1 Introduction

1.1 Goal of the study

When a bamboo-strip manuscript from the Warring States period finds a closely matching received text, the textual variants between the two versions consist in graphic variants in the majority of cases: they are pairs of character forms in matching textual positions identified as standing for the same words while differing with each other in graphic shape or in the graphic elements contained in them. In the latter case, the judgment that they stand for the same word despite differences in their character structure is based on the fact that they exhibit some sort of phonological relation. And this relation is indicated by (a) the two characters share a graphic component that apparently plays a phonetic role while they have different semantic components conventionally referred to as 'classifiers', or one of the two lacks a second component altogether; (b) the two characters have distinct phonetic components and yet the words that they normally stand for, when they are read as their structurally coincident characters in the received orthography, are phonetically similar. When the whole character in a manuscript does not find a structurally compatible form in the received script, its apparent phonetic component alone is compared with the matching received counterpart. The status of phonetic compatibility is the same whether a part or whole of a manuscript character is compared since words that share the same phonetic component are presumed to have similar pronunciations.

In fact this type of 'phonologically related textual variants' as it may be called, is a very common type of variation not only in manuscripts in relation to their received counterparts but also in different versions of received early texts. When pairs of textual variants suggesting a phonological relation occur repeatedly with certain patterns such as the (a) and (b) above, it is reasonable to assume that a single common word lies behind those different character forms.

The discrepancy between the apparent word represented by a character in a text version and the word the latter actually stands for is conventionally explained as a phonetic loan in traditional exegetic terms. This is to say that a character that normally stands for a certain word is borrowed for another, phonetically similar character. The former is called a loan character (tongjiazi 通假字) in relation to the latter, which is itself called the proper character (benzi 本字). In the case of a manuscript with its received counterpart, the characters in the latter usually serve as the point of reference. In other words, the characters in the received version are taken as the proper characters for the text-interpretation purposes.

The anachronism of this notion 'loan' versus 'proper' is apparent because the norms of the received orthography in some cases may postdate a given text version with character usages that are at odds with the latter. The character forms in manuscripts produced during the Western Han or earlier could not be justly ruled as graphic substitutes for the standard forms established later, for example, as late as the early Eastern Han period (CE 25–220). What is perhaps more significant in the scope of influence than the writing conventions that came about during the Eastern Han period would be the existence of regional variations in pre-imperial times. The foundation of the norms in the received script was laid during the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE) when the script of the pre-imperial Qin state, a regional variety of the Warring States script, was adopted as the standard for the unified empire. And so designating characters in manuscripts from the Chu region of the Warring States period as 'loans' in relation to the received script would be tantamount to judging one regional script by the standard of another regional script. For these reasons, scholars dealing with Warring States manuscripts tend to refrain from actually calling manuscript characters as tongjiazi and instead to simply describe the apparent phonological relation (and its implication on the word interpretation) as one manuscript character being 'interchangeable with' or 'an alternating form in relation to' its received counterpart by which the word in question is interpreted.

The use of the term loan character and the application of its literal meaning are relatively popular in studies of manuscripts of Western Han or later periods, as the character forms in these sources most of the time find structurally coincident forms in transmitted literature, i.e., the character forms themselves do exist in the latter unlike the case of Warring States manuscripts, and so it would appear that those odd characters are used despite the existence of the same proper forms as the ones in the received orthography. However, manuscripts dating from early phases of the Western Han period may also for their part preserve early character usages and pre-imperial regional forms. In other words, the rarity in Western Han manuscripts of unknown character forms coupled with odd character usages in comparison with the received standard perhaps suggests that the script of the early Western Han had just become fairly close to the received standard rather than that it had become exactly the same as the latter, and yet it had the practice of using odd forms from time to time. These differing interpretations of the tongjia phenomenon have more serious impact in phonological studies than in exegetical studies.

Characters in the Warring States script are apparently versatile in their graphic forms and structures in comparison with the received script. The appar-

ent freedom in classifier variation and the frequent occurrence of phonetic components that are distinct from the received characters and yet phonologically related to the latter, give the impression that different characters standing for different words are substituted for one another, even if the standard around which these graphic variants are arrayed is not necessarily the same as the received orthography. But free selections among characters for (near-) homophonous words in any case would increase ambiguity and thus diminish the efficacy of written communication. It does not seem reasonable to assume that the users of the early Chinese script were able to communicate more effectively than the people of the present time if there existed such a practice of replacing one character with another, say, ten to twenty percent of the time. It ought to be assumed that the script itself of a given time and place in pre-imperial China was just as effective and unambiguous as the received script. Likewise, we shall not assume on the basis of the apparent discrepancies in character forms between different manuscript versions of the same text that the degree of reinterpretation or misinterpretation of individual scribes in the course of text reproduction and transmission in pre-imperial times was much greater than that in the Han and later periods.

I will argue that there existed in the Warring States script a set of rules that governed character variation, and at the same time the scope of variation was narrowed down to a manageable size by the conventions of a given time and place. The 'rule' implies a certain degree of predictability, unlike the 'convention' which is agreement in individual cases by the users of the scripts. But in practice these two are not separable; it is usually the case that forms that are conventionalized, i.e., those actually occurring, are a subset of theoretically possible options. The goal of this study is to explicate the nature of the rules of variation and to present cases of systematic graphic variation through the Shanghai "Zhouyi" manuscript as a representative example of writings of the Warring States period. The results of this study will have further implications on phonological and textual studies of early manuscripts from the Warring States to early Han period in general.

1.2 Subject materials

The particular manuscript text Shanghai Museum "Zhouyi" (SHZY hereafter) is chosen as the main subject material for this study because of the formulaic structure of text units in the *Zhouyi* 周易, viz., hexagram chapters which contain numerous repeated words which constitute divinatory idioms, line headings and hexagram theme words. Thus this text gives us a good glimpse of the extent of graphic variation in the early script of a single time and space. The words and

graphic forms in SHZY are explored in two ways. On the one hand patterns of graphic variations are identified through repeated characters/words which present little problem in interpretation, and on the other hand non-repeated and relatively less straightforward written forms are interpreted on the basis of the observed patterns of graphic variation. The written forms in SHZY will be discussed from the perspective of the Warring States script as a historical phase of the early script and also from the perspective of the Chu regional script. Diachronic and synchronic, region-internal and cross-regional comparisons will be made through the following categories of source materials.

(i) The Chu script: The graphic forms and patterns of graphic variation in the "Zhouyi" manuscript are expected to be consistent with those in contemporaneous manuscripts from the same region. Since 1950s there have been over twenty manuscript discoveries in the region of the ancient Chu state, around the modern provinces of Hubei, Hunan and Henan. Of these manuscript corpora, ones that are published and thus relatively well known are the manuscripts of Xinyang 信陽 (discovered in 1957), Wangshan 望山 (1965), Baoshan 包山 (1987), Jiudian 九店 (1981–1989) and Guodian 郭店 (1993).[1] The contents of Warring States Chu manuscripts were mainly catalogues of burial goods or objects pertaining to funerary processions, records of divinations and sometimes also administrative and legal documents, until the discovery of the Guodian manuscripts in 1993, which consist exclusively of literary texts. Because of its literary contents, the Guodian corpus in particular contains abundant data for comparisons of written forms for the words in SHZY. Chu bronze inscriptions of the Eastern Zhou period (771–256 BCE) are supplemented to Chu bamboo text sources.

(ii) Other regional scripts as seen from excavated texts: SHZY Chu character forms are compared with their counterparts in other regional scripts based on the 'Five region script system', which was first proposed by Li Xueqin 1959 and further developed by He Linyi 2003. Apart from Chu bamboo manuscripts which account for the majority of Warring States writings discovered thus far, materials from the Jin and Qin regions are relatively abundant. The Zhongshan Wang Cuo bronze inscription corpus, discovered in 1977, has over 2,400 characters in both elaborate and casual styles on inscriptions of varying degrees of prestige. This

1 The primary publications of these manuscripts are the *Xinyang Chu mu* 信陽楚墓 (Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo, 1986, Beijing: Wenwu), *Wangshan Chu jian* 望山楚簡 (Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Beijing daxue zhongwenxi, 1995, Beijing: Zhonghua), *Baoshan Chu jian* 包山楚簡 (Hubei sheng jingsha tielu kaogudui, 1991, Beijing: Wenwu), *Jiudian Chu jian* 九店楚簡 (Hubei wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Beijing daxue zhongwenxi, 1999, Beijing: Zhonghua), *Guodian Chumu Zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 (Jingmenshi bowuguan, 1998, Beijing: Wenwu).

body of materials nicely complements the bamboo strip manuscripts from the Chu region which is now the major source of the Warring States script, by virtue of representing a non-Chu regional script, viz., the Jin script, for our overview of the writings of the Warring States period.

(iii) *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字: the 'Small Seal' script as recorded in the *Shuowen jiezi* (100 CE) by Xu Shen 許慎 is a transmitted source of the Qin script. The term *xiaozhuan* 小篆 'Small Seal', perhaps better translated as 'Lesser Seal', is the people of Qin's humble reference to their own traditional script in relation to the script of the Western Zhou period known at that time by a book called *Shi Zhou pian* 史籀篇, which they called the *dazhuan* 大篆 'Large Seal' ('Greater Seal'). Also, the Qin script was called 'Seal' script because by the time of the Qin unification this script had come to be reserved only for formal occasions such as inscribing seals, edict plates and stone steles while it was displaced by a new, simpler script style now called 'Qin clerical script' for daily use. Thus historically speaking, the 'Small Seal' script is in fact a regional variety of the Warring States script.

Xu Shen in his *Shuowen* also presented another variety of the Warring States script called the *guwen* 古文 'Old script'. The source of this script includes a body of Warring States manuscripts discovered in the Qi region some time during the mid-2nd century BCE (Early Han times). It was called 'Old' because it was an archaic script from the perspective of the Han clerical script, the current script at that time. Thus the 'Small Seal' script and 'Old script' are historically contemporaneous, and Xu Shen indicated their compatibilities and discrepancies by giving a *guwen* form only when the latter is different from its corresponding Seal form. The relation between these 'Old' and 'Small Seal' scripts often seems misinterpreted in studies of historical phonology, like the former as a historically earlier stage of the early writing system than the latter. When we examine the history of individual characters, some *guwen* forms may turn out to have originated from as late as the Warring States period, while their Seal form counterparts date from the Western Zhou period or earlier. The opposite cases are also expected to exist. We will discuss the nature of the Qin Seal script and its relation with the *guwen* script further in Section 1.4. The Qin Seal script as presented in the *Shuowen* and the recently excavated Shuihudi 睡虎地 Qin bamboo text corpus will be used as sources for examples of the Qin regional script in this study.[2]

2 The first primary publication of the entire Shuhudi Tomb no. 11 manuscripts is the *Shuihudi Zhujian* 睡虎地竹简 (Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu, 1990, Beijing: Wenwu). This book contains an interpretive transcription of the manuscript texts, annotations and photographs of selected strips. There have been several more Qin manuscript discoveries since the discovery of

(iv) The script of the Western Zhou period (1045–771 BCE): the Western Zhou script represented by ritual bronze inscriptions is a direct ancestor of the Warring States script. Words attested in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions in most cases

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the Shuihudi manuscripts in 1975, but the latter remains the only completely published large body of Qin manuscripts to date. See for archaeological reports of other Qin manuscripts: "Qingchuan xian chutu Qin gengxiu tianlü mudu 青川县出土秦更修田律木牘" in *Wenwu* 1982.1: 1–21; "Gansu Tianshui Fangmatan Zhanguo Qin Han muqun de fajue 甘肃天水放马滩战国秦汉墓群的发掘" in *Wenwu* 1989.2: 1–11 and 31, "Tianshui Fangmatan Qinjian zogshu 天水放馬灘秦簡綜述" by He Shuangquan 何雙全 in *Wenwu* 1989.2: 23–31; "Jiangling Yangjiashan 135 hao Qin mu fajue jianbao 江陵扬家山 135 号秦墓发掘简报" in *Wenwu* 1993.8: 1–11 and 25; "Yunmeng Longgang Qin Han mu di yi ci fajue jianbao 雲夢龍崗秦漢墓第一次發掘簡報" in *Jiang Han Kaogu* 江漢考古 1990.3: 16–27; "Yunmeng Longgang Qinjian zongshu 雲夢龍崗秦簡綜述" by Liu Xinfang 劉信芳 and Liang Zhu 梁柱 in *Jiang Han Kaogu* 江漢考古 1990.3: 78–84; "Jiangling Wangjiatai shiwu hao Qin mu 江陵王家台十五号秦墓" in *Wenwu* 1995.1: 37–43; "Zhoujiatai 30 hao Qin mu fajue baogao 周家臺 30 號秦墓發掘報告" in *Guanju Qin Han mu Jiandu* 關沮秦漢墓簡牘 by Jingzhou shi Zhouliang yuqiao yizhi Bowuguan 荆州市周梁玉橋遺址博物館 (2001, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju); "Hunan Longshan Liye Zhanguo-Qin dai gucheng yi hao jing fajue jianbao 湖南龙山里耶战国—秦代古城一号井发掘简报" in *Wenwu* 2003.1: 4–35, and "Chu du Liye Qinjian 初读里耶秦简" by Li Xueqin 李学勤 in *Wenwu* 2003.1 : 73–81. There are also two large bodies of manuscripts that are not archaeologically excavated, but purchased on antiquities markets, which are presumed to be of Qin origin: one is, the Yuelu Academy Qin manuscripts acquired on the Hong Kong antiquities market in 2007 by the Yuelu Academy of Hunan University. The contents of these manuscripts are particularly similar to those of the Shuihudi manuscripts. See "Yuelu Shuyuan suocang Qinjian zongshu 嶽麓書院所藏秦簡綜述" by Chen Songchang 陳松長 in *Wenwu* 2009.3: 75–88; the other is the Peking University Qin manuscripts donated to the university in 2010 by a Hong Kong private foundation supporting Chinese studies which purchased the manuscripts from overseas markets. A series of seven articles on these manuscripts appeared in *Wenwu* 2012.6, which includes "Beijing daxue cag Qinjian shinei fajue qingli jianbao 北京大學藏秦簡室内發掘清理簡報" (32–44) and "Beijiing daxue cang Qin jiandu gaishu 北京大學藏秦簡牘概述" (65–73) both by Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo 北京大學出土文献研究所. Qin manuscripts are often discovered in the same geographical region as Chu manuscripts, particularly in Hubei and Hunan provinces, but manuscripts from the two political spheres are clearly distinguished from each other in textual contents and script styles. Qin manuscripts are mostly legal or administrative documents and a hemerological and calendrical text-type often referred to as *rishu* 日書 'day book' (Note: There are different opinions as to the nomenclature of this kind of texts. See Li Ling 2008 and Xiao Congli 2011. The name "rishu" itself is found in a manuscript of such type in the Shuihudi manuscripts); they are written in the script style called 'Qin clerical' ("Qin lishu 秦隸書") or 'Old clerical' script ("Gu lishu 古隸書") comparable to the Clerical script (*lishu* 隸書) of Han times; Chu manuscripts on the other hand, consist mostly of catalogues of burial goods and objects used in funerary processions ("qiance 遣册"), records of divinations, and literary texts; Chu manuscripts are in the script style called 'Old script' ("Guwen 古文"), which is much closer to the 'Seal script'("Zhuanwen 篆文") found in inscriptional texts from Qin dynasty than the Qin clerical script is to the Seal script, except that in the orthography the Qin Clerical and Seal scripts are consistent with each other. See Section 1.4.2.

are also attested in Warring States manuscripts discovered thus far. Character forms in the former, in particular those from the mid-to-late Western Zhou period are often the earliest attestations of their corresponding Warring States forms and thus best demonstrate the historical developments in character forms and structures into their Warring States descendants.

Script evolution is continual, so the writings of the Spring and Autumn period (771–481 BCE) are like both the Western Zhou and Warring States scripts. The Western Zhou script regarded as a tangible earlier phase of the early Chinese script in relation to the Warring States script includes writings of the early Spring and Autumn period (S.A. hereafter), and likewise the Warring States script includes those of the late S.A. period. For presentation purposes, we will deliberately skip over forms from the middle part of the S.A. period; whenever possible, we will instead present forms from the actual Western Zhou and Warring States periods as representatives of the Western Zhou and Warring States scripts. Late S.A. character forms will be cited occasionally when they have features typical of the Warring States script. Ritual bronze inscriptions have formulaic text structures which were established in the early Western Zhou period and transmitted into the Eastern Zhou period across regions. We can compare variant forms for the same words repeated in these formulaic texts with their counterparts in the Warring States script. Comparisons of the Western Zhou and Warring States scripts will illuminate the nature of regional variation in the latter, and in particular the extent of regional peculiarity in the Chu script.

1.3 The Shanghai Museum “Zhouyi 周易” manuscript

The “Zhouyi” manuscript is included in the body of texts written on bamboo strips dated to mid-to-late fourth century BCE, collected and published by the Shanghai Museum with the title *Shanghai Bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhujian* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹簡 (9 vols, 2001–2012). In spring 1994, bamboo strips inscribed with archaic Chinese characters numbering over 1200 turned up in the Hong Kong antiquities market. These manuscripts, consistent in their physical forms and in the calligraphy of the inscribed characters turned out to be manuscripts of the late Warring States period (481–221 BCE) from the ancient Chu 楚 region. As sorted out by a team of scholars hosted by the Shanghai Museum, they consist of about a hundred distinct texts which are mostly of literary and philosophical kinds, the styles and contents of which are comparable with and familiar from transmitted early classical texts. Among these texts about ten texts actually find matching counterparts in received literature. In other words those manuscripts and their received counterparts in each case are close enough in wordings

with each other so that they can be regarded as different versions of a single original text. The "Zhouyi" is in such a relation with the transmitted *Zhouyi* or *Yijing*, *The Book of Changes*.

The script of this manuscript corpus agrees with the Chu regional script of the Warring States period. It is consistent with the script style of archaeologically excavated bamboo texts from the Chu region such as the Guodian 郭店 (Hubei Province, discovered in 1993), Baoshan 包山 (Hubei, 1987) and Wangshan 望山 (Hubei, 1965). It also agrees with the orthographic and calligraphic style in ritual bronze inscriptions from the Chu state as well as surrounding states generally considered to be within the Chu cultural sphere.[3] Further, the corpus contains some historiographical writings on the Chu state. By these indications the Shanghai Museum corpus is identified as consisting in manuscripts from the Chu region of the late Warring States period, presumably produced around 350 BCE.

The length of these bamboo strips ranges from about twenty-four to fifty-seven cm. The width on the other hand is fixed as about 0.6 cm. Each strip has two or three regularly spaced notches carved on the right edge for receiving binding cords. The cords themselves do not survive, having mostly decayed, with only their traces occasionally found on the flesh of the strips. This leaves the strips as they were initially found in disarray. The identification of distinct texts and the order of the strips within a text are the result of the Shanghai Museum scholars' editorial work based on comparable received texts and, often, of reasonable 'assignments'. The strip length as well as the number and spacing of binding notches are consistent within a single text, and this serves as a starting point for identifying parts of the same texts. Ma Chengyuan 馬承源 (1927–2004), the chief editor of the publication, notes in the foreword that Professor Li Ling 李零 of the Peking University by invitation of the museum in 1997 conducted the preliminary work of text identifications and transcriptions of the strips.

The Shanghai Museum "Zhouyi" (SHZY) is the earliest version of the *Zhouyi* text discovered so far. It consists of fifty-eight strips, which are about forty-four cm long and which have the three-way binding notches.[4] It includes about 1800 characters containing contents that match parts of thirty-five different hexagram

3 In the case of bronze vessels, the inscribed texts themselves usually bear the names of the caster and his or her home state, so that their places of origin can be known with certainty even when they are not archeologically excavated.

4 Li Ling (2006: 56) reports that in addition to these 58 strips, there is a broken piece containing four characters which was left out in the publication for some reason. Li provides the transcription for this strip. This study only includes the officially published 58 strips.

chapters in the received version.[5] Twelve chapters of these are complete. Each strip contains on average about forty-four characters, but the number of characters in a fully inscribed strip actually varies as widely as from forty-one to forty-nine. The top and bottom notches are about 1.2 cm apart from the tips and the middle notch comes about right in the center. The first character on each strip is written under the top notch and the last one above the bottom notch. Each hexagram chapter which takes up two or three strips starts with a new strip.

The structure and organization of the chapters in SHZY match precisely with the received version (R); the four parts in each chapter, viz., the hexagram figure (*guahua* 卦畫), hexagram title (*guaming* 卦名), hexagram statement (*guaci* 卦辭) and line statements (*yaoci* 爻辭) appear in the same order between SHZY and R. The hexagram figures of SHZY while matching with R in substance, i.e., the configurations of six solid or broken lines (*yangyao* 陽爻 and *yinyao* 陰爻), are notated as the combination of two trigrams instead of one hexagram. Also, the broken line is drawn like 八 or like the bottom part of 六 instead of an interrupted straight horizontal line. These features are shared by the two previously discovered Early Han manuscript versions of the *Zhouyi*, viz., the Mawangdui 馬王堆 silk manuscript (ca. 168 BCE, discovered in Hunan province, 1972) and the Fuyang 阜陽 bamboo strip manuscript (ca. 165 BCE, Anhui province, 1977).[6] Compare for example, the corresponding SHZY and R figures for the *Qian* 謙 (Hex.15).

vs.

5 By my own count, the total number of characters is 1794 when each of the physical forms of characters and the trigrams is counted as one character.

6 The citations of the Mawangdui silk manuscript in this study are based on the photograph reproduction of the manuscript in the article "Zhushu <Zhouyi>, Boshu <Zhouyi>, Jinben <Zhouyi> wenzi bijiao biao 竹書周易帛書周易今本周易文字比較表" in Ma Chengyuan 馬承源 ed. 2003, 21-250, as well as on the transcription in Zhang Zhenglang 1984. Those of the Fuyang bamboo "Zhouyi" manuscript is based on Han Ziqiang 2004 which has the authors' hand-copy and transcription of 752 fragments (ca. 3,119 characters). This "Zhouyi" manuscript contains divination records added to the original *Zhouyi* line texts. See Shaughnessy 2014 for a full translation.

The SHZY has special markers which were previously unknown. These are in eight distinct forms and are used apparently for a distinguishing function.[7] With few exceptions one and the same marker appears at the beginning and at the end of each hexagram chapter.[8] A series of different hexagrams are assigned with the same marker distinguishing itself from other groups of hexagrams likewise marked. The hexagrams are thus divided into at least eight different groups as seen from the surviving strips.

The markers contrast with one another by such distinctive features as color, shape and size: there are contrasts between black versus red, solid square versus empty frame, and relatively large versus small sizes etc. Below are the markers with our notations for them to be used in the summary table down below.

 □ solid red  ■ solid black, large  ■ solid black, small

 ■ solid black, small, with a tail  □ small black frame

 ■ red with black around  ▣ black with red around

 ▣ small black frame overlapped by large solid red

SHZY hexagrams belonging to the same group as indicated by this marking in all cases match with consecutive hexagrams in the received *Zhouyi*. This fact combined with the relation between juxtaposed hexagrams leads us to suppose that the hexagram order of SHZY is identical with that of the received version.[9] The following table lists the contents of the surviving "Zhouyi" hexagram chapters.

Note: The Shanghai Museum editors' ordering of the strips nos.1 through 58 follows the order of their matching received counterparts. The < 0 > indicates that the strip or the part of a strip where a marker is expected does not survive. The < x > indicates that an expected marker is left out while the strip itself is present. The hexagram figure, abbreviated as < fig.> in the table, is always

7 The Shanghai Museum editors erroneously note that there are six distinct forms of markers (p. 2 of vol.1 and also p.134 of vol.3).

8 The precise position of the beginning one is between the hexagram title and the hexagram statement.

9 See Li Ling 2006, Shaughnessy 2006, 2014 and Park 2009 (7-11) for discussions on the SHZY hexagram order.

present as long as the strip itself is present. In other words a manuscript chapter without a hexagram figure is either missing the first strip or the top portion of it. There are twenty-five surviving figures in the manuscript. The number before a hexagram title is the chapter sequence in the received version. The SHZY character forms for the titles are given in square brackets when they are different from their counterparts in R.

Surviving Shanghai *Zhouyi* hexagrams

Hex. no. in R, title	Marker beginning, ending	Strip no. and no. of characters contained	Complete chapters ✓
4. *Meng* 蒙 [龙]	0 x	*1* (36)	
5. *Xu* 需 [孕]	□ □	*2* (45 + fig.), *3* (1)	
6. *Song* 訟	□ □	*4* (41 + fig.), *5* (43), *6* (4)	✓
7. *Shi* 師 [市]	□ x	*7* (43 + fig.), *8* (33)	✓
8. *Bi* 比	□ □	*9* (44 + fig.), *10* (31)	✓
9. *Xiao chu* 小畜	0 0	unpublished, 4 characters[10]	
14. *Da you* 大有	0 ■	*11* (21)	
15. *Qian* 謙 [廉]	■ ■	*12* (31 + fig.), *13* (19)	
16. *Yu* 豫 [余]	■ ■	*14* (43 + fig.), *15* (14)	✓
17. *Sui* 隨 [陵]	■ ■	*16* (46 + fig.), *17* (33)	✓
18. *Gu* 蠱 [盅]	■ 0	*18* (46 + fig.)	
24. *Fu* 復 [遠]	0 0	*19* (7)	
25. *Wu wang* 无妄 [亡忘]	x ▪	*20* (30 + fig.), *21* (33)	
26. *Da chu* 大畜 [大筥]	▪ □	*22* (47 + fig.), *23* (15)	✓
27. *Yi* 頤	◥■ ◥■	*24* (41 + fig.), *25* (39)	✓
31. *Xian* 咸 [欽]	□ ◘	*26* (36 + fig.), *27* (14)	

10 As reported in Li Ling 2006, 56.

32. *Heng* 恆 [死]	◘	◘	*28* (46 + fig.), *29* (8)	✓
33. *Dun* 遯 [豚]	◘	◘	*30* (44 + fig.), *31* (16)	✓
38. *Kui* 睽 [癸]	◘	◘	*32* (32 + fig.), *33* (31), *34* (8)	
39. *Jian* 蹇 [訐]	▣	▣	*35* (44 + fig.), *36* (11)	
40. *Jie* 解 [繲]	▣	0	*37* (44 + fig.)	
43. *Guai* 夬	0	▣	*38* (42), *39* (19)	
44. *Gou* 姤 [敂]	▣	▣	*40* (39 + fig.), *41* (36)	✓
45. *Cui* 萃 [卒]	▣	0	*42* (40 + fig.)	
47. *Kun* 困	0	▣	*43* (20)	
48. *Jing* 井 [荂]	▣	▣	*44* (41 + fig.), *45* (42), *46* (1)	✓
49. *Ge* 革	◘	0	*47* (41 + fig.)	
52. *Gen* 艮	◘	◘	*48* (36 + fig.), *49* (26)	
53. *Jian* 漸	◘	0	*50* (42 + fig.)	
55. *Feng* 豐	0	◘	*51* (42), *52* (15)	
56. *Lü* 旅 [遊]	◘	0	*53* (43 + fig.)	
59. *Huan* 渙 [澣]	◙	◙	*54* (45 + fig.), *55* (25)	✓
62. *Xiao guo* 小過 [少𠂤]	0	◘	*56* (20)	
63. *Ji ji* 既濟 [既𣲘]	0	◙	*57* (34)	
64. *Wei ji* 未濟 [未𣲘]	0	0	*58* (26)	

The texts of SHZY and R are also very close, taking the form of exact word by word correspondences in most cases. There is no significant portion of text in the surviving SHZY chapters that does not find a matching counterpart in R. The discovery of the SHZY Chu manuscript has thus shown that the text of the *Zhouyi* had been fixed before the 3rd century BCE in basically the same structure and content as what has come down to us. It shows in particular that first, the titles of the hexagram chapters consistent with those in R existed all along. To put it more

precisely, the names in SHZY are written in variant character forms that are suspected as standing for the same names as the ones in R. Second, it shows that the line headings which designate the position (first through sixth) and identity (either solid or broken) of a line in a hexagram also existed in the same structure. The sequence of the six lines proceeds from the bottom line to the top, designated as *chu* 初, *er* 二, *san* 三, *si* 四, *wu* 五 and *shang* 上 while the 'solid' versus 'broken' are notated as *jiu* 九 versus *liu* 六 respectively. In transmitted early texts such as the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and *Guoyu* 國語, a hexagram line together with its assigned line statement is not referred to by the line heading, but instead by a pair of hexagrams whose figures differ from each other in the designated line. For example, the first (i.e., bottom) line of the *Zhun* ䷂ (Hex.4) is referred to as "*Zhun* zhi *Bi* 屯之比" 'the *Zhun* [hexagram]'s *Bi* [line]' by the fact that the hexagram *Bi* ䷇ (Hex.8) differs from *Zhun* in the bottom line while sharing with the latter the same five other lines.[11] [12] So at the time when the Mawangdui early Han manuscript was discovered with the same line headings as R, it was thought that the

11 *Shisan jing Zhushu* (1980 [2003]), "Chuqiu Zuozhuan Zhengyi 春秋左傳正義", vol.2, p. 2051.

12 The phrase "hexagram A *zhi* 之 hexagram B" appearing in the *Zuozhuan* refers to the line in hexagram A that is different from the line in the same position in hexagram B, given the fact that hexagrams A and B differ only in one line. The meaning of the word *zhi* may seem to be problematic, because neither of the two homophonous words normally written by the graph 之, viz., *zhi* 'to go', and *zhi*, 'possessive marker', sounds perfectly fitting in this context. I think that this phrase in fact is well interpreted with the particle *zhi*, i.e., as 'hexagram A's the hexagram B': the possessive particle indicates that the referent is something in hexagram A: it is 'hexagram A's something', and that 'something' is said as 'hexagram B', which means in the context 'the pertinent line with regard to hexagram B'. One might think that the verb *zhi* 'go' makes sense if it means 'change', as suggested in James Legge's translation (n.d., preface dated 1872), since it is about the *Yi* 易 '(the Book of) Changes'. The reason the possessive particle *zhi* is preferable is that the phrase occurs as a noun phrase, often as an object of a verb, rather than as a full sentence. Consider "觀之否" 'Hexagram Guan *zhi* Hexagram Fou' in the line: 周有以周易見陳侯者陳侯使筮之遇觀之否 (*Zuozhuan*, "莊公 Zhuang gong 22"), which Legge translated as "...there came one of the historiographers of Chow to see the marquis of Ch'in, having with him the Chow Yih. The marquis made him consult by milfoil..., when he found the diagram Kwan [Guan], and then by the change of manipulations the diagram P'ei [Fou]" (*ibid*., 103), where 觀之否 'Hexagram Guan *zhī* Hexagram Fou' is the direct object of the verb *yu* 遇 'encounter, find'. The particle *zhi* and verb *zhi* do not get confused with each other because of their distinct syntactic positions, and the *zhi* here does not appear syntactically ambiguous either. Note also that the possessive particle *zhi* has a nominalizing function which turns a subject- verb construction into a modifier -head one. This allows for the 'hexagram B' in the phrase 'Hexagram A *zhi* Hexagram B' to have a verbal meaning. When a noun (x) is used as a predicate, its meaning is usually 'to have the quality of x' or 'to behave like x', and the phrase with this function of *zhi* would mean 'hexagram

headings came into existence as late as the 3rd century BCE (Shaughnessy 1993: 218). We now know that the line headings existed at least one century earlier and suspect that they perhaps existed still earlier.

Apart from the differences in the script, character usages and variant graphic forms, textual variations between SHZY and R usually occur as alternations of synonymous words. Some examples are: the word *qi* 啓 of SHZY corresponding to *kai* 開 of R both meaning 'initiate' (Hex.7); *shi* 是 'this' to *shi* 實 '(this) indeed' (Hex.63); *yi* 以 to *yong* 用, both meaning 'use' (Hex.48); *zu* 足 'foot' to *fei* 腓 'calf' (body parts) (Hex.52); *zou* 走 'run' to *ben* 奔 'hurry, flee' (Hex.63); *chu* 處 to *ju* 居, both meaning 'reside, stay home' (Hex.17 and throughout the repeated occurrences of this word). Also, SHZY has *bang* 邦 'state' matching with *guo* 國 id. of R (Hex.7 and 15), for which we know for sure that the latter is a later change made to avoid the name of the first Han emperor, Liu Bang 劉邦 (r. 202–195 BCE).

Another pattern of variation appears in the textual positions for what may be called 'divinatory idioms', a peculiar feature of the *Zhouyi* as a book originally composed as a diviner's manual. There are two types of such idioms. One of them designates auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of various levels in the prognostication for an event divined about. Some examples of these are: *zhen ji* 貞吉 'it is a prognostication of auspiciousness' (literally 'ascertained auspicious'), *zhen lin* 貞吝 '~ of adversity', *zhen li* 貞厲 '~ of danger', *zhen xiong* 貞凶 '~ of disaster', *you hui* 有悔 'there will be regrets', *wu hui* 无悔 'no regrets', *hui wang* 悔亡 'regrets will be gone', *wu jiu* 无咎 'there will be no faults', *wu bu li* 无不利 'there will be nothing unbeneficial'. The other kind tells of advisability or timeliness of certain actions that potentially involve perils such as fording a big river, being in an offensive or defensive mode in military oppositions, meeting with a man of influence: e.g., [*bu*] *li she da chuan* [不]利涉大川 'it is [not] beneficial to ford a big river', *li jian da ren* 利見大人 'it is beneficial to meet with a great man', [*bu*] *li wei kou* [不]利為寇 'it is [not] beneficial to launch an attack', *li yu kou* 利禦寇 'it is beneficial to ward off an attack'.

SHZY and R are often different in the presence and absence of some of these idioms. The expressions prefixed with *zhen* 貞 also occur without the latter in the received *Zhouyi*, and the two versions often vary in the (non-) occurrence the *zhen* 貞 before the shared core words. Less frequently, one idiom alternates with another one. For example, SHZY has 利見大人 in one place where R has 利貞 (Hex.59) and the former has 亡不利 in another place where the latter has 貞吉

A's having the quality of (or behaving like) hexagram B', which is exactly the meaning that one would like to get at by re-interpreting the verb *zhi* 'go' as 'change into'.

(Hex.8). The *Hanshu* catalogue of the imperial library collection says that the *jinwen* 今文 version often lacks 无咎 and 悔亡 which are present in the *guwen* 古文 version (Chapter 30 "Yi wen zhi", 1704). In the case of SHZY and R, the variation does not show any sign of systematic editing or any sort of progression. Those expressions simply fluctuate between the two versions. In addition there is some variation in the presence or absence of grammatical function words. The two words *zhi* 之 'it, them' and *er* 而 'then, and yet' occasionally fluctuate between the two versions, and there is one case where SHZY lacks the word *qi* 其 'its' that is present in R (Hex.31). It is significant to note that none of these types of lexical variations results in substantial discrepancies between the two versions in the overall content and structure of the text.

1.4 The *Shuowen jiezi* in the light of the Warring States manuscripts

1.4.1 Three archaic scripts, *xiaozhuan*, *guwen* and *Zhouwen*

Xu Shen 許慎 in his *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (100 CE) dealt with three different phases of the early Chinese script: (i) the script of the pre-imperial Qin state, which has been referred to as the 'Small Seal' script since the Qin unification, (ii) the script known from Warring States manuscripts discovered or collected in the early Han period, which from that time on has been called the *guwen* 'Old Script' and (iii) the script represented by a work of the late Western Zhou period, the *Shi Zhou pian* 史籀篇, *Book of Scribe Zhou*. These three are referred to as *zhuanwen* 篆文 'Seal Script' (and also *xiaozhuan* 小篆 'Small Seal'), *guwen* 古文 and *Zhouwen* 籀文 (and also *dazhuan* 大篆 'Large Seal') respectively in the *Shuowen*. Xu Shen gives the Small Seal script form (better referred to as Qin Seal to clearly indicate its origin) as the heading of each entry and adds a *guwen* or *Zhouwen* form or both when these are distinct from their Qin Seal equivalent. The *Shuowen* is thus comprised of ca. 9350 entries headed by Qin Seal forms together with records of ca. 480 *guwen* and ca. 220 *Zhouwen* forms.[13]

If we simply judge by the numbers of character forms appearing in the *Shuowen* entries, the occurrences of the *guwen* and *Zhouwen* scripts would seem sparse and secondary to the Qin Seal script. The apparent preponderance of the Qin Seal script may in part be due to the availability of source materials. But what

13 The number of the Seal forms is after Ma Xulun (1970: 2), the *guwen* after Zeng Xiantong (1982: 276), and the *Zhouwen* after Wang Guowei (1976: 8).

is more significant is that Xu Shen did not intend to record all the *guwen* or *Zhouwen* forms which he had sources for, but instead tried to synthesize the three scripts, to represent what is common among them, and took the Qin Seal script as typical. Xu Shen explained in the postface: 今敘篆文以合古籀 "In the present [study], I will lay out the Seal Script so as to match it with the *guwen* and *Zhouwen* scripts (15a/763)."[14] In other words, Xu Shen regarded the three scripts as variant reflections of a single early writing system: an analysis of a Qin Seal form in the *Shuowen* is tantamount to an analysis of all forms. Consider the following *Shuowen* entries containing a *guwen* or *Zhouwen* or both forms.

一 惟初大極. 道立於一. 造分天地. 化成萬物. 凡一之屬皆从一.

弌古文一.

一 (the word *yi*) means 'unique, initiative, great, ultimate'. The Way is established on the 'one'. ['One'] creates the division between heaven and earth; it transforms

14 Duan Yucai (1735-1815) in his *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 elaborated the meaning of this brief statement as follows:

> 篆文謂小篆也, 古籀謂古文籀文也. 許重復古而其體例不先古文籀文者, 欲人由近古以攷古也. 小篆因古籀而不變者多, 故先篆文正所以說古籀也. 隸書則去古籀遠, 難以推尋. 故必先小篆也. 其有小篆已改古籀. 古籀異於小篆者則以古籀駙小篆之後, 曰古文作某 籀文作 某. 此全書之通例也 (15a/763-64).

> 'Zhuanwen' refers to the Small Seal script. 'Guzhou' refers to the *guwen* and *Zhouwen* scripts. The reason Xu Shen did not set the presentation format to give *guwen* and *Zhouwen* characters first while repeatedly emphasizing the archaic scripts is that he wanted people to take as a starting point what is near archaic to examine the archaic. Since Small Seal forms in many cases have not changed from *guwen* or *Zhouwen* characters, so (Xu Shen) by putting the Small Seal script first as a point of reference explained the *guwen* and *Zhouwen*. Clerical script is distant from the *guwen* and *Zhouwen*, so it is difficult to infer the last two from it. Thus Xu Shen should have had to put the Small Seal first. How could he presumptuously alter the *guwen* and *Zhouwen* on the basis of the Small Seal! (H. Park: This comment seems to allude to a possible misinterpretation of the phrase 今敘篆文以合古籀) When a given *guwen* or *Zhouwen* form is distinct form its Seal form counterpart, Xu Shen appended the *guwen* or *Zhouwen* form after the Seal form saying, 'the *guwen* form is rendered such and such', or 'the *Zhouwen* form is rendered such and such'. This format is generally followed throughout the book.

and completes the myriad things. In general words [whose meanings can be] classified under the category of 'one' are written with the component 一.  is a *guwen* form for 一 (1a/1).[15]

 以盛民也, 从土成. 成亦聲.  籀文城从亩 .

城 (the word *cheng* 'protective wall') is that by which the citizens are contained. [The Seal form] is composed of 土 'ground' and 成 'accomplish'. The latter is also the phonetic component. is a *Zhouwen* form for 城, which has the component 亩 instead (13b/ 688).

 等量物也, 从刀貝. 貝古之物貨也.  古文則, 籀文則, 从鼎.

則 (the word *ze*) means 'object for measuring quantity'. [The Seal form] is composed of 刀 'knife' and 貝 'cowrie shell'. The latter denoted the meaning 'material value' in ancient times. is a *guwen* form for the character 則, a *Zhouwen* for 則. It has the component 鼎 instead (4b/179).[16]

1.4.2 The *xiaozhuan* 'Small Seal script' as a regional variety of the Warring States script

The name 'Seal Script' (篆文) refers to the use of this script for the formal purpose of making seal inscriptions. As Xu Shen used it, on the one hand this term reflects the situation of Xu Shen's own time, during which the former dynasty's script was preserved as an artistic calligraphic style used for inscribing seals. At the same time the term tells something of the nature of the source materials that Xu Shen had access to. It is known since the discovery, in 1975 of the Shuihudi 睡虎地 (Yunmeng 雲夢 county, Hubei Province) bamboo and wood tablet texts, consisting of Qin legal and administrative documents dating from the mid-3rd century BCE, that a script type distinctively simpler in style than the Qin Seal script had

15 The form 弋 is attested in a bronze inscription from the Qi state of the late S.A. period (ca.500 BCE). ("Genghu 庚壺", JC 9733). We also find the form  (Qiong 14) in excavated Warring States Chu manuscripts. The two graphs 弋 'staff' and 戈 'halberd' are often confused (CWZ: 11).

16 The Chu script form (Yu-3, 28) consisting of 鼎 and 刃 (interchangeable with 刀) preserves the old structure. Compare a late Western Zhou form (散盤). The Qin form diverges from the latter in substituting the 鼎 by a simpler and graphically similar component, 貝. But simplified variants in which the original component 鼎 is obscured also existed in the Chu script: (Cheng 9) and (Zi 31).

been fully developed by that time in Qin. This simpler script approaches the form of the Han clerical script, with the curling and flaring lines that were characteristic of the early Chinese writing turned into straight strokes. In this script we also find the emergence of the precursors of 氵 and 忄, the reduced allographs of 水 and 心 respectively.[17]

This script, represented by the Shuihudi manuscript corpus, is thus referred to as the Qin clerical script. The Qin Seal script on the other hand appears in such Qin dynasty artifacts as official seals, stone steles, edict plates and standard measurement vessels. Based on this distribution we presume that by the late Warring State period the Qin Seal script in the Qin state was reserved for epigraphic use while it was superseded by the Qin clerical script for everyday use.

Xu Shen suggests in his postface that he had at his disposal as sources of the Seal Script a series of three books, viz., the *Cang Jie pian* 倉頡篇, *Yuanli pian* 爰歷篇 and *Boxue pian* 博學篇.[18] These books were compiled during the Qin dynasty for the purpose of script standardization:

17 All Shuihudi Qin manuscript forms cited in this study are from *Shuihudi Qin jian Wenzi bian* 睡虎地秦簡文字編 by Zhang Shouzhong (1994).

18 Ban Gu under the listing of "*Cang Jie yipian* 倉頡一篇" in the "Yiwenzhi" chapter notes that a certain "lüli shushi 閭里書師" ('village school teacher') after the rise of the Han combined the three *pian* of *Cang Jie*, *Yuanli* and *Boxue* to make one book titled *Cang Jie pian* in fifty-five chapters (*zhang*), each chapter with sixty characters (*Hanshu* 30.1721). Several manuscripts of Han dynasty versions of the *Cang Jiepian* have been found, in all cases in Han clerical script (see Sun Shuxia 2013). Among them, one in particular, found at Fuyang, is a redaction based on the Qin dynasty version of the work. See Hu Pingsheng 胡平生 and Han Ziqiang 韓自強, "Cang Jie pian de chubu yanjiu" <倉頡篇>的初步研究, *Wenwu* 1983.2: 35-40; Fuyang hanjian zhenglizu 阜陽汉简整理组, "Fuyang Hanjian Cang Jie pian" 阜陽汉简仓颉篇, *Wenwu* 1983.2: 24-34; Gansu Juyan kaogudui 甘肅居考古队, "Juyan Handai yizhi de fa jue he xin chutu de jiance wenwu" 居延汉代遗址的发掘和新出土的简册文物, *Wenwu* 1978.1: 1-25.

> 始皇帝初兼天下. 丞相李斯奏同之. 罷其不與秦文和者. 李斯作倉頡篇, 中車府令趙高作爰歷篇, 大史令胡母敬作博學篇, 皆取史籀大篆或頗省改. 所謂小篆者也(15a/758).
>
> The First Emperor for the first time unified the empire. Chancellor Li Si assisted him in achieving the unification. [On this event] they abolished those which do not agree with the Qin script. Li Si compiled the *Cang Jie pian*, Director of Mid-carriage Treasury Zhao Gao compiled the *Yuanli pian* and Director of Grand scribes Humu Jing compiled the *Boxuepian*; for all these they took the characters from the *Shi Zhou* in the Large seal script in some cases simplifying the forms. This is so called the Small seal script.

What constitutes the identity of the Qinwen 秦文 'the Qin script' in the context of "abolishing those which do not conform with the Qin script", i.e., standardization by the norms of the Qin script, becomes clear when we compare the Shuihudi Qin manuscripts (SHD) with the Qin Seal (QS) script. In nearly all cases, the character forms in these two Qin script sources agree with each other in their structure. Exceptions to this structural congruency fall into three categories. In such cases as QS  for the word *jì* 祭 'sacrifice' varying with SHD  and QS  for the word *zàng* 葬 'burial' with SHD  , the differences involve classifier variations, viz., 又 '(right-)hand ~ 攵 'treat' and 艸 'grass' ~ 竹 'bamboo', which are routinely observed in the writings of the Warring States period. But even the characters with such freely varying classifiers are consistent between the QS and SHD most of the time. There are a handful cases of simplification, QS  for *xué* 學 'learn' appearing in a simplified variant SHD  without the component 攵, and the QS form []  for *xiàng* 巷 'alley' reduced to SHD [巷]  . Apart from those cases of simplification and predictable classifier variation, we find a couple of significant variants, QS  for *yě* 野 'wild' contrasting with SHD [壄]  and QS  for *tǐ* 體 'structure' with SHD [體]  . Li Si and others would have used their judgment to select the forms to register as the standard in cases such as these. The congruency between the two different Qin script sources is demonstrated in the following examples.

Structural congruency between the Qin Seal and *Shuihudi* Qin manuscript forms

Word	Qin Seal	Shuihudi	Word	Qin Seal	Shuihudi
shā 沙 ‘sand’			*mò* 沒 ‘sink’		
fǎ 法 (灋) ‘law’			*yǐn* 飲 ‘drink’		
guài 怪 ‘odd’			*huái* 懷 ‘embrace’		
yù 獄 ‘jail’			*dú* 獨 ‘alone’		
tīng 聽 ‘listen’			*shēng* 聲 ‘sound’		
wén 聞 ‘hear’			*dì* 地 ‘ground’		
suì 歲 ‘year’			*tú* 徒‘follow’		
móu 謀 ‘plot’			*bài* 敗 ‘defeat’		
rén 仁 ‘humane’			*lín* 鄰 ‘neighbor’		
jiàn 堅 ‘firm’			*níng* 寧 ‘peace’		
jiāo 教 ‘teach’			*wàng* 望 ‘look afar’		
nán 難 ‘difficult’			*fù* 負 ‘liable’		
mào 貿 ‘trade’			*jiě* 解 ‘loosen’		
lì 利 ‘profit’			*xìn* 信 ‘trust’		

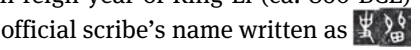
The character structures of the Qin script underlying the QS and SHD forms differ from those of the Chu script in a number of cases. Among the items presented above, the Chu versions have different character forms in the cases below. In this part of the discussion we define the Chu character structure by a dominant character form attested several times over different manuscript corpora discovered in the Chu region, with occasional variants set aside. The manuscript examples are taken from the *Guodian Chumu Zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡.

Orthographic variation between Qin and Chu scripts

word	Qin script	Chu script	Chu ms forms
wén 聞 'hear'	聞	𦔻	 (Yu-4, 24)
dì 地 'ground'	地	陡	 (Qiong 5)
suì 歲 'year'	歲	戉	 (Tai 4)
tīng 聽 'listen'	聽	聖	 (Yu-1, 50)
tú 徒 'follow'	徒	遢	 (Wu 17)
móu 謀 'plot'	謀	𢘑	 (Yu-3, 31)
bài 敗 'defeat'	敗	散	 (LZ-C, 12)
rén 仁 'humane'	仁	𢘑	 (Yu-1, 82)
lín 鄰 'neighbor'	鄰	𠂤	 (LZ-A, 9)

In sum, the Qin Seal script as represented in the *Shuowen jiezi*, based on sources from the Qin dynasty is the traditional script from the point of the Qin dynasty, which reflects the regional script of the Qin during the Warring States period.

1.4.3 The identity of the *Zhouwen* 'Script of Scribe Zhou' and *guwen* 'Old script'

The *Shi Zhou pian*, the source of the *Shuowen*'s *Zhouwen* 籀文 is said to have been compiled at the time of King Xuan 宣 (r. 827 – 782) of the Western Zhou in both the *Hanshu* bibliography and *Shuowen*. Ban Gu (CE 32–92) notes that the Grand Scribe Zhou 籀 compiled the book in fifteen chapters intended to be used as a children's textbook, nine of which were lost during the Jianwu 建武 period (CE 25–57).[19] Locating the figure "Scribe Zhou" in the late Western Zhou history was problematic as neither the *Shiji* nor *Hanshu* provides a clear record for this. Only with the bronze vessel 趞 鼎 "Ma (?) ding" inscription, first published in 1982, do we get primary textual reference to the name (Chen Zhaorong 2003: 17 – 19). This bronze inscription, dated to the nineteenth reign year of King Li (ca. 860 BCE) who is the father of King Xuan, records an official scribe's name written as  [史留].[20] The graphic connection of the latter with the 史籀 "Shizhou" can be hardly dismissed as a coincidence.[21] Chen Peifen (1982: 19) who first noted the significance of this name "史留" in connection with the *Shi Zhou pian* adds that since the reign of King Xuan began some thirty years after the nineteenth year of King Li, it makes sense that Scribe Zhou was promoted to the position of grand scribe by that time.

It is implicitly suggested by the presentation of the *Shuowen* that the late Western Zhou script as represented by the *Shi Zhou pian*, a work of the late ninth century BCE, was transmitted largely in its original style down to the Warring States period. We can confirm through Western and Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions in comparison with discovered Warring States bamboo texts that this is in

19 *Hanshu* 30.1719 and 1721.

20 The inscription reads: 隹 (唯) 十又九年四月既望辛卯. 王才 (在) 周康卲(昭)宮. 各(格)于大室. 即立 (位).宰訊右趞入門立中廷. 北卿 (嚮) 史留受王令書... (JC 2815) "It was the nineteenth year [of the King], fourth month and declining brightness (i.e., the third week), *xinmao* day. The King was at Kang Zhao temple. He arrived at the grand Hall and assumed the position. Minister Xun and Minister on the Right Ma (?) stood in the center of the courtyard. Facing north, Scribe Zhou received the king's edict".

21 The modern Chinese reading *zhòu* follows the Middle Chinese sound gloss to the word by Yan Shigu 嚴師古 in his commentary to the *Hanshu*: 籀音胄 "籀 is read 胄 (*zhòu* < MC *drjuwH*) (p. 1720). This MC reading is strange because the character 留 contains 卯 as its phonophoric which suggests a syllable type ***(m)-ru** : Cf. 卯 *mǎo* < *mræwX* <***mmru?** '4th of the earthly branch' and 留 *liú* < *ljuw* < ***ru** 'stay'. However, whether we read the character 籀 like *liu* or *zhou* is irrelevant to the fact that the bronze form 留 in question can be identified with the 籀. I will keep using the traditional reading *zhòu*, since it is the identity of the book and author's name "史籀" that is at issue here.

fact quite true. Also, several of the *Zhouwen* forms cited in the *Shuowen* are attested in sources as late as Warring States Qin inscriptions, such as the 詛楚文 "Zu Chu wen" (ca. 312 BCE)[22] and in recently discovered Chu bamboo texts from ca. 350 – 300 BCE (He Linyi 2003: 37 – 39). Recall that *Zhouwen* forms are given only when they are different from the Qin Seal or *guwen* forms. This suggests that the character forms in the *Shi Zhou pian* that struck Xu Shen as distinct from Qin Seal forms or *guwen* forms based on his sources in fact often remained in use as variant forms in various regional scripts of the Warring States period.

Xu Shen's major source of the *guwen* script characters was a collection of manuscript copies of early texts including the *Shangshu* 尚書, *Liji* 禮記 and *Chunqiu* 春秋 which, according to an account of Xu Shen's time, repeated in Han time sources such as the *Hanshu* (ca. CE 82) and *Lunheng* 論衡 by Wang Chong 王充 (CE 27–97?), were discovered at the old home of Confucius in the palace area of Prince Gong of Lu (d. 130 BCE).[23]

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22 See He Linyi (2003, 36-37) and Chen Zhaorong (2003, 25-33) for comparisons of the *Shuowen Zhouwen* forms with forms in materials from the Qin and other regions.

23 *Hanshu* 30.1706 and *Lunheng*, "Zhengshuo 正說" (p. 552 in the *Lunheng jije* edited by Liu Pansui [1957]).

Sima Qian (ca. 145-ca. 86 BCE) in his *Shiji* says: 孔氏有古文尚書, 而安國以今文讀之, 因以起其家 (*Shiji* 31.3125) "the Kong family possessed the *Shangshu* in the archaic script, and Anguo (ca. 156–74 BCE) read it by using the current version. He thereby started his own school of interpretation". This line comes in a passage on the Confucian scholar Fu Sheng 伏生 (fl. 289–179 BCE) who brought a pre-imperial edition of the *Shangshu* back to circulation after the turmoil of the great Qin book burning. Fu Sheng, who was native of Jinan served as an erudite (博士) in the Qin dynasty. He hid his copy of the *Shangshu* in the wall of his house. After the rise of Han, he was able to retrieve only twenty nine chapters, with more than ten chapters having been lost. He taught this *Shangshu* version in his hometown Jinan area, and Kong Anguo studied with one of Fu Sheng's disciples' disciples. Anguo at that time attained the *guwen* version of the *Shangshu* that was held by the Kong family, read it comparing it with the current version, and obtained over ten chapters that are not found in the latter (ibid).

Sima Qian simply says that the Kong family had a copy of *guwen Shangshu* and does not relate this fact with a historical event or discovery. We find a clue to this curious contrast between the Later Han account and this Early Han historian's record in the chapter 六國年表 "Liuguo nianbiao" (Chapter 15) where Sima Qian explains his sources of the Warring States period history.

> 秦既得意, 燒天下詩書, 諸侯史記尤甚, 為其有所刺譏也, 詩書所以復見者, 多藏人家, 而史記獨藏周室, 以故滅. 惜哉, 惜哉! 獨有秦記, 又不載日月, 其文略不具... 余於是因秦記, 踵春秋之後, 起周元王, 表六國時事, 訖二世, 凡二百七十年, 著諸所聞興壞之端 (15.686-87) .

> 壁中書者魯恭王壞孔子宅而得禮記, 尚書, 春秋, 又北平侯張蒼獻春秋左氏傳. 郡國亦往往於山川得鼎彝, 其銘即前代之古文皆自相似. 雖叵復見源流其詳可得略說也 (15a/ 757–761).
>
> As for the texts from the wall of Confucius's home, Prince Gong of Lu had Confucius' home torn down and [unexpectedly] obtained the *Liji*, *Shangshu* and *Chunqiu*. Subsequently, Zhang Cang, the lord of Beiping, presented the *Zuo Commentary of Chunqiu* [written in *guwen*]. Also ding-cauldrons and other sorts of ritual vessels were found occasionally in the mountains and valleys everywhere, inscriptions on which were all similar to the previously known *guwen* script. Even though we can no longer see the origin of the *guwen*, we can still give a rough explanation for it.

This note clearly shows that the *guwen* as presented in the *Shuowen* is a system of archaic script that accounts for the discovered *guwen* texts as well as other literary texts or bronze inscriptions collected during Early Han times. Xu Shen distinguished specific facts of the *guwen* script that he could see through the character forms extant and available to him from the script itself as an abstract entity that represented the writings of a certain time and place. Xu Shen implicitly suggests in the following comment that the *guwen* was formed at least by late Spring and Autumn period, and was widely circulated during the Eastern Zhou period.

> After the Qin accomplished their goal, they burnt all (the copies) of the *Shijing* and *shangshu*. The historiographies of the feudal states in particular were a target of this book burning for the reason that they contained severe criticism (of the Qin state). **The *Shijing* and *Shujing* have reappeared, because copies of them are often held in private homes.** But the historiographies were preserved only in the Zhou archive, so they were all destroyed. How regrettable! How regrettable! The record of the Qin state is the only one remaining, but it is lacking the records of the months and days, and its composition is largely defective...So following from Spring and Autumn period based on the *Chunqiu*, I rely on the record of the Qin to present the events of the Six States in a table beginning from King Yuan of Zhou and ending at the Second Emperor. This table covers two hundred and seventy years, in which I wrote all I know about the rise and fall of this period.

We can see from this passage that it was common in Sima Qian's time to see pre-imperial copies of early texts. Copies of the *Shijing* and *Shangshu* were many, and those of such texts as the *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing* would have been likewise frequently seen. If Sima Qian had seen a *guwen* version of the *Chunqiu*, he did not mention it because there was probably no notable difference between the current and old versions.

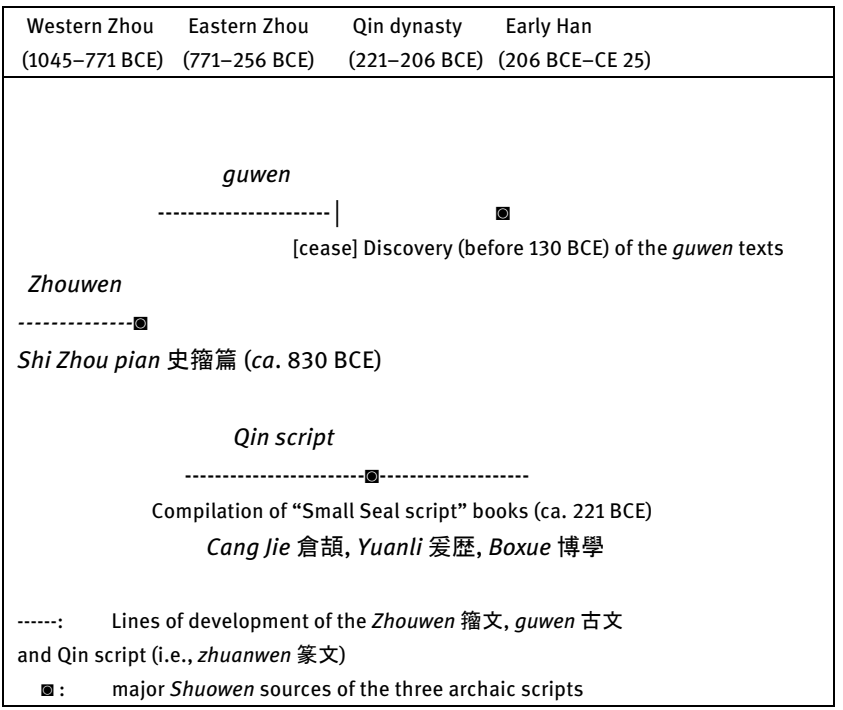
Sima Qian testified to the existence of the *guwen Shangshu* that came from the Lu region where the Kong family was located even though he did not note on the precise time of discovery. Perhaps the discovery of the "Confucius's wall texts" is only one of many incidents of the recovery of pre-imperial texts during the Early Han period, and came to be singled out and developed into an historical anecdote after Sima Qian's time.

及宣王大史籀著大篆十五篇與古文或異, 至孔子書六經左丘明述春秋傳皆以古文(15a/757).

When it came to the time of King Xuan (of Western Zhou), Grand Scribe Zhou authored the book of Large Seal script in fifteen chapters, [character forms of which are] sometimes different from the *guwen*. By the time when Confucius was writing the Six Classics and Zuo Qiuming was transmitting the commentary to the *Chunqiu*, they were all using the *guwen*.

The chart summarizes Xu Shen's explanation on the origins and sources of the *Zhouwen*, *guwen* and Qin seal scripts.

Development of the three scripts as explained by Xu Shen



One would presume that the "Confucius's wall texts", which served as the major source of the *guwen* script in the *Shuowen*, were probably Warring States manuscripts written on bamboo strips, locally produced in the eastern Qi-Lu region. But the Han textual sources do not provide any information of that sort, which would be crucial to the identity of the *guwen* script. That the *guwen* in fact represents the writings of the Warring States period is confirmed by the comparison of

the *guwen* forms with discovered Warring States sources. The *guwen* forms show features of the Warring States script appearing in a variety of regional scripts.[24] As Warring States materials are overwhelmingly from the Chu region, (in particular, bamboo texts from regions other than the Qin are entirely from the Chu region), the *guwen* attestations also most frequently come from the Chu script. Below are examples of Shanghai "Zhouyi" Chu manuscript characters that find compatible forms among the *Shuowen guwen* forms.

Shuowen *guwen* and Shanghai *Zhouyi* manuscript forms

word	Qin Seal	Guwen	Shanghai "Zhouyi"
wǎng 往 'go toward' (2b/76)[25]			[迬]  (str.30)
hòu 後 'posterity' (2b/77)			[逡]  (str.9)
yá 牙 'tusk' (2b/80)			[𤔔]  (str.23)
hù 户 'household' (12a/586)			[屎]  (str.52)
gé 革 'raw-hide' (3b/107)			[鞃]  (str.47)
lì 利 'sharp' (4b/178)			[秎]  (str.1)

24 See He Linyi (2003: 45-55) for a list of over 170 *Shuowen guwen* forms, compatible forms of which are attested in excavated Warring States sources from various regions such as the Chu, Jin (represented by the 侯馬盟書 "Houma mengshu" corpus), Zhongshan (the 中山王 "Zhongshan Wang Cuo" bronze corpus).

25 The reference number is the chapter and page number in the *Shuowen Jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 (Shanghai, Shanghai guji, 1981 [2003]).

miào 廟 'ancestral temple' (9b/446)	[廟] 	[廟] 	[宙]  (str.52)
wén 聞 'hear' (12a/592)			[聞]  (str.38)
héng 恆 'constant' (13b/681)	[恆] 		[死]  (str.15)
biǎo 表 'outer-garment' (8a/389–90)	[表] 	[襮] 	[麃]  (str.6)

Notes to the table

a. In the cases of 往 and 後, the *guwen* forms have in common an additional component 止 'step'. In the early Chinese script 彳 'road' and 止 'step' are often used interchangeably, and also often in combination with each other. The combination of the two gives the modern clerical form 辶 (辵).

b. The *guwen* variants of 牙 and 戶 have added semantic components, 臼 'grinder' and 木 'wood'. This type of structural augmentation took place extensively in the Warring States script.

c. The QS [廟] derives from the Western Zhou form  (虢季子白盤).[26] The component on the right side of in the latter is replaced by a graphically similar component 舟 in the QS, which in turn is replaced by 月 in clericization. The alternation between 月 and 舟 is seen again, in the character for *héng* 恆 'constant': QS has 舟 and *guwen* has 夕, a variant of 月. In this case, the original Western Zhou form is 月 (夕):  (恒簋). The use of the phonophoric 苗 seems to be a Warring States innovation, widespread in regions other than the Qin state. The two components 广 'building' and 宀 'roof' are often used interchangeably in the Warring States script. See the form 廟  (中山王壺) with 广 'roof' in the Zhongshan bronze corpus.

26 Bronze inscription characters which are cited with the names of the bronze vessels where the inscriptions belong, are from *Jinwen bian* 金文編 by Rong Geng (1985 [2005]), except that Zhongshan Wang Cuo 中山王嚳 bronze inscription characters are from *Zhongshan Wang Cuo qi Wenzi bian* 中山王嚳 器文字 編 by Zhang Shouzhong (1981). The bronze vessel names are given in Chinese characters only. Those from two other sources, *Yin Zhou Jinwen Jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所, 1984-1994) and *Shang Zhou Qingtongqi Mingwen xuan* 商周青銅器銘文選 (Ma Chengyuan 馬承源 ed. 1987-1990) are cited with the inscription numbers in these publications, and the vessel names are given only when they are pertinent to the discussion.

d. The *guwen* form for the word *wén* < ***mən** 聞 'hear' has the component 昏 (Cf. *hūn* < ***hmmən** 昏 'dusk') instead of 門 (Cf. *mén* < ***mmən** 門 'door'). The alternating phonetic components are equivalent in their functional values, both representing the syllable type ***Mən** (i.e., bilabial initial with the Old Chinese rhyme *-ən). This *guwen* character form is also found in the Zhongshan bronze corpus:  (中山王鼎).

e. The QS [袁] for the word *biǎo* < ***praw?** 表 'outer-garment' has the phonetic component 毛 (Cf. *máo* < ***mmaw** 毛 'body hair') whereas the *guwen* [襮] has 麃 (Cf. *páo* < ***bbraw** 麃 'kind of deer'). In this case also the alternating phonetic components are equivalent in their functional values, viz., ***Maw~*Paw**. The component 火 in the received standard 麃 distinguishes the latter from 鹿 which stands for *lù* < ***rruk** 'deer'. In the SHZY character, the graph 鹿 indicates the value *páo* < ***bbraw** without the 火.

The agreement between the *guwen* and Chu characters such as the cases cited above does not necessarily mean that Xu Shen's sources of *guwen* were from the Chu region. There are two factors to consider. First, the contrast between the Qin Seal forms and the *guwen* forms often manifests variations typical of the Chinese writings of the Warring States period. So the Chu script, while having a form matching the *guwen* is also likely to have another variant form consistent with the Qin Seal form. In this case, the *guwen* form contrasting with its Seal form counterpart is to be found in one regional script or another. Second, there is the possibility that a given *guwen* form could be a form shared by various regional scripts including Chu. In this case, the Chu script is a representative of the many non-Qin regional scripts. Overall the Qin Seal and *guwen* scripts as represented in the *Shuowen* are two phases of the same early Chinese writing system, whose contrasting forms occupy only a small portion of their inventories.

The sources and nature of the three early Chinese scripts in the *Shuowen jiezi* are summarized as below.

1. Xu Shen regarded the Qin Seal (*xiaozhuan*), *guwen* and *Zhouwen* scripts as a single Chinese writing system, the script of the Zhou era (1045–221 BCE).
2. Xu Shen's sources of the Qin Seal script characters are character books (*zishu* 字書) and epigraphic sources produced during the Qin dynasty. This Seal script of the Qin dynasty reflects the Qin regional script of the Warring States period.
3. Xu Shen's sources of the *guwen* characters are in the main the texts discovered in the early Han period originating from the Qi-Lu region during the Warring States period. Apart from these, the sources also included Warring States text copies from various regions collected by and offered to the state

in the early Han period. So the *guwen* script, even with the significant infusion of the Qi-Lu script, is most fairly and safely defined as a composite of various regional scripts of the Warring States period.

4. Therefore a given contrast between a Qin Seal form and its *guwen* equivalent in the *Shuowen jiezi* represents a case of regional variants between the pre-imperial Qin script and a non-Qin regional script.