with DDJ 13 (0332)
 0321 LY 13 finished; reacts to and develops Confucian version of GZ populism
 0320 Mencius leaves Lǚ school; visits Ngwèi as independent persuader
 0320 MC 1A1 interview of Mencius with Hwèi-wáng of Ngwèi [Lyáng]
 0320 DDJ 20 on appearing stupid
 0320 DDJ 11; wheel-hub metaphor
 0319 Ngwèi Hwèi-wáng dies

- 0319 **MC 1A6** interview of Mencius with Syāng-wáng of Ngwèi [Lyáng]
 0319 Astral theories and symbolism popular in Chí
 0319 **GZ 2A** explores new astral theories
 0319 **GZ 7A** explores new astral theories
 0318 **GZ 2E** further develops astral theories
 0318 **GZ 7E** further develops astral theories
 0318 Mencius goes to Chí; makes contact with court
 0318 **DDJ 22** on unitary principle, straight and crooked; government advice
 0318 **DDJ 10** on unitary principle; government advice
 0317 Lǚ Píng-gūng 1st year
 0317 Píng-gūng encourages Yén Hwéi meditation group at court
 0317 **Sündž 7** uses “straight and crooked” metaphor (cf DDJ 22)
 0317 Mencius visits Lǚ from Chí to bury his mother
 0317 Abortive meeting between Mencius and Píng-gūng
 0317 **LY 2** finished, presented to Píng-gūng
 0317 **LY 2:1** reflects currently popular Chí astral symbolism
 0317 **LY 2:5** straight and crooked (cf DDJ 22)
 0317 **LY 2:9** toys with idea of Yén Hwéi’s stupidity (cf DDJ 20)
 0317 **LY 2:15** admits meditation on parallel with book-learning (cf 15:31)
 0317 **LY 2:22** chariot yoke-bar metaphor (cf DDJ 11)
 0317 proto-DJ, in Lǚ language, presented to Píng-gūng?
 0316 Mencius returns to Chí
 0316 Mencius or members of his party carry recent LY layers to Chí
 0316 Mencius or members of his party carry proto-DJ to Chí?
 0316 **DDJ 24** on relinquishing praise and blame; government advice
 0316 **DDJ 8** on relinquishing praise and blame; government advice
 0316 **Sündž 6** uses cyclic-dominance theory (cf DDJ 8)
 0316 **GZ 1A** reflects LY formulation of populist theory
 0316 **GZ 2F** reflects LY formulation of populist theory
 0315 **GZ 3C** reflects LY formulation of populist theory
 0315 **GZ 7F** reflects LY formulation of populist theory
 0315 **DDJ 25** cosmology metaphors
 0315 **DDJ 7** cosmology metaphors
 0315 **DDJ 6** finished
 0315 **DDJ 5** finished
 0314 **Sündž 5** continues cyclic-dominance theory (cf DDJ 5-7)
 0314 Succession crisis in Yēn
 0314 **MC 1B10** records Mencius’s dubious advice on invading Yēn
 0314 **DDJ 26** remarks on loss of power; apparent reference to Yēn
 0313 **MC 1B11** records Mencius’s ambivalent advice on annexing Yēn
 0313 **DDJ 4** finished
 0313 **Sündž 4** is discouraged about the efficacy of the attack (cf DDJ 4)

- 0313 **DDJ 27–28** utilitarian idea of opposites; vessel motif (cf LY 2:12)
 0313 **DDJ 29** further develops vessel motif (cf DDJ 28)
 0313 Other states mobilize to expel Chí from Yēn
 0313 Mencius leaves Chì in disgrace
 0312 Excited Lǚ reaction to military uproar in Chí
 0312 **DDJ 30–31** adopt strong antiwar stance
 0312 **DDJ 3** theory of complementary opposites and inaction
 0312 **Sündž 3** is wary of attacking fortifications (cf DDJ 3)
 0311 **DDJ 32–33** state theory of quiet hegemony
 0311 **Sündž 2** discourages long-distance campaigns as costly and risky
 0310 **DDJ 34–35** develop theory of quiet hegemony
 0310 LY 14 original chapter finished
 0310 **DDJ 2** expanded theory of complementary opposites and inaction
 0310 MC 1B12 records interview of Mencius with Dzōu Mù-gūng
 0310 **Sündž 12** on fire and water attacks
 0309 **DDJ 36–37** state theory of holding without possession
 0309 **DDJ 1** added to harmonize mystical and purposive trends of DDJ
 0309 **DDJ 1–37** complete; roll closed and a new one begun
 0309 **Sündž 1** argues for importance of war to the state
 0309 **Sündž 1–12** seemingly complete; perhaps presented to Lǚ court
 0308 LY 15 original chapter finished
 0308 LY 15:1–2 bitterly opposes study of tactics (cf Sündž 1–12)
 0308 LY 15:5 states ideal of inactive ruler (cf DDJ 36–37)
 0307 MC 1B13 records interview of Mencius with Tǚng Wǚn-gūng
 0305 Chí Confucians calculate Jupiter cycle for DJ additions
 0305 Chí Confucians add historic prophecies favoring Chí to DJ
 0305 DJ completed and presented to Chí court
 0304 MC 2A2 records informal conversation of Mencius and followers
 0304 GY composed as controversialist/popular response to DJ
 0304 GY 6 (Chí chapter) presents Legalist view of Gwǎn Jùng
 0304 GZ 20 adapts and expands GY 6 narrative of Gwǎn Jùng
 0303 LY 14:16–17 (interpolated) echo GZ 20 story of Gwǎn Jùng
 0303 Mencius dies in Tǚng
 0303 Gūngsūn Chǒu collects Mencius's interviews as proto-MC 1
 0303 Gūngsūn Chǒu collects Mencius's conversations as proto-MC 2
 0303 Píng-gūng dies; Chǔ makes Lǚ a vassal
 0302 New prince Wǚn reduced to rank of hóu ("Lord")
 0302 Sündž pro-war party leave Lǚ court in wake of political changes
 0302 Confucians leave Lǚ court in wake of political changes
 0287 Chí threatens Sùng
 0287 LY 16:1 protests the impending Chí conquest of Sùng
 0286 Chí conquers and extinguishes Sùng

- 0285 Yēn and other allies invade Chí in reprisal for conquest of Sùng
 0285 **LY 16:2-3** pronounce a curse on Chí Mǐn-wáng
 0284 Chí Mǐn-wáng dies in border state of Jyǔ; first *unfulfilled* prediction in DJ
 0284 Fall of Sùng gives impetus to many local agrarian/nihilist groups
 0284 Mencian splinter group moves from Tǔng to Dzōu
 0284 Lǐ Dǎn leads own meditationist circle in Ngwèi
 0283 **MC 4A2-11** paraphrases Mencian interviews as text of Dzōu group
 0280 proto-JZ nihilist groups in existence by this time in Lǔ and elsewhere
 0279 Lǔ Chǐng-gūng 1st year; quietly resumes title gūng (“Prince”)
 0278 Chín takes Yǐng; Chǔ relocates capital to Chǔn
 0275 Chǔ devotes more attention to eastern affairs
 0274 **DDJ 70** image of hiding jade in the bosom
 0272 Chǔ reduces status of Lǔ Chǐng-gūng
 0272 Chǔ offers Lǔ government posts to Confucians and others
 0272 **Sūndǔ 13** on spies, added as codicil to earlier Sūndǔ 1-12 text
 0272 **DDJ 73** on unspeaking Heaven
 0272 **LY 17:4, 6** disdains this tainted offer of government posts
 0272 **LY 17:13-16** reviles those who have accepted such posts
 0272 **LY 17:17** on unspeaking Heaven (cf DDJ 73)
 0270 **LY 17:1** image of hiding jade in the bosom (cf DDJ 70); considers office
 0270 **Sūndǔ 1-13** classic text formally complete at this time
 0267 **JZ 4:8** ridicules Confucius for desiring office
 0266 **JZ 12:11** ridicules Confucius for aspiring to help world
 0265 **LY 18** finished
 0265 **LY 18:5** rebuts JZ 4:8
 0265 **LY 18:7** rebuts JZ 12:11
 0257 Sywǎndǔ becomes senior member at Jì-syà
 0256 Sywǎndǔ still at Jì-syà; controversies with Chí philosophers there
 0255 Sywǎndǔ’s third year at Jì-syà
 0255 Lǎu (“old”) [Lǐ] Dǎn dies in Ngwèi; mourned by followers
 0255 Chǔ invades southern Lǔ
 0254 Chǔ enfeoffs Lǔ ruler in Jyǔ
 0254 Chǔ sets up occupation in southern Lǔ
 0254 **DDJ 80** frames loss of Lǔ territory as a triumph of statecraft
 0254 Sywǎndǔ established as occupation director in Lán-líng, southern Lǔ
 0254 JZ 3:5 slightly mentions Lǎu Dǎn as insufficiently detached
 0253 **LY 13:3** prudently interpolated as Sywǎndzianization
 0252 **LY 19** subtly satirizes Sywǎndzian position on ritual
 0250 **DDJ 81** turns out to be last accretion to that text
 0249 Chǔ absorbs northern Lǔ; Lǔ state extinguished
 0249 **LY 20** interrupted at 20:3 by extinction of Lǔ
 0239 **LSCC 1-12** core completed

The Warring States. Scholars as a group are not eager to have their books refuted, their articles undercut, and their assumptions set at naught, by a new discovery. Even if something like the present unified theory should come to be established, Sinologists might still ask: what does it offer them, in mitigation of these many and grievous injuries?

First, it offers a vision of the Warring States period which reveals it, and thus reveals the formation of traditional Chinese civilization, not (as in various ways is still claimed) as a heritage from the ancient sages, but as an *intensely interactive human creation*, the tentative early steps of which are visible to us in the early Warring States record, as are the more confident steps in the later parts of that record. The dynamism of the period, which every textbook mentions but no textbook yet displays, is visible in detail once we properly divide, date, and align the various text-segments into a chronological mosaic, and then read from that mosaic the story of the emergence, interplay, and modification of the basic ideas which were used, or rejected, in constructing Imperial China.

Second, it allows us to watch as the Chinese of the formative period itself began to deny their own achievements, and, for advantage in an ever-more-acrimonious debate, to credit them instead to ever-more-ancient worthies. Empirical Confucius was reshaped in the 05c as a mystic communicant with the Jōu dynasty founders. The practical Chí political thinkers were by the end of the 04c sheltering under the long-dead Gwǎn Jūng. The mechanical Micians gradually came to cite texts “written on bamboo and silk, and engraved on bronze and stone”, until we find them cackling at the opposing Confucians, who brandished supposed ancient texts of their own, “Your antiquity isn’t old enough” (MZ 48:4). Rather than accept all these alleged old writings, say the later Mencians, it would be better not to have any of them (MC 7B3). But despite these doubts, the terms of the antiquity war were too firmly set, and in the end, what Hàn Wǔ-dì made orthodox was not only a body of texts, but a body of state mythology authenticating the texts, which is still in place at the present time, but which the new theory tends at last to dispel.

Third, it enables us at the end to notice that both the human achievement of these centuries and the nonhuman myth which came to overlay it have their counterparts in the history of other cultures, not least cogently that of the so-called European Renaissance, which though disguised for similar psychological reasons as a return to a lost antiquity, in fact transformed its world by ignoring that antiquity, and constructing something new in every sense: military, technological, economic, political, social, artistic, and literary. It is in these historical parallels that the ultimate benefit of the present theory may reside: it tends to bring *Chinese* history for the first time within the context of *human* history, in all its global variety.



Note: the first 29 reviews below are by the editor, the next one is by Paul R. Goldin (Harvard University), and the last two are by XU Wenkan (Shanghai, *Hanyu Da Cidian* editorial offices).

Roger T. Ames, Chan Sin-wai, and Mau-sang Ng, eds. *Interpreting Culture through Translation: A Festschrift for D. C. Lau*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1991. xxvii + 290 pages.

In his "Introduction," Roger Ames makes some very interesting and stimulating observations on the relationship between Anglo-Saxon and Latinate vocabulary in the translation of Literary Sinitic (i.e., Classical Chinese). He praises D. C. Lau -- not a native speaker of English -- for employing demonstrably more of the former in his translation than most sinologists who are fond of Latin expressions. It is not strange that Ames would claim for Anglo-Saxon a greater degree of orality than for Latin, but when he links Literary Sinitic with Anglo-Saxon because it, too, seems to have certain affinities with orality, this gives us cause for reflection. How can we talk about **Literary/Classical Sinitic/Chinese** in the same breath with orality when it is so manifestly a highly anaphoric, artificial book language and has been for over two thousand years, possibly since the very beginning of the script another one thousand two hundred years before that? And yet the fact remains that the conversations of Confucius with his disciples in the *Analects* (*Lun-yü*), the gnomic, oracular wisdom of the *Tao Te Ching* (which I have discussed in the commentaries to my 1990 translation of that text), certain passages from the *Kuan Tzu* (as pointed out by Allyn Rickett), and other early (pre-Ch'in) Chinese texts do indeed display vestigial features which seem to indicate that they were indeed **originally** produced in an atmosphere of orality. This is a conundrum of the highest order for, among Sinitic languages, Literary Sinitic (if it can be considered a language at all) is at the opposite end of the spectrum from the living, spoken vernaculars and topolects. The classically-oriented script is so inimical to the latter, in fact, that they (including Pekingese) cannot even be written down in their entirety with it because many of their morphemes are not represented among the tens of thousands of sinographs.

The great Berkeley sinologists, Peter Boodberg and Edward Schafer, both of whom were obsessive in their pursuit of philological exactitude, came to opposite conclusions about how to portray Literary Sinitic in their own practice. Boodberg's exegetical renderings of ancient Chinese texts are so highly Graeco-Latinate that they are impossible to comprehend except for readers who are thoroughly versed in Greek and Latin, whereas Schafer's more literary translations are similarly hard to understand because of their intentionally archaic Anglicisms.

While Ames' "Introduction" does not provide satisfying answers to all of the enormous questions it raises about the relationship between Literary Sinitic and the oral realm in ancient China, the author deserves credit for initiating the discussion of this topic that goes to the very heart of the nature of Chinese culture.

Here follows a brief exposition of the fifteen papers in the volume, all of them written by friends, colleagues, and students of the honoree who have had close contact with him during a period of three generations.

The first essay, "From Confucius to Xunzi: An Ambiguity of Order in Classical Confucianism," is by the editor. According to the author himself, it is "a perhaps ambitious attempt to reconstruct an account of Confucian attitudes toward law during the formative period of this school that is more coherent and adequate than is presently available in the interpretive literature." (p. 1) That it is, but whether he has succeeded in achieving his aim is problematic. Ames strives valiantly to show that the concept of law in ancient China grew out of the Confucian penchant for ritual (*li*), radically diminishing the Legalist contribution which has seemed so obvious to other scholars. He is particularly perturbed by the demonstration of Derk Bodde and Clarence Thomas in their *Law in Imperial China* that the Chinese derived the foundations of their system of penal law from the Miao (Hmong), an ancient southern enemy whom they later absorbed into their polity. (I myself do not find this at all strange, considering the multiethnic origin of Chinese civilization which I have repeatedly stressed.) A conceptual problem with the paper is that, on the one hand, Ames wishes to see the Confucians and the Legalists as more closely associated than other scholars would have them while, on the other hand, he is so distressed by the Legalist overtones of Hsün Tzu's thought that he is willing to suggest that Hsün Tzu should not even be called a Confucian! In the end, he is able to treat Confucius and Hsün Tzu together through the ahistorical device of a distinction between esthetic composition and logical construction. That may work for philosophy, but not for intellectual history.

The next paper is Hugh D. R. Baker's delightful piece entitled "The English Sandwich: Obscenity, Punning and Bilingualism in Hong Kong Cantonese." This is popular culture at its earthiest and crudest. Baker's research was done not in the libraries of London, but in the streets and alleys of Hong Kong and Macao. Most of his examples are drawn from the category known as *hsieh-hou-yü*, which he translates as "tail-less puns" and which I refer to as "truncated witticisms." But Baker's greatest contributions are in collecting and explicating the peculiarities of a new Cantonese metalanguage which he refers to as "Chinglish." Here he goes beyond previous students of truncated witticisms in showing the resourcefulness of the genre in intimately incorporating English elements. Baker calls bilingual *hsieh-hou-yü* "The English

Sandwich." As an example of how ingenious such bilingual puns can be, we may cite what is probably the best known example:

Head: *Faan-gwai-lo yuet-beng* ("Foreign Devil's Moon-cake")

Link: "Moon-cake"

Tail: *Moon-gik* ("Depressed to an extreme.")

The listener can only understand if he knows the unstated foreign word for *yuet-beng* which is a rough homophone for *moon-gik*. Two further notes should be made on Baker's fine little article. The first is that he faithfully transcribes Cantonese speech into romanization and, where possible, into sinographs (many of them used as phonetic substitutes and others unique to Cantonese). It is telling, moreover, that numerous Cantonese morphemes simply can't be written in sinographs at all.

The third paper is Cyril Birch's "A Comparative Tale of Dramatic Romance: *The Winter's Tale* and *The Peony Pavilion*." In spite of the author's claim that "historical coincidence makes comparison of the two playwrights hard to avoid" (T'ang Hsien-tsu was born in 1550, fourteen years before Shakespeare, and both men died in the same year, 1616), I am dubious of the validity and value of such exercises for scholarship. It is possible, however, that it may help Western readers who are completely ignorant of the conventions and ethos of Chinese drama to come to grips with them.

Chan Sin-wai's paper has a long title, "Problems in Philosophical Translation: Translating the Major Concepts in *An Exposition of Benevolence*," but it is exceedingly short. The paper consists of desultory ruminations on four major concepts: *jen* ("humanity" or "benevolence"), *t'ung* ("interconnectedness"), *yi-t'ai* ("ether"), and *hsin-li* ("psychic energy" or "power of the mind"). Because T'an Ssu-t'ung (1865-1898), the author of *An Exposition of Benevolence*, was strongly influenced by Buddhism, it may be helpful to look at the Sanskrit background of some of the terms he uses, such as *bala* for the last one mentioned above.

Chow Tse-tung and Wayne Schlepp team up to study "Ten *P'u-sa-man* Poems from Tun-huang." As translations, the ten poems presented do well enough, but the notes and commentary leave much to be desired. The most egregious offense is a paragraph by Chow on the second page about a variant graph. It is written entirely in the most impenetrable and specious style of scholiast's pedantry and proves nothing. (The "logic" is roughly $A||B=C=D-->E>F.:A=F$. This is nonsense, of course, but it is a classic example of how the form of an argument -- no matter how old and well-established -- is useless unless accompanied by lucid and intelligent exposition. It will take more than the obligatory quoting of a pile of old dictionaries to make sense of a difficult philological problem. Since this is a book about *interpreting culture through translation*, for goodness' sake, it is an affront to the reader for the editors to have included this paragraph. For those who are familiar with Professor Chow's

writings, however, it only reinforces our opinion of him as an unregenerate, unrelenting traditionalist who (except for his work on the May Fourth Movement) has made practically no effort for forty years to *interpret* anything Chinese to the West, but has only been content to regurgitate over and over what the Chinese already have been telling themselves for millennia. (Who was Chow directing this paragraph at? The only part of it that is helpful are the last couple of speculative sentences, but these could have been written in English just as easily [more easily, in fact] than in Chow's strained pseudo-Literary Sinitic.) Also annoying is the complete avoidance of any attempt to explain the meaning of the tune title. Since the authors declare confidently that it came from P'iao kuo, a small state in ancient Burma, they should make some effort to grapple not only with the title but with the identification of the Burmese state (what was the original form of the name?) -- all the more so because they make a cryptic, confused reference to the same problem in their note to line 8 of poem no. 9. Finally, some of the textual choices of the authors are difficult to accept. For example, in the last line of poem no. 10, they prefer a variant from the current version of Ou-yang Chiung (894-971), *T'ien-chieh* ("Heavenly Street"), rather than the *t'ien-ya* ("horizon") of the Tun-huang manuscript which arguably makes better sense and for which there are instances in the poetic tradition of where horses neigh, as in this line.

"The Spectrum of Accessibility: Types of Humour in *The Destinies of the Flowers in the Mirror*," by Mark Elvin, is a brilliant and learned essay on the theory of humors as it is found in the Swifteam novel *Ching hua yüan* by the early nineteenth-century polymath Li Ju-chen. Though it is short, Elvin's performance is that of a virtuoso and I heartily recommend the reader experience it for himself. Perhaps the most curious aspect of the essay is that Elvin uses in it a tonalized form of Pinyin that was pioneered by *Xin Tang*, a romanized journal of Mandarin that I edited during the 1980s. Since Elvin does not acknowledge *Xin Tang*, I wonder whether he could have created it independently by himself.

A. C. Graham's "Two Notes on the Translation of Taoist Classics" brings together a pair of papers written in the seventies, the first of which was never published, and the second of which is reprinted from *The Art and Profession of Translation*, ed. T. C. Lai (Hong Kong, 1976). The first paper is a sinological critique of the methods of translation used by Witter Bynner in his *The Way of Life according to Lao-tzu*. Bynner casually admitted that he could not read Chinese (shades of Stephen Mitchell!) and Graham easily demonstrates how true that was. He also shows how Bynner fails to capture either the spirit or the sentiment of the original, replacing it with his own conception of what American readers would expect from a Chinese text. The second Graham paper is on "Chuang-tzu and the Rambling Mode." By "rambling mode," Graham intends "an extraordinary style, which drifts inconsequentially between sense and nonsense with an air of perfect confidence, ...an invention of translators, to

which we resort when losing our grip and meandering from sentence to sentence without any sense of direction." He opines that, although Chuang Tzu is one of the great men in Chinese literature and has attracted James Legge, Herbert Giles, and Burton Watson -- each the best of his generation -- to do complete translations, they all end up in the rambling mode. There are several reasons for this, says Graham, among them the facts that much of the *Chuang Tzu* is unintelligible at the present stage of research; that many of the chapters need to be divided up into shorter sections because they are not single wholes; that the verse sections have not been distinguished from the prose; that commentaries which have worked their way into the text need to be set off typographically; that the text is defective in many places which require emendation and transposition, etc.; that Chuang Tzu is a mystical writer who may be beyond the grasp of those who are not themselves mystics; that it is very difficult to find acceptable equivalents for the key terms. Graham published his own English translation of the *Chuang Tzu* in 1981. In spite of the fact that it has been highly praised by his many enthusiastic disciples, when subjected to the same rigorous standards which he applied to the earlier translations, I find it lacking in many respects: he offers us only a partial translation in which the various sections of the text are often chopped up and spread around, making them very difficult to locate and further destroying whatever unity the original may have possessed; he keys everything to the philosophical problems of the second chapter, badly distorting much of the book by treating it as philosophy rather than as literature; he fails to translate many of the names which have meaning (often puns) for Chinese readers; and so on. Watson's is, overall, a more reliable translation than Graham's, but it does miss the poetry. Hence I was prompted to make my own translation of the complete *Chuang Tzu* for Bantam (published as *Wandering on the Way* in the late summer of 1994; a lengthy set of supplementary notes will be issued as *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 48).

In "Where Cross-fertilization Fails: A Short Critique of the Wilhelm/Baynes Translation of the *Book of Changes*," Richard M. W. Ho takes what is probably the best known and best selling of all Chinese translations to task. The criticism is severe, with Ho calling the Wilhelm/Baynes *Changes* "one of the most dangerous books I have come across." The problem with all translations and explanations of the *Changes*, including Ho's, is that the original text -- being secret and oracular -- cannot be fully comprehended by moderns, by which I mean anyone living after the Western Chou period. Consequently, all that the translators, exegetes, and devotees of the text do is rely on one or another of the available Han and later commentaries to make their interpretations. Considering the fact that Richard Wilhelm was a good, even a great, Sinologist, his rendering of the *Changes* is probably no worse than any other. (My biggest quarrel with the Wilhelm/Baynes *Changes* is that they mix in their own commentary with the original in such a fashion that it is difficult to tell which is which. I have

the same problem with Michael Nylan's commentary to her translation of *The Canon of Supreme Mystery* [*T'ai hsüan ching*]; see the review below.) While Ho does catch Wilhelm in several outright errors, many of his complaints are merely based upon different ways to cope with the ambiguity and obscurity of the original, while others are pure quibbling over how best to express something in English. For example, he makes much ado over the following sentence: *hsien chia san jih, hou chia san rih* which he translates as "Three days before [the day of] *chia*, three days after [the day of] *chia*." The Wilhelm/Baynes translation reads:

Before the starting point, three days.

After the starting point, three days.

Since *chia* is the "starting point" of the Ten Heavenly Branches, it is difficult to see how Ho can get so upset about the way Wilhelm/Baynes have handled the sentence. Furthermore, their translation sounds much better than his, so perhaps he should have left well enough alone. Ho claims that he has only shown "the tip of the iceberg." If so, he'd better stop now before embarrassing himself further. The only way to make progress in comprehending the *Changes* is surely not (as does Ho) through quoting at length later commentators who are usually just as confused by the text as we are, but rather -- like Richard Kunst (in his extensive but unfortunately still unpublished research) -- to attempt to recover as much as possible of the lost oracular wisdom that underlies it. I predict that the biggest future advances in the understanding of the *Changes* will come through comparative studies involving the divination practices and mythology of other, related cultures.

It is very strange that there would be two sets of translations of Tun-huang lyrics in a volume of this nature, especially since some of the same poems are included in the two sets, but the chapter of Chow and Schlepp is complemented by Liu Ts'un-yan's "Some Lyrics from Tun-huang." Liu's chapter consists of eleven translated lyrics with accompanying Chinese texts and one or two (mostly very short) notes each. As poetry, the Chow/Schlepp renderings are definitely superior, and I suspect that we have Schlepp (who did some very fine translations of Yüan arias many years ago) to thank for that. (Liu's are basically accurate but more prosaic.) Yet several interesting things emerge from Liu's treatment. The first is that he deserves our appreciation for having attempted to translate the tune titles, although "Bodhisattva Alien" for *P'u-sa-man* has been called into question by Elling Eide and others. Also, since *Lang t'ao sha* ("Waves Wash the Sand") is so consistently used among the Tun-huang manuscripts, we do not need to be told repeatedly that it is incorrect for *Huan hsi-sha* ("Washing the Sands by a Brook"), for it was probably an accepted local variant. Secondly, either Chow/Schlepp or Liu has misread the graph that occasioned Chow's fatuous note in Chinese that I described above.

Where Chow/Schlepp read 埤 , Liu reads 搥 which he himself emends to 金華 (Jen Erh-pei made the same emendation in *Tun-huang ch'ü chiao-lu [Tun-huang Arias Collated]* [Shanghai: Shang-hai wen-i lien-ho ch'u-pan-she, 1955], pp. 34-35). If Liu's reading is correct, then everything in Chow's note becomes even more ridiculous. A look at the manuscript reveals that it has 埤 which is ambiguous, and that is probably as it should be. All of these graphs (and many others that are related) are more or less interchangeable. This is made very clear -- especially for Tun-huang texts -- by Jen Pan-t'ang (Jen Erh-pei) in his *Tun-huang ko-tz'u tsung-pien [Compendium of Tun-huang Song Lyrics]* (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1987), vol. 1 (of 3 vols.), pp. 327-328. The point is that there is a tremendous amount of sinographic confusion about how to write what is basically a group of cognate words ("mallet," "sledge," "hammer," "strike/beat/pound [as with a hammer]"). Whether one adds a hand, earth, or metal "radical" is only a visually conveyed (hence unpronounceable) semantic nuance that can have no real significance for the actual spoken word that was in the mind and mouth of the person who composed this verse and in the ears and minds of the auditors who heard him recite it. "Radicals" cannot be spoken, so there is not much point in quibbling over them when one is discussing what was basically a vernacular, sung poem. The editors also need to be asked how Liu can declare with assurance that this same aria, from Tun-huang manuscript S4332, was transcribed in 742 ("believed by scholars to be the earliest known *Bodhisattva Alien [P'u-sa man]* in the history of *tz'u* poetry"), whereas Chow/Schlepp cite authorities that state it was copied c. 750 but written earlier, or c. 800, or before 802. The left hand and the right hand are not talking to each other.

The tenth article is by May-san Ng and is entitled "Reading Yen Fu's *Tian Yan Lun*." The *T'ien yen lun* is supposedly a translation of Thomas Huxley's "Evolution and Ethics," but Ng shows how ("through his ingenious interpolations and commentaries") Yen Fu subverted Huxley's ideas into Chinese.... Ng easily demonstrates that Yen had no intention of remaining faithful to Huxley's original, but simply used it as a springboard for his own Chinese views. Having read Ng's article, I come away with the strong feeling that Yen Fu was a very irresponsible translator and, instead of praising him as Yen has done, I would censure him for not having had the ingenuity to write his own work from scratch or the honesty to follow Huxley's text more closely.

Willard J. Peterson's mysteriously entitled "What Causes This?" is a rambling philosophical disquisition in the best traditions of both China and the West from Aristotle to Hume, with implications for religion and science.

David E. Pollard weighs in with "The Use of 'Empty' Words in Chinese and English," which seems to have the floating subtitle "Modal Adverbs in Modern Chinese and What to Do with Them." Although he quotes from and cites a large number of different sources, Pollard

gives not a single footnote or end note. For some sources, he does give title and page number in the text, for some just a title, and for still others no indication (except attribution of authorship) to where they come from. After what seems like one long digression in half a dozen different directions, Pollard ends inscrutably with a translation of the first few paragraphs of Chou Tso-jen's essay "On Abusive Writing," whose title is cited but oddly (for the Chairman of the Department of Translation at The Chinese University of Hong Kong) left untranslated.

Wayne Schlepp gives us "Chou Te-ch'ing's Preface to the *Chung-yüan Yin-yün*." He begins with a very brief look at Chou Te-ch'ing the man, then makes some speculations about his purpose in writing the book and the nature of the language (Early Mandarin) that he was describing. Pollard also comments upon Chou's attack on his contemporary, Yang Chao-ching, the editor of two anthologies of arias. He concludes his introduction with a discussion of tones in Early Mandarin and a paragraph on editions. Then follows the translation itself which is only a couple of pages long in the original. Despite (or perhaps because of) its brevity, there are many points which are unclear. This, however, cannot be blamed on Schlepp, who has done a yeoman's job as a sinologist, but with the original author.

The penultimate article is by Michael Saso and is titled simply "Mao Shan Revisited." There is a subtext to the article -- the defense of the author's controversial 1978 *Teachings of Taoist Master Chuang* (I am intimately familiar with what went on behind the scenes in this unpleasant business). Saso is gracious enough to defend himself subtly and without overtly counterattacking his critics. In the process, he has some very interesting things to say about the role of oral hermeneutics in the esoteric Taoist tradition. As to whether or not he has vindicated his *Teachings*, only those within the inner circles of Taoist studies can tell.

The last article in the book is Katherine (formerly K. P. K.) Whitaker's "Lyrics from the *Ts'ang Hai Lou Tz'u Ch'ao*." The collection of poems was written by D. C. Lau's father, Lau King Tong, and privately circulated. Whitaker chooses twenty poems from the collection to translate and annotate. Those imitating traditional themes are not very attractive, but some of the more personal pieces make for interesting reading. I was disappointed by the author's failure to translate tune titles and by her use of Mandarin pronunciation to transcribe Cantonese.

As a whole, the volume displays no conformity with regard to romanization, style, or format. The theme of translation may be said to hold the various chapters together loosely, but there are numerous instances which indicate that no editing was done on the volume, even in an attempt to bring consistency of usage, dates, and so forth. Still, it is a fitting and heartfelt tribute for D. C. Lau, who has spent most of his career translating the Chinese classics, reviewing others' translations of and books about them, and occasionally translating a few lyrics.

Sau Y. Chan. *Improvisation in a Ritual Context: The Music of Cantonese Opera*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1991. xvii + 389 pages.

As an extension of Bell Yung's *Cantonese Opera: Performance as Creative Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), this is an exemplary work of scholarship that reveals for us some of the less accessible aspects of one of China's most important regional performance traditions. Based on extensive fieldwork, the book takes us behind the scenes and reveals the innermost secrets of the musical and theoretical production of Cantonese opera, perhaps the most frequently performed of China's roughly 350 regional styles of operatic performance.

One of the most praiseworthy features of Chan's book is the use of Cantonese romanizations for all proper nouns and technical terms except names of cities, provinces, and dynasties in mainland China and Chinese history which are given in Pinyin (Mandarin). Even book titles are given in Cantonese. The use of Modern Standard Mandarin to transcribe other topolects in China is an artificial convention whose inappropriateness is finally gradually being recognized by those who realize the importance of dealing with local and regional cultures directly and on their own terms. How much more authentic is *muk-jy* than *mu-yü*, *pok-deng-ngo* than *p'u-teng-o*, etc. Throughout, the author rightly places more emphasis on the correct recording of Cantonese language than on the **sinographs** which are often manifestly incapable of accurately notating Cantonese speech.

The book has a number of other features which serve to convey in an authentic fashion various features of Cantonese opera. Among these are dozens of music examples which notate percussion patterns, pitches, vocal passages, rhythms, scale degrees, melodies, ornaments, melisma, deviations in notes, and so forth. There are also numerous transcribed texts of poetic, rhymed, patter, plain, and improvised speech. A generous amount of photographs, tables, and figures also helps to bring the spontaneity of Cantonese opera alive for the reader. A map (p. xii) shows the various locations in which the author carried out his investigations.

In his Introduction, the author provides a brief history of the genre and a look at its position in modern Hong Kong. He goes on to show how Cantonese opera is staged for various types of ritual celebrations and as theatrical performances in permanent halls. The size of troupes and the cost of maintaining them is described. Then follows a section outlining the basic characteristics of Cantonese operatic music and a section giving the terms used in the analyses and discussions.

After the Introduction comes the meat of the book in nine chapters: "Improvisation in Cantonese Opera and World Musics," "Ritual Performance," "Improvisatory Concepts among

Performers," "Communication before Performance," "Communication during a Performance," "Improvisation in Instrumental Accompaniment," "Improvisation in Singing," "Improvisation in Speech Delivery," and "Jests, Jokes and Tricks."

The book ends with a brief conclusion, a very useful glossary, a list of references (divided into Chinese and English sections), and an index.

In his exposition, Chan stresses two important aspects of improvisation in Cantonese opera. The first is that, for it to be successful, improvisation must be premised upon a solid foundation in the basic techniques, rules, and performance practice of the genre. The second is that, with the decrease of ritual performance in favor of theatrical presentations during recent decades, the milieu which fostered authentic improvisation is gradually disappearing. We are fortunate that Sau Y. Chan has so carefully and faithfully recorded this difficult-to-grasp side of Cantonese opera in the face of its imminent decline. Perhaps his efforts will be instrumental in its preservation, if not revival.

CHANG Xizhen. *Beijing Tuhua [Pekingese Colloquial]*. Peking: Wenjin Chubanshe, 1992. 2 + 9 + 210 pages.

CHANG/AIXINJUELUE Yingsheng [AISINGIORO *Yingsheng]. *Beijing Tuhua zhong de Manyu [Manchurian in Pekingese Colloquial]*. Peking: Beijing Yanshan Chubanshe, 1993. vi + 243 pages.

BAI Gong and JIN Shan. *Jing Wei'er: Toushi Beijingren de Yuyan ["Capital Flavor": A Perspective on the Language of the Pekingese]*. Peking: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe, 1993. ii + 214 pages.

JIA Caizhu, comp. *Beijingshua Erhua Cidian [Dictionary of Retroflex Final -r in Pekingese]*. Peking: Yuwen Chubanshe, 1991. 9 + 646 pages.

Four (!) more in the seemingly endless series of books for the study of Pekingese colloquial language. This journal has made a specialty of introducing these works to our readers (see *SPP* 8, pp. 26-27; *SPP* 14, pp. B33-36; *SPP* 31, pp. 40-42; and *SPP* 35, pp. 3-4) and we would, in turn, deeply appreciate those who encounter other relevant works for bringing them to our attention.

The third of these four works, that by Bai and Jin, is more of a literary than a linguistic study. After a brief look at the earliest examples of Pekingese as recorded in Yuan and Ming

drama and fiction, the authors devote an entire long chapter to Cao Xueqin and his *Dream of Red Towers*. They then jump to a cursory look at the situation just before and after the May Fourth Movement. After that comes another long chapter on Lao She, the quintessential master of Pekingese -- who complained bitterly that the sinographic script restricted his freedom of expression in his mother tongue. Then comes another short chapter surveying recent changes in style. The concluding chapter focuses on Wang Meng and Wang Shuo. It is somewhat odd that scant attention is paid to Liu Xinwu (quoted as politely declaring that "After Lao She, there won't be a second Lao She"), who probably offers the most authentic portrayals of Peking life today.

While it is plainly concerned with stylistics and ethos, *Jing Wei'er* does have an appendix that is useful for the aficionado of Pekingese language. The appendix is divided into four sections: 1. Yuan-Ming, 2. Qing, 3. Republican period, 3. Contemporary period. Each of the sections lists several dozen colloquial expressions arranged in alphabetical order by Pinyin, and each expression is accompanied by very short definitions and one or two illustrative quotations.

Beijing Tuhua is written by someone who uses the same Han surname, Chang, as the Manchu author of the next book that will be reviewed in this group, so perhaps he is also a Manchu masquerading as a Han. His book started out in 1955 as a series of brief, miscellaneous essays written for the *Hua Bao [China Daily]* in Taipei, where the author has lived for over 40 years, even though he was born and grew up in Peking. After more than ten years, he set them aside, then collected them in a volume entitled *Beijing Tuhua* that was published in Taipei in 1990. The present volume is the revised and expanded version of the 1990 book printed in Peking.

Despite the fact that it contains an appreciable amount of useful information, *Beijing Tuhua* is poorly conceived and poorly organized. It lacks an index and uses romanization to indicate pronunciations only rarely. The definitions and explanations of terms and expressions, moreover, are often inadequate and imprecise. Nevertheless, for someone who is willing to read through it from cover to cover, *Beijing Tuhua* includes information about Peking folklore, customs, sayings, and so forth that is not readily available elsewhere.

In contrast to *Jing Wei'er*, and *Beijing Tuhua*, *Beijing Tuhua zhong de Manyu* is truly a work of historical and social linguistics. Indeed, because of its technical emphasis on subtle phonological features, much of this book will prove to be dry to most readers. Yet it presents a thorough and systematic treatment of the following aspects of Pekingese: the relationship between Northern Sinitic and northern ethnic groups; Northern Sinitic during the Song, Liao, Jin, and Yuan periods; an overview of Pekingese; general features of Pekingese phonology; examples of Pekingese expressions; remarks on the neutral tone and truncated witticisms

(*xiehouyu*); earlier stages in the historical development of modern Pekingese; the northeast (i.e., *Manchurian*) areal extension of Pekingese writ large; Sinitic in the northeast under the Song, Liao, Jin, and Yuan; Sinitic in the northeast during the Ming-- Liaodongese; the formation and development of modern Pekingese; the Han members within the Eight Banners; Shenyangese and Manchu; an overview of Manchu; Manchu-style Sinitic in Peking during the early Qing; the development of Pekingese during the Yongzheng, Qianlong, and Jiaqing reign periods; the development of Pekingese during the Daoguang, Xianfeng, and Tongzhi reign periods; and a list of Manchu borrowings into Pekingese.

The last section is both the heart and the culmination of the book. In it, the author lists 82 terms from Manchu that have made their way into Pekingese daily speech. I suspect that it is far from being exhaustive. Nonetheless, Aisingioro's list is extremely intriguing and informative. From it, for example, I finally learned that the Pekingese word *shuai* ("handsome; good-looking") comes from Manchu *šuwai* ("tall and slender; elegant"). Here, I also encountered such old friends as *sacima* ("a sweet, sticky dessert") and *bakshi* ("master, expert"), about which I have written a long article in the Festschrift for Richard Frye where I show that, ultimately (by a very convoluted process), the Manchus borrowed the term from an ancient Chinese word, thus making it a round-trip word in the grandest sense.

My biggest complaint about this otherwise very useful work of scholarship is that it has neither an index nor a bibliography, but this is a failing which is still the norm for most scholarly books in China, making them far less useful than they might be. Part of the reason why Chinese books avoided indices and bibliographies in the past is that there was no convenient and easy method for looking up items in them. Now, with increasing familiarity of the alphabet in China, there is no longer any excuse for such dereliction. Incidentally, among other works cited by Aisingioro in the text is Jin Shoushen's *Beijinghua Yuhui [A Lexicon of Pekingese]* (Commercial Press). The editor would appreciate additional information about this work or, better still, a copy of the book itself.

Throughout, the author displays the good sense to use romanization for colloquial words in Pekingese that are not representable in sinographs. This is an excellent book written by a Manchu steeped in the lore and language of his native city. Not only is he a good linguist, he is also a good ethnographer and historian, for he shows an admirable sensitivity to the complex interactions between Sinitic and Tungusic peoples during the last millennium. Whether or not one believes in the Altaic language family, this book can only add to the growing body of evidence in favor of Mantaro Hashimoto's so-called Altaic Hypothesis, according to which Mandarin (and especially Pekingese within Mandarin) was changed radically under the impact of Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungusic languages during the more than 1,500 years when speakers of these languages were dominant in North China. These changes

affected not only the lexicon of Mandarin languages and dialects, but the phonology, grammar, and syntax as well. It is probable, in fact, that "Altaic" influence upon northern Sinitic languages was greater than that of Indo-Iranian languages upon Sinitic during the massive and prolonged period of Buddhist importation. It is debatable, however, whether the Altaicization of the period from roughly 400-1900 CE can compare with the overwhelming impact of Indo-European since 1600 CE (and especially since 1900), Indo-European in the period between about 2000 and 800 BCE, or Austro-Asiatic and other types of southern languages in the period between roughly 600 BCE and 300 CE. But all of these questions await further study by disinterested, diligent scholars. So far, they have barely been raised by a few prescient, perceptive researchers such as Aisingioro.

The last volume in this group, that by Jia Caizhu, is one of the strangest books ever reviewed in these pages, a curiosity of compulsive collecting. The author has attempted to include most words in Pekingese that contain a syllabic final retroflex *-r*. He has come up with nearly 7,000, but admits that there are other obscure items that he has omitted. The large size of the book and the fact that it entered its second printing less than a year after the first are good indications of the mystique of Pekingese and the lengths to which people will go to master it.

The book, however, has its limitations. First of all, it stubbornly insists on including only those words and other expressions that can be written in sinographs. Even with a set of characters augmented by forms that are seldom encountered elsewhere, it is hubris for the author to presume that Pekingese, especially of the highly colloquial sort that he is attempting to harness, can be reduced to sinographic writing. I hazard that the "obscure items" that he has omitted are mostly of the sort that cannot be written in sinographs at all.

Secondly, his romanizations are inadequate in several respects. One is that all syllables are spaced equidistantly, probably because of an influence from the sinographic form of writing. This practice is orthographically incorrect and grammatically misleading. For example, in the expression *wár huāzhāor* ("playing petty tricks; relying on cheap cleverness"), when all of the syllables are broken up equally, it neither reflects the actual rhythm with which people speak nor conveys the syntactical relationship among the various elements.

In other respects, however, the romanizations are phonologically far more honest than the sinographs to which they correspond. For instance, whereas 木根儿 might make us think of *gen'er* or, at best, *genr*, the author gives *gər*, which is close to what people actually say.

Jia's 7,000 specimens are listed in an order as odd as his book -- by the 26 retroflexed finals of Pekingese. According to this system, *-uar* contains all syllables that end in *-ua*, *-uai*, and *-uan* plus *-r*; *-ər* contains all syllables that end in *-ei*, *-en*, *-i* plus *-r*, etc. This makes it very difficult to find expressions directly in the main listing of entries. Fortunately, the author has been kind enough to provide a Pinyin index of words (misabeled as a "Chart for Finding

Graphs," again probably under the influence of the sinographs -- it is arranged by head characters but thereafter intelligently by sound for second and subsequent syllables).

For each entry in the dictionary, Jia gives sinographs, phonetic transcriptions, definitions (some entries have two or more quite different meanings), and examples of usage or citations from literary works or linguistic studies. About a quarter of the items have been culled from textual sources stretching all the way back to *Honglou meng* (*Dream of Red Towers*).

An appendix lists 266 pairs (pp. 531-554) of expressions in which presence or absence of final retroflex *-r* can make a significant difference in meaning. For example, *āijiār* means "brothers and sisters who are close in age" or "together," whereas *āijiān* means "shoulder to shoulder"; *diànr* means "a cushion," whereas *diàn* means "to cushion"; *gābar* means "a, wet sticky substance that has congealed," whereas *gāba* is the sticking of such a substance on an object such as a pot; and so forth.

In spite of some minor shortcomings, I found many treasures in this book. One of the greatest thrills was to come across *diānr* which I first heard two decades ago (spoken by Iris Pian [Zhao Rulan, the daughter of the famous linguist, Y. R. Chao] to her husband, Ted -- my recollection is that she spoke it with a trill) and was told that it meant "let's go!" (i.e., "leave," "depart," "split," "cut out"). Now I find that it also can mean "scurrying about" and can also indicate the superlative degree of an adjective. In any event, I am somewhat dubious of the three sinographic forms of the word given by Jia: 顛兒, 趔兒, and 踉兒 (why three?).

With such a plethora of books documenting Pekingese, can we not now begin to have a few comparable works for the other important colloquial languages of China such as Shanghainese and Cantonese? A word of caution to those who will do us the favor of compiling such works: please do not be constrained by the characters. Give us the real McCoy.

Julia Ching and R.W.L. Guisso, eds. *Sages and Sons: Mythology and Archaeology in Ancient China*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1991. xxvi + 216 pages.

Except for a brief notice on the dedication page, four rather inconspicuous paragraphs at the end of the Introduction, and a couple of passing mentions elsewhere, it is not readily apparent that this volume is actually a Festschrift for Ching-ch'eng Shih on his eighty-fifth birthday. He would have been happy with it nonetheless, because all of the nine articles and one appendix collected in the book deal with subjects that he would himself have shown great

interest in. Most of the contributors are affiliated with universities and museums in Canada where Shih taught for many years.

Jao Tsung-i's Foreword offers some interesting observations on the Chinese word for "sage" (*sheng*), in particular with regard to his interpretation of the significance of the strange bronze figures recently unearthed from San-hsing-tui in Szechwan. One of the most intriguing assertions he reports is that of the noted anthropologist, Tung En-chen, who has suggested that they have Caucasian characteristics.

Julia Ching's chapter on sagehood is typical of her interest in terms and their interpretations. While she does not insist that the ancient sages were deities, she does maintain that they deserve emulation and encourage us to attempt a sort of self-transcendence.

James C. H. Hsü delves into the oracle bones, ancient texts, and archeological remains to show that China was not always a land of filial piety and devotion. He presents evidence which would seem to indicate that various types of euthanasia (including possibly cannibalism) of aged parents were practiced in ancient (pre-Confucian) times. Conversely, abandonment of children was widespread, but this certainly did not stop with the invention of Confucianism. Indeed, the predominance of female infanticide even in this century may well be the unintended result of certain types of preferences stemming from Confucian tenets.

Cho-yün Hsü describes three kinds of utopian models that have been prevalent in ancient and medieval Chinese history: the Confucian bureaucratic welfare state, the Taoist isolated community, and the self-governed community as a compromise between the Confucian and Taoist models. This is a useful introduction to the subject (for more detail, one may consult Wolfgang Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness*, tr. Michael Shaw [New York: Seabury, 1970]) and Hsü's concluding comments include some intriguing comparisons with Western utopias, but one finishes reading the essay feeling that he has only scratched the surface.

Yün-hua Jan surveys the Taoist silk manuscripts that were discovered at Ma-wang-tui in 1973 and discusses critically their relationship to early legalism. Many difficult problems surround these manuscripts, but Jan helps us to approach them by comparing various passages with passages from Shen Pu-hai, *Shang-chün shu*, and especially Shen Tao.

Lee Rainey asks whether the Queen Mother of the West (Hsi Wang Mu) was an ancient Chinese Mother Goddess and tentatively comes to the conclusion that she was. A full answer to the question, however, will only be found when a bolder attempt is made to compare her with the Mother Goddess in other ancient societies.

Alan Chan offers a compact, detailed account of the formation of the Ho-shang Kung legend. For the most part, he is properly critical at every step of his exposition, with the sole exception that he seems to accept the historicity of the transmission of Ho-shang Kung's secret teachings to Emperor Wen of the Han dynasty (r. 179-159 BCE). Both Chan and Jan devote a

great deal of their attention to the Huang-Lao ("Yellow Emperor [Huang Ti] - Old Master [Lao Tzu]") school of thought (cf. the book by R. P. Peerenboom reviewed below).

Raymond Dragan [*sic!*], appropriately enough, presents an essay on the dragon in Chinese myth and ritual. While it is packed with a tremendous amount of information, the essay is poorly organized and the various Western interpretive frameworks brought to bear (Bernhard Karlgren, Arnold van Gennep, James George Frazer, *et al.*) are not assimilated into any illuminating overview.

John Lee wrestles with one of the most refractory conundrums in early Chinese intellectual history: the theory of *wu-hsing* ("five elements/agents/phases"). Those who turn to this essay hoping to find an examination of its origins, however, will be disappointed. Lee uncritically cites the *Kan shih* ("Speech at Kan") and *Hung-fan* ("Great Plan") sections of the *Shu ching* (*Document Classic*) as evidence that the concept of *wu-hsing* dates to the early Hsia (!) and early Chou periods. The second half of the essay is spent in discussing how *wu-hsing* was used during the Northern Wei (Tabgatch) period as a device for legitimation.

Barbara Stephen's essay on a distinctive type of bronze fitting in Shang period chariot burials and other contexts is perhaps the most fascinating in the volume. The object (of which many examples have survived) has been described by various scholars as a horse jingle, chariot fitting, rein-guide, shield decoration, bow fitting, bow-guard, and bow-shaped ornament. Stephen herself proposes several possible functions in connection with crossbows, especially those used for hunting. So far, however, archeological and paleographical evidence vouches only for the existence of the crossbow in China from the Warring States period (5th-3rd c. BCE) while the enigmatic bronze fitting was present in China primarily during the late Shang period and disappeared after the Western Chou. The mystery remains and is deepened by our knowledge that the same type of fitting has also been found in Central and Inner Asia. (N.B.: The mystery is deepened still further by the fact that the Sinitic word for "crossbow" appears to have been borrowed from Austroasiatic. My own tentative conclusions about the mysterious bronze fitting -- after investing several months of research on the subject -- are that it was used as a reinforcement for the central [and most vulnerable] portion of high powered compound bows and that its origin is to be found in the bronze-using, horse- and chariot-loving archery adepts of the Eurasian steppes.)

An Appendix by Wenxin Chi surveys oracle bone collections in Great Britain, some of them quite small and hitherto poorly known.

The lack of an index is somewhat inconvenient, but since the separate articles are on such diverse topics, it is not too difficult to turn directly to them when searching for a particular item.

My most serious reservation about the book as a whole is the use of the word "etymology" to apply to the analysis of the shapes of oracle bone and other types of sinographs. Etymology is quite a different matter, the explanation of the root meanings of words. Here we must rely on sounds, but the authors of these articles pay virtually no attention to phonology or archaic reconstructions.

FENG Zhiwei. *Xiandai Hanzi he Jisuanji (Modern Chinese Characters and Electronic Computers)*. Peking: Peking University Press, 1989. 2 + 9 + 210 pages.

FENG Zhiwei. *Zhongwen Xinxi Chuli yu Hanyu Yanjiu [Chinese Information Processing and Research on Sinitic]*. Hanyu Zhishi Congshu [Sinitic Knowledge Series]. Peking: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1992. 2 + 217 pages.

The second of these two books was actually written first, but it took so long to come out from the press that the author decided to release the other one anyway. As a matter of fact, *Zhongwen Xinxi Chuli yu Hanyu Yanjiu* (hereafter *Zhongwen Xinxi*) is a general work covering the whole sweep of Modern Standard Mandarin (hereafter MSM) information processing, whereas *Xiandai Hanzi he Jisuanji* (hereafter *Xiandai Hanzi*) is essentially an expanded rewriting in five chapters of the first two chapters of *Zhongwen Xinxi*.

Thus *Zhongwen Xinxi* consists of the following chapters:

1. Sinographic input and output
 - a. Sinographic input
 - b. Sinographic output
2. Statistical research on Sinitic
 - a. Overview
 - b. Frequency statistics
 - c. Sinitic language materials; graph and word indices
3. Automatic separation into words by computers
 - a. The position of the word in Chinese information processing
 - b. The method of word division by combining preceding and following text
 - c. The method of tentative word division by sinographic keys
 - d. The method of finite, multistage listing
4. Linguistic models for Sinitic

- a. Overview
 - b. Quintuple factor model for Chinese information processing
 - c. Multi-level and multi-branch tree model for Chinese information processing
 - d. Grammatical model for Chinese information processing
 - e. Model for limited understanding of Sinitic
 - f. Sinitic generative grammar
5. Machine translation
- a. Overview
 - b. Modes of machine translation
 - c. Methods for linguistic analysis in machine translation
 - d. Programming techniques for machine translation
 - e. The difficulty of machine translation and its treatment as an engineering problem
6. The interface between man and machine
- a. Overview
 - b. Theories and methods of man-machine interaction
 - c. Methods for man-machine interaction using Sinitic

In contrast, *Xiandai Hanzi* is much more focused on the nature of the sinographs and the obstacles they present to computer specialists:

Introduction

- 1. Sinograph codes
 - a. Overview
 - b. Shape codes
 - c. Sound codes
 - d. Shape-cum-sound codes
 - e. Sound-cum-shape codes
 - f. Standard codes for sinographic conversion
 - g. Evaluation of sinographic codes
 - h. Non-code methods for inputting sinographs
- 2. Automatic recognition of sinographs
 - a. Overview
 - b. Rules and methods for recognizing sinographs
 - c. Recognition of typeset sinographs

- d. Recognition of handwritten sinographs
- 3. Automatic recognition and synthesis of speech sounds
 - a. Overview
 - b. Recognition of speech sounds
 - c. Synthesis of speech sounds
- 4. Output of sinographs
 - a. Sinographic fonts
 - b. Printers and display terminals for sinographs
 - c. Computer-laser systems for sinographic editing and typesetting
 - d. Sinographic inputting/outputting and sinographic standardization
- 5. Language statistics
 - a. Overview
 - b. Statistics on frequency of sinographs
 - c. Statistics on frequency of words
 - d. Statistical analysis of the components of sinographs
 - e. Statistical analysis of strokes and multiple readings for sinographs
 - f. Linguistic data bases and graph-for-graph, word-for-word tracking
 - g. Electronic computer Chinese language information bases
 - h. Some special statistical features of modern sinographs

Judging merely from these translated tables of contents, there is a wealth of valuable material in the two books under review. Here I shall highlight only a few of the most salient lessons I have learned from them.

Above all, the concept of **word** is essential for efficient natural language processing. Unfortunately, the sinographs are intrinsically inimical to the clear demarcation of words. Consequently, they confront information scientists and computer technicians with enormous obstacles.

A new MSM word I acquired during the course of reading these books is *shāng* 熵 which was invented to translate "entropy" or "information content" (the latter also rendered as *xinxiliang*). Defenders of the sinographs proclaim that their extraordinarily high entropy (an astonishing 9.65 bits per sinograph in comparison with 3.98 for one letter in French, 4.00 bits for one letter in Italian, 4.01 for one letter in Spanish, 4.03 for one letter in English, 4.10 in German, 4.12 in Romanian, and 4.35 in Russian) means they are somehow superior for information processing. As Feng Zhiwei explains without mincing words, however, just the opposite is true:

Such great entropy of the sinographs is extremely disadvantageous for communication technology and sinographic information processing. According to Shannon's theorem for cybernetic channel codes, in an unexpanded information source without memory, the average length of a code letter cannot be smaller than the entropy of the information source. Because the entropy value of the sinographs is large, the average length of their corresponding letter codes will also be large. Even with the best communication code system, the average length of its letter code ought at least to be equal to the entropy of the sinographs; this will naturally influence the efficiency of the communication. In sinographic information processing, the inputting and outputting of the sinographs is a key question. Because the entropy value of the sinographs is large, this causes great difficulties for the inputting and outputting of the sinographs. Notwithstanding that there have already been devised several means for the inputting and outputting of sinographs, their efficiency is vastly inferior to that of the efficiency of inputting and outputting for English and Russian. Therefore, we must do a good job with the regularization and standardization of the sinographs. We must stringently limit the number of sinographs in common use and must make the written form of Sinitic meet the demands of the development of modern science. (*Xiandai Hanzi*, p. 207)

While the entropy of the sinographs is unacceptably large for efficient information processing, the reduncancy of the sinographic writing system is disappointingly small (56-74% compared to 67-80% for English). This means that mistakes, errors, and ambiguities more readily occur in sinographic information processing than with alphabetic information processing.

The author's comments apply strictly to MSM. Virtually no assessments have been made concerning information processing for the other Sinitic languages. Yet, what he has to say about MSM alone is compelling, if one can manage one's way through the technical terminology and the mathematical equations. In particular, I was pleased to see many of my own intuitions and observations concerning the natural inefficiency of the sinographs that I have been making for the last two decades put on a more scientific footing. Whereas I had claimed on the basis of experience that the average number of strokes for a sinograph is 12, Feng has now proven that it is indeed almost exactly that for the standard set of simplified characters, which means that it would be still higher for the traditional forms.

The cumbersomeness and inefficiency of the sinographs in the context of contemporary life puts China at an enormous disadvantage in all scientific and commercial

competition. (Perhaps this is why Chinese and Japanese scientists only win Nobel prizes when they come to the West to work in an alphabetical environment. Japan circumvents the problem in the industrial, financial, and commercial worlds by using mostly English or romanized Japanese for these applications.) In order to prop up a system that will inevitably collapse -- just as the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Sumerian and Hittite picto-ideographs did over two millennia ago when they confronted the alphabet -- the supporters of the sinographs are now asking the rest of the world to pay the costs. Unicode, which was devised with the primary purpose of accommodating the sinographs, is a 2-byte/16-bit code. Obviously, it is twice as expensive and half as fast as the ASCII code, a 1-byte/8-bit code which was just fine for English, French, German, Russian, and so forth. The ridiculous proportions of the Unicode codespace allocations are nakedly revealed as being:

1. 8,192 code points for all alphabets, syllabaries, phonetic systems, etc. in the entire world
2. 4,096 code points for punctuation, mathematical operators, general technical symbols, dingbats, etc.
3. 4,096 code points for MSM *bopomofo*, Japanese *kana*, Korean *hangul*, punctuation used with the sinographs, etc.
4. 3,584 code points for private user codes
5. a whopping, walloping **45,056 (!!!)** code points for the sinographs

This situation would be laughably pathetic were it not for the terrible economic effects that it imposes on China and the rest of the world.

Like Feng Zhiwei, we should face reality and stop allocating disproportionate resources to a system that is on the verge of collapse. The first step in meeting the crisis caused by a script that is already outmoded is to strictly limit the number of sinographs allowed in computer fonts to 6,500, a number which will completely cover 99.9% of all current writing. Ten years later (in 2005), that number should be reduced to 3,000, which will cover 99.15% of all current writing (the infinitesimally small disparity can be made up by romanized substitutions and other types of adjustments). Ten years after that (in 2015), the number should be reduced to 1,500, which will cover 94.67%. Not only will this bring economic benefits to China and the world, it will relieve hundreds of millions of Chinese children from the horrible tedium of memorizing unnecessarily large numbers of sinographs. I predict that by the time the third stage is put into

full effect, around the year 2020, English or romanized MSM and other Sinitic information processing will already be the first choice of most scientists and businessmen for electronic information processing in China. How the sinographs fare outside of electronic information systems is another matter altogether. As a handwritten script, they will probably survive for quite a long period. As a form of calligraphy, they will last even longer. And, as an object of scholarly study, they will probably be around for at least a thousand more years, maybe almost forever in certain restricted quarters.

Andre Gunder Frank. *The Centrality of Central Asia*. Centre for Asian Studies. Comparative Asian Studies, 8. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1992. 57 pages.

The *raison d'être* of this little book is eloquently stated on the back cover:

Eurasian history writing has invariably focused on the civilizations of China, India, Persia, Arabia and Europe. Geographically these regions encircle the wide area of Central Asia, which appears as a sort of black hole in the middle of the world, the home of migrants, monks and mullahs and above all of barbarians. However, the outlying civilizations were formed and even defined through interaction with Central Asia. Therefore, the intent of this study is to demand due recognition of the centrally important role of Central Asians in the history of their neighbours and thus their place in world system history as a whole.

Having traveled through, worked in, and cogitated mightily about Central Asia for the last fifteen years of my life, I can only say that I agree wholeheartedly with this passionate plea.

The author begins by asking "How does Central Asia fit into world history?" In other words, he confesses that he was prompted to think about the nature of Central Asia and its history because of his attempt to study world history as a world system. When one thinks of world history as a unified system, and not just a congeries of isolated entities, the centrality of Central Asia is inevitable. Frank decries Eurocentric, Sinocentric, Indocentric, Persocentric, Islamocentric, and all other views of history that distort or omit on the grounds of nation, state, race, or religion.

In his first chapter, Frank begins by discussing various definitions of Central/Inner Asia. He then turns his attention to ecology and climate together with their impact upon human population patterns. Migrations and systemic linkages across Afro-Euroasia are important

themes considered by Frank in his effort to assess the importance of Central Asia for world history. Also treated in this chapter are the challenges posed by Central Asian peoples for their sedentary neighbors, technology, state formation, gender relations, ethnogenesis and ethnicity, religion, nexuses (of international routes), production and trade, and world system wide international political and economic relations.

The second chapter of the book focuses on the process of capital accumulation as the principal motor force of world system development. It also identifies three principal features of world systems: the core-periphery structure, hegemony and rivalry, cycles of ascending and descending phases of the latter opposition.

The final, very brief (2 pages) chapter consists of some obvious (?) conclusions, among them the highly reasonable and civil request that we should abandon the use of the word "barbarian" with regard to the inhabitants of Central Asia. There is no doubt that the Chinese, the Europeans, the Levantine and Mesopotamian "civilized" peoples denigrated their Central Asian brothers and sisters, but we should not lose sight of the fact that many of these same peoples interacted with and were continuously enriched by Central Asian groups, such that it is impossible to separate out all of the contributions of the latter.

As Frank reminds us, we would do well to remember that not all Central Asians were nomads, but were

nomadic, semi-nomadic, semi-sedentary, and sedentary in all sorts of combinations and successions. They also had cities, big and small; agriculture, near and far; mining, metallurgy, and manufacturing; trade and its adjunct of written record keeping, and of course other culture and 'high' religion. Sedentary peoples also moved about. Moreover, they incorporated many 'nomad' invaders and other migrants into their own way of life.

HUANG Jungui. *Hanzi yu Hanzi Pajian Fangfa [Sinographs and Methods for Ordering and Looking up Sinographs]*. "Tushuguanxue Qingbaoxue Zhishi" Congshu zhi Shi'er ["Knowledge for Library Science and Information Science" Series, 12]. Peking: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1990. 2 + 2 + 190 pages.

This book is living proof that there will never be any simple, workable, cost-effective solution to the problem of the sinographs in a modern world which demands efficiency. The reasons? There are too many of them; each one is different (i.e., discrete); their components (strokes, radicals, phonophores, etc.), while recurring to a certain degree, do so in an irregular

and illogical fashion, changing their shapes, proportions, and positions depending upon the various combinations in which they are found.

The author, a researcher at Peking University, begins with a brief introduction to the history, construction, strokes, radicals, and pronunciations of the sinographs. He then swiftly turns to an analysis of the types of different sinographs, their simplification, and various schemes for their romanization. Then comes the heart of the book: principles of and methods for ordering and looking up the sinographs, followed by dozens of different actual systems divided into 17 categories. 16 of these are by the shapes of the sinographs and the last is by sound as represented in Pinyin transcription. Huang properly points out the many advantages of alphabetical ordering, such as:

1. It is not affected by the ambiguities of stroke order, number, and shape, nor does it require identifying unclear elements and aspects such as radicals and simplification.
2. It is fixed, stable, simple, clear, and not subject to exception.
3. Ordering and looking up words via the alphabet is quick, easy, and accurate (i.e., it yields a high degree of success), in contrast to systems based on shape which invariably have a high degree of frustration and failure.

Any elegant and humane method for looking up the sinographs should be the simple obverse of the system by which they are ordered. Such a method/system should be transparent and immediately accessible to the layperson, not the private preserve of specialists. One of the reasons that common Chinese citizens have traditionally avoided reference books is that they are a nightmare to find things in. Slowly, ever so slowly, with the introduction and acceptance of romanization as a workable tool for ordering and finding sinographs and Sinitic words, that is changing. Gradually, ever so gradually, the alphabetical ordering system and lookup method will result in a familiarity with spelling and that, in turn, will ultimately lead to the displacement of the sinographs by the alphabet for writing and reading Sinitic languages. We are already seeing the beginnings of this process. Within twenty years, use of the alphabet in China will be widespread. Within a century, the sinographs will have become museum pieces, like the Egyptian hieroglyphs and Sumerian picto-ideographs, their close cousins.

W. J. F. Jenner. *The Tyranny of History: The Roots of China's Crisis*. London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1992. xiii + 255 pages.

This is a brilliant and learned book that ranges over the whole sweep of Chinese history from the Neolithic to the present and looks at an astonishing breadth of cultural manifestations from literature to historiography, from religion to ideology; but because it is also a sharply iconoclastic book, it is not receiving the recognition it deserves. In *Tyranny*, Jenner confronts many of the hoary shibboleths and pious myths about China's history and culture, showing how they have restrained and repressed her people for millennia and continue to do so to this day. The irony of it all is that these very same shibboleths and myths lie at the very heart of Sinocentric pride. For psychological reasons alone, it will be extremely difficult for the Chinese (and all of the many other peoples they currently control) to throw off their shackles.

Aside from "tyranny," with which it begins, the other prominent word which punctuates the book is "crisis". According to Jenner, the Chinese people, state, and culture are in a profound state of general crisis, a crisis from which they cannot possibly escape to survive in their present form. The empire which started to crumble at the opening of this century will collapse irrevocably by the end of the same century.

One of the most pernicious and perduring myths that imprison China is that of a unified history and a unified people. Yet there has never been a country so diverse (except for America in the twentieth century) and so divided (at war with parts of itself) as China. "For most of the last 1,700 years of the dynastic period much or all of the Han Chinese lands were under the rule of non-Chinese regimes ruling as tiny minorities over the conquered Hans." In the face of this reality, what is the meaning of "China" (or its Modern Standard Mandarin counterpart, "Zhongguo")?

Reading through this book, my impulse is to quote virtually every paragraph. Jenner dares to say what every unbiased observer must be thinking. Jenner, in other words, is willing to state publicly that the emperors/dictators of China and the myths that perpetuate them are hollow, empty, vain, false -- and exceedingly harmful to the health of China and her people, not to mention threatening to the security of the rest of the world. Instead of repeating or summarizing the whole book, however, I challenge others to read it for themselves with an open mind. If you do, you are sure to come away either deeply troubled or galvanized into action.

For the remainder of this review, I shall merely concentrate on a few of Jenner's keen-witted discussions that will certainly be of particular interest to regular readers of this journal.

First of all, Jenner demonstrates his perceptivity and honesty by straightforwardly calling the various Sinitic tongues "languages" and not, like everyone who bows to the old shibboleths, "dialects". Again and again, Jenner emphasizes the power of the Chinese script to mask real underlying differences. It is enormously refreshing to hear Jenner speak directly of

"the many spoken Chinese languages." On the other hand, it is shocking (at least sobering) to hear Jenner tell us that Chinese high culture -- the sinographic civilization that began so abruptly around 3,200 years ago -- is moribund, "has outstayed its usefulness," and is crushing the people of China under its dying weight. At the heart of this degraded mass is the writing system, and no foreigner has impugned it so frontally as Jenner (many passionately patriotic Chinese such as Lu Xun and Chen Duxiu have heaped more scathing denunciations and vilifications upon the script during the past century). Jenner's chapter 11 ("A Living Culture?"), an extended dissection of the sinographic writing system, is a stunning, brutally frank critique of Chinese characters that should be required reading for all teachers and students of China.

Naturally, in a book that covers as much ground as Jenner's, and does so in such an adventuresome manner, it would literally be impossible for the author to get everything totally right. For example, in his discussion of the explosion of population China experienced after the beginning of the Qing dynasty (following 1,500 years of relative stability: 70 million in 1 BCE, 100 million in 1000 CE, 150 million in 1500 CE), Jenner attributes this remarkable phenomenon to "the Manchu abolition of manorial serfdom, the reduction of gentry privileges that inhibited the free small-peasant economy and the introduction of maize." Jenner is undoubtedly correct -- so far as he goes. But I would add to his list other New World crops such as potatoes and peanuts (like maize, these crops thrive in marginal, even upland, soils) and a flood of new science and technology brought by Jesuits and other Westerners.

In most cases, Jenner's explanations and assessments cannot be improved upon. For instance, his analysis of the situation with regard to Tibet, Xinjiang ("New Territories," i.e., Uyghurstan), and the southeast China coast should be taken seriously by everyone who is concerned about the future of humankind. I cannot recommend this book too highly for people (Chinese and non-Chinese alike) who refuse to behave like ostriches. For dazzling insights on creativity, Confucianism, progress, enclosing walls, the economy (ancient and modern), social structures, law, religion, the 1989 siege of Peking, and myriad other matters vital for understanding the past, present, and future of China, there is no better (indeed, no other) place to turn than Bill Jenner's *The Tyranny of History*. Everyone should at least hide it in their desk drawers to devour assiduously when their colleagues are not looking.

Bill Jenner probably knows more about China in all of its many facets (high and low, cultural and political, technological and spiritual) than anyone else alive. Where else than in his *Tyranny* can you learn about the male ethos of *germen*, which means something like "mate", and its slangier/underworld form *germeron* which cannot even be written in sinographs? I would not be surprised, in fact, if Bill Jenner were the first person on the face of the earth to have written down the word *germeron*, despite the fact that it is one of the most crucial

criminological terms in China. (Readers of *SPP* have long been aware that there are many very common words in Pekingese [and still more in other Sinitic languages] that it is impossible to write in sinographs, such as *nahar* ["there; where?; who?"]). It is only **the tyranny of the script and those who have perpetuated it for 3,200 years** that has prevented the writing down of such colorful, vibrant Sinitic words. If you do not look inside the pages of *Tyranny*, you may never discover these fundamental truths about the Middle Kingdom.

(An urgent appeal to all colleagues and concerned citizens: **READ THIS BOOK!** It is a heart-searingly guileless examination of Chinese civilization that will make of Jenner one of the most prescient prophets at the waning of the second millennium.)

(A modest suggestion to the publisher: swiftly issue a paperback edition to make this book more widely available for use in the classroom and by the general public.)

Adam T. Kessler. *Empires Beyond the Great Wall: The Heritage of Genghis Khan*. Los Angeles: Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, 1993. Distributed by the University of Washington Press. 175 pages.

While this is not the complete catalogue for the impressive exhibition entitled "Genghis Khan: Treasures from Inner Mongolia" which opened at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County in March, 1994 and then travelled to the American Museum of Natural History in New York City and several other locations, it was published in conjunction with that exhibition and includes photographs and descriptions of many of the important pieces in it. Coordinated by Adam Kessler, who also organized the exhibition, the book includes contributions on the artifacts by Shao Qinglong, Wen Shanzhen, Hong [misspelled on the title page as Hung] Xueying, Zhang Wenfang, An Li, and Ding Yong (it is impossible from their Han-style names and surnames to tell how many of these individuals, if any, are Mongolians) translated into English by Bettine Birge, together with excellent photographs by Marc Carter.

Actually, the titles of both the exhibition and the book are misleading (probably intentionally to capitalize on his name), since only the last chapter out of the six in the book deals with the period of Genghis Khan and his descendants. As with the exhibition, the treatment essentially begins from the Paleolithic and treats in succession all of the groups occupying the area in question who might conceivably be considered as the predecessors of the Mongols: the Eastern Hu, the Xiongnu (Huns), the Xianbei (Sárbi), the Wuhuan (Avars), the Dangxiang (Tanguts), Qidan (Khitans), Nüzhen (Jurchen), and others. Naturally, the ethnic,

linguistic, and cultural interrelationships of these groups is extremely complicated, but it can be argued that they do need to be discussed in any thorough treatment of the background of the Mongols.

The book is full of fascinating information, such as that Mongol warriors survived by consuming dried milk curd, millet meal, meat cured by being placed under their saddles, blood from incisions cut into the necks of their horses, dogs, wolves, foxes, horses, rats, mice, lice, and even the afterbirth of their mares! There are, however, some dubious, unsupported claims such as that the horse may have been domesticated in China during the late Neolithic era (circa third millennium BCE). It is also disturbing to see the "Xia dynasty" repeatedly referred to as though its existence were an already established historical fact.

The level of philological expertise -- following traditional Chinese methods -- is quite disappointing. For example, the ethnic name Hu is analyzed in terms of the sinograph used to write it as either deriving from "meat" (radical 130) and referring to a cow's wattle or from "moon" (radical 74, which looks exactly like radical 130!!) and referring to the use of a lunar calendar! The two syllables of Tuoba (Tabgatch) are defined as "earth" and "ruler". In both instances, however, we are confronted with inadequately reconstructed Sinitic transcriptions of foreign ethnonyms. Nonetheless, the art works are magnificent, and they are -- for the most part -- adequately described for the layman. Art historians, ethnographers, and other specialists, however, are quite upset with the dating of certain objects and important issues such as attribution. Moreover, perhaps because of trying to cover so much ground and due to the large number of contributors, the presentation is rather jumpy and disorganized.

What is most impressive about this book and the exhibition that occasioned it is that they happened at all. Assembling all of the artifacts and compiling the relevant data about them required an extraordinary amount of cooperation on the part of the Chinese and Inner Mongolian authorities. It is a tribute to the diligence and diplomatic skills of Adam Kessler that the very fine exhibition and this handsomely produced book became realities.

David R. McCraw. *Du Fu's Laments from the South*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992. xiv + 271 pages.

Whenever I see a new book or article about Tu Fu, my first response is always, "Oh, no, not another one!" In my estimation, far too much has already been said about Tu Fu, especially when there are so many other Chinese poets out there waiting to be written about. Tu Fu is definitely not one of my favorite poets anyway, for I am put off by his elitist Confucian sentiments, his scorn for the "barbarians" (look inside yourself, Tu Fu!), his self-pitying, his

usual mechanical adherence to prosodic straightjackets, and the preciousness of his allusions. Precisely these features, however, are what make him the darling of the arbiters of traditional Chinese poetic taste (whence the previous sentence will be declared sacrilegious among them). For them, he is inarguably *primus extra pares*. I must admit that he is a good craftsman but, for me, he is not divinely inspired like Like Po, spiritually enlightened like Wang Wei, demotically empathetic like Po Chū-i, a witty wordsmith like Han Yü, a master of the seductive image like Li Shang-yin, a sensitive naturalist like Hsieh Ling-yün, a relaxed and reflective pastoralist like Tao Yüan-ming, a hippy eccentric like Jung Chi, a pensive philosopher like Su Shih, a minute observer like Mei Yao-ch'en. For me, Tu Fu is simply the master of regulated verse. For people who like that sort of thing (i.e., for Tu Fu lovers), there are grounds to keep churning out books and articles about him and his poems. I only glance at most of them. McCraw's book is the sort of work that grabs me and makes me want to read it from front to back in spite of myself.

Although there are many other sufficient reasons, I would recommend this book for the quality of its translations alone. More than any other translator of Tu Fu known to me, McCraw enables the reader of English to approximate the experience of encountering the peerless lyricist's poems in Chinese. This is achieved, first of all, by an exquisitely apt diction -- McCraw is one of those rare "word wizards." Secondly, McCraw has a poetic and prosodic sensibility of his own that is lacking in all but a handful of sinologists. Thirdly, McCraw is a first-rate scholar who is accurate in handling the enormous difficulties posed by a highly allusive author writing in terse, anaphoric Literary Sinitic. Fourthly, McCraw has devised (and the University of Hawaii Press has been able to deliver) a miraculous method for making the Chinese poems look like squares or rectangles -- which is exactly how they read in the original language. This is extremely important for enabling the reader to pick up on the parallelism, rhythm, antiphony, antithesis, and other vital features of Tu Fu's regulated verse. The only other American translator of Chinese poetry who has achieved a comparable effect is Lois Fusek in her renderings of the lyrics collected in *Among the Flowers*. To ignore the quadrilaterally conceived form of the octave is to dispense with something absolutely essential about this most refined of Chinese poetry -- a property that is indissolubly linked to the nature of Chinese writing itself, but one which has scarcely ever been mentioned by any critic of Chinese poetry, no matter whether from the West or from the East.

What McCraw has set out to do, in his own words, "is to introduce, translate, explicate, and analyze 115 of Du Fu's regulated octaves (*lüshi*) written during the last decade of his life, when he was a refugee in southern China." The poems he has selected constitute one fifth of the poet's total octave output from 760-770. He admits that he has not chosen a typical selection of Tu Fu's verse from the period, which would have included far more occasional

verse (*vers d'occasion*) and more "undistinguished descriptive poems." Instead, he picks what he considers to be exceptional works.

McCraw's renditions make up the core of the book. His method, which he already used skillfully in an earlier book on the late lyric, is to begin his treatment of each poem with a brief introduction to the circumstances surrounding its making, then offer the translated poem, and close with a few paragraphs of commentary and explication in smoothly flowing prose. Occasionally he also provides line notes to clarify some of Tu Fu's more recondite allusions. When particularly moved by the sounds of Tu Fu's verse, he transcribes it in a simplified, typable version of Middle Sinitic reconstruction (hooray!).

McCraw's bibliography is short, so far as scholarly works usually go (he has a chapter on the eight-poem sequence *Autumn Moods*, but does not even mention the most obvious Western scholarship on it), yet his own broad learning and sharp sensibility enable him to provide illuminating exegesis without relying on a host of authorities. Further, in the whole book I only noticed four sinographs (to explain the farfetched pun *ts'ai-kuan* ["talented officers"] --> *kuan-ts'ai* ["coffins"]) which goes to show that one can write intelligent, lucid, informed, detailed, philologically sound interpretations of Chinese literature without resort to the hallowed script (which only mystifies the non-sinological reader).

McCraw passionately believes that Tu Fu is one of the world's greatest lyricists. He constantly compares him to the best poets of the West. References to Shakespeare, Keats, Rilke, Pound, and others pepper his pages. I am somewhat dubious about the possibility of making any valid, substantial, lasting comparisons between any Chinese poetry written in Literary Sinitic and Western poets who use one or another of the Indo-European languages. The unique features of Literary Sinitic, so utterly unlike Indo-European languages which are more or less inflected, makes Chinese verse essentially *sui generis*. Hence, any comparison of the original works is almost fruitless. (To gain some idea of just how different Literary Sinitic is [I have characterized it as a kind of demicryptography because it omits so much that we consider essential to language and replaces all but the barest traces of morphology with "empty" particles to give subtle hints about how to link up and interrelate the nude sememes], the reader may take a quick look at pages 4-6, McCraw's sketch on language. McCraw himself sees part of the problem when he admits that his introduction is "designed to give Western readers a toehold in the esoteric worlds of old China and of mid-eighth century verse." [pp. ix-x, emphasis added]) But, in McCraw's beautifully spare English renderings, minimalist and often bordering on catachresis, one can feel that Tu Fu transformed ranks very high indeed.

Michael Nylan, tr. and comm. *The Canon of Supreme Mystery*, by Yang Hsiung. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1993. xiv + 680 pages.

Nathan Sivin has been widely quoted as stating that this is one of the titles on the short list of Chinese books every cultivated person should read. Unless one's short list is rather long, that is hyperbole, of course, because we must first think of the *Tao Te Ching*, *Analects*, *Chuang Tzu*, *Lotus Sutra*, *Records of the Grand Historian*, and at least a dozen other books, not to mention the *I-ching (Classic of Changes)* itself, upon which the *Tai hsüan ching (The Canon of Supreme Mystery)* is modeled -- lock, stock, and barrel. For similar reasons, I am dubious that this is one of the world's great philosophic poems (can it really be called a poem at all? The most important part of the text, the Heads [to use Nylan's nomenclature], appear not to be in verse, whereas the Appraisals and the Fathomings, which are presented in poetic form, are comments on individual lines of the tetragrams [four-line symbols for divination], hence highly disconnected) comparable in scale and grandeur to Lucretius' *De rerum naturum* or Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, as has been claimed in the publicity for this book. *The Canon of Supreme Mystery* is basically a divination manual; we should not lose sight of that in our discussions of it. We do a disservice to our readers and to the works we are studying if we exaggerate their importance out of all proportion and distort their nature for purposes of aggrandizement.

There is no doubt that this is a huge work, and Michael Nylan is to be admired for her persistence in slogging through the whole of it and trying to make sense of what is intentionally mystifying. Hers is an estimable work of scholarship on a recondite monster. Furthermore, there is no doubt that Yang Hsiung is a very important and very interesting thinker and littérateur, so it is worth our while to try to figure out what it was that drove the author to compose this tremendous takeoff on the *Classic of Changes*. The dependence of *The Canon of Supreme Mystery* on the *Changes* is evident at every turn, even down to the autocomentaries at the end, which were obviously inspired by the appendices tacked on to the latter text by later writers. Yet Yang Hsiung was by no means the last Chinese scholar who would try to bring some sort of systematization to the unruly *Changes*.

The size of what is already a large book by itself has been hugely swollen by Nylan's distillation or conflation of earlier annotations which she melds into a running commentary of her own, sometimes adding her personal observations when the earlier authorities do not agree or cannot clarify a point in the text. This is in the tradition of the Wilhelm/Baynes edition of the *Changes*. Such an arrangement can be extremely frustrating to users of the book who are interested in knowing the precise provenience of various observations. On the whole, we may say that the commentaries are more Nylan's than they are those of the early commentators, for

they often bring in Buddhist, Western, and other non-traditional material. The translation cum commentary is followed by over 150 pages of notes, mostly textual. After the notes comes a substantial "Bibliography of Works Cited" (I could not find all of the listed entries in the book), a "Partial Index of Common Images" (I was struck by the disparity between the images of the *Supreme Mystery* and the *Changes*), and a general index. The translation is decorated with rubbings, woodblock prints, and photographs of archeological artifacts. It is not always easy to determine their connection to the text, but they are a handsome addition nonetheless.

While Nylan has done an excellent job of attempting to make *The Canon of Supreme Mystery* accessible to the Western reader, there is no chance at all that it will displace or even supplement the *Changes* to a significant degree. In the first place, there are many questions surrounding the fundamental matter of how to employ it in actual divination; until the Western reader knows how to use the *Canon* as a divination manual, he/she will shy away from it. Secondly, it is not authoritative or authentic inasmuch as it is the product of one man's mind, rather than being the accretion or accumulation of oracular folk wisdom. Thirdly, there has been no continuing tradition of its use in China. My appraisal of the value of the *Supreme Mystery* is that it serves as an idiosyncratic (for Yang Hsiung was such a person to an extreme degree) repository of Chinese thought at the time of the transition between the Western and Eastern Han when so many mysterious things were indeed happening.

So why did Yang Hsiung write this *Canon*? My best guess is that, in his repentant Confucian old age, he did it to defuse the mantic *Changes*. (The Confucians were very good at attempting to eliminate their adversaries -- be they Legalist, Taoist, Buddhist, or what have you -- by assimilating them [just as the Taoists were adroit at trying to dispose of Buddhism by mimicking it wholesale].) But that is only an intuition and, in any event, it does not much matter if I am wrong, because he failed.

This is a brave effort to come to terms with a refractory divinatory manual of the Han period. Many mysteries remain, including how to write the famous author's name! Curious (for such a textually obsessive land)!

R. P. Peerenboom. *Law and Morality in Ancient China: The Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993. xvi + 380 pages.

This is the first comprehensive, book-length attempt to take stock of the re-emergence in our presence since 1973 of four silk manuscripts belonging to the ancient Chinese Huang-Lao school of thought. It has long been known that the name of this influential eclectic school is composed of Huang from Huang Ti (Yellow Emperor) and Lao from Lao Tzu (Old Master[s]).

Yet, prior to the Ma-wang-tui discovery of 1973, there were no known extant texts associated with the school.

There is, of course, an urgent necessity to annotate and translate the Huang-Lao silk manuscripts but, as Peerenboom points out in his introduction (pp. 2-3), the obstacles are numerous and formidable. Until these are overcome, about all that can be done is to extract those parts that are intelligible and try to fit them into what is known from other sources about the school. This Peerenboom does, in a modest way, in chapters 2-3. Beyond that, he strives in chapters 4-6 to provide a context for Huang-Lao thought by reviewing the anthropocentric pragmatism of Confucius, the pragmatic statesmanship of Han Fei, and the Taoist thought of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu. Chapter 7 outlines the evolution of Huang-Lao thought and chapter 8 is an Epilogue which discusses Huang-Lao and contemporary philosophy as well as Huang-Lao and contemporary jurisprudence in China. An Appendix examines the relationship between the *Ho Kuan Tzu* and the Huang-Lao school.

Throughout, Peerenboom's focus is on natural law and jurisprudence. In the Ma-wang-tui silk manuscripts, these are manifested as what he calls "foundational naturalism and its corollary natural law." From historical sources, we know that Huang-Lao was also associated with Taoist religion, immortality cults, sexual yoga, and traditional medicine. And, according to Peerenboom, in the silk manuscripts, we find the technical jargon of Legalism, Confucianism, even Mohism, not to mention "words and expressions redolent of" Shen Tao, Shen Pu-hai, Kuan Tzu, Hsün Tzu, Yin Wen Tzu, and the authors of various chapters of the *Huai Nan Tzu*, *Lü Shih ch'un-ch'iu*, and the "Outer Chapters" of the *Chuang Tzu*. This is not to say that the Huang-Lao school necessarily espoused all of these things, only that it was in dialogue with all of them.

The seemingly indiscriminate eclecticism of the Huang-Lao school is only an extreme example of a tendency that appears to be characteristic of Chinese thought in general -- namely, the desire to include disparate or even opposing positions. For the last dozen years or so, this has become increasingly evident in the radical critique of pre-Ch'in thought being carried out by E. Bruce Brooks, now slowly being revealed through the deliberations of the Warring States Working Group (see the first review in this issue of *SPP* for a good sample). Even the alien faith of Buddhism was subject to this principle in the form of T'ien-t'ai attempts to subsume all other schools and, during the late Ming, of popular Buddhist sects that tried to embrace Taoism and Confucianism as well.

As I have indicated in my commentaries to the *Tao Te Ching* and elsewhere, Taoist philosophy -- such as it is -- essentially arose in response to Vedic-Upanishadic-Brahmanic-Yogic stimuli from India and, perhaps, Central Asia. Taoist religion -- such as it is -- is likewise essentially a response to various forms of Buddhism coming into China from India and

Central Asia. Witness its tripartite canon, its discipline (laws for living), its proliferation of gods' names, its ritual, its esotericism, and its meditational practices, and so forth. This is not, of course, to assert that Taoist religion is the same as Buddhist religion, only that it was a nativist attempt to incorporate the most attractive and efficacious features of Buddhism. Taoist religion -- such as it is -- continued to be infused with Buddhist ideology and practice right through the Ming and the Ch'ing (just as modern China has been co-opting Western science and technology almost without interruption since the late Ming). Confucianism, extremely conservative and nationalistic by nature, finally came to its senses during the latter part of the T'ang and, by the Sung, was absorbing wholesale the best of what Buddhism had to offer with the result that neo-Confucianism (Buddhized Confucianism) arose and, by the Ming, crypto-Buddhists like Wang Yang-ming were confusing everybody and being condemned by Han-oriented conservative Confucianists.

Which is all by way of saying that, getting a better handle on Huang-Lao thought will help us to get a better handle on Chinese thought in general. We should be grateful for the preservation and recovery of the Huang-Lao silk manuscripts, particularly in light of who the Yellow Emperor (see *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 7) and the Old Masters (see *SPP*, 20) may have been.

Henry G. Schwarz. *An Uyghur-English Dictionary*. East Asian Research Aids and Translations, 3. Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1992. xxiv + 1083 pages.

This bulky tome is a monument of scholarship and dedication. It is difficult to imagine that one man could have produced it between 1985 and 1991 while teaching, leading study groups to Mongolia, and doing research and writing on other subjects. As someone who travels to East Turkestan (i.e., Uyghurstan, also alternatively spelled Uighurstan) regularly and must deal with Uighur speakers and Uighur texts constantly in my own work, I was both overjoyed and surprised by its appearance -- overjoyed because I now had access to the full range of modern Uighur in a handy, reliable reference tool and surprised because I never expected that a work of such hefty dimensions and precise detail would have appeared for such a seemingly obscure language. (The excellent Uighur grammar-cum-text of Reinhard Hahn entitled *Spoken Uyghur* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991], reviewed in *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 31 [1991], should have forewarned me that there is serious and laudable interest on this subject in America.)

From the front endpapers to the back endpapers, which give the isolated, initial, medial, and final forms of the 32 letters of the Arabic alphabet as currently applied to Uighur in Xinjiang ("New Territories") together with the corresponding letters of the Latin Uighur script and Roman letter transliterations, this excellent dictionary has been thoughtfully and carefully designed to provide the reader with the maximum amount of information in an easily accessible form. Because it embraces so many precious gems of knowledge about Uighur language, people, culture, history (and even about other Turkic groups), I have found myself willingly turning to Schwarz's dictionary time and again simply to browse and be educated. In doing so, I find that learning about Uighur life and language through this dictionary is a pleasurable experience, not at all the dry sort of activity one might expect reading a dictionary would be.

The dictionary begins with a short "Historical Sketch of the Uyghurs and Their Language." It then moves to a "Brief Description of the Uyghur Language" (dialects, phonology, morphology). The front matter closes with a guide to the dictionary (this is necessary because, in his zeal to include as much useful information as possible within a reasonable amount of space, Schwarz has resorted to a number of efficient mechanisms; I shall discuss some of them in the following paragraph) and a list of abbreviations and symbols.

A sense of the types of information provided in the dictionary may be gained by a glance at the three keys which alternate at the bottoms of every page. Key 1 is for the etymologies and cognates which are provided for many of the words in the dictionary. The source languages cited include English, French, German, Russian, Mongolian, and Sinitic (Mandarin), as well as the following: Chagatay, Kirghiz, Karakalpak, Mahmud al-Kashgari (medieval dictionary of Turkic), Osmanli Turkish, Orkhon Turkic, Kazakh, Tatar, Old Uighur (Turfan texts), Turkmen, Tuvan, Uzbek, and Yakut. Conspicuously absent are references to Arabic and Farsi (i.e., Persian) words, which constitute approximately 75% (!) of the total vocabulary of modern Uighur. The second and third keys give symbols and abbreviations for the following: proverbs, sayings, special meanings, parts of speech, fields of knowledge and usage.

Pages 948-1059 consist of extensive terminological lists: agriculture, astronomy, botany, chemistry, clothing, food, geography, geology, grammar and linguistics, history, literature, mathematics, medicine, military, music, philosophy, physics, physiology, religion, sports, zoology. The terminological lists are followed by "Some Commonly Used Affixes" (pp. 1060-1072). Since Uighur is an agglutinative language, command of this large group of suffixes and infixes gives one a tremendous advantage in mastering the lexicon and the grammar.

Other back matter includes three calendars, a gazetteer of Xinjiang (with the longitude and latitude of each place named), lists of male and female names, weights and measures, and works consulted.

The dictionary includes over 18,500 main entries with multiple definitions, synonyms, example sentences/phrases, and cross references. 450 in-text illustrations and maps help the reader visualize various terms. There is a heavy emphasis on botanical drawings.

Due to limitations of the computer typesetting facilities at his disposal, Schwarz was forced to make such adjustments as ñ for the back nasal and ǰ for the uvular voiced fricative. Since he uses the tilde consistently for these purposes, it presents no problem. Schwarz laments the technological inability to provide Arabic script in the body of his dictionary, but I actually find this to be an advantage because I am still struggling to become proficient in the Arabic script whereas the Roman transliterations permit me to consult the dictionary immediately for words that I encounter in conversations.

In closing, I can only wish that similar dictionaries were available for all of the other numerous Sinitic and non-Sinitic languages of China.

Vitaly Shevoroshkin, ed. *Dene-Sino-Caucasian Languages*. Materials from the First Interdisciplinary Symposium on Language and Prehistory, Ann Arbor, 8.-12. November 1988. Bochum Publications in Evolutionary Cultural Semiotics, 32. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1991. 264 pages.

This is perhaps the first book-length effort at a serious and sustained attempt to link Amerindian languages with Sino-Tibetan languages by means of the principles and practices of historical linguistics. But it goes beyond that bold effort to link Sino-Tibetan and certain North Amerindian languages with Caucasian (non-Indo-European) languages, an even more daring claim which connects peoples all the way across Eurasia to the North American continent. The authors are to be commended for their courage, but there are some questions that need to be asked.

First of all, is it premature to talk about Sino-Tibetan roots when we still do not have any agreement on Old Sinitic reconstructions? Many of the Sino-Tibetan (hereafter S-T) reconstructions proposed in this volume are totally unrecognizable to me. This may indicate that they have been conveniently devised/chosen because they fit the data from the other groups to which they are being compared. Although none of the authors in this book make clear the derivations of their S-T roots, my impression is that they tend to be based more on Tibetan (or sometimes Burmese) which, being written in an alphabetic script from the seventh century, is more susceptible to reconstruction than sinographically recorded languages. When Old Sinitic readings are adduced, I usually recognize them instantly as being roughly of the same type as those proposed by Karlgren, Fang-kui Li, Schuessler, and others: abstract, hypothetical

reconstructions delimited largely by the rhymes of the *Classic of Poetry (Shi Jing)*. As I state elsewhere in this journal and in many other places, I do not accept the rhymes of the *Classic of Poetry* as valid for 600 BCE.

Since I am not familiar with the situation regarding Caucasian and Dene or Yeniseian/Eyak/Athapascan languages, I cannot comment usefully on the quality of their reconstructions except to say that I am somewhat dubious simply because the same people who are putting forward the problematic S-T reconstructions used here are also presenting Proto-North-Caucasian, Proto-Yeniseian, and Proto-Dene.

Secondly, as I have reiterated on numerous occasions when people attempt to join East Asian and West Asian languages, what are the time depths that we are dealing with? This is a serious problem which makes suspect much of the work of the long-distance theorizers: they are writing in a historical void. How do their linguistical deductions match up with evidence from archeology, physical anthropology, genetics, migrations, and so forth. Too often, I find the long-rangers just drifting off into a timeless space. This will not do. That is why I much prefer the methods and approach of Tsung-tung Chang (*Sino-Platonic Papers*, 7) who very judiciously and reasonably focuses on a specific period in prehistory when making his linguistic comparisons between Sinitic and Indo-European.

Third, one would like to know how the authors conceive of the overall pattern of human language development and how they propose to justify the shape of the particular slice of the whole pie that they are feeding us upon this occasion. Without some indication of overall conception, any two or three language groups chosen for comparison may appear rather arbitrary. The task of the long-rangers is all the more daunting for, if (as I believe), all languages of the world go back to a Proto-World Mother Tongue, then there are bound to be correspondences emerging in every language family. Sorting them out at 10,000 BP (or still yet, at 40,000 or 50,000 BP when human languages may have just gotten going) is utterly mind-boggling. When I see a supposed Sino-Caucasian root ***lak-* for "hand/arm," I immediately think of English "leg" and, indeed, many of the listed cognates mean "foot" or "leg". Yet English "leg" does not even have an attested I-E root, so I suspect that ***lak-* may be related to an old Mother Tongue word for "limb".

While discussing this particular etymology, I cannot miss the opportunity to chastise its author, John Bengtson, for whom I have the utmost respect, because he has been badly hoodwinked/snookered/fooled/duped by the sinographs and their promoters. Bengtson, citing James Matisoff and Paul Benedict (he has done his homework), lists Old Sinitic **ljək* ("strong, strength, force") and remarks that "the graph seems to depict an arm with a hand"). This is what the (in)famous *Shuo Wen Jie Zi (Explanations of Simple and Compound Graphs)*, written by Xu Shen around 100 CE, tells us and what all would-be etymologists have been saying

about this graph for the last two thousand years. But they are all dead wrong, as is usually the case when someone follows the *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* or other early Chinese dictionaries that "explain" the characters. The most recent and convincing explanations of the graph, based on early bronze inscriptions that show a plow, are that it takes **strength** to plow. There is no necessary and direct connection between the word *li* (*ljək) ("strength") and the picture of a plow. A plow is simply one of many possible physical objects that might have been chosen in a desperate attempt to represent ideographically the abstract notion of "strength". One could easily go through the *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* and other such early dictionaries, systematically debunking and negating most of their explanations for ideographs, many of their explanations for pictographs, and a large proportion of their explanations for morphosyllabic graphs. But it is not worth the effort -- so long as we understand clearly that such dictionaries are concerned with **graphs**, not **words**. As historical linguists and etymologists, our business is understanding **words**, not playing with **graphs**. Only exceedingly rarely does the explication of the form of a **graph** enlighten us about the meaning of a **word**. More often, it is a waste of time, a needless expenditure of energy that bogs us down in a morass of meaningless conjectures.

To John Bengtson and all of my dear friends who struggle with ancient languages, including the various varieties of Sinitic: Never, never, never -- a thousand, million, billion, times **never** trust the sinographs on any matter having to do with the interpretation of etymologies! In most cases, they are totally/absolutely/completely irrelevant. What is worse, in many cases, they will lead you perilously astray. Evidence for Sinitic etymologies drawn from the pictographic and/or ideographic qualities of the sinographs must always be used with the utmost, extreme caution.

The proposed distribution of Sino-Caucasian languages put forward in this book is both intriguing and unsettling. This is what the map shows, going from west to east: Basque, Iberian, maybe Etruscan, North Caucasian, Hattic/Hurrian/Urartean, Sumerian, Burushaski, Sino-Tibetan, Yeniseian, Na-Dene (Haida, Tlingit, Eyak, and Athapaskan). There are some very curious aspects to this distribution that need to be addressed. Up to Burushaski, it takes care of all the mysterious living and dead languages of the world that so far have otherwise avoided linguistic classification (the so-called "language isolates") and joins them into the western phylum of a huge macrophylum. What is even more curious, this seems to account for all of the non-I-E racial Caucasians who were scattered in widely separated pockets over half of Eurasia. In one sense, this is comforting: there are even some bits of archeological evidence that appear to support such a picture (e.g., certain very ancient migratory symbols and ritual practices, common characteristics of Old European (pre-I-E) settlements, pottery types, etc.), the geographical band across which these languages are spread is credible, and the time depths

that must have been operative (about 6000 BP or earlier for the splitting off from a common stock) are reasonable -- although Sumerian, both from a linguistic (e.g., cf. *igi* ["eye"] with Old English *ēge*, *ēage*, German *Auge*) and a cultural (e.g., symbol systems leading to writing, religious practices, etc.) point of view, would appear to have closer affinities with I-E, except that at around 8000 BP I-E was still probably associated closely with other members of the Nostratic superphylum and, within it, may have been most closely linked to Sumerian at the very moment when I-E and Caucasian were starting to split apart.

My biggest quandary over the Sino-Caucasian map is how the languages east of Burushaski and Yeniseian can be joined to those east. On the face of it, the proposition is highly improbable -- genes, teeth, finger prints, blood groups, physical types, cultural artifact assemblages, and virtually everything else speaks against it. Sino-Tibetans and Amerindians are largely Mongoloid peoples, so -- at 20,000-10,000 BP -- why should we not expect closer affinities with other Mongoloid peoples in Asia? The linguistic data are not sufficiently specific and compelling to convince me that S-T and Na-Dene are more closely linked to Caucasian than they are to Uralic and so-called Altaic languages or, for that matter, to the languages of Southeast Asian Mongoloid peoples.

The first paper in this volume is Sergei Starostin's "On the Hypothesis of a Genetic Connection between the Sino-Tibetan Languages and the Yeniseian and North-Caucasian Languages." This paper, which has now been presented before several audiences to great acclaim, was translated from the Russian by William Baxter III. The second paper, by Starostin's partner Sergei Nikolaev, is entitled "Sino-Caucasian Languages in America," an audacious title if ever there was one. Then follows a whole series of longer and shorter papers by John Bengtson: "Notes on Sino-Caucasian," "Some Sino-Caucasian Etymologies," "Macro-Caucasian Phonology," "Macro-Caucasian: A Historical Linguistics," "Hypothesis (Abstracts)," "On Dene-Caucasian Substratum in Europe," and "Some Macro-Caucasian Etymologies." The book concludes with nearly a hundred pages of North-Caucasian roots edited and arranged by A. Eulenberg.

The authors begin with tables of phonetic correspondences between the various languages being compared, but without justifying the derivations of these sound values, which surely must (or should) have been exceedingly complicated. They talk freely of "proof" and "demonstration," building on previous articles by themselves and their associates. Much as I sympathize with their endeavors (I, too, am a firm believer in the unity of humankind and human language), I am skeptical that they have leaped from Z back through A without passing through Y, X,...O, P,... and C, B. I am also dubious about the validity of supposedly regular parallelisms when, for example, neat consonantal correspondences are laid out in the charts, but

these are fudged by the addition of many extra consonants (almost at will, it seems) in the actual word comparisons. Generally, not much attention is paid to vowels.

Another troubling aspect of the whole procedure is that the lexical comparisons are sometimes very shifty. What was "stomach, belly, uterus (womb)" in one language becomes "bile, gall" in another; what was "lip, beak, bill" in one language becomes "gum/cheek" in another; "yellow" becomes "red"; and so forth.

I wish to reiterate emphatically that I am a great admirer of the Nostraticists from Illich-Svitych on because I staunchly adhere to the premise that all languages have a common source. Therefore, I appreciate the painstaking efforts by the growing body of intrepid, maverick explorers who are bravely pushing ancient linguistic boundaries backward in time. For the moment, however, I believe that parts of the edifice they are constructing are not solid (especially those having anything to do with sinographically determined Old Sinitic), and hence their grand design -- to my infinite regret -- is still partly a house of cards. I predict, however, that linguistic historians working with Sinitic languages will soon throw off the shackles and restraints of the sinographic writing system, will rely more and more on the multitude of data available from the living topolects and their antecedents from the past, and will be able to ascertain genuine etymologies within the next two decades (I myself intend to be deeply involved in the latter work). When all of this happens, giant strides will swiftly be taken in the reconstruction of Old Sinitic and, when that happens, the filiation of Sinitic languages and their relationships to other language groups will become much clearer. In the meantime, I applaud the work of all conscientious Nostraticists but reserve the right to retain my critical *igi* (eye).

Vitaly Shevoroshkin, ed. *Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric and Amerind*. Materials from the First International Interdisciplinary Symposium on Language and Prehistory, Ann Arbor, 8-12 November, 1988. Bochum Publications in Evolutionary Cultural Semiotics, 33. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. Norbert Brockmeyer, 1992. iii + 552 pages.

This is the last volume of the materials of the 1988 International Symposium of Language and Prehistory; several of the earlier ones have already been reviewed in previous issues of *SPP*. Because the sheer number of papers in this volume is so large, I shall merely list their titles:

METHODS OF COMPARISON AND RECONSTRUCTION

1. Henrik Birnbaum, "Genetic and Typological Approaches to External Comparison of Languages."
2. Irén Hegedűs, "Reconstructing Nostratic Morphology: Derivational Elements."
3. Ilya I. Peiros, "Ancient Eastern and Southeastern Asia: Comparative-Historical Data and Their Interpretations -- Addendum." A supplement to I. Peiros' article of the same name, in *Proto-Languages and Proto-Cultures*, ed. Vitaly Shevoroshkin, BPX 25; Bochum: Universitätsverlag -- N. Brockmeyer, 1990. Pp. 14-25. "A Sino-Tibetan Classification" (with the assistance of S. Starostin); "Some Sino-Tibetan -- Austronesian Comparisons"; "Some Chinese-Austronesian Comparisons"; "Some Sino-Tibetan -- Mon-Khmer Comparisons"; "Some Sino-Tibetan -- Miao-Yao Comparisons." "An Austroasiatic Classification." "A Kadai Classification." "An Austric Classification." "Some Austric Etymologies."
4. Roger Wescott, "Linguistic Protohistory."
5. Sergei Starostin, "Methodology of Long-Range Comparison."

NOSTRATIC LANGUAGES

DISCUSSION ON NOSTRATIC

6. Katherine Rowenchuk, "Why Aren't Americans Interested in Nostratics?"
7. Sergei Starostin, "Comments on K. Rowenchuk's Paper."
8. Eugene Helimsky, "ditto."
9. Raimo Anttila, "ditto."
10. Merritt Ruhlen, "ditto."
11. Irén Hegedűs, "On Nostratic."
12. Václav Blažek, "Kartvelian Material in Nostratic Lexicon: New Etymologies."

13. Václav Blažek, "ditto, II."

DRAVIDIAN AND AFRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES

14. Václav Blažek, "The New Dravidian-Afroasiatic Parallels: Preliminary Report."

AFRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES

15. Vladimir Orël and Olga Stolbova, "Cushitic, Chadic, and Egyptian: Lexical Relations."

16. Vladimir Orël and Olga Stolbova, "On Chadic-Egyptian Lexical Relations."

17. Vladimir Orël and Olga Stolbova, "Position of Cushitic (Preliminary Report)."

18. Vladimir Orël and Olga Stolbova, "Reconstruction of the Afrasian Vocalism: Cushitic and Chadic."

19. Boris Podolsky, "Comments to A. Militarëv's *Afrasian Cultural Terms*."

NOSTRATIC ETYMOLOGIES

20. Irén Hegedűs, "Some New Nostratic Etymologies: A Proposal."

21. Václav Blažek, "Some Nostratic Etymologies."

PAPERS ON NOSTRATIC FROM THE SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES

22. A. B. Dolgopolsky, "A Hypothesis Concerning Ancient Relationships between Languages in Northern Eurasia (Problems of Phonological Correspondences)."

23. Aron Dolgopolsky, "Nostratic Etymologies and the Origin of Verbal Formatives."

24. Aron Dolgopolsky, "The Nostratic Vowels in Indo-European."

DENE-SINO-CAUCASIAN LANGUAGES

25. John Bengtson, "The Dene-Caucasian Macrophyllum."

26. John Bengtson, "Macro-Caucasian Phonology (Revised Version)."

AUSTRIC LANGUAGES

27. Ilya Peiros, "The Austric Macrofamily: Some Considerations."

28. John Bengtson, "A Case for the Austric Affiliation of Ainu."

AMERIND LANGUAGES

29. Dmitry Leshchiner in Collaboration with Sergei Nikolaev, "Proto-Hokan Roots."

30. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald-Angenot and Jean-Pierre Angenot, "The South-American Proto-Ge and the Old World."

HYPOTHESES

AUSTRALIAN AND DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES (ANCIENT CONTACTS OR REMOTE RELATIONSHIPS)

31. Václav Blažek, "Australian Elements in Dravidian Lexicon? (Preliminary Report)."

SUMERIAN: NOSTRATIC OR SINO-CAUCASIAN?

32. Claude Boisson, "The Sumerian Pronominal System in a Nostratic Perspective."

THE "MOTHER TONGUE"

33. Éric de Grolier, "In Search of Eve(s) and Mother Tongue(s)."

34. John Bengtson, "Eve's Dictionary."

35. John Bengtson, "Global Etymologies and Linguistic Prehistory."

SUPPLEMENT

36. Irén Hegedűs, "Bibliographia Nostratica 1960-1990." Very useful; combined with the ample bibliographies accompanying most of the papers in this and the other four volumes of the series, readers have in their possession a quite complete record of publications on Nostratic and related subjects for the period preceding 1990. One may also now consult Merritt Ruhlen's new *The Origin of Language: Tracing the Evolution of the Mother Tongue* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1994) which is available in many bookstores.

37. James B. Parkinson, "Cumulative Index." This index is for the five volumes of papers from the First International Interdisciplinary Symposium on Language and Prehistory (Ann Arbor, 1988 November 8-12) edited by Vitaly Shevoroshkin, all of which have been reviewed in this or previous issues of *SPP*. Includes a very helpful citation index.

In many of these articles, there are long lists of compared words (occasionally just phonemes), actually usually tentatively reconstructed roots, that come from language groups/families customarily not considered to be related. The thrust of the work presented here is always to make connections among groups that were formerly thought to be separate.

I did not systematically read all of the word lists, but, glancing through them, I spotted what might be a few things that are worrisome. For example, on pp. 154-155, Václav Blažek lists Dravidian **porr-* as both "lungs" and "back" in two different cognate groups. When I traced these items to their supposed source in T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau's *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), this is not what I found. In the first place, Burrow and Emeneau did not attempt to reconstruct roots at all; they merely presented (often quite convincing) groups of words from different Dravidian languages that appear to be cognate. It was Blažek who extracted the roots from the data compiled by Burrow and Emeneau, but his principles for doing so are by no means transparent or consistent. In general, it would seem that he adopted the method of what might be called the "lowest common denominator." In other words, he tried to come up with a reconstructed root that might hypothetically have accounted for all of the words in a given cluster assembled by Burrow and Emeneau. This is not as rigorous a procedure as might be desired. Secondly, Blažek has not followed Burrow and Emeneau precisely. Instead of **porr-* ("back"), he should have given something like **pot-*, and instead of **porr-* ("lungs"), he should have given something like **porr-*. On p. 245, Blažek proposes a Nostratic root **SunE* ("ghost") that is based on a very iffy Fenno-Ugric/Mongolian reconstruction and a couple of Yensiseian words that mean "shaman"(!).

My impression is that much of the work of the Nostraticists is of this nature. Because I accept the monogenesis of the languages of *Homo sapiens sapiens*, I support the efforts of the Nostraticists and others to find a Mother Tongue, but we must be realistic and admit the fact that the goal is still remote.

A basic obstacle that confronts the Nostraticists but which they do not yet seem to have recognized: if we accept monogenesis, then all languages are necessarily related in some fashion. It will require an extremely sophisticated set of linguistic procedures to sort out the genetic and chronological interconnections among all the languages of *Homo sapiens sapiens* that have ever existed. To cite but one example of the magnitude of the problem, John Bengtson (p. 364) gives Ainu *api ~ abe* ("fire") and Proto-Austronesian **apuy* ("fire") as evidence for the Austric affiliation of Ainu. That is all well and good, but throughout the book (and elsewhere), I have also noticed that the word for fire is similar in other, presumably less closely related, languages (Nahali *āpo* [p. 337], I-E **peuōr-*, **pūr-*, Altaic *pör-*, Egyptian *p^ḥw* [p. 279], Dravidian **pu/v/-* ["spark"], Afro-asiatic **piḥw-*, Uralic **pīwe* ["warm, hot"], Altaic **p^ḥebV* ["burn"] [p. 162], etc.). It would appear that there was a very ancient word for "fire" that sound something like *****puw-*: discovering how and when it assumed all of its many later manifestations constitutes a stupendous challenge. Is it enough to say simply that Ainu and Proto-Austronesian have a prefixed vowel?

John Bengtson is thoroughly persuasive when he lists (pp. 477 and 483) words in Afro-Asiatic (Hausa, Arabic), I-E (Old Slavic, Latin), Amerind (Chitimacha, Mura, Paez, Mapudungu, Selknam, Cavineña), and Uralic (Kasmassian, Mordvin) that sound roughly like *ka/o[s]/[t]* and mean "bone" (or "rib") -- to which I would add Old Sinitic **kwət* -- as being reflexes of a global root. We are forever indebted to people like Bengtson for their Herculean labors in compiling and analyzing all of this rich data. Already, their contributions to the history of humankind is of enormous proportions and ineradicable. Yet, to be completely convincing and fully satisfying, the Nostraticists must somehow develop more rigorous methodologies for distinguishing the multiple layers of relationships among languages. They also need to rely more on the findings of history and archeology than they have up to this point. Indeed, they pride themselves for ignoring history and archeology because they emphasize their role as pure linguists. While that may be an admirable ideal, in practice all disciplines need to check their findings against the findings available from other disciplines. Otherwise, they are working in a vacuum and may lose touch with reality. Linguistics is not mathematics. It is, rather, one of the human sciences and, as such, must be tied to social and historical realities. The mention of genetics and the rise of modern humans out of Africa near the end of the book is heartening.

Reading this thick book bristling with phonemically complex reconstructions, one gains the impression that the Nostraticists are spectacularly energetic, combing the most obscure and arcane sources for any scrap of linguistic data that may be plugged into their grand schemes. Many of them are also very bright, some even brilliant, in being able to spot similarities among words in various language groups. Intellectually, their ability to conceptualize is also impressive, as, say, with John Bengtson's attempts to link Sumerian, Basque, and Burushaski in a Macro-Caucasian phylum -- this would neatly take care of a slew of language isolates; in terms of the time-depths at which these languages may have become separated (before the I-E expansion), it also makes some sense. On the other hand, as a Sinologist, it is not so easy for me to comprehend how S-T could be organically related to Caucasian at the time-depths (c. 15,000 BP) that would seem to result from the proposals of Sergei Nikolaev and Sergei Starostin. In terms of geography, physical anthropology, genetics, and all the other disciplines that might be applied to this question, I cannot grasp how it could have happened.

The Nostraticists are probing the frontiers of knowledge in an exciting and noble enterprise. I trust that one day they will meet with glorious success, but their road into the far distant past is a long and difficult one. To help them on their way, we must continue to be both supportive and critical, lest they give up hope or go adrift.

Laurence G. Thompson, comp. *Studies of Chinese Religion: A Comprehensive and Classified Bibliography of Publications in English, French, and German through 1970*. Encino and Belmont, California: Dickenson, 1976. xlv + 190 pages.

Laurence G. Thompson, comp. *Chinese Religion in Western Languages: A Comprehensive and Classified Bibliography of Publications in English, French, and German through 1980*. Association for Asian Studies Monograph, 41. Tucson: University of Arizona, 1985. xlix + 302 pages.

Laurence G. Thompson, comp. *Chinese Religion: Publications in Western Languages, 1981 through 1990*. Edited by Gary Seaman. Association for Asian Studies Monograph, 47. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Center for Visual Anthropology Ethnographics Press, 1993. xxvii + 288 pages.

As all students and teachers of Chinese religion will attest, these three volumes are a godsend. The first has been long out of print and was never widely distributed. The second is essentially a revised and enlarged reprint of the first, and the third deals only with the ten years

of the 1980s. Depending upon the view one takes, the size of the third volume may be cause for alarm. Considering the fact that about two-thirds as many studies of Chinese religion have been written in the decade from 1981 to 1990 as were written in the previous century and more, we can draw one of three conclusions: people are more glib, there are more people, or Chinese religion is only now coming into its own as a legitimate field of study. Whichever explanation(s) we accept, we must admit that there has been an explosion of information concerning many facets of Chinese religion. Without the Thompson bibliographies, it would be almost impossible to cope with this sudden expansion of our knowledge about the subject.

So far as I can tell, the 1993 bibliography essentially follows the format and conventions of the 1976/1985 bibliography. Both are basically divided into two main parts: "Chinese Religion Exclusive of Buddhism" and "Chinese Buddhism." The major difference is that the new work adds four new categories to those of bibliography and general treatments/studies that precede the two main parts. These are "Religion and Gender" (in keeping with PC trends), "Religion and Music," "The Study of Chinese Religion," and "Collective Works in Multiple Categories."

The compiler has been amazingly assiduous in tracking down even the most obscure works. The scope of the net that he has flung to make his catch is indicated by the fact that books and journals referred to in abbreviated fashion alone number well over 400, while his list of "Details Concerning Serial Sources" is so broad in its orientation that it could almost serve as a handbook for humanities journals dealing with China in general.

The 1986 volume has a quite complete "Index of Authors, Editors, Compilers, Translators, Photographers, Illustrators" compiled by the author's wife, Grace, which is somewhat inexplicably and profligately repeated in the 1993 volume. The latter also has its own new index as well.

About the only complaint I have had with Thompson's bibliographies since I started using them in 1976 is the fact that they do not replicate faithfully the capitalization of the titles of the original publications but render all words after the first of a given title completely in lower-case. The problem is compounded further in the 1985 bibliography by exclusive use of bold font for book and journal titles and plain type for article titles, thus obscuring any italicization that may have been present in the original titles. The problem is compounded still further in the 1993 bibliography where, aside from the exclusive use of lower-case beyond the first letter of the first word, everything is given in plain type. I have often regretted these decisions of the compiler and just as often have wondered whether he regretted them himself. Alas, once embarked upon, it would have been impossible to modify such a policy because the sources would be so difficult to retrieve in their entirety that any attempt to do so would drive one to distraction. But it is precisely for this reason that the user of these bibliographies is himself so

often frustrated. The Thompson bibliographies cannot be used as a reliable check on one's own (often faulty) notetaking. And occasionally one merely wishes to include an item in one's bibliography for the sake of completeness without necessarily reading it oneself. In the end, however, we should always go back to the original sources and take accurate notes ourselves whenever possible. While that is the ideal, it is not always easy to achieve, especially the second time when one is forced to look up a rare publication that may be held only in a couple of libraries in the entire world.

The matter of the form of the titles in these bibliographies is a genuine complaint, but a niggling one nonetheless in light of the deep gratitude to the compiler which all of us who use them regularly feel. May he produce another volume for the decade 1991-2000 in the year 2103! (I expect that it will be 400 pages long.) Then he can take a well-deserved rest and someone else should relieve him of his herculean duties.

Aat Vervoorn. *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1990. xii + 356 pages.

In spite of its subtitle, this is really a book about eremitism in the Western and Eastern Han dynasties, with a cursory look at its forerunners during the Warring States period and some consideration of its implications for later periods. The author dismisses all the legendary accounts of hermits from before the time of Confucius (551-479 BCE) as being concocted by later individuals who wished to foster or capitalize upon eremitic ideals. His primary reason for rejecting the possibility of eremitism prior to the Warring States period is that there exist no reliable textual accounts of hermits from before that time. This is admittedly a properly cautious attitude to take with regard to such shadowy figures as Boyi and Shuqi, but surely there must have been individuals in all societies at all times who went off to live in the wilderness so as to escape involvement in politics. It is an ancient tradition in India and there is evidence that it existed in the Middle East and in Europe from very early times. Naturally, eremitism developed differently in different societies, and there is no doubt that in Han and later China it was cultivated to a degree of sophistication that may have been unparalleled elsewhere. Still, the impulse to withdraw from society is not unusual and it is simplistic to ascribe its invention to Confucius and the philosophers who came after him, as does Vervoorn. The author makes occasional reference to eremitism in other countries, but greater attention to the phenomenon worldwide would probably have served as a healthy corrective to an overemphasis on a particular type of politically motivated detachment in China.

This leads to another problem with the treatment of eremitism in Vervoorn's book. Namely, he views it strictly as a phenomenon of high culture. Indeed, he claims that it has been one of the most important vehicles for the preservation of high culture in China. To me, this would seem to be a very one-sided approach to the phenomenon (a faulty approach that is common to many other studies of Chinese culture because of an overemphasis on orthodox Confucianism which, in reality, represented only a small fraction of what went on in China). Although many Chinese hermits did possess a high level of righteousness and political consciousness, some truly wished to opt out of power machinations altogether and some were illiterate, low culture types. The assumption that eremitism belongs only to the upper segments of society is unjustified and needs to be re-examined. Of course, given the nature of our sources, the materials for studying non-elite eremitism in pre-modern times are exceedingly limited, but that does not mean that we should succumb to elitist bias and can rule out all possibility of its existence.

Aside from these two reservations, I find Vervoorn's study to be systematic and well documented. The organization of the book is quite simple, being divided into four chapters dealing with the origins of eremitism and its development in the Warring States period, the Former Han and the Wang Mang period, the Later Han, and eremitism at court during the two Han periods.

A strong point of the book is the author's willingness to examine literati eremitism from various facets: art, philosophy, literature, and so forth. It goes without saying, however, that these are all products of the intelligentsia, which is all that traditional sinology usually ever cares to investigate. As a work of traditional sinology, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves* is exemplary, but it gives only the slightest hint of what lies beyond.

WANG Jiting, ZHANG Shaoting, and WANG Suorong, comp. *Changjian Wenyan Shumianyu [Frequently Encountered Literary Sinitic Expressions in Written Language]*. Chunking: Chongqing Chubanshe, 1990. 36 + 721 pages.

Like the endless glut of dictionaries of so-called "idioms" (*chengyu* -- actually "set phrases" is a far more accurate translation of the term), this is a handbook for helping hapless victims of semi-vernacular[Mandarin]/semi-literary styles of written Sinitic to cope with the hodge-podge. It is this hodge-podge that is neither vernacular nor literary, but a confused and confusing mixture of both, that the author intends by *shumianyu* in the title of his book. It is the typical style of writers who have no sense of style and who attempt to impress by larding their turgid prose with a heavy dose of classicisms without regard for their suitability.

Ironically, such dictionaries and handbooks also insidiously serve to inculcate these bastardized styles of writing, with the result that the impasse on the path to a pure, lucid form of vernacular never seems to emerge in China, in spite of the fact that it would be both invigorating for the culture and salvific for the nation.

Be that as it may (alas!), it is extremely interesting to observe that roughly 98.5% of the 2,100-plus expressions in this dictionary are bisyllabic, and most of these are so tightly bonded that we can only think of them quite simply as **words**. Of the remainder, about 1.5% are trisyllabic. What this means is that even presumable "classicisms" that are encouraged/permitted in modern book language are primarily polysyllabic. Another nail in the coffin of the monosyllabic myth!

Perusing this dictionary, one soon discovers that a significant proportion of these hoary words that are sanctioned as belonging to Literary Sinitic must actually have been words from ancient spoken Sinitic languages that became embedded in classical texts and somehow managed to escape the inexorable monosyllabicizing tendencies of Literary Sinitic and the concomitant sinographic script. For example, *lata* ("filthy, unkempt; a slovenly manner of walking") surely is a colloquial bisyllable that went unnoticed by the axes of the monosyllabic mythmakers. The same instruments could not do much damage to such indissolubly bound terms as *lanruo* (< Skt. *aranya* ["monastery; retreat; grove"]) besides chopping off its head (whereas they chopped off the feet of Buddha [originally < *Fotuo*] and Zen/Chan [originally < *Channa*]).

Each entry in this dictionary consists of headwords in sinographs and Pinyin (orthography imprecise because all syllables are separated by a space), definitions, citations from classical texts, examples of usage in MSM, and notes. The running heads conveniently list all of the words on a given page, although it would perhaps have been more convenient if they were given in Pinyin rather than in their sinographic form. It is very nice to have a complete index of all entries in Pinyin, but it is redundant since the main ordering of the dictionary is by Pinyin. Thus, it might have been preferable to have the index be by radical plus residual strokes.

In sum, this dictionary of the most common classicisms in written Mandarin is but another affirmation of the non-monosyllabicity of Sinitic -- apart from the script!

John Timothy Wixted. *Japanese Scholars of China: A Bibliographical Handbook*. Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1992. xlii + 474 pages.

Simply trying to discover the correct pronunciation of Japanese scholars' names is enough to drive a sinologist insane. To go beyond that to locate what their specialty may be, what important books and articles they have to their credit, the names of the publishers and journals they write for properly romanized, and so forth, can lead to even more disastrous results. With this handbook, Timothy Wixted has come to the rescue. There can be no doubt that it will make the life of all serious, responsible sinologists much easier.

Timothy Wixted is one of two American scholars who have become experts on Japanese studies of China. The other is Joshua Fogel. However, whereas Fogel focuses on modern and contemporary history and social sciences, Wixted concentrates on pre-modern humanities. Thus, there is really no duplication in their work and we can be enormously grateful to both of them for helping us gain access to this very important area of sinological expertise.

As with all of Wixted's publications, the *Handbook* is intelligently and elegantly designed. Through the high efficiency of his design, Wixted is actually able to pack about 700 pages of material into the four hundred and seventy some pages of the book. For me, there is always an intense pleasure in working my way through a Wixted book because of the lavish attention to detail and logic that inform its every page.

The best introduction to this fine reference tool is from the first section of the *Handbook* itself, entitled "The *Handbook* Summarized":

Japanese Scholars of China: A Bibliographical Handbook -- hereafter referred to as the *Handbook* -- is a reference work that leads to a wealth of bibliographical and biographical information about more than 1,500 twentieth-century Japanese scholars of China. The work serves a variety of purposes.

First, the *Handbook* offers accurate readings of the names of Japanese scholars of China.

Second, it gives short characterizations of each scholar's area of specialization.

Third, it serves as an index to, and is intended to be used in concert with, four important reference works (*Chūgoku bungaku semmonka jiten* [*A Dictionary of Japanese Specialists on Chinese Literature*]; *Jih-pen ti Chung-kuo hsüeh-chia* [*China Scholars of Japan*]; *Japanese Studies on Japan and the Far East: A Short Biographical and Bibliographical Introduction*]; and *Tōyōgaku ronshū naiyō sōran* [*A Guide to the Contents of Festschriften and Other Collections of Articles Published in Japan concerning Oriental Studies*]). Three

of these works give useful biographical and bibliographical information about Japanese sinological scholars; the fourth lists article-by-article (with page numbers) the contents of *Festschriften* and other collections of articles dealing with China.

Fourth, the *Handbook* includes as many bibliographies as possible of the work of individual Japanese China scholars. These bibliographies may appear as separate volumes, individual journal articles, appendices to scholarly studies, sections of *Festschriften*, or parts of complete editions of scholars' work (*zenshū*).

Fifth, the *Handbook* lists many Japanese-language books and articles (especially those published from 1960 through 1988) that tell about China scholars in Japan. They include material such as *in memoriam* notices, roundtable discussions of scholars' work, biographical and autobiographical sketches, and chronological biographies (*nempu*).

Sixth, special attention is paid to English- and other Western-language material of two kinds: 1) articles and books in Western languages ABOUT Japanese sinologists, and 2) book-length volumes BY Japanese China scholars in Western languages. Furthermore, English- and other European-language materials (such as articles, book summaries, or synopses of articles) included in Japanese-language books cited are noted. Several Western-language book reviews of Japanese-language studies by scholars in Japan are also noted.

Seventh, the work has several useful indexes. The one to the surnames of Japanese scholars included in the *Handbook*, arranged alphabetically by romanized Chinese reading (Index A), should be especially helpful when checking an unfamiliar surname.... The extensive subject index (Index H) can lead the reader to listings of Japanese scholars active in specific fields of China study. The table of books and monographs in Western languages on China by Japanese scholars (Index E), as well as the roster of non-Japanese cited in the *Handbook* (Index B), while useful to those familiar with the largely English-language work they represent, will be particularly helpful to scholars less familiar with Japanese scholarship on China or less able to utilize Japanese-language sources. And the romanized listing of the names, together with Chinese characters, of publishers cited in the *Handbook* (Index F) should help readers cite such material.

Eighth, the *Handbook* can benefit students of **Japan, Korea, and other parts of Asia**. Numerous scholars included in the work are of importance to the study of these areas, some of them primarily so.

In sum, the *Handbook* is a guide that leads the reader to entries in other reference works containing bibliographical and biographical information about most of the scholars cited.¹ It also leads the reader to specific information about bibliographies of individual scholars' work, books and articles concerning them, and *Festschriften* dedicated to them. Furthermore, the guide may help with a variety of additional information: the correct reading of Japanese sinological scholars' names, the names of Japanese scholars active in one's field of China research, a variety of Western--language material about Japanese scholarship on China, and the proper romanization of publishers' names in Japan.

1. Hence, the *Handbook* is not a bibliography of individual China scholars' work. Nor does it offer synopses of their work. Individual book titles by scholars are sometimes listed, but only because they include bibliographies of their work, contain additional biographical information about them, or comprise book-length Western-language versions of their scholarship.

Wixted seems to have thought of everything to make the *Handbook* user-friendly for his beleaguered sinologist. The book has eight indices:

1. Japanese surnames listed by Chinese reading
2. Non-Japanese cited in the *Handbook*
3. Common Japanese terms and phrases cited (very handy)
4. Romanized titles of journals
5. China-related Western-language books and monographs by Japanese scholars of China
6. Publishers
7. Places of publication
8. Fields of study (in elaborate outline form)

The *Handbook* will not be Wixted's last effort to make Japanese sinology better known in the West, but we can be glad that this is his first major publication dedicated to that cause. Edwin Mellen deserves our thanks for making it available -- it is hard to imagine that the major

university presses, which have become increasingly preoccupied by economic considerations, would take on a work of such proportions and of such an "esoteric" nature.

YÜ Lung-yü, ed. *Chung-Yin wen-hsüeh kuan-hsi yüan-liu [The Origin and Development of Sino-Indian Literary Relations]*. Chung-kuo pi-chiao wen-hsüeh ts'ung-shu [Chinese Comparative Literature Series], under the chief editorship of the Shen-chen University Comparative Literature Institute. Hong Kong: Chung-hua and Changsha: Hu-nan wen-i, 1987. (ii) + 8 + 2 + 426 pages.

Many sinocentric sinologists and cultural chauvinist Chinese patriots find the suggestion of Indian influence on China to be profoundly offensive. They consider such suggestions to be an affront to their favorite object of devotion and dismiss them *a priori* as instances of mere diffusionism, which they imagine to have been so thoroughly discredited that anything associated with it is not worth consideration or discussion.

For those who still doubt the pervasive impact of Indian culture upon China, however, there has been a spate of new books coming out of the Middle Kingdom itself which give the lie to assertions that Chinese civilization developed essentially in isolation, i.e., that it was self-generated and owed nothing of any consequence to any other people.

We may list the contents of the book under review as an example of the type of scholarship that has been done to demonstrate Indian influence upon China, no matter how distasteful it may be to the sinocentrists:

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. "Fan-i wen-hsüeh te ying-hsiang yü i-pan wen-hsüeh [The Influence of Translated Literature on Literature in General]."

Hu Shih. "*Hsi-yu chi k'ao-cheng* [Evidential Studies on *Journey to the West*]."

Hsü Ti-shan. "Fan-chü t'i-li chi ch'i tsai Han-chü shang ti tien-tien ti-ti [The Conventions of Sanskrit Drama and Their Accumulated Influence on Chinese Drama]."

Lu Hsün. "'Ch'ih hua-man' t'i-chi [Dedicatory Inscription for 'Obsessed with Floral Garlands']."

Ch'en Yin-k'o. "*San-kuo chih* Ts'ao Ch'ung Hua-t'o chuan yü Fo-chiao ku-shih [The Biographies of Ts'ao Ch'ung and Hua T'o in the *History of the Three Kingdoms* and Buddhist Stories]."

Ch'en Yin-k'o. "*Hsi-yu chi* Hsüan-tsang ti-tzu ku-shih chi yen-pien [The Evolution of the Stories about the Disciples of Hsüan-tsang in the *Journey to the West*]."

Su Hsüeh-lin. "'T'ien-wen' li te Yin-tu chu t'ien chiao hai ku-shih [Stories about Various Indian Gods Churning the Sea in 'Heavenly Questions']."

Chou I-liang. "Lun Fo-tien fan-i wen-hsüeh [On Translated Literature from the Buddhist Canon]."

Chi Hsien-lin. "'Mao ming' yü-yen te yen-pien [Evolution of the Allegory on 'The Name of the Cat']."

Chi Hsien-lin. "Yin-tu wen-hsüeh tsai Chung-kuo [Indian Literature in China]."

Wu Hsiao-ling. "*Hsi-yu chi* yü *Lo-mo-yen-shu* [*The Journey to the West* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*]."

Liu Ts'un-jen/yan. "Pi-sha-men t'ien-wang fu-tzu yü Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo chih kuan-hsi [The Relationship between Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, Father and Son, and Chinese Fiction]."

Li Sheng-hua. "Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa chih yen-chiu [Studies on Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva]."

Chi Hsien-lin. "*Wu-chüan-shu* i-pen hsü [Preface to the Translation of *Pañcatantra*]."

Chi Hsien-lin. "*Sha-kung-ta-lo* i-pen hsin hsü [New Preface to the Translation of *Śakuntalā*]. (Abridged)

Chi Hsien-lin. "*Hsi-yu chi* li-mien te Yin-tu ch'eng-fen [Indian Elements in *Journey to the West*]."

Mi Wen-k'ai. "Chung-Yin wen-hsüeh kuan-hsi chü-li [Examples of Sino-Indian Literary Relations]."

Liu Shou-hua. "'Mu-niao' -- i ke ying-hsiang shen-yüan te min-chien k'e-hsüeh huan-hsiang ku-shih [The Wooden Bird' -- A Deeply Influential Popular Science Fiction Story]."

Li Yüan. "Ts'ung Yin-tu te *Lo-mo-yen-na* tao T'ai-kuo te *La-ma-chien* he Tai-tsu te *La-chia-hsi-ho* [From the *Rāmāyaṇa* of India to the *Ramakien* of Thailand to the *Rakasihe* of the Tai People]."

Chin K'e-mu. "*Li-chü fei-t'o* te chi-tsu shih he *Shih-ching* te 'Ya,' 'Sung' [Sacrificial Hymns to the Ancestors in the *Rig Veda* and the 'Elegentiae' and 'Lauds' of the *Poetry Classic*]."

Fang Hsi-te. "Ping Hsin yü T'ai-ke-erh [Ping Hsin (Icy Heart) and Tagore]."

Ai Yen. "Shuo ching -- ts'ung T'ai-ke-erh te ching lai k'an T'ao Yüan-ming te ching [On Tranquility -- The Tranquility of T'ao Yüan-ming as Seen through the Tranquility of Tagore]."

Chu Wei-chih. "Shen yü shih-jen te tsung-chiao -- Chung-Yin wen-hsüeh ssu-hsiang chiao-liu i li [Spirits and the Religion of the Poet -- An Example of Exchange in Sino-Indian Literary Thought]."

Yen Yün-hsiang. "Lun Yin-tu na-chia ku-shih tui Chung-kuo lung-wang lung-nü ku-shih te ying-hsiang [On the Influence of Indian Naga Stories upon Chinese Stories about Dragon Kings and Dragon Maidens]."

Yu Lung-yü. "Han-i Fo-tien chung te Yin-tu wen-hsüeh [Indian Literature in the Translations of the Buddhist Canon]."

Most of these articles, written during the last century, are philologically rigorous and historically accurate. It would be difficult, if not impossible, after reading them, to deny that Indian literature had a significant impact upon the language (including grammar and lexicon), form (including genres), content, and style of Chinese folklore, mythology, and literature for well over two millennia. The hard data is so plentiful and varied that it would be useless for me to attempt to summarize it here. Suffice it to say only that the very old idea that there is a rabbit in the moon, the best-known fable of Liu Tsung-yüan, the mischievous monkey and other aspects of *Hsi-yu chi* [*Journey to the West*], characteristic T'ang period music and dances, puppets and marionettes, the central concept of "role [*chiao-se*]" in dramaturgy, prosodic features of verse, vital tales in *Feng-shen yen-i* [*Investiture of the Gods*], to instance but a few

of the items discussed in this volume -- all of these things which are thought of as quintessentially Chinese either certainly or in all probability came from India -- as did much else beside. The evidence is at hand in this book for all who care to confront it.

The volume under review, of course, offers only a small portion of the evidence available for the massive impact of India upon Chinese culture. Specialized bibliographies are needed to make accessible the scholarship from various fields that have a bearing upon this subject. One of these is Victor H. Mair, *A Partial Bibliography for the Study of Indian Influence on Chinese Popular Literature = Sino-Platonic Papers*, 3 (March, 1987), iv + 214 pages. Though this bibliography is extensive, it is by no means complete. Furthermore, although only seven years old, it is rapidly becoming outdated by new discoveries. By way of the barest attempt at a supplement, we may list a few other publications that have recently come to our attention:

Wu Ch'o. *Fo-chiao tung-ch'uan yü Chung-kuo Fo-chiao i-shu [The Eastward Transmission of Buddhism and Chinese Buddhist Art]*. Shih-chieh wen-hua ts'ung-shu [The Cultures of the World]. Hankow: Che-chiang jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1991. 2 + 5 + 2 + 2 + 390 pages.

Chi Hsien-lin. *Fo-chiao yü chung-Yin wen-hua chiao-liu [Buddhism and Sino-Indian Cultural Exchange]*. Tung-fang wen-hua ts'ung-shu [Oriental Cultures]. Nan-ch'ang: Chiang-hsi jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1990. 4 + 268 pages.

Su Yüan-lei. *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo ch'uan-t'ung wen-hua [Buddhism and Traditional Chinese Culture]*. N.p.: Hu-nan chiao-yü, 1988; 1992, 2nd printing. 164 pages.

Sun Ch'ang-wu. *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh [Buddhism and Chinese Literature]*. Chung-kuo wen-hua ts'ung-shu [Chinese Culture]. Shanghai: Shang-hai jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1988. 2 + 2 + 2 + 384 pages.

Chang Man-t'ao, ed. *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hua [Buddhism and Chinese Culture]*. Shanghai: Shang-hai shu-tien, 1987. 2 + 2 + 384 pages.

Wen-shih chih-shih editorial offices, ed. *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hua [Buddhism and Chinese Culture]*. Wen-shih chih-shih wen-k'u [Knowledge of Literature and History]. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1988. 2 + 2 + 448 pages.

Fang Li-t'ien. *Chung-kuo Fo-chiao yü ch'uan-t'ung wen-hua [Chinese Buddhism and Traditional Culture]*. Shanghai: Shang-hai jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1988. 4 + 461 pages.

Lei Shih-hsiu. "T'ang-tai ch'uan-ch'i-wen yü Yin-tu ku-shih [T'ang Classical Short Fiction and Indian Stories]." *Wen-hsüeh [Literature]*, 2.6 (June 1, 1934), 1051-1066.

Victor H. Mair and Tsu-Lin Mei. "The Sanskrit Origins of Recent Style Prosody." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 51.2 (December, 1991), 375-470.

Victor H. Mair. "Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia: The Making of National Languages." *Journal of Asian Studies*, 53.3 (August, 1994), 707-751.

These additions give only the merest hint of the wealth of materials available to anyone who might wish to investigate the depth and breadth of Indian influence on Chinese culture, particularly literature.

ZHANG Guangda and RONG Xinjiang. *Yutian Shi Congkao [Collected Inquiries on the History of Khotan]*. Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian, 1993. 356 pages.

This volume collects ten important articles of the authors. These are "Hotian, Dunhuang Faxian de Zhonggu Yutian Shiliao Gaishu [Survey of the Materials for the Medieval History of Khotan Discovered at Hotian and Dunhuang]"; "Guanyu Tang Mo Song Chu Yutianguo de Guohao, Nianhao ji Qi Wangjia Shixi Wenti [On the Problem of the Name, Reign Periods, and Royal Succession of the Kingdom of Khotan at the End of the Tang and the Beginning of the Song]"; "Dunhuang Wenshu P3510 (Yutianwen) 'Congde Taizi Fayuanwen (Ni)' ji Qi Niandai [On the Dunhuang Manuscript P3510 (in Khotanese), 'Vow of Prince Congde' (Proposed Title) and Its Date]"; "Guanyu Hotian Chutu Yutian Wenxian de Niandai ji Qi Xiangguan Wenti [On the Dating and Related Questions of Khotanese Documents from Hotian]"; "Guanyu Dunhuang Chutu Yutian Wenxian de Niandai ji Qi Xiangguan Wenti [On the Dating and Related Questions of Khotanese Documents from Dunhuang]"; "Tang Dali San Nian San Yue Dian Cheng Xian Die' Ba [Postscript to the 'Tablet of the Archivist Cheng Xian Dated to the Third Month of the Third Year in the Dali Reign Period of the Tang']"; "Bali Guoli Tushuguan suo Cang Yutianyu Xiejuan Mulu Chugao [Draft Catalog of the Khotanese Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris)]"; "Shanggu Yutian de Saizhong Jumin [The Scythian Inhabitants of Khotan in Early Antiquity]"; "Dunhuang 'Ruixiang Ji', Ruixiang Tu ji Qi

Fanying de Yutian ['The Record of Auspicious Phenomena' and the Picture of Auspicious Phenomena from Dunhuang and Khotan as Reflected in Them]; "Yutian Fosi Zhi [A Gazetteer of the Buddhist Monasteries and Temples of Khotan]."

Each of these articles is up to international standard in what, until Zhang and Rong began their research over a decade ago, used to be almost exclusively a field for non-Chinese scholars. In the course of their investigations, they have acquired facility with the requisite languages (primary: Khotanese and Tibetan [plus Literary Sinitic and some Medieval Vernacular Sinitic] -- secondary: English, French, German, Russian, and Japanese). The wide range of their reading is reflected in the extensive bibliography which includes 35 pages of works written in Western languages, 9 pages of works in Japanese, and 10 pages of works written in Chinese (many of the latter are translated from foreign languages). The quality of their work is sufficiently high that it is now frequently cited in Western writings on the history of Central Asia. This is especially true of their chronology of the kings of Khotan where their list is generally regarded as the best available.

The book has as its preface an article by the venerable Hong Kong scholar, Jao Tsung-i, entitled "Shanggu Saizhong Shi Ruogan Wenti [Several Questions on the History of the Scythians in Early Antiquity]." With little justification, Jao links the Scythians of Central Asia in the first millennium BCE with the Guti and Tukri of the third millennium in Henning's famous thesis about the first Indo-Europeans in history. It is even less easy to comprehend how (and why) he seems to identify Scythians and Yuezhi/Ruzhi. Yet there is no textual or other evidence for making this connection. Jao also attempts to deny that the technology of the horse-drawn chariot came from the West, but the archeological evidence has recently become so massive and palpable that his efforts seem both feeble and futile. Similarly, Jao's discussion of the personal relationships among the vexed ethnonyms Hurrian, Hu, Hun, and Xiongnu only needlessly further confuses matters that are already complicated enough. This piece is one of Professor Jao's least successful excursions into Central Asian languages and history.

In contrast, the paper by Zhang and Rong on "The Scythian Inhabitants of Khotan in Early Antiquity" is properly cautious and sticks closely to archeological, ethnographical, and linguistic evidence. Their main purpose in this paper is to show that -- for their own polemical purposes -- followers of Buddhism distorted the history of the founding of Khotan, giving it more of an Indian slant than it deserves. This is a typical paper by Zhang and Rong: restrained, reasoned, and replete with hard data.

ZHANG Yongyan, chief ed. *Shishuo xinyu cidian [A Dictionary of A New Account of Tales of the World]*. Chengtu: Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe, 1992. 14 + 725 pages.

This is an exemplary work of lexicography, virtually unique in the context of China at the time of its writing. Its creation and its character are dependent on the indomitable will, good sense, and scholarly integrity of a deceptively small and frail man, Zhang Yongyan, whom I regard as far and away the most open-minded and quite simply the best historian of words in China today. Without the vision and standards of Zhang Yongyan, a dictionary of this sort could never have been conceived; without his persistence and determination, it could never have been achieved. In the compilation of the dictionary, Zhang was assisted by three younger scholars (Luo Xiaoping, Tian Mouqin, and Jiang Zongxu) but the conception, design, and overall execution are his.

Let us open the covers and see what this dictionary has to offer. It begins with a preface by Luo Guowei that succinctly treats the following aspects of the *Shishuo xinyu* (hereafter *S*): authorship, title, editions, contents and literary value, and previous studies of its special linguistic features.

After the Table of Contents, a Table of Usages, and an index of head characters by total stroke count (subdivided by succession of stroke types), we plunge right into the heart of the dictionary which -- thank our lucky stars -- is arranged alphabetically. This is a dictionary of all words in *S*, and the editors do have a concept of what a word is (in contrast to what a *sinograph* is). The entries give an indication of the total number of occurrences of the words being defined and cite one or two example sentences of its usage in *S*.

Right from the first page, one is made happy by what one sees. Spotting the word *adu*, we find that it is defined correctly as *zhege* ("this"), that a reference is provided to a modern scholarly article discussing the word, and that it is illustrated by two very telling sentences, one in which it is a demonstrative pronoun indicating Buddhist scriptures (where principle is to be found), and one in which it functions as a demonstrative adjective in the expression *adu wu* ("this thing"), a euphemism for money. The fuller context of the entries can swiftly and easily be found by turning to pp. 628-695, where the printer has managed to squeeze in the entire text of *S*. The paragraphs are numbered and fully punctuated (modern, Western style [including double and single quotation marks]), although proper nouns are not indicated and there is no list of chapters, so it is hard to locate a given chapter among the thirty-six in the book.

The two illustrative sentences just cited bring to mind two very important aspects of the *S*. The first is that, like almost all other texts that have been preserved from the Six Dynasties, it is written in Literary Sinitic. What makes it unusual, however, is the sprinkling of colloquial and vernacular expressions that may be found in it. This includes *adu*, which is presumably a southern topolectical word, but one suspects that its origins may ultimately be traceable to some non-Sinitic language and that it was borrowed into one of the (probably southern) Sinitic

topolects. The second aspect of *S* that we are prompted to recognize is that, while it is certainly not a Buddhist text per se, it is -- to a large extent -- informed by a Buddhist ethos and by Buddhist sentiments. As I have shown in several recent articles, there is an intimate connection between Buddhism and the rise of the written vernacular in China (and, indeed, in all of East Asia and much of Central Asia). Perhaps this may account for the sprinkling of vernacular and colloquial elements in even an essentially secular, but Buddhist-colored, text such as *S*, with its many anecdotes about famous Buddhist monks and the *hu* (Indo-Iranian) subculture of the time. This is reinforced when we turn to the second page and spot *abhidharma* (Pali *abhidamma*). Even the title of the *S* makes us suspect some sort of subtle Buddhist underpinnings, *shi* being a favorite word of Chinese Buddhists, comparable to Sanskrit *yuga* ("an age") and *loka* ("the finite world").

Turning a few more pages, we are heartened on pp. 8-9 to find that the editors provide scientific Latin names for flora and fauna and offer generous references to modern scholarly writings in Chinese and in English, German, French, and occasionally Japanese (some not very easy of access) on a broad variety of subjects having to do with literature, thought, history, and material life. This is not a typical work of traditional Chinese scholarship which tends to regurgitate and recycle. At the same time, Chang is not at all deficient in his knowledge of early Chinese texts and has the ability to cite them when they are relevant.

This remarkable dictionary has many other nice details, such as the gray thumbmarks along the edges of the pages to indicate the positions of the letters of the alphabet, liberal cross references, inclusive sinographs and Pinyin at the top margins of the pages, dates on the international calendar for historical figures when available, supplying of the subject in quotations when anaphora is operative, and so forth. End matter includes a chronological chart of dates pertinent to *S* ranging from 25-420 IE, geneological charts of the rulers of the Three Kingdoms, Jin, and Liu Song dynasties, and a bibliography of major reference works. Head sinographs are provided with Pinyin romanization, *fanqie* (countertonic) readings, and indication of tone and rhyme groups. The treatment of pronunciation could have been improved by the addition of Pinyin for each word entry, not just head sinographs. The printing on some pages of my copy (and of other copies that I have examined) is very faint. Otherwise, I have no complaints and can only recommend this dictionary with the greatest enthusiasm.

There are many fine medieval word sleuths in China today (Wang Ying, Zhang Xiang, Jiang Lihong, Guo Zaiyi [recently deceased], *et al.*), but most of them are still operating completely in the traditional model. Only Zhang Yongyan, while retaining the best of the old regimen, has broken free of its constraints in two important regards: 1. he is willing to trace words to foreign sources; 2. he is not ashamed to use secondary sources written by non-Chinese; indeed, he considers it the mark of a true scholar to be able to do so. Let us hope that

he swiftly and successfully trains many young scholars who will follow in his footsteps. The benefits for learning -- both within and without China -- will be enormous.

All of the above reviews, except the first long review article by E. Bruce Brooks, are by the editor of *Sino-Platonic Papers*. The romanization systems used generally depend upon the origin of the books in question, Pinyin for books from the People's Republic of China and Wade-Giles for all others. Since there currently exists no single sinological standard for romanization, we believe that scholars must be capable of reading materials using several different systems. N.B.: Wade-Giles is still employed by virtually all major East Asian libraries in America and, among the main romanization systems, is closest to the usages of the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Prepublication Notice

Peter H. Rushton. *The Jin Ping Mei and the Non-Linear Dimensions of the Traditional Chinese Novel*. Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1994. 436 pages.

"The author takes a revisionist approach to the novel based on his view that it is a fundamentally pluralistic narrative in contrast to the views expressed in the recent works of Andrew Plaks, David Roy and Katherine Carlitz. Identifies chaos theory as a useful way of understanding the rhetorical structure of this and other complex Chinese narrative."

An Informal Review of
William H. Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*,
Trends in Linguistics 64 (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992)

Paul Rakita Goldin
Harvard University

This new, 922-page monograph traces the evolution of Old Chinese through Middle Chinese to Modern Mandarin. In the field of Middle Chinese, it is as important a contribution as Pulleyblank's *Lexicon* and other studies, and rates with the work of Karlgren, F.K. Li, and others as a source on the phonology of Old Chinese. One of the most significant portions of this *Handbook* is the new consideration of the value and limitations of rhymes for the study of phonological change (chapter 3). I believe that the theories proposed by the author are of relevance to the analysis of rhymes in any context, and are particularly useful in the case of

Middle and Old Chinese, where so much of our data comes down to us in this problematic form.

Baxter begins with an outline of Middle Chinese, the language of the sixth to eighth centuries, the time of the compilation of the earliest rhyme-books. This introductory section is indispensable: Old Chinese will lie in darkness as long as Middle Chinese is only imperfectly understood. Yet the discussion of Middle Chinese is disappointing for a work of this size and earnestness. There are four equally important categories of sources for the study of Middle Chinese. These are: 1) the modern descendants of Middle Chinese, the so-called "dialects" (of which there are five to seven major branches and at least thirty distinct languages); 2) transliterations of foreign languages into Chinese characters (notably from Sanskrit); 3) Chinese loan words in other Asian languages, of which Sino-Japanese, Sino-Vietnamese, and Sino-Korean offer the most evidence; and 4) the Chinese rhyme-books and dictionaries compiled throughout the Middle Ages. Of these categories, unfortunately, Baxter touches on none but the last. His discussion of the early dictionaries constitutes a valuable survey, although little of it is new; consequently his Middle Chinese reconstructions, which rely heavily on this source material, do not significantly further our understanding of the medieval language.

In failing to exploit all of the available sources for Middle Chinese, however, Baxter is not alone. Few scholars have taken full advantage of the numerous modern Chinese languages and dialects. The linguistic descendants of Middle Chinese and the history of their development may tell us many things about the parent language that the contemporary dictionaries alone may not. One example: it is generally agreed that there is virtually perfect correspondence between the various tones in the modern languages and dialects. A Chinese syllable is composed, in theory at least, of three parts: the syllable initial (e.g. "s-"); the syllable final (e.g. "-ang"); and the tone (e.g. "falling"). Even an informal chart of tone correspondences would show that tone was considered a basic aspect of the language, and was preserved meticulously, albeit with regional variations, in every major language branch of the Sinitic group. And since the tones, which constitute the most difficult syllabic element to evaluate, appear to be regular and reliable, a complete study of the initials and finals of the various Sinitic languages and dialects would certainly prove most valuable.

Similarly, the classical dictionaries may tell us how one character was pronounced in terms of others, or what other characters a certain character rhymed with. But they do not give us a purely phonetic representation of any character. Here I think it is necessary to look to medieval Chinese transcriptions of foreign names. Of chief importance are the transcriptions of Buddhist terms and names from Sanskrit and Pali. Many scholars are suspicious of this sort of data, since, as they argue, Sanskrit itself consisted of many different dialects, and Sanskrit names may not have been transcribed systematically. I think, in this particular case, such

caution is misplaced. A study of the Sanskrit terms in the Chinese canon will show that after ca. 500 A.D., Sanskrit names were transcribed **precisely according to a well-defined system**. I am in the process of recording every Sanskrit term in the canon, and have been amazed by just how systematically these terms were transcribed. Certainly by the tenth and eleventh centuries, with the advent of the Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries intended specifically for translators, the precision of transcriptions cannot be questioned. The rhyme-books that Baxter uses may tell us that X rhymes with Y; but only the transcriptions from foreign languages, and the foreign pronunciations of Chinese characters (like Sino-Japanese), may tell us that X is pronounced "shak" and Y "yak."

But the heart of Baxter's book lies in his reconstructions of Old Chinese, not Middle Chinese. There is one issue in particular that I would like to consider here; that is Baxter's reconstruction (with many other scholars) of the Middle Chinese departing tone as an Old Chinese final "-s." F.K. Li is perhaps the only contemporary scholar who has not firmly accepted this view, but I tend to side in this matter with the minority opinion. Baxter, following Haudricourt, argues as follows. Older Chinese loan words in Vietnamese (before Sino-Vietnamese) that are represented in Middle Chinese with a departing tone are usually marked in Vietnamese with a *hoi* or *nga* tone. Further, the *hoi* and *nga* tones in Vietnamese correspond to a final "-h" in other Mon-Khmer languages. This final "-h" is derived from an older "-s." Thus the departing tone in Chinese might represent an older "-s."

This deduction is triply indirect. It relies on the reconstruction of a final "-s" from a later final "-h" in Mon-Khmer, which corresponds to a *hoi* or *nga* tone in Vietnamese, which is often used to represent a Chinese departing tone. The evidence on the Chinese side is skimpy. Pulleyblank offers five obscure Chinese transliterations of words in various languages (including Sanskrit, Tocharian B, and Japanese [!]) from a time well before the systematization of Sanskrit transcriptions. Furthermore, characters with a departing tone, though they usually rhyme with each other, sometimes rhyme with entering-tone characters (final stop) in the archaic *Book of Odes*. In Baxter's system, this means that a character of the form "X-p-s" (departing tone) must have rhymed with a character of the form "X-p" (entering tone). This is Li's major criticism: "-ps" and "-p" just do not form a good rhyme.

My own suggestion is that the departing tone reflects, if anything, an older "-h" rather than "-s." We have no hard evidence of a final "-s" in any of the Austroasiatic languages, only of a final "-h" in some Mon-Khmer languages; and this final "-s," even if it existed, must have been extremely ancient and predated any Chinese-Vietnamese borrowings. The departing tone must have represented some final, since characters with departing tones are rhymed with each other a statistically significant number of times (Baxter's statistical sections are first-rate). But

whatever that final was, it must have been light enough to pass on occasion for a null final, so that "X-p-h" (departing tone) was considered an acceptable rhyme for "X-p" (entering tone).

季羨林 (Ji Xianlin, Hiän-lin Dschi), 敦煌吐魯番吐火羅語研究導論
(Dunhuang Tulufan [Turfan] Tuhuoluoyu [Tocharian language] yanjiu daolun).
臺北: 新文豐出版公司 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi), 1993. 7 + 286
pages.

這是第一本用中文撰寫出版的關於吐火羅語研究的通論性著作。著者季羨林教授 (1911—) 是中國享有盛名的印度學家和吐火羅語專家。第二次世界大戰期間, 李先生正留學德國, 在極其艱難困苦的環境之下, 師從 E. Sieg 教授, 研治吐火羅語, 取得了顯著的成績。李先生在回憶錄《留德十年》(北京, 1992年) 中, 對此曾有非常生動感人的記述。早在 1943 年, 他就寫出了重要論文 *Parallelversionen zur tocharischen Rezension des Punyavanta-Jātaka* (ZDMG 97, 284—324), 通過《福力太子因緣經》(或《國王五人經》) 吐火羅文本與其他語言特別是漢語的平行異本的比較對照, 來確定吐火羅語原文的含義, 事實證明這是一個行之有效的方法。數十年以後, 李先生又毅然承擔起了新疆 1974 年發現吐火羅語 A (焉耆語)《彌勒會見記劇本》(Maitreyasamitinātaka) 的考釋研究工作, 使用的也是同樣的方法, 即利用漢譯平行異本, 特別是利用回鶻語本 Maitrisimit 來解釋吐火羅語本, 將吐火羅語原典的研究提高到了一個新的水平。此外, 著者還發表了十餘篇論文, 探討吐火羅語研究中的各種問題, 如《吐火羅語的發現與考釋及其在中印文化交流中的作用》(《語言研究》1956年第1期)、《吐火羅語 A 中的三十二相》(《民族語文》1982年第4期)、《說“出家”》(《出土文獻研究》, 北京, 1985年)、《梅旦利耶與彌勒》(《中國社會科學》1990年第1期)、《吐火羅文 A (焉耆文)〈彌勒會見記劇本〉與中國戲劇發展之關係》(《社會科學戰綫》1990年第1期)、《吐火羅文和回鶻文本〈彌勒會見記〉性質淺議》(《北京大學學報》1991年第2期) 等。所有這些成果, 都已扼要地匯集在這本新書裏。因此, 對於有志於研究吐火羅語的人, 特別是對決心釋讀吐火羅語典籍原文, 必須瞭解和熟悉吐火羅語語文學的初學者來說, 這是一部必讀書。

本書共分五個部分: 一. 緒論, 二. 資料概叙, 三. 資料特色, 四. 資料價值, 五. 研究要點。其中佔篇幅最多也最重要的是“資料概叙”和“研究要點”兩個部分。關於中外史籍記載的“吐火羅”、“月氏”和“大夏”三者間的關係, 以及吐火羅語的定名問題, 本書在“緒論”中作了簡要的介紹, 但沒有展開討論, 而是開列了一個書目, 共收列文獻四十多種 (pp. 16—21), 供讀者查閱參考。考慮到本書的性質, 這樣做是恰當的。

“資料概述”分為“狹義的資料”和“廣義的資料”。所謂狹義的資料,

就是新疆出土的吐火羅語 A 和吐火羅語 B 殘卷。著者在這裏不僅對歐洲藏卷一一作了說明，列出了反映殘卷研究進展狀況的主要文章和專著，而且重點介紹了新疆博物館收藏的、出土於焉耆縣七個星（錫克沁）千佛洞的《彌勒會見記劇本》。這批殘卷數量達 44 張 88 葉，屬該劇本的第一、二、三、五幕，用散韻相間的文體寫成。著者對這批重要資料的譯注成果，已用中文和英文刊布了多篇文章，並完成了專著《吐火羅語 A（焉耆語）〈彌勒會見記劇本〉譯釋》，尚待出版。從《彌勒會見記》可以看出的新疆古代戲劇的特點，著者在本書中也作了扼要的討論，指出在這裏圖畫與表演並舉，有些看圖表演故事的味，並請讀者參看梅維恆教授（Prof. Victor H. Mair）的著作 *Painting and Performance*（University of Hawaii Press, 1988）。所謂廣義的資料，則是指漢文典籍（包括佛經與其他文獻）和前人及當代學者的研究成果。著者主要根據 W. Krause und W. Thomas 的 *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*（Heidelberg, 1960）和 W. Thomas 的 *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen*（1960—1984）（Stuttgart, 1985）兩書，並略作補充，開列了長篇書目（pp. 89—150），共收錄吐火羅語各類研究著作四百多種，連同前面已經介紹的，總數約計五百種，這對於讀者的進一步研究，無疑是非常有利的。但是，1985 年以後的著作收列較少，這與中國國內對吐火羅語研究西文文獻收藏不夠的客觀條件的限制有關，我們是不能苛求於著者的。不過，筆者願意在這裏補充介紹一本書：Klaus T. Schmidt, *Der Schlussteil des Prätimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins. Text in Sanskrit und Tocharisch A verglichen mit den Parallelversionen anderer Schulen. Auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften herausgegeben und bearbeitet*（Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden XIII）. *Abh. d. Ak. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., Dritte Folge nr. 171*. Göttingen, 1989.

在“資料特色”這部分裏，著者指出吐火羅語 A 方言殘卷幾乎只有小乘佛典，沒有世俗文書，但戲劇作品多，關於彌勒的也多，這是很值得注意的。B 方言除佔絕大多數的手抄佛經外，還有世俗文書，如商隊通行護照、情書等等，並且有壁上的粗刻（graffites）和銘文（inscriptions）（請參閱 G.-J. Pinault, “Épigraphie koutchéenne. I. Laissez-passer de caravanes. II. Graffites et inscriptions”, in *Chao Huashan, Simone Gaulier, Monique Maillard, Georges Pinault, Sites divers de la région de Koutcha. Mission Paul Pelliot. Documents conservés au Musée Guimet et à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Documents archéologiques VIII*. Paris, 1987, pp. 59—204）。著者還對吐火羅語使用的印度婆羅迷字母作了介紹。關於婆羅迷字母，讀者還可參閱：Love Sander, *Brāhmī Scripts on the Eastern Silk Roads, Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 11/12, 1986, pp. 159—192.

第四部分“資料價值”比較簡略，但著者着重闡述了吐火羅語資料的出現

充實、擴大和深化了比較語言學的內容，並對新疆古代民族史、佛教在中亞的傳播史、佛教傳入中國的經過、新疆古代戲劇史及其對內地漢劇的影響，以至印歐人的原始發源地問題等等，都具有非常重要的意義，這都是今後應該開展研究的課題。

最後的“研究要點”部分是全書的精華。著者根據中國的具體情況，提出了目前的七項研究要點：

1. 確定殘卷的內容，特別是一些單詞的含義。著者在這裏舉了三個例子，即吐火羅語 A《國王五人經》、^{吐火羅語 AB 的}《法句經》(Udānavarga, 名稱有異而內容與《法句經》實際相同，中國最早的佛經《四十二章經》很可能就是《法句經》的翻譯)和吐火羅語 A《彌勒會見記劇本》，所用的方法主要是前述的通過其他語言特別是漢語的平行對應異本，來確定殘卷的內容和一些詞彙的含義。著者通過仔細分析，認為關於彌勒的著作可以分為兩大類：一類是《彌勒授記經》(Maitreyavyākraṇa)，一類是《彌勒會見記》。屬於《彌勒授記經》一類的漢譯佛經為數不少，有存有佚，可作代表的是後秦鳩摩羅什譯的《佛說彌勒下生成佛經》。而《會見記》的標本，則是元魏慧覺等譯的《賢愚經》卷十二《波婆離(梨)品》第五十，這在漢譯佛經中幾乎是僅有的一部。《賢愚經》的這一品的結構，同吐火羅語 A 和回鶻語的《彌勒會見記》有顯著的類似之處，探索它們的共同來源，是一個饒有興趣的問題。應該順便在這裏提到，關於《賢愚經》的研究，梅維恆教授已在最近發表了一篇重要的文章：The Linguistic and Textual Antecedents of The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish, Sino-Platonic Papers 38, Philadelphia, 1993.

2. 利用回鶻語《彌勒會見記》來解釋吐火羅語本。著者借助於新疆出土的哈密本回鶻語《彌勒會見記》漢譯本和其他回鶻語本，完成了吐火羅語 A 本的轉寫和翻譯工作，並在本書中從第三幕選出一段前後有聯繫的回鶻文和吐火羅文的漢譯文相對照，說明兩者的異同。著者指出，回吐兩個本子基本上能互相對應，有的地方十分接近，但是二者的差異相當大，吐火羅語本不是回鶻語本的母本。這個結論是很有說服力的。關於這個問題，還可以參閱 W. Winter 對 W. Thomas, Tocharische Maitreya-Parallelen aus Hami (Stuttgart, 1990) 一書的評論 (Central Asiatic Journal, 35, 3-4, 1991)。Winter 認為回鶻文本可能譯自某種伊朗語(如于闐塞語)本。蔡新江先生在給筆者的信(1992年5月7日)中說，現存于闐文寫本中確有不少韻文作品，但還很少有人探討其文學題材等問題。對此，請讀者參閱 H. W. Bailey, Story-telling in Buddhist Central Asia, Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture 23, 1972.

3. 積累吐火羅語語法形式。著者介紹了吐火羅語 A B 方言名詞、形容詞和動詞的變化情況，並根據 A 方言的《彌勒會見記劇本》，舉出一些補充的例子，還列舉了一些不見於他處的新詞彙。著者說以後將專文論述這個問題。

4. 吐火羅語兩個方言之間的關係。著者簡單介紹了 Krause 和 Thomas, A. J. Van Windekens, W. Winter, K. T. Schmidt, G. S. Lane 等人的看法，說明學者間意見分歧，這個問題還要繼續探討。

5. 吐火羅語同其他語言的關係。首先是同印歐語系其他語言，如印度—伊朗語族、波羅的—斯拉夫語族、日耳曼語、拉丁語、凱爾特語、希臘語、赫梯語等的關係，其次是同非印歐系語言如芬—烏戈爾語系、阿爾泰語系、達羅毘荼語、高加索語族、蝦夷語 (Ainu) 等的關係，著者在本書中都舉了一些例子。這個問題牽涉到吐火羅語在印歐語系中的地位問題，也與原始吐火羅人的“故鄉”以至原始印歐人的“故鄉”及其遷徙有關，非常複雜。除本書外，請讀者參閱近年的論文，如 D. Q. Adams, *The position of Tocharian among the other Indo-European languages*, *JAOS* 104, 1984; Donald A. Ringe, *Evidence for the Position of Tocharian in the Indo-European Family?* *Die Sprache* 34, 1988-1990, 等等。關於吐火羅語語言學特別是詞源學的進展，除本書所引 Thomas 綜述 1960-1984 年情況的專著外，還請參閱 Václav Blažek, *Tocharian Linguistics During Last 25 Years*, *Archív Orientální* 56, 1988。吐火羅語與非印歐語的關係，也有一些新的文獻，如 V. V. Ivanov, *K probleme toharo-altajskih leksičeskich svjazey*, *Voprosy Jazikoznanija*, 1988, 4, 等等。

吐火羅語與漢語的關係，著者用 7 頁的篇幅進行了討論。早在 1913 年，S. Lévi 就注意到這個問題 (Le „Tokharien B“, *Langue de Koutcha*, *JA* 1913, II), B. Laufer 在 1915 年也發表了一篇文章 (*Three Tocharian bagatelles*, *T'oung Pao* 16, 1915)。本書著者一向認為，後漢、三國時期的漢譯佛典中的佛教術語，不是從梵文或巴利文譯過來的，而是通過古代中亞民族語言的媒介，首先是吐火羅語。1947 年，著者發表《浮屠與佛》一文 (收入《中印文化關係史論文集》，北京，1982 年)，認為漢語“佛”不是直接譯自梵語 *buddha*，而是來源於吐火羅語，如馬耆語 *pät-*，龜茲語 *pud-* 或 *pūd-* (參考吐火羅語 A *ptānkät*，吐火羅語 B *pudñakte*)。1990 年，又發表《再論浮屠與佛》(《歷史研究》1990 年第 2 期)，肯定“浮屠”來自大夏語 (Bactrian) *bodo*, *boddo*，而“佛”則譯自其他中亞語言的 *but*。筆者想在這裏一提的是，日本學者宇井伯壽 (Hakuju Ue) 在 1949 年的文章中也約而同地提出過類似的看法 (《日本學士院紀要》，vol. 7, No. 3, 1949, 153-154)。本書著者還主張漢語的“彌勒”這個詞也是譯自吐火羅語 (馬耆語 *Metrāk*，龜茲語 *Maitrāk*)。原書還舉了一些其他例證，這

裏不再一一列舉。書裏還引用了 Lévi 已注意到的《隋書·音樂志》中講七聲(七調)的一段話(p. 265),關於七調的本質、系統、調性、樂律的研究,日本林謙三(Hayasi Kenzō)已有詳細論述,見其《隋唐燕樂調研究》(郭沫若譯,上海,1936年),可以參看。

6. 命名問題。關於吐火羅語的定名問題(所謂“Tocharian problem”),著者在“緒論”部分已經列出了主要文獻,這不僅是個語言問題,實際上也是歷史、考古問題。著者請讀者注意中國已故西夏文學者王靜如的意見。除王先生的論文外,筆者在這裏列出一些本書沒有提到的文章,供關心命名問題以及與此密切相關的一系列歷史、地理和民族問題的讀者參考:

Tōru Haneda, A propos des Ta Yue-tche et des Kouei-chouang. Bulletin de la maison franco-japonaise 4, 1933 (羽田亨, 大月氏及び貴霜に就いて,《史學雜誌》vol. XLI. no. 9, 1930.)

Umniakov, Où en est le problème des Tochariens?, VDI 1940.

— The Tocharian people and the Tocharian problem [russ.] UZUZGU new series no. 31, series of history and philology no. 1). Samarkand, 1946.

— The Tocharian problem. SEtn. Coll. vi-vii, 1947.

A. N. Bernshtam, New work on the Tocharian problem [russ.] VDI 1947, 2.

— A contribution to the problem of the Wu-suns, Kushans and Tokhari [russ.] SRtn. 1947, 3.

O. Maenchen-Helfen, The Yüeh-Chih problem re-examined, JAOS 65, 1945.

A. A. Frejman, Tocharskij vopros i jego razresenije v otecestvennoj nauke, Uzlu 128 (Serija vostokovedo. nauk 3) 1952.

辻直四郎(N. Tsuji), トラカ語研究の近況 (Actual State of the Tocharian Studies, 《東洋學報》第35卷第3-4號 (The Tōyō Gakuhō [Reports of the Oriental Society] vol. XXXV, Nos. 3-4), 1953.

Buddha Prakash, Thākura, CAJ 1957.

V. V. Ivanov, K opredelniju nazvanija "tocharskogo B" jazyka, PV 1959. 5.

Y. N. Roesich, Tocharian problem [russ.] NAA 1963, 6.

其他還有一些論著,如 Prof. E. G. Pulleyblank 對吐火羅問題和月氏問題的看法,引用者較多,大家比較熟悉,不想多談了。

7. 吐火羅語第三種方言—跋祿迦語。著者提出這一論點,主要依據的是玄奘《大唐西域記》卷一的一段話:“土宜、氣序、人性、風俗、文字、法則同屈支國,語言少異。”跋祿迦是梵語 Bāluka 或 Vāluka 的音譯,意云“沙”,即今阿克蘇。這個問題以前很少有人涉及,其解決有待於未來的發現和研究。

臺北新文豐出版公司作為林聰明先生主編的《敦煌學導論叢刊》6 出版本書,無疑是對中國吐火羅語研究的一大貢獻。美中不足的是,出版者對校對

工作注意不够，所以錯字較多，希望再版時盡可能予以更正。原書 p. 261 提及 Ostjakisch，譯為“東雅克語”，似應改為“奧斯恰克語”。當然，這樣個別的細節問題，絲毫無損於本書的學術價值。

徐文堪 (XU Wenkan)

漢語大詞典編纂處 (Hanyu Da
Cidian editorial offices), Shanghai

古正美 (GU Zhengmei), 貴霜佛教政治傳統與大乘佛教 (Guishuang [Kushan] fojiao zhengzhi chuantong yu dasheng fojiao [Mahāyāna Buddhism]), Taipei: 允晨文化實業公司 (Yunchen wenhua shiye gongsi), 1993. XII + 671 pages. 附圖版、地圖 1 幅和年表。

本書是一部研究佛教政治發展史的專著。著者現任教於新加坡國立大學哲學系，專事大乘佛教研究。著者從研究佛教政治傳統的發展與佛教藝術或造像、建築的關係入手，看出北涼和北魏開鑿石窟及造像的現象，是出於採用佛教政治治國的需要。而這種佛教政治，乃源自犍陀羅 (Gandharā) 或貴霜王朝 (The Kushāns) 所創立的佛教政治傳統。著者依據佛經、文獻史料及考古實物，認為貴霜的轉輪王 (cakravartin) 傳統，源於貴霜第一位帝王丘就却 (Kujūla Kadphises)。丘就却死後，貴霜帝王事實上沒有採用佛教政治治國，直到後貴霜的迦膩色伽王 (Kanishka III)，貴霜的佛教政治傳統才真正成爲一種成熟的政治發展模式或傳統。著者強調，貴霜佛教政治的發展與大乘佛教的發展是並肩平行的，對造經及造像的文化活動非常重視，所以貴霜王朝呈現出文化高度發展的現象。由於這種佛教政治所發展出來的施行模式或傳統，不具有地理及文化的限制性，所以在貴霜王朝滅亡後，便曾一度爲亞洲各地區的帝王所接受，甚至一度成爲印度、中亞、中國以至東南亞等地區最重要的文化發展方向及課題之一。在寫作的方向與方法上，本書與過去西方和印度的貴霜史研究者不同，是以中文佛經文獻及中國歷史現象作爲研究和說明的對象及工具的。因此，本書不僅是中文中爲數甚少的關於貴霜政治史和佛教史的重要著作，其所討論的各項問題，對於中國佛教史、政治史和藝術史也很有意義。

全書除簡短的“導言”外，共分八章。第一章“序論”，概敘了本書構思、寫作的經過和主要觀點及內容。第二章“佛教政治的創始者——丘就却”，

說明丘就却以一個月氏的後裔，在今阿富汗之古大夏都城藍氏城，建立貴霜王朝，又入侵今之巴基斯坦，在古代犍陀越 (Gandhara) 國實施佛教政治，成為歷史上第一個佛教法王 (dharma-rājika) 或轉輪王。他因為要用道德及宗教統治貴霜人民，所以選用了一種能統攝世法及出世法的護法信仰體系及大乘思想，作為其治理及教化人民的根本，成為歷史上佛教政治的肇始者。第三章“丘就却的葬塔——法王塔”，分析介紹了英國考古學家 John Marshall 在坦叉始羅 (Takshāsilā) 所發現的一個巨大佛塔的地基和一件舍利容器及其造塔記銘文，並與中文佛教文獻相參照，說明此塔就是一座丘就却的葬塔。第四章“阿育王”，依據《善見律毗婆沙》，認為在南亞歷史上，有三位大王都叫“阿育王”，佛教經典如《付法藏因緣傳》、《阿育王傳》及《阿育王經》、《阿育王息壤目因緣經》所記之阿息王，就是指的丘就却。第五章“丘就却的佛教政治施行法”，詳細敘述了丘就却的大乘佛教經典結集活動——譬喻造經法、因緣造經法、本生造經法和佛教實物建設——塔廟制度，並論證武則天修建明堂，頒《大雲經》於天下，立“大雲寺”等事，乃是承襲丘就却立“阿育王僧伽藍”及“如來神廟” (tathāgatadevakula) 的傳統，是一種用大乘佛教“教化”人民的實際運作法。本章還列出了丘就却的佛教政治活動年表，討論了佛滅年代和僧官制度。第六章“後貴霜的崛起與沒亡”，認為後貴霜的崛起，是始於迦膩色伽時代，而中文佛教文獻所記載的迦膩色伽王，不是迦膩色伽第一或第二，而是迦膩色伽第三；迦膩色伽王在建立後貴霜王朝之後，於其新使用的紀元第一年開始，使用佛教政治治國。第七章“迦膩色伽王的佛教政治建設”，詳述了迦膩色伽的大乘佛教結集活動和大乘涅槃系所造的經典，以及迦膩色伽的佛教實物建設，並從北魏一代的佛教政治發展情形，推測後貴霜時代佛教政治發展的實際情況。第八章“轉輪王和彌勒佛的造像”，解釋了轉輪王交腳像及轉輪王飾物在佛教政治造像中的功用，並依《悲華經》的經文說明轉輪王造像的種類。著者比較了犍陀羅與雲岡兩地的佛教造像，說明此二地區曾一度發展以彌勒下生信仰為主的佛教政治文化；兩地的轉輪王造像，以交腳坐姿及龍頭璽兩種特徵最為顯著，並推測龍頭璽是原月氏及中亞游牧民族所共同信仰的龍神的信物。

在一篇簡短的評論裏，筆者無意也不可能對這部近700頁的巨著所涉及的種種複雜問題詳加檢討，但從上面的介紹可以看出，這些問題都是存在很大爭議的，有的以前很少有人深入探究，現在還難以作出結論，如迦膩色伽的年代問題（關於這個問題的新進展，請參閱 Anne Kromann, *Western Features in the Kushan Coinage, East and West, Cultural Relations in*

the Ancient World = Acta Hyperborea, Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology, ed. Tobias Fischer-Hansen, Copenhagen, 1988, pp. 151-158)。著者閱讀和分析了大量中文佛藏資料，這對未來的研究是很有益的。例如筆者友人林梅村先生在《貴霜大月氏人流寓中國考》（收入中國敦煌吐魯番學會編《敦煌吐魯番學研究論文集》，上海，1990年）一文中提到，據說迦膩色伽暮年曾興師北伐，百姓厭戰，趁其卧病將他窒息而死，但未找到這條史料的原始出處，以為大概本自印度文獻。本書引用了這條史料，出於《付法藏因緣傳》卷五，原文是：“爾時大臣，廣集勇將，嚴四種兵，所向皆伏，如電摧草，三海人民咸來臣屬。罽毗吒王所乘之馬，於路遊行，足自摧屈，王語之言：‘我證三海悉已歸化，唯有北海，未來降伏，若得之者，不復相乘，吾事未辦，如何使爾？’爾時群臣聞王此語，咸共議曰：‘罽毗吒王貪虐無道，數出征伐，勞役人民，不知厭足，欲王四海，戒備邊遠，親戚分離，若斯之苦，何時寧息？宜可同心，共屏除之，然後我等乃當快樂。’因王病瘧，以被鎮之，人坐其上，須臾氣絕。”類似這樣的例子還有一些，其提供之材料足以補以前研究之不足。

但是應該指出，著者的一些論點缺乏根據，難以使人信服。這裏只舉兩個例子：

著者屢引支婁迦讖譯《佉真陀羅所問如來三昧經》，說這是一部專門說明丘就却發展佛教政治之方法及形象的初期大乘作品，並謂“佉真陀羅”（Chandradhāra）即“月支”之意：“佉真”乃梵語“月”（chandra）之意，“陀羅”（dhāra）即梵語“支護”或“護持”之意，“佉真陀羅”因此有“月之支護”或“月之護持”的意思，簡譯成中文就是“月支”。又說月氏民族之得名，乃源自其對月亮之崇拜，故《佛說月光菩薩經》所記“月光天子”斷頭的故事，指的就是丘就却之死。按，“月氏”（“月支”）是中國北方的古老民族，其名已見於先秦典籍，意義及得名之由尚不清楚。他們可能說吐火羅語（Tocharian），其名稱絕不會源於梵語 Chandradhāra。關於“月氏”與貴霜問題，請參閱 A. K. Narain, *Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia*, The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia, ed. Denis Sinor, Cambridge, 1990。

關於佛滅年代，著者在本書第五章第二節中曾專門予以討論（pp. 360-364）。著者認為大乘佛教文獻所記之阿育王就是丘就却，因阿育王是佛滅一百年中或更確切地說是佛滅一百十八年登上王位的，如以此為標準，則佛滅的時間應該是公元前68年左右，或公元前第一世紀的前半期。這種“修正”是以假設作為前提，實在難以成立。釋迦牟尼究竟何時入涅槃，一直比較被人接受的說法是公元前五世紀（約公元前486年），最近更多一些學者傾向於接受公元前四世紀的說

法(約公元前383年)。1988年在Göttingen專門召開過一次學術會議,討論這一問題,尚無肯定的結論。請參閱: *The dating of the historical Buddha*, ed. Heinz Bechert, Pt 1, Göttingen, 1991 (*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse; Folge 3, Nr. 189*) 漢譯佛經所記的佛的生、滅年代,請參考此書中的兩篇文章: Herbert Franke, *On Chinese Traditions Concerning the Dates of the Buddha* (pp. 441-448); Lewis Lancaster, *The Dating of the Buddha in Chinese Buddhism* (pp. 449-457)。

本書力求對貴霜佛教政治進行全面而系統化的研究,但對現代西方、印度、日本和中國學者有關佛典源流、佛教教理的發展和佛經語文學(Philology)的研究成果,尚未能充分吸收,所以在展開論述時,頗多疏失。如 pp 398-399 謂“寄多羅貴霜”(Kidāra Kushāns)的“寄多羅”,可能就是“侏真陀羅”或“月支”一詞的同義異譯,實指丘就却,這是完全不可能的,應參考榎一雄(Kazuo Enoki): *On the Date of the Kidarites (I) (II)*, MRDTB 27, 1969; 28, 1970。又如 pp. 508-509, 說馬鳴(Āśvaghosa)在學術上的最大貢獻,是用簡單扼要的筆記式文體製作了《大乘起信論》,這是一部研究大乘涅槃系思想及信仰的最重要的綱領式哲學著作。其實,呂澂先生早已指出,《大乘起信論》一書是偽託的,它的理論依據是魏譯《楞伽經》之錯解,其思想學說亦皆魏譯時代所流行,於印度未嘗見(《起信與楞伽》、《大乘起信論考證》,已收入《呂澂佛學論著選集》[-],濟南,1991年,pp. 292-369)。本書對著名的“崔離浮圖”的“崔離”一詞的語源曾作考證(pp. 310-312),認為源於梵語“輪”(cakri或cakrin),其實此詞不僅亦見於龜茲,且與《後漢書·班勇傳》記征焉耆事(公元127年)提到的“爵離關”之“爵離”相同,確實很可能源於吐火羅語。除著者所引 P. Pelliot 之說外,尚可參考 P. Boodberg, *Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier*, HJAS, 1, 1936, pp. 290-291; E. Pulleyblank, *An interpretation of the vowel systems of old Chinese and written Burmese*, AS, 10, 2, 1963, pp. 206-207。再如武則天之建“明堂”,應參考 Prof. Antonino Forte 的近著 *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock. The Tower, Statue and Armillary Sphere Constructed by Empress Wu*, Roma and Paris, 1988。

本書每章後都附注釋,說明資料來源,但最好有一個集中的書目,這樣對讀者更為便利。全書頭緒紛繁,涉及的漢、梵、英等語言的名詞術語很多,為方便讀者查檢計,應該編製一個索引,附於書末。

徐文堪 (XU Wenkan) 漢語大詞典編纂處 (Hanyu Da Cidian editorial offices), Shanghai

A Note on the Modern Readings of 吐蕃

W. South Coblin
University of Iowa

In two recent numbers of *Sino-Platonic Papers* (viz., 31 [October, 1991] and 35 [November, 1992]) Professors Victor H. Mair and E. G. Pulleyblank have engaged in a lively discussion of the ancient and modern pronunciations of the compound 吐蕃, the Chinese name for the Old Tibetan Empire. In the present note I shall restrict myself for the most part to the question of the modern readings, of which there are now two in use, Tufan and Tubo.

To begin with the current situation among Chinese speakers, my subjective impression is that the reading Tubo is little known in Taiwan. It is Tufan that is used there. In the Mainland, historians, Tibetologists, Central Asianists, etc. prefer Tubo. Educated speakers who are not specialists more often say Tufan. During the last twenty years, the newer Mainland dictionaries have prescribed Tubo; but, as Pulleyblank has noted, departing from their usual practice, they offer no traditional *fanqie* spellings in support of the reading *-bo* for 蕃 here. And, in fact, so far as I know, no such *fanqie* reading is attested anywhere.

But my concern here is with modern readings, not ancient ones, so I shall now return to the present with a brief anecdote. While working with the late Professor F. K. Li on the Old Tibetan inscriptions, I once asked him which pronunciation of 吐蕃 we should use in our own collaborative work. He simply shrugged and replied, "I say Tufan, and I think Tubo is wrong." His reason for this, it seems, was that during his childhood and school days he had never heard the reading Tubo used by anyone. Now this of course proves nothing in itself; but it is not without interest, for it suggests that the reading Tubo may not have been current among the educated classes of Peking during the first decades of this century.

Professors Mair and Pulleyblank agree that the reading Tubo is attested in Mathews' *Chinese English Dictionary*, and it is indeed to be found in reprints of the 1944 edition of this work. Whether it occurs in the old 1931 edition I do not know. In any case, we see that Tubo was known among Westerners by at least the nineteen thirties or forties. But Mair and Pulleyblank are definitely of different minds as regards Giles' *Chinese English Dictionary*, for the former finds the reading Tubo for 吐蕃 in this work while the latter maintains that no such pronunciation is attested there at all! The problem here, I believe, is in the editions of Giles used by the disputants. In the revised and expanded 1912 edition, we find the entry "蕃 po^1 (or 蕃) Tibetan," agreeing with Mair's assertions. In the original 1892 edition we find the passages quoted at length by Pulleyblank, identifying 吐蕃 (or 吐魯蕃) with Turfan and giving no special indications on pronunciation. Clearly Mair has used the 1912 edition and

Pulleyblank the 1892 one. And from all this we may glean some useful information. For it would seem that in 1892 Giles knew no special reading for 吐蕃 and did not even connect the term with Tibet. But twenty years later he had learned the correct meaning and decided to pronounce the word as Tubo. Pulleyblank has raised a specific query regarding the source for Mathews' reading of the compound. But about this there can be little doubt. Mathews' gloss is almost identical with Giles' 1912 one, and it is generally known that Mathews cannibalized Giles at numerous points. The trail between the two here seems fairly clear.

But during this period, Li did not know the reading Tubo at all. Why not? Where did it come from? I suggest that the answer to this was in fact uncovered long ago by none other than Paul Pelliot ("Quelques transcriptions chinoises de noms tibétains", *TP* 16 [1915], pp. 1-26) but has subsequently been forgotten by most of the Sinological and Tibetological worlds. Pelliot said (p. 18): "Au commencement du XIX^e siècle, alors qu'on ne savait rien de l'ancienne phonétique du Chinois, Abel Rémusat remarqua que la phonétique de *fan* entraînait dans des caractères qui, composés avec d'autres clefs, se prononçaient *po*; il supposa alors une prononciation subsidiaire *po* de *fan*, et obtint ainsi T'ou-po qu'il considéra comme une transcription satisfaisante du nom du Tibet. Tout le monde dès lors, et jusqu'à Bretschneider et Bushell, jusqu'à MM. Rockhill, Chavannes, Kynner et Laufer, paraît avoir admis sans autre examen que la prononciation correcte de T'ou-fan était T'ou-po." I have not seen Rémusat's work but find no reason to doubt Pelliot's account of it. It seems worth considering that the Rémusat theory may indeed have been the origin of the reading Tubo among Westerners in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

But how did Tubo find its way into the embrace of scholars in the People's Republic? On this one can, in the absence of direct historical evidence, only speculate. I offer the following scenario as a hypothetical history of the reading. In the early nineteenth century, 吐蕃 was read Tufan. Rémusat speculated that the compound should be pronounced Tubo. This reading then gained currency among Westerners, especially those with special interests in Tibet. In 1892 Giles did not even know what 吐蕃 meant. By 1912 he had learned that it denoted "Tibet" and that it was read Tubo by Westerners who were "in the know." Pelliot in 1915 was aware of this sequence of events, but even so formidable a scholar as Laufer was not. Mathews copied Giles' entry without further ado. Western Sinologists and Tibetologists carried on the tradition, and many continue to do so to this day. In the meantime, the Chinese neither knew nor cared what Rémusat, Giles, etc. thought. They said Tufan as before; and Li, learning to read in the early 1900's, was taught to pronounce it this way. When, as an adult, he encountered Tubo among Western writings on China and Tibet, he considered it an anomaly and rejected it. This stance has been retained in Taiwan to this day. But in the Mainland, after 1949, there was a movement to correct old errors and begin anew. The earlier stance, that

things should be rejected simply because they had no valid roots in tradition or were "foreign," was put aside. It was seen that Western specialists on Tibet read Tubo and it was accordingly assumed that they must know what they were talking about. And so Tubo was planted on Chinese soil, and it is flourishing there today. I shall end this hypothetical construct with another anecdote, courtesy of Professor L. van der Kuijp, who read it in a source I do not know. In the early days of the People's Republic a meeting was held to discuss the relative merits of Tufan and Tubo. Premier Zhou Enlai was invited to sit in; and at some point in the proceedings he remarked that, in any case, he rather preferred the sound of the reading Tubo. And that settled the matter.

In conclusion, there is a definite possibility that the modern reading Tubo for 吐蕃 originated with Abel Rémusat and has no direct descent from any medieval pronunciation. Nevertheless, it is also clear that it is steadily gaining currency in China and may well become the generally preferred form there in the future. *Communis error facit ius*.

Rejoinder by the Editor

I am grateful to Professor Coblin for his contribution to the ongoing and important debate over the "correct" pronunciation of the sinographs 吐蕃 when they are used to represent the name of the country known in English as "Tibet." This is not the place to defend my position on the subject, for I have done that at length in "Tufan and Tulufan: The Origins of the Old Chinese Names for Tibet and Turfan," *Central and Inner Asian Studies*, 4 (1990), 14-70 and in "Reflections on the Origins of the Modern Standard Mandarin Place-Name 'Dunhuang' -- With an Added Note on the Identity of the Modern Uighur Place-Name 'Turpan,'" *Ji Xianlin Jiaoshou Bashi Huadan Jinian Lunwenji (Papers in Honour of Prof. Dr. Ji Xianlin on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday)*, ed. LI Zheng, et al., 2 vols (Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 901-954, to which I refer the interested reader. (My acceptance of the reading Tubo has little to do with Abel Rémusat or current Chinese fashion, but is based on medieval transcriptions, evidence from spoken Tibetan as recorded by early visitors from numerous nations, and various other premodern sources of information.) Instead, I would just like to make some general comments on the larger principles governing the debate and the implications they have for the manner in which we carry out studies in Chinese historical linguistics.

Before embarking upon my general discussion of operative principles, however, it needs to be pointed out that Professor Coblin's argument is premised almost entirely upon hearsay, speculation, and assumptions. Professor Coblin admits that he brings very little hard

evidence to bear on the debate between Professor Pulleyblank and myself, although he does clear up the source of our disagreement over Giles' (mis)understanding of the contested term.

In his final sentence, Professor Coblin -- a gentleman and a scholar whom I respect greatly -- declares that an error has been committed, but -- judging from the evidence that he has presented -- it is by no means clear who has committed the error or precisely what the error is.

I maintain that learned Chinese scholars throughout the ages have distorted data from the spoken Sinitic languages because of their insistence upon the primacy of the sinographs. So it would seem to be with Professor Fang-kuei Li.

Traditional Chinese scholars and the Westerners who ape them subscribe to an unswerving belief that the system of sinographs is utterly consistent and provides a complete, accurate picture of the phonology of Sinitic at any given point in time since its invention around 1200 BCE. To give the lie to this assertion of faith, one need but ask, "Which of the Sinitic languages does the script represent?"

The same scholars show an unwillingness to accept the importance of the genuine, living topolects (i.e., Sinitic languages, not merely dialects) throughout history (up to the present day) and, on the contrary, cling to an **abstract construction** as found in the rhymebooks and the **homogenized** (during the Han) rhymes of the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shih-ching*). The "Airs" (*Feng*) came from all over China in a period when the linguistic differences were undoubtedly far greater than they are in this age of mass communication. How could they all have basically the same rhymes and be written in the same language?

The emphasis is always and ever on the integrity of the sacrosanct, holy sinographs over the data from borrowings, transcriptions, and cognates from other members of the Sino-Tibetan language family. I reject the sinographs as an adequate, accurate representation of the phonology, morphology, or grammar of any Sinitic language anywhere, anytime. Even now, except in a very butchered and mangled fashion, it is impossible to write Pekingese with the sinographs (witness the complaints of Lao She), much less Taiwanese or Shanghainese; still less Vietnamese, Korean, Japanese, not to mention the languages of the Khitans, Jurchens, Tanguts, and others who made the vain attempt to do so.

For about the last decade, in article after article, I have been striving to point out some of the fatal pitfalls that confront the sinologist who relies too heavily on the sinographs at the expense of the various living and dead Sinitic languages. Rather than repeat what I have said elsewhere, I would simply refer my readers to such articles as "Script and Word in Medieval Vernacular Sinitic," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 112.2 (April-June, 1992), 269-278; "Sound and Sense in the Study of Chinese Popular Culture," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 12 (December, 1990), 119-127; "Chinese Popular Literature from Tun-huang: The State of the Field (1980-1990)," in Alfredo Cadonna, ed., *Turfan and Tun-huang*,

the Texts: Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route, *Orientalia Venetiana*, IV (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1992), pp. 171-240; etc. In all of these (and other) articles, I argue that we must strive to get beyond/behind the sinographs to the living and dead Sinitic languages that they represent so inadequately.

Similarly, traditional sinology and even modern historical linguistics as it is applied to Sinitic, displays an abysmal, appalling ignorance of the true etymology of words as opposed to the graphic analysis of the script, à la *Shuo wen* or the mystical musings of the *Shih ming*. The Sinitic words for goose, honey, cow, wheel, magus, cow, and many more basic terms were borrowed at a very early age; ditto for the words for Yangtze and crossbow from Austro-Thai; and so on for many other language families and groups. In my estimation, we should regard this data as primary anchors upon which to carry out the reconstruction of Old Sinitic. The phonologically imprecise sinographs should be considered as secondary. We must remember that the sinographs are a closed system; the only secure way to open it is through linking up sinographs with words from languages whose ancient reconstructions have already been worked out with greater exactitude than has already been achieved for Sinitic. I realize that we can not always tell precisely from which language/dialect and during exactly which period a word was borrowed into Sinitic, but at least we know more with the antecedents of cow, dog, wheel, etc., than we do with the characters which often tell us nothing at all or next to nothing about how they should be pronounced. Karlgren's epochal accomplishment for Middle Sinitic would not have been possible without reference to Sanskrit, Japanese, and other languages. Reference to the living topolects (i.e., the non-standard living spoken languages of China) will also prove valuable in this effort. Only when we have some solid phonological foundation upon which to base our sound values for the sinographs can the internal reconstruction of Old Sinitic proceed with any degree of reliability at all. Otherwise, there will be endless attempts by different individuals (Bernhard Karlgren, Fang-kuei Li, Axel Schuessler, Fa-kao Chou, William Baxter, Tung T'ung-ho, Sergei Starostin, et al.) and even multiple attempts by the same individual (Edwin Pulleyblank).

It is precisely because they were educated in the sinographs and place undue emphasis upon them that traditional Chinese scholars (and the Western sinologists who model themselves after them) ignored other types of evidence, including that from relevant texts in other (alphabetically recorded) languages and from the oral tradition. Fixation on (indeed, obsession with) the sinographs -- instead of upon language (viz., on phonology, lexicon, grammar, syntax) itself -- has plagued Chinese linguistics and philology throughout history and will continue to do so until linguists and philologists escape from the confines of the sinographs and begin to look at language itself as primary.

The sinographs do not now give, nor have they ever given, an adequate (not to mention complete) accounting of the sounds of any of the living Sinitic languages. The Chinese script is very well suited for the dead, artificial classical/literary language, but it is poorly equipped to convey the sounds of any of the spoken languages. It is ludicrous to contend that the only Sinitic syllables which have existed in the history of the language group are those which are attested by countertomic (*fan-ch'ieh*) readings from the standard rhyme books. Parallel texts, transcriptions, loan words, cognates, oral traditions, etc., all offer compelling evidence that the phonology of the languages of the Sinitic group throughout history cannot be adequately described through reference to the sinographs and their officially sanctioned (by countertomy and rhyme book) readings alone. This attitude, in fact, is holding up the reconstruction of Old Sinitic.

I stand by my reading of the equivalent Chinese transcription of Tibet as Tubo instead of Tufan and believe that the evidence I have adduced in the articles cited above is sufficient to convince all but those who subscribe unconditionally to the sacrality, inviolability, exclusivity, and totality of the sinographs as the only evidence that may be cited in a discussion of the pronunciation of spoken Sinitic names, words, and terms.*

*The liabilities of the sinographic script for historical phonology are compounded many fold when we are dealing with non-Sinitic names, words, and terms transcribed in characters. Not only are the transcriptions usually highly imprecise and maddeningly difficult to use as a basis for the restoration of the original borrowed words, they also often needlessly inject an element of semantic interference/dissonance in what should be strictly a matter of phonology (e.g., 吐蕃 *t'u-po*, "spitting [southern] barbarians" [!!] = Tibet). Countless examples (dating from the earliest stages of the lexicographical and commentarial tradition to the present) could be cited which show that what was originally merely a transcription of some non-Sinitic name or word becomes egregiously skewed by the heavy semantic content of the sinographs in such a fashion that its true meaning and significance is totally obscured or distorted. This is a different (and altogether more serious) matter than the kinds of ambiguities that may result in the transfer of words from one language to another orally or via phonetic scripts.

ANNOUNCEMENT

In addition to our continuing series of review issues (this is the fifth), *Sino-Platonic Papers* is pleased to announce the inauguration of a new series entitled "Bits and Pieces." Submissions ranging from one paragraph to 3 or 4 pages are invited. They may be on any

subject that falls within the normal purview of this journal and should be in the form of brief communications. Novel ideas and penetrating insights alone are welcome, but chances of acceptance will be increased if substantiating data and documentation are included.

Previous Issues

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
1	Nov. 1986	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	The Need for an Alphabetically Arranged General Usage Dictionary of Mandarin Chinese: A Review Article of Some Recent Dictionaries and Current Lexicographical Projects	31
2	Dec. 1986	Andrew Jones <i>Hiroshima</i>	The Poetics of Uncertainty in Early Chinese Literature	45
3	March 1987	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	A Partial Bibliography for the Study of Indian Influence on Chinese Popular Literature	iv, 214
4	Nov. 1987	Robert M. Sanders <i>University of Hawaii</i>	The Four Languages of “Mandarin”	14
5	Dec. 1987	Eric A. Havelock <i>Vassar College</i>	Chinese Characters and the Greek Alphabet	4
6	Jan. 1988	J. Marshall Unger <i>University of Hawaii</i>	Computers and Japanese Literacy: Nihonzin no Yomikaki Nôryoku to Konpyuta	13
7	Jan. 1988	Chang Tsung-tung <i>Goethe-Universität</i>	Indo-European Vocabulary in Old Chinese	i, 56
8	Feb. 1988	various	Reviews (I)	ii, 39
9	Dec. 1988	Soho Machida <i>Daitoku-ji, Kyoto</i>	Life and Light, the Infinite: A Historical and Philological Analysis of the Amida Cult	46
10	June 1989	Pratoom Angurarohita <i>Chulalongkorn University Bangkok</i>	Buddhist Influence on the Neo- Confucian Concept of the Sage	31
11	July 1989	Edward Shaughnessy <i>University of Chicago</i>	Western Cultural Innovations in China, 1200 BC	8

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
12	Aug. 1989	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	The Contributions of T'ang and Five Dynasties Transformation Texts (<i>p'ien-wen</i>) to Later Chinese Popular Literature	71
13	Oct. 1989	Jiaosheng Wang <i>Shanghai</i>	The Complete Ci-Poems of Li Qingzhao: A New English Translation	xii, 122
14	Dec. 1989	various	Reviews (II)	69
15	Jan. 1990	George Cardona <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	On Attitudes Toward Language in Ancient India	19
16	March 1990	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Three Brief Essays Concerning Chinese Tocharistan	16
17	April 1990	Heather Peters <i>University Museum of Philadelphia</i>	Tattooed Faces and Stilt Houses: Who Were the Ancient Yue?	28
18	May 1990	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Two Non-Tetragraphic Northern Sinitic Languages a. Implications of the Soviet Dungan Script for Chinese Language Reform b. Who Were the Gyámi?	28
19	June 1990	<i>Bosat Man Nalanda</i>	Backhill/Peking/Beijing	6
20	Oct. 1990	<i>Victor H. Mair University of Pennsylvania</i>	Introduction and Notes for a Translation of the Ma-wang-tui MSS of the <i>Lao Tzu</i>	68

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
21	Dec. 1990	Philippa Jane Benson <i>Carnegie Mellon University</i>	Two Cross-Cultural Studies on Reading Theory	9, 13
22	March 1991	David Moser <i>University of Michigan</i>	Slips of the Tongue and Pen in Chinese	45
23	April 1991	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Tracks of the Tao, Semantics of Zen	10
24	Aug. 1991	David A. Utz <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Language, Writing, and Tradition in Iran	24
25	Aug. 1991	Jean DeBernardi <i>University of Alberta</i>	Linguistic Nationalism: The Case of Southern Min	22 + 3 figs.
26	Sept. 1991	JAO Tsung-i <i>Chinese University of Hong Kong</i>	Questions on the Origins of Writing Raised by the Silk Road	10
27	Aug. 1991	Victor H. Mair, ed. <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Schriftfestschrift: Essays in Honor of John DeFrancis on His Eightieth Birthday	ix, 245
28	Sept. 1991	ZHOU Youguang <i>State Language Commission, Peking</i>	The Family of Chinese Character- Type Scripts (<i>Twenty Members and Four Stages of Development</i>)	11
29	Sept. 1991	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	What Is a Chinese “Dialect/Topolect”? Reflections on Some Key Sino-English Linguistic Terms	31
30	Oct. 1991	M. V. Sofronov <i>Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Academy of Sciences, Moscow</i>	Chinese Philology and the Scripts of Central Asia	10
31	Oct. 1991	various	Reviews (III)	68

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
32	Aug. 1992	David McCraw <i>University of Hawaii</i>	How the Chinawoman Lost Her Voice	27
33	Sept. 1992	FENG Lide and Kevin Stuart <i>Chuankou No. 1 Middle School and Qinghai Education College</i>	Interethnic Contact on the Inner Asian Frontier: The Gangou People of Minhe County, Qinghai	34
34	Oct. 1992	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Two Papers on Sinolinguistics 1. A Hypothesis Concerning the Origin of the Term <i>fanqie</i> (“Countertomy”) 2. East Asian Round-Trip Words	13
35	Nov. 1992	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> with an added note by Edwin G. Pulleyblank	Reviews (IV)	37
36	Feb. 1993	XU Wenkan <i>Hanyu Da Cidian editorial offices, Shanghai</i>	Hanyu Wailaici de Yuyuan Kaozheng he Cidian Bianzuan (Philological Research on the Etymology of Loanwords in Sinitic and Dictionary Compilation)	13
37	March 1993	Tanya Storch <i>University of New Mexico</i>	Chinese Buddhist Historiography and Orality	16
38	April 1993	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	The Linguistic and Textual Antecedents of <i>The Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish</i>	95

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
39	Aug. 1993	Jordan Paper <i>York University</i>	A Material Case for a Late Bering Strait Crossing Coincident with Pre-Columbian Trans-Pacific Crossings	17
40	Sept. 1993	Michael Carr <i>Center for Language Studies, Otaru University of Commerce</i>	<i>Tiao</i> -Fish through Chinese Dictionaries	68
41	Oct. 1993	Paul Goldin <i>Harvard University</i>	<u>Miching Mallecho: The <i>Zhanguo</i> and Classical Rhetoric</u>	27
42	Nov. 1993	Renchin-Jashe Yulshul <i>Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Kokonor (Qinghai)</i> and Kevin Stuart <i>Institute of Foreign Languages, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia</i>	<u>Kham Tibetan Language Materials</u>	39
43	Dec. 1993	MA Quanlin, MA Wanxiang, and MA Zhicheng <i>Xining</i> Edited by Kevin Stuart <i>Kokonor</i>	Salar Language Materials	72
44	Jan. 1994	Dolkun Kamberi <i>Columbia University</i>	The Three Thousand Year Old Charchan Man Preserved at Zaghunluq	15
45	May 1994	Mark Hansell <i>Carleton College</i>	<u>The Sino-Alphabet: The Assimilation of Roman Letters into the Chinese Writing System</u>	28
46	July 1994	various	Reviews (V)	2, 155

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
47	Aug. 1994	Robert S. Bauer <i>Mahidol University Salaya Nakornpathom, Thailand</i>	Sino-Tibetan *kolo “Wheel”	11
48	Sept. 1994	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Introduction and Notes for a Complete Translation of the <i>Chuang Tzu</i>	xxxiv, 110
49	Oct. 1994	Ludo Rocher <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Orality and Textuality in the Indian Context	28
50	Nov. 1994	YIN Binyong <i>State Language Commission and Institute for Applied Linguistics (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)</i>	Diyi ge Lading Zimu de Hanyu Pinyin Fang’an Shi Zenyang Chansheng de? [How Was the First Romanized Spelling System for Sinitic Produced?]	7
51	Nov. 1994	HAN Kangxin <i>Institute of Archeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</i>	The Study of Ancient Human Skeletons from Xinjiang, China	9 + 4 figs.
52	Nov. 1994	Warren A. Shibles <i>University of Wisconsin Whitewater</i>	Chinese Romanization Systems: IPA Transliteration	20
53	Nov. 1994	XU Wenkan <i>Editorial Offices of the Hanyu Da Cidian Shanghai</i>	Guanyu Tuhuluoren de Qiyuan he Qianxi Wenti [On the Problem of the Origins and Migrations of the Tocharians]	11
54	Nov. 1994	Üjjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu) <i>University of Toronto</i>	Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Jegün Yogur	34
55	Nov. 1994	Üjjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu) <i>University of Toronto</i>	Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Dongxiang	34

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
56	Nov. 1994	Üjjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu) <i>University of Toronto</i>	Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Dagur	36
57	Nov. 1994	Üjjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu) <i>University of Toronto</i>	Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Monguor	31
58	Nov. 1994	Üjjiyediin Chuluu (Chaolu Wu) <i>University of Toronto</i>	Introduction, Grammar, and Sample Sentences for Baoan	28
59	Dec. 1994	Kevin Stuart <i>Qinghai Junior Teachers College;</i> Limusishiden <i>Qinghai Medical College Attached Hospital, Xining, Kokonor (Qinghai)</i>	China's Monguor Minority: Ethnography and Folktales	i, I, 193
60	Dec. 1994	Kevin Stuart, Li Xuewei, and Shelear <i>Qinghai Junior Teachers College, Xining, Kokonor (Qinghai)</i>	China's Dagur Minority: Society, Shamanism, and Folklore	vii, 167
61	Dec. 1994	Kevin Stuart and Li Xuewei <i>Qinghai Junior Teachers College, Xining, Kokonor (Qinghai)</i>	Tales from China's Forest Hunters: Oroqen Folktales	iv, 59
62	Dec. 1994	William C. Hannas <i>Georgetown University</i>	Reflections on the "Unity" of Spoken and Written Chinese and Academic Learning in China	5
63	Dec. 1994	Sarah M. Nelson <i>University of Denver</i>	The Development of Complexity in Prehistoric North China	17
64	Jan. 1995	Arne Østmoe <i>Bangkok, Thailand, and Drøbak, Norway</i>	A Germanic-Tai Linguistic Puzzle	81, 6

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
65	Feb. 1995	Penglin Wang <i>Chinese University of Hong Kong</i>	Indo-European Loanwords in Altaic	28
66	March 1995	ZHU Qingzhi <i>Sichuan University and Peking University</i>	Some Linguistic Evidence for Early Cultural Exchange Between China and India	7
67	April 1995	David McCraw <i>University of Hawaii</i>	Pursuing Zhuangzi as a Rhymemaster: A Snark-Hunt in Eight Fits	38
68	May 1995	Ke Peng, Yanshi Zhu <i>University of Chicago and Tokyo, Japan</i>	New Research on the Origin of Cowries Used in Ancient China	i, 26
69	Jan. 1996	Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis, Keith Slater, <i>et al.</i> <i>Qinghai, Santa Barbara, etc.</i>	Language Materials of China's Monguor Minority: Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer	xi, 266
70	Feb. 1996	David Utz, Xinru Liu, <i>Taylor Carman, Bryan Van Norden, and the Editor Philadelphia, Vassar, etc.</i>	Reviews VI	93
71	March 1996	Erik Zürcher <i>Leiden University</i> Seishi Karashima <i>Soka University</i> Huanming Qin <i>Tang Studies Hotline</i>	Vernacularisms in Medieval Chinese Texts	31 + 11 + 8
72	May 1996	E. Bruce Brooks <i>University of Massachusetts</i>	The Life and Mentorship of Confucius	44
73	June 1996	ZHANG Juan, et al., and Kevin Stuart <i>Qinghai, Inner Mongolia, Shanxi, Henan, Liaoning</i>	Blue Cloth and Pearl Deer; Yogur Folklore	iii, 76

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
74	Jan. 1997	David Moser <i>University of Michigan & Beijing Foreign Studies University</i>	Covert Sexism in Mandarin Chinese	23
75	Feb. 1997	Haun Saussy <i>Stanford University</i>	The Prestige of Writing: Wen², Letter, Picture, Image, Ideography	40
76	Feb. 1997	Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky <i>Bard College</i>	The Evolution of the Symbolism of the Paradise of the Buddha of Infinite Life and Its Western Origins	28
77	Jan. 1998	Daniel Hsieh <i>Purdue University</i>	The Origin and Nature of the “Nineteen Old Poems”	49
78	Feb. 1998	Narsu <i>Inner Mongolia College of Agriculture & Animal Husbandry</i> Kevin Stuart <i>Qinghai Junior Teachers’ College</i>	Practical Mongolian Sentences (With English Translation)	iii + 49 + ii + 66
79	March 1998	Dennis Grafflin <i>Bates College</i>	A Southeast Asian Voice in the Daodejing?	8
80	July 1998	Taishan Yu <i>Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</i>	A Study of Saka History	ii + 225
81	Sept. 1998	Hera S. Walker <i>Ursinus College (Philadelphia)</i>	Indigenous or Foreign?: A Look at the Origins of the Monkey Hero Sun Wukong	iv + 110
82	Sept. 1998	I. S. Gurevich <i>Russian Academy of Sciences</i>	A Fragment of a pien-wen(?) Related to the Cycle “On Buddha’s Life”	15
83	Oct. 1998	Minglang Zhou <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i>	Tense/Aspect markers in Mandarin and Xiang dialects, and their contact	20

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
84	Oct. 1998	Ulf Jäger <i>Gronau/Westfalen, Germany</i>	The New Old Mummies from Eastern Central Asia: Ancestors of the Tocharian Knights Depicted on the Buddhist Wallpaintings of Kucha and Turfan? Some Circumstantial Evidence	9
85	Oct. 1998	Mariko Namba Walter <i>University of New England</i>	Tokharian Buddhism in Kucha: Buddhism of Indo-European Centum Speakers in Chinese Turkestan before the 10th Century C.E.	30
86	Oct. 1998	Jidong Yang <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Siba: Bronze Age Culture of the Gansu Corridor	18
87	Nov. 1998	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Canine Conundrums: Eurasian Dog Ancestor Myths in Historical and Ethnic Perspective	74
88	Dec. 1998	Saroj Kumar Chaudhuri <i>Aichi Gakusen University</i>	Siddham in China and Japan	9, 124
89	Jan. 1999	Alvin Lin <i>Yale University</i>	Writing Taiwanese: The Development of Modern Written Taiwanese	4 + 41 + 4
90	Jan. 1999	Victor H. Mair et al	Reviews VII [including review of The Original Analects]	2, 38
91	Jan. 1999	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Phon symbolism or Etymology: The Case of the Verb “Cop”	28
92	Jan. 1999	Christine Louise Lin <i>Dartmouth College</i>	The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy	xiii + 136

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
93	Jan. 1999	David S. Nivison <i>Stanford University</i>	The Key to the Chronology of the Three Dynasties: The “Modern Text” Bamboo Annals	iv + 68
94	March 1999	Julie Lee Wei <i>Hoover Institute</i>	Correspondence Between the Chinese Calendar Signs and the Phoenician Alphabet	65 + 6
95	May 1999	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	A Medieval, Central Asian Buddhist Theme in a Late Ming Taoist Tale by Feng Meng-lung	27
96	June 1999	E. Bruce Brooks <i>University of Massachusetts</i>	Alexandrian Motifs in Chinese Texts	14
97	Dec. 1999	LI Shuicheng <i>Peking University</i>	Sino-Western Contact in the Second Millennium BC	iv, 29
98	Jan. 2000	Peter Daniels, Daniel Boucher, and other authors	Reviews VIII	108
99	Feb. 2000	Anthony Barbieri-Low <i>Princeton University</i>	Wheeled Vehicles in the Chinese Bronze Age (c. 2000-741 BC)	v, 98 + 5 color plates
100	Feb. 2000	Wayne Alt <i>Community College of Baltimore County (Essex)</i>	Zhuangzi, Mysticism, and the Rejection of Distinctions	29
101	March 2000	C. Michele Thompson <i>South Connecticut State University</i>	The Viêt Peoples and the Origins of Nom	71, 1
102	March 2000	Theresa Jen <i>Bryn Mawr College</i> Ping Xu <i>Baruch College</i>	Penless Chinese Character Reproduction	15

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
103	June 2000	Carrie E. Reid <i>Middlebury College</i>	Early Chinese Tattoo	52
104	July 2000	David W. Pankenier <i>Lehigh University</i>	Popular Astrology and Border Affairs in Early China	19 + 1 color plate
105	Aug. 2000	Anne Birrell <i>Cambridge University</i>	Postmodernist Theory in Recent Studies of Chinese Literature	31
106	Sept. 2000	Yu Taishan <i>Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</i>	A Hypothesis about the Sources of the Sai Tribes	i, 3, 200
107	Sept. 2000	Jacques deLisle, Adelheid E. Krohne, and the editor	Reviews IX	148 + map
108	Sept. 2000	Ruth H. Chang <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Understanding <i>Di</i> and <i>Tian</i> : Deity and Heaven From Shang to Tang	vii, 54
109	Oct. 2000	Conán Dean Carey <i>Stanford University</i>	In Hell the One without Sin is Lord	ii, 60
110	Oct. 2000	Toh Hoong Teik <i>Harvard University</i>	Shaykh 'Alam: The Emperor of Early Sixteenth-Century China	20
111	Nov. 2000	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	The Need for a New Era	10
112	July 2001	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Notes on the Anau Inscription	xi, 93
113	Aug. 2001	Ray Collins <i>Chepachet, RI</i> David Kerr <i>Melbourne, FL</i>	Etymology of the Word “Macrobiotic:s” and Its Use in Modern Chinese Scholarship	18

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
114	March 2002	Ramnath Subbaraman <i>University of Chicago</i>	Beyond the Question of the Monkey Imposter: Indian Influence on the Chinese Novel, <i>The Journey to the West</i>	35
115	April 2002	ZHOU Jixu <i>Sichuan Normal University</i>	Correspondences of Basic Words Between Old Chinese and Proto- Indo-European	8
116	May 2002	LIU Yongquan <i>Institute of Linguistics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</i>	On the Problem of Chinese Lettered Words	13
117	May 2002	SHANG Wei <i>Columbia University</i>	<i>Baihua, Guanhua, Fangyan</i> and the May Fourth Reading of <i>Rulin Waishi</i>	10
118	June 2002	Justine T. Snow <i>Port Townsend, WA</i>	Evidence for the Indo-European Origin of Two Ancient Chinese Deities	ii, 75, 1 color, 1 b-w print
119	July 2002	WU Zhen <i>Xinjiang Museum, Ürümchi</i>	“Hu” Non-Chinese as They Appear in the Materials from the Astana Graveyard at Turfan	21, 5 figs.
120	July 2002	Anne Birrell <i>University of Cambridge, Clare Hall</i>	Female-Gendered Myth in the <i>Classic of Mountains and Seas</i>	47
121	July 2002	Mark Edward Lewis <i>Stanford University</i>	Dicing and Divination in Early China	22, 7 figs.
122	July 2002	Julie Wilensky <i>Yale University</i>	The Magical <i>Kunlun</i> and “Devil Slaves”: Chinese Perceptions of Dark-skinned People and Africa before 1500	51, 3 figs.
123	Aug. 2002	Paul R. Goldin and the editor	Reviews X	30

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
124	August 2002	Fredrik T. Hiebert <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	The Context of the Anau Seal	1-34
		John Colarusso <i>McMaster University</i>	Remarks on the Anau and Niyä Seals	35-47
125	July 2003	ZHOU Jixu <i>Sichuan Normal University Shanghai Normal University</i>	Correspondences of Cultural Words between Old Chinese and Proto- Indo-European	19
126	Aug. 2003	Tim Miller <i>University of Washington</i>	A Southern Min Word in the <i>Tsu- t'ang chi</i>	14
127	Oct. 2003	Sundeep S. Jhutti <i>Petaluma, California</i>	The Getes	125, 8 color plates
128	Nov. 2003	Yinpo Tschang <i>New York City</i>	On Proto-Shang	18
129	Dec. 2003	Michael Witzel <i>Harvard University</i>	Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Exchange in Prehistoric Western Central Asia	70
130	Feb. 2004	Bede Fahey <i>Fort St. John, British Columbia</i>	Mayan: A Sino-Tibetan Language? A Comparative Study	61
131	March 2004	Taishan Yu <i>Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</i>	A History of the Relationship between the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Western Regions	1, 3, 352
132	April 2004	Kim Hayes <i>Sydney</i>	On the Presence of Non-Chinese at Anyang	11

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
133	April 2004	John L. Sorenson <i>Brigham Young University</i> Carl L. Johannessen <i>University of Oregon</i>	<i>Scientific Evidence for Pre-Columbian Transoceanic Voyages</i> CD-ROM	48, 166, 19, 15 plates
134	May 2004	Xieyan Hinch <i>Neumädewitz, Germany</i>	Two Steps Toward Digraphia in China	i, 22
135	May 2004	John J. Emerson <i>Portland, Oregon</i>	<i>The Secret History of the Mongols</i> and Western Literature	21
136	May 2004	Serge Papillon <i>Mouvoux, France and</i> <i>Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia</i>	Influences tokhariennes sur la mythologie chinoise	47
137	June 2004	Hoong Teik Toh <i>Harvard University</i>	Some Classical Malay Materials for the Study of the Chinese Novel <i>Journey to the West</i>	64
138	June 2004	Julie Lee Wei <i>San Jose and London</i>	Dogs and Cats: Lessons from Learning Chinese	17
139	June 2004	Taishan Yu <i>Chinese Academy of</i> <i>Social Sciences</i>	A Hypothesis on the Origin of the Yu State	20
140	June 2004	Yinpo Tschang <i>New York City</i>	Shih and Zong: Social Organization in Bronze Age China	28
141	July 2004	Yinpo Tschang <i>New York City</i>	Chaos in Heaven: On the Calendars of Preclassical China	30
142	July 2004	Katheryn Linduff, ed. <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>	<i>Silk Road Exchange in China</i>	64
143	July 2004	Victor H. Mair <i>University of</i> <i>Pennsylvania</i>	<i>Sleep in Dream: Soporific</i> Responses to Depression in <i>Story</i> <i>of the Stone</i>	99

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
144	July 2004	RONG Xinjiang <i>Peking University</i>	Land Route or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in which Buddhism Was Disseminated during the Han Period	32
145	Aug. 2004	the editor	Reviews XI	2, 41
146	Feb. 2005	Hoong Teik Toh <i>Academia Sinica</i>	The - <i>yu</i> Ending in Xiongnu, Xianbei, and Gaoju Onomastica	24
147	March 2005	Hoong Teik Toh <i>Academia Sinica</i>	Ch. <i>Qiong</i> ~ Tib. Khyung; Taoism ~ Bonpo -- Some Questions Related to Early Ethno-Religious History in Sichuan	18
148	April 2005	Lucas Christopoulos <i>Beijing Sports University</i>	Le gréco-bouddhisme et l'art du poing en Chine	52
149	May 2005	Kimberly S. Te Winkle <i>University College, London</i>	A Sacred Trinity: God, Mountain, and Bird: Cultic Practices of the Bronze Age Chengdu Plain	ii, 103 (41 in color)
150	May 2005	Dolkun Kamberi <i>Washington, DC</i>	Uyghurs and Uyghur Identity	44
151	June 2005	Jane Jia SI <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	The Genealogy of Dictionaries: Producers, Literary Audience, and the Circulation of English Texts in the Treaty Port of Shanghai	44, 4 tables
152	June 2005	Denis Mair <i>Seattle</i>	The Dance of Qian and Kun in the <i>Zhouyi</i>	13, 2 figs.
153	July 2005	Alan Piper <i>London (UK)</i>	The Mysterious Origins of the Word "Marihuana"	17

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
154	July 2005	Serge Papillon <i>Belfort, France</i>	<i>Mythologie sino-européenne</i>	174, 1 plate
155	July 2005	Denis Mair <i>Seattle</i>	Janus-Like Concepts in the <i>Li</i> and <i>Kun</i> Trigrams	8
156	July 2005	Abolqasem Esmailpour <i>Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran</i>	<i>Manichean Gnosis and Creation</i>	157
157	Aug. 2005	Ralph D. Sawyer <i>Independent Scholar</i>	Paradoxical Coexistence of Prognostication and Warfare	13
158	Aug. 2005	Mark Edward Lewis <i>Stanford University</i>	Writings on Warfare Found in Ancient Chinese Tombs	15
159	Aug. 2005	Jens Østergaard Petersen <i>University of Copenhagen</i>	The <i>Zuozhuan</i> Account of the Death of King Zhao of Chu and Its Sources	47
160	Sept. 2005	Matteo Compareti <i>Venice</i>	Literary Evidence for the Identification of Some Common Scenes in Han Funerary Art	14
161	Sept. 2005	Julie Lee Wei <i>London</i>	The Names of the <i>Yi Jing</i> Trigrams: An Inquiry into Their Linguistic Origins	18
162	Sept. 2005	Julie Lee Wei <i>London</i>	Counting and Knotting: Correspondences between Old Chinese and Indo-European	71, map
163	Oct. 2005	Julie Lee Wei <i>London</i>	Huangdi and Huntun (the Yellow Emperor and Wonton): A New Hypothesis on Some Figures in Chinese Mythology	44
164	Oct. 2005	Julie Lee Wei <i>London</i>	Shang and Zhou: An Inquiry into the Linguistic Origins of Two Dynastic Names	62

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
165	Oct. 2005	Julie Lee Wei <i>London</i>	DAO and DE: An Inquiry into the Linguistic Origins of Some Terms in Chinese Philosophy and Morality	51
166	Nov. 2005	Julie Lee Wei <i>London</i> Hodong Kim <i>Seoul National University</i> and David Selvia and the Editor <i>both of the University of Pennsylvania</i>	Reviews XII	i, 63
167	Dec. 2005	ZHOU Jixu <i>Sichuan Normal University</i>	Old Chinese '帝*tees' and Proto-Indo-European “*deus”: Similarity in Religious Ideas and a Common Source in Linguistics	17
168	Dec. 2005	Judith A. Lerner <i>New York City</i>	Aspects of Assimilation: the Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China	51, v, 9 plates
169	Jan. 2006	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Conversion Tables for the Three-Volume Edition of the <i>Hanyu Da Cidian</i>	i, 284
170	Feb. 2006	Amber R. Woodward <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	<u>Learning English, Losing Face, and Taking Over: The Method (or Madness) of Li Yang and His Crazy English</u>	18

Beginning with issue no. 171, *Sino-Platonic Papers* will be published electronically on the Web. Issues from no. 1 to no. 170, however, will continue to be sold as paper copies until our stock runs out, after which they too will be made available on the Web. For prices of paper copies, see the catalog at www.sino-platonic.org

171	June 2006	John DeFrancis <i>University of Hawaii</i>	<u>The Prospects for Chinese Writing Reform</u>	26, 3 figs.
172	Aug. 2006	Deborah Beaser	<u>The Outlook for Taiwanese Language Preservation</u>	18

Previous Issues, *cont.*

Number	Date	Author	Title	Pages
173	Oct. 2006	Taishan Yu <i>Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</i>	<u>A Study of the History of the Relationship Between the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Western Regions</u>	167
174	Nov. 2006	Mariko Namba Walter	<u>Sogdians and Buddhism</u>	65
175	Dec. 2006	Zhou Jixu <i>Center for East Asian Studies, University of Pennsylvania; Chinese Department, Sichuan Normal University</i>	<u>The Rise of Agricultural Civilization in China: The Disparity between Archeological Discovery and the Documentary Record and Its Explanation</u>	38
176	May 2007	Eric Henry <i>University of North Carolina</i>	<u>The Submerged History of Yuè</u>	36
177	Aug. 2007	Beverley Davis <i>Merit, Texas</i>	<u>Timeline of the Development of the Horse</u>	186
178	forth- coming	Victor H. Mair <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Soldierly Methods: Introduction and Notes for an Iconoclastic Translation of <i>Sun Zi bingfa</i>	
179	Feb. 2008	Julie M. Groves <i>Hong Kong Baptist University</i>	<u>Language or Dialect — or Topolect? A Comparison of the Attitudes of Hong Kongers and Mainland Chinese towards the Status of Cantonese</u>	103
180	April 2008	Amber R. Woodward	<u>A Survey of Li Yang Crazy English</u>	71