

Newly Excavated Confucian Bamboo Manuscripts and Related Research

Sixin DING 丁四新

Qiannan ZHAO 趙乾男

Abstract

The primary purpose of this article is to comprehensively survey the research on excavated Confucian texts from the past 30 years. Newly excavated Confucian manuscripts are seen in such collections as those from Guodian 郭店, Shangbo 上博, Tsinghua 清華, Anda 安大, and Haihun 海昏. In terms of their content, they each have their own focus and characteristics. Among these bamboo manuscripts there is a large number dedicated to the *Shijing* 詩經, the *Shujing* 書經, the *Liji* 禮記, the *Yijing* 易經, and to Kongzi 孔子 making them of great importance. At present, research on the Guodian and the Shangbo manuscripts is mostly completed and that into the Tsinghua collection is making large strides while research into the Anda collection is just beginning to develop. Among all this research, one of the weakest areas revolves around the explanation and discussion of Confucian thought and related problems. This includes textual evidence in the form of excavated Confucian texts that provide a foundation for “leaving behind the age of doubting antiquity” (*zouchu yigu shidai* 走出疑古時代) and the related debates carried out by scholars are beneficial to transmitting and revising this theory.

Keywords: Warring states bamboo manuscripts, Confucian texts, doubting antiquity, interpreting antiquity

Novoizkopani konfucijanski bambusovi rokopisi in z njimi povezane raziskave

Izvilleček

Osnovni namen tega članka je celovit pregled raziskav izkopanih konfucijanskih besedil v zadnjih 30 letih. Na novo izkopani konfucijanski rokopisi so predstavljeni v zbirkah, kot so tiste iz mest Guodian 郭店, Shangbo 上博, Tsinghua 清華, Anda 安大 in Haihun 海昏. Vsebinsko so vsak po svoje osredotočeni in imajo svoje značilnosti. Med temi bambusovimi rokopisi je veliko število posvečenih *Shijingu* 詩經, *Shujingu* 書經, *Lijiju* 禮記, *Yijingu* 易經 in *Kongziju* 孔子, zato so zelo pomembni. Trenutno so raziskave rokopisov iz krajev Guodian in Shangbo večinoma končane, raziskave zbirke iz kraja Tsinghua

* Sixin DING 丁四新, School of Humanities, Tsinghua University.
Email address: dingsixin@mail.tsinghua.edu.cn

** Qiannan ZHAO 趙乾男, School of Humanities, Tsinghua University.
Email address: zgn19@mails.tsinghua.edu.cn



močno napredujejo, medtem ko se raziskave zbirke iz Andaja šele razvijajo. Med vsemi temi raziskavami se eno najšibkejših področij vrti okoli razlage in razprave o konfucijanski misli in z njo povezanih problemih. To vključuje besedilne dokaze v obliki izkopanih konfucijanskih besedil, ki zagotavljajo podlago za »opustitev dobe dvomljive starine« (*zouchu yigu shidai* 走出疑古時代), s tem povezane razprave, ki jih izvajajo znanstveniki, pa so koristne za posredovanje in revizijo te teorije.

Ključne besede: bambusovi rokopisi vojskujočih se držav, konfucijanska besedila, dvom o starodavnosti, interpretacija starodavnosti

Preface¹

There were two great discoveries of pre-Qin texts in historical times. The first was at the beginning of the Western Han when King Gong Lu discovered a large number of hand-copied Confucian manuscripts in the walls of Kongzi's 孔子 (Confucius) old home during its demolition, including the *Guwen shangshu* 古文尚書, *Liji* 禮記, *Lunyu* 論語, *Xiaojing* 孝經 and many more.² These have thus been referred to as the “ancient writings of Kongzi’s walls” (*kongbi guwen* 孔壁古文). These texts are all pre-Qin texts and were probably hidden in the walls to avoid the burning of the books carried out during the Qin dynasty. The other great discovery came in the Western Jin period during the reign of Emperor Wu (236–290 CE), when people found a great cache of bamboo books in a Warring States tomb in the Ji 汲 county (modern day Weihui in Henan), which have historically been referred to as “Jizhong bamboo books” (*jizhong zhushu* 汲冢竹書). However, it is unfortunate that other than a few particular instances, most of these texts have not been transmitted through history to today.

With the excavation of bamboo books in Zidanku 子彈庫 in 1942, the third great period of the discovery of ancient Chinese texts began. This discovery, in addition to those of 1972 and 1993, together constitute three stages of this period. In 1972, a great number of texts written on bamboo slips was discovered at Linyi 臨沂 Yinqueshan 銀雀山 in Shandong province. Afterwards, a series

1 This article was published in Chinese by Ding Sixin in 2023 as “Xinchu Rujia jiandu wenxian ji qi yanjiu” 新出儒家簡牘文獻及其研究, *Kongzi yanjiu* 孔子研究 (Confucian Studies) 4: 111–23. It has since been revised and updated by Zhao Qiannan, and was translated into English by Kelvin J. Turner (HKBU).

2 Since this article is aimed at scholars who have a good foundation regarding Chinese philosophy and excavated texts, We will not translate book titles of either first- or second-hand materials in the body of the article in order to guarantee a certain degree of readability. Only publication dates will be provided for essays, books, and annotated collections within the body of the article. Full bibliographical information has been removed from the footnotes and can be found in the References. – Translator

of discoveries was made at Bajiaolang 八角廊 Han tombs (1973), Mawangdui 馬王堆 Han tombs (1973), Shuanggudui 雙古堆 Han tombs (1977), Zhangjiashan 張家山 Han tombs (1984), Cili 慈利 Chu tombs (1987), and Jiudian 九店 Chu tombs (1980–1989). These bamboo and silk manuscripts include such texts as the *Wuxing* 五行, *Lunyu*, *Shijing*, *Zhouyi* 周易, *Guoyu* 國語, *Yizhoushu* 逸周書, and other Confucian texts. In 1993, Tomb No. 1 at Guodian 郭店 in Jingmen 荊門 in Hubei produced the *Wuxing*, *Ziyi* 緇衣, *Xing zi ming chu* 性自命出, *Liude* 六德 and more than ten other Confucian texts in addition to versions of the *Laozi* 老子 and the *Taiyi sheng shui* 太一生水. This discovery has had a great impact. Following this, a subsequent series of discoveries was made in the Shangbo 上博 (Shanghai Museum) (1994), Tsinghua 清華 (2008), Beida 北大 (Peking University) (2009), Anda 安大 (Anhui University) (2015), Haihun 海昏 (2015), Xiajiatai 夏家台 (2015), and the Wangjiazui 王家嘴 (2021) collections, among others. These collections also contain a large number of Confucian texts.

Correlated with the abovementioned three periods, there are three definitions of so-called “newly excavated texts” (*xinchu wenxian* 新出文獻). The first definition is related to the discoveries of the Western Han and Western Jin and refers to the pre-Qin texts discovered after 1942; the second definition refers to the texts excavated or discovered from after 1972; and the third refers to the ancient texts excavated or discovered after 1993. This article mostly follows the third definition. Because all of the ancient pre-Qin texts discovered after 1993 are written on bamboo rather than silk, we can therefore directly refer to them as newly excavated bamboo slip texts. Because there are few whole texts we can refer to these as bamboo slip manuscripts. The phrase “newly excavated Confucian bamboo texts” refers to the Confucian texts written on bamboo materials discovered over the past 20 and 30 years.

By “Confucian texts” (*rujia wenxian* 儒家文獻) this article means those texts that contain ideas which are Confucian in nature. Generally speaking, the scholarly fields of Chinese classical studies and Confucian studies determine which texts are “Confucian” according to the information contained in the *Hanshu* “Yiwenzhi” 漢書·藝文志. It is usually thought that the texts in “six arts” category and those marked as Confucian in the “masters” category mentioned in this text are all considered to belong to the larger category of “Confucian texts”. This categorization, however, excludes those texts which are recorded as for elementary education. Furthermore, this article also surveys such texts as the *Shifa* 筮法 from the Tsinghua bamboo collection, the *Guizang* 歸藏 from the Qin bamboo collection, and others that are helpful in solving problems related to the characteristics and origin of the hexagrams in the *Zhouyi* 周易.

The primary purpose of this article is to comprehensively survey the research on excavated Confucian texts from the past 30 years. In terms of methodology, Li Xueqin's 李學勤 idea of "leaving behind the period of doubting antiquity" (*zou-chu yigu shidai* 走出疑古時代) has been highly influential and is closely related to excavated texts. Therefore, this article will also briefly introduce Li's theory and the debates surrounding it.

Newly Excavated Warring States Confucian Bamboo Texts and Related Research

Since 1993 a large number of bamboo slip manuscripts have been excavated in the ancient territory of Chu 楚, including many Confucian texts. At present, there is no lack of research on manuscripts from the Guodian, Shangbo, or Tsinghua collections, and research is just getting underway on the collection from Anda. The following paragraphs will provide a brief overview of the research on each collection in the chronological order of their discovery:

1. *Guodian Bamboo Slips*

In October 1993 a cache of excavated texts was discovered in Tomb No. 1 at the Guodian archaeological site in Jingmen city in Hubei province. The excavators think that this tomb is from the later period of the middle era of the Warring States, approximately 300 BCE. There was a total of 804 slips in the Guodian cache, of which 730 had writing, with more than 13,000 characters being represented in the texts. The cache contained 16 books: other than the *Laozi*, *Taiyi sheng shui*, and *Yucong si* 語叢四, there were the thirteen Confucian texts of the *Zun deyi* 尊德義, *Liude*, *Chengzhi wenzhi* 成之聞之, *Xing zi ming chu*, *Wuxing* 五行, *Ziyi* 緇衣, *Lumugong wen zisi* 魯穆公問子思, *Qiongda yi shi* 窮達以時, *Tangyu zhi dao* 唐虞之道, *Zhongxin zhi dao* 忠信之道, *Yucong yi* 語叢一, *Yucong er* 語叢二, and *Yucong san* 語叢三. The discovery and publication (1998) of these texts had a great influence, and is one of the most important events in the worlds of international sinology, international Confucianism, and international Chinese philosophy.

The *Guodian chumu zhujuan* 郭店楚墓竹簡 was published by Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社 in May 1998, and the appended annotations and commentaries were carried out by Peng Hao 彭浩, Liu Zuxin 劉祖信, and Wang Chuanfu 王傳富 while Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 supervised the whole work. Improvements on this work were carried out by Li Ling 李零 (2002), Liu Zhao 劉釗 (2005), and Wuhan University

Bamboo and Silk Manuscript Research Center in conjunction with the Jingmen City Museum (2011), published under the titles *Guodian chujian jiaoduji* 郭店楚簡校讀記, *Guodian chujian jiaoshi* 郭店楚簡校釋, and *Guodian chumu zhushu* 郭店楚墓竹書, respectively. The *Guodian chumu zhujian* was edited by Peng Hao and revised by Qiu Xigui, hence the quality of this arrangement and explanatory notes is quite high. Li's annotations make liberal use of common characters to make it easier for a wide audience to understand. Liu's recognition of the characters is very strict, and he also rearranged some of the bamboo slips while referencing a great deal of transmitted texts. The *Guodian chumu zhushu* collected the work of these other experts, collated their arrangements of the bamboo slips, annotations, and commentaries, thereby resulting in a markedly improved edition. It can be said that the *Guodian chumu zhushu* is the best version of the excavated texts with annotations and commentaries.

The Confucian texts that have attracted the most attention from these collections are the *Wuxing* and the *Xing zi ming chu*. The *Wuxing* is from the Mawangdui silk collection. Important work researching this text have been done by Pang Pu 龐樸, Wei Qipeng 魏啟鵬, Asano Yuichi 淺野裕一, Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, Yang Rur-bin 楊儒賓, and Chun-Chieh Huang 黃俊傑. Studies on the bamboo version of the *Wuxing* can be found in Pang Pu (2000), Liu Xinfang 劉信芳 (2000), Wei Qipeng 魏啟鵬 (2005), Chen Lai 陳來 (2009), and Chang Sen 常森 (2023). There is an abundance of research on the bamboo version of the *Wuxing*, and a general survey thereof can be found in Gou Dongfeng 苟東鋒 (2011). Advances made through research on the *Wuxing* include the following conclusions: the bamboo version of the text was written by Zi Si 子思 while the silk version of the text was written either by Mengzi 孟子 in his later years or else by his disciples; the notion of *chengde* 成德 (consummating virtue) is a central theme and the question of how to consummate virtue (the problem of the theory of cultivation) is one of the text's main focuses; the ancient Chinese philosophical concept of *shendu* 慎獨 (being morally circumspect) should be understood in accordance with the theory set out in the *Wuxing*. The question of the concept of *shendu* is very important and Liang Tao 梁濤 has compiled a collection on just this topic. Recently, according to the Anda collection's *Zhongni yue* 仲尼曰, we can infer that *shendu* was originally a topic for Kongzi himself and that Zi Si and Zengzi 曾子 did no more than transmit and expand on the idea.

After the publication of the *Xing zi ming chu*, scholars quickly affirmed its connection to the *Zhongyong* 中庸 and to Zi You 子游. The bamboo version's concepts of *tian* 天, *ming* 命, *xing* 性, *qing* 情, *xin* 心, *dao* 道, and *jiao* 教 are reflected in the opening passage of the *Zhongyong*. The *Xing zi ming chu* gives special attention to the concept of *qing*, the way of ritual and music, and the problem of self-cultivation, and it is possible that it was written by Zi You, a disciple of Confucius.

The consensus on this was achieved relatively quickly after the publication of the *Xing zi ming chu*. There are many studies on this text, including: Pang Pu, Tang Yijie 湯一介, Du Weiming 杜維明, Li Zehou 李澤厚, Meng Peiyuan 蒙培元, Chen Lai, Guo Qiyong 郭齊勇, Chen Wei 陳偉, Liao Mingchun 廖名春, and Li Jinglin 李景林, to name just a few prominent ones. Through comparison we know that the Shangbo's *Xingqinglun* 性情論 is an earlier manuscript version of the text. Because the *Xing zi ming chu* does not have the line beginning with *xi si dao* 喜斯慍, the argument that the bamboo version was authored by Zi You loses its evidence. Books on the *Xing zi ming chu* include Li Tianhong's 李天虹 (2002) *Guodian zhujian xing zi ming chu* 郭店竹簡性自命出, and Chen Linqing's 陳霖慶 (2002) *Guodian xing zi ming chu ji shangbo xingqinglun zonghe yanjiu* 郭店性自命出暨上博性情論綜合研究. In addition, there is the *Guodian zhujian yanjiu* 郭店楚簡研究, supervised by the Japanese scholar Ikeda Tomohisa (1999-2006).

There is likewise an abundance of research on Confucian thought in the Guodian collection of manuscripts. Other than Ding Sixin's 丁四新 (2000) *Guodian chumu zhujian sixiang yanjiu* 郭店楚墓竹簡思想研究, there is also Guo Yi's 郭沂 (2001) *Guodian zhujian yu xianqin xueshu sixiang* 郭店竹簡與先秦學術思想, Wang Bo's 王博 (2001) *Jianbo sixiang wenxian lunji* 簡帛思想文獻論集, Lee Seungyul's 李承律 (2001) *Kakuten sobo chikuken no jyuka shisō kenkyū* 郭店楚墓竹簡の儒家思想研究, Liang Tao's 梁濤 (2008) *Guodian zhujian yu simeng xuepai* 郭店竹簡與思孟學派, Xie Junzhi's 謝君直 (2008) *Guodian zhujian rujia zhaxue yanjiu* 郭店楚簡儒家哲學研究, and Dirk Meyer's (2011) *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China*. Essay collections focused on this text include the *Guodian zhujianguoji xueshu yantaohui* 郭店楚簡國際學術研討會 (2000) and *Guodian zhujian yanjiu* 郭店楚簡研究 (1999), *Guodian zhujian rujiao yanjiu* 郭店楚簡儒教研究 (2003), etc.

Regarding recent trends in research on the Confucian texts from Guodian, scholars have tried to think about the four texts *Zun deyi*, *Liude*, *Chengzhi wenzhi*, and the *Xing zi ming chu* together on the basis of similarities in the production of the bamboo slips they are written on, and hints that they belong to the same physical book. Shan Yuchen 單育辰's (2015) article "Guodian zun deyi chengzhi wenzhi liude sanpian zhengli yu yanjiu" 郭店尊德義成之聞之六德三篇整理與研究" mostly researches textual problems of the three texts mentioned in its title. We think that it is very possible that these three texts were written by Kongzi and that the *Xing zi ming chu* either came from Kongzi or his disciples, and even if it is the latter, then they nonetheless give expression to Kongzi's thought. If this point is accurate, then this will greatly affect our current understanding of Kongzi.

2. Shangbo Bamboo Manuscripts

In May and November of 1994 the Shanghai Museum (referred to as Shangbo herein) acquired two caches of Chu bamboo slips from a seller in Hong Kong that appeared on the market in spring of that year. According to the editors, these bamboo materials are from the same tomb and belong to the same collection of manuscripts. Ma Chengyuan 馬承源 even thought it is possible they came from the Guodian tombs. The bamboo slips were determined to be from the same time period as the Guodian tombs through scientific dating. The bamboo slips were interred prior to 278 BCE, the year when Bai Qi 白起 invaded the capital city of Chu, and thus they are from a similar period to the Guodian slips. There are a total of 1,700 slips with over 80 different kinds of texts, including more than 20 that are titled. Between 2001 and 2012, the *Shanghai bowuguan cang zhanguo chuzhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 was published in nine volumes by the Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社. The texts from the Shangbo collection mostly contained Confucian and Daoist texts, including such Confucian texts as *Kongzi shilun* 孔子詩論, *Ziyi*, and *Xingqinglun* published in the first volume; *Min zhi fumu* 民之父母, *Zi gao* 子羔, *Lu bang dahan* 魯邦大旱, *Congzheng* 從政, *Xizhe junlao* 昔者君老, and *Rongchengshi* 容成氏 published in the second volume; *Zhouyi* and *Zhong Gong* 仲弓 published in the third volume; *Caifeng qumu* 采風曲目, *Yishi* 逸詩, *Neili* 內禮, and *Xiangbang zhi dao* 相邦之道 published in the fourth volume; *Ji kangzi wen yu kongzi* 季康子問於孔子, *Junzi wei li* 君子為禮, and *Dizi wen* 弟子問 published in the fifth volume; *Kongzi jian ji huanzi* 孔子見季桓子, and *Tianzi jianzhou* 天子建州 published in the sixth volume; *Wuwang jianzuo* 武王踐阼 and *Junrenzhe hebi ran zai* 君人者何必然哉 published in the seventh volume; *Zidao e* 子道餓, *Yan yuan wen yu kongzi* 顏淵問於孔子, and *Chengwang ji bang* 成王既邦 in the eighth volume; and *Juzhi wang tianxia* 舉治王天下 and *Shiliu wen yu fuzi* 史蒞問於夫子 in the ninth volume. The *Ziyi* and *Xingqinglun* are also seen in the Guodian corpus where the latter text correlates to its *Xing zi ming chu*. The work of organizing and annotating the materials was done by Ma Chengyuan, Chen Peifen 陳佩芬, Pu Maozuo 濮茅左, Li Chaoyuan 李朝遠, Zhang Guangyu 張光裕, Li Ling, and Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎. Because this work was undertaken on individual bases and there was a lack of internal discussion, the arrangement of and annotations to the Shangbo materials are widely divergent.

The trend in research on the Shangbo collection mostly takes the form of work notes and essays published after the publication of each volume by those involved. These essays were first published on websites such as the “Fudan University Center for Excavated Texts and Ancient Philology” 復旦大學出土文獻與古文字研究中心

run by Fudan University (<http://www.fdgwz.org.cn/>) and “Bamboo and Silk Manuscript” run by Wuhan University (<http://m.bsm.org.cn/>). The same essays were later published after some improvements in such journals as *Jianbo* 簡帛, *Jianbo yanjiu* 簡帛研究, *Chutu wenxian* 出土文獻, and *Chutu wenxian yu guwenzi yanjiu* 出土文獻與古文字研究. It needs to be pointed out that the interest of scholars shifted due to the publication of the Tsinghua manuscripts in 2011, so there is a lack of research on the eighth and ninth volumes of the Shangbo collection.

Many scholars have researched the Shangbo materials. Other than Ding Sixin 丁四新, these include Sarah Allan, Cao Feng 曹峰, Chang Sen, Chao Fulin 晁福林, Chen Jian 陳劍, Chen Sipeng 陳斯鵬, Chen Wei 陳偉, Fukuda Testuyuki 福田哲之, Scott Cook, Taninaka Shinichi 谷中信一, He Linyi 何琳儀, Hou Naifeng 侯乃峰, Huang Dekuan 黃德寬, Huang Rener 黃人二, Ji Xusheng 季旭昇, Li Rui 李銳, Li Xueqin, Liao Mingchun, Lin Suqing 林素清, Liu Xinfang, Pang Pu, Asano Yuichi, Qiu Xigui, Shan Yuchen, Shen Pei 沈培, Yuasa Nikuhuri 湯淺邦弘, Wang Zhongjiang 王中江, Xu Shaohua 徐少華, Yang Hua 楊華, Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, Zhou Fengwu 周鳳五 and many more. Important books on the Confucian texts from the Shangbo collection include *Shanghai bowuguan cang chuzhushu yanjiu* 上海博物館藏楚竹書研究 (Zhu Yuanqing 朱淵清 and Liao Mingchun 廖名春, 2002), *Shanghai bowuguan cang zhanguo chuzhushu duben* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書讀本 (Ji Xusheng, 2002-2017), *Shanhaihaku soken no kenkyū* 上海博楚簡の研究 (Ikeda Tomohisa, 2007-2012), *Shangbo chujian ruxue wenxian jiaoli* 上博楚簡儒學文獻校理 (Hou Naifeng, 2018), *Shangbo chuzhushu zhaxue wenxian yanjiu* 上博楚竹書哲學文獻研究 (Ding Sixin, 2022), to just name a few. In addition, the graduate student conference held by the Fudan University Center for Excavated Texts and Ancient Philology should also be given attention. At present, the research into the Shangbo bamboo collection (including Confucian texts) has for the most part been completed and the arrangement of the slips along with their annotation and commentary have been elevated to a high level. Not only is this the case, but scholars' research into this collection has also been fairly penetrating.

Among the Confucian texts belonging to the Shangbo collection, the *Kongzi shilun* and the *Zhouyi* have been given the most attention, and thus the related research is quite abundant. Searching for “kongzi shilun” as a keyword on cnki.net returns a total of 194 items. Books focusing on this text include Liu Xinfang's (2003) *Kongzi shilun shuxue* 孔子詩論述學, Zheng Yushan's 鄭玉姍 (2008) *Kongzi shilun yanjiu* 孔子詩論研究, Cao Jianguo's 曹建國 (2010) *Chujian yu xianqin shi xue yanjiu* 楚簡與先秦詩學研究, Chao Fulin's (2013) *Shangbojian shilun yanjiu* 上博簡詩論研究, and Chang Sen's (2023) *Chutu wenxian shilun wuxing yu xianqin xueshu sixiangshi de chonggou* 出土文獻詩論五行與先秦學術思想史的重構. Books on the

Shangbo collection's *Zhouyi* include He Linyi's (2007) *Shanghai bowuguan cang chuzhushu zhouyi* 上海博物館藏楚竹書周易, Chen Renren's 陳仁仁 (2010) *Zhanguo chuzhushu zhouyi yanjiu* 戰國楚竹書周易研究, and Ding Sixin's 丁四新 (2011) *Chuzhushu yu hanboshu zhouyi yanjiu* 楚竹書與漢帛書周易研究.

There are many texts in the Shangbo collection that are also seen in the transmitted versions of the *Liji*. Therefore, according to this, many scholars have determined that much of the material in the *Liji* was written during the period beginning toward the end of the Spring and Autumn Period and ending near the middle of the Warring States Period. Furthermore, much of the Confucian texts in the Shangbo collection focus on politics and take Kongzi as their central narrative figure. Ding's (2022) *Shangbo chuzhushu zhaxue wenxian yanjiu* 上博楚竹書哲學文獻研究 has a chapter for each relevant text.

3. Tsinghua Slips

In July 2008, Tsinghua University purchased a cache of Warring States bamboo slips from Hong Kong that had already appeared on the market there in the winter of 2006. It is suspected that they were from somewhere in Hubei province associated with Chu culture. These slips were written with Chu script, and there were a total of 2,388 pieces (including broken slips). After completion of the rearrangement work, the editors estimated that there were originally a total of 1,700–1,800 slips constituting around 70 books. The date of these slips was determined to be from the year 305±30 years through AMS carbon dating. (Research and Conservation Center for Unearthed Texts 2010, 3–4) This means that they are from the latter part of the middle Warring States Period and of the same time as the Guodian manuscripts. One point where the Tsinghua slips differ from the Guodian and Shangbo slips is that the former contains more manuscript copies of classical and historical texts. There are 12 volumes of the *Qinghua daxuecang zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡 and there are about four or five volumes of material yet to be published. Scholars who have participated in the work of organizing, arranging, and editing the slips include: Li Xueqin, Huang Dekuan 黃德寬, Zhao Ping'an, Li Shoukui 李守奎, Liu Guozhong 劉國忠, Shen Jianhua 沈建華, Li Junming 李均明, Shi Xiaoli 石小力, Cheng Hao 程浩, Ma Nan 馬楠, and Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔. On the whole, the arrangement and annotation of the Tsinghua slips is of a high quality.

Confucian texts in the Tsinghua bamboo collection include: *Yinzhi* 尹至, *Yin'gao* 尹誥, *Chengwu* 程寤, *Baoxun* 保訓, *Shiye* 耆夜, *Zhou wurwang youji zhou gong suoziyi dai wang zhi zhi* 周武王有疾周公所自以代王之志, *Huangmen* 皇門, and *Jigong zhi guming* 祭公之顧命 published in the first volume (2010); *Shuoming*

shang 說命上, *Shuoming zhong* 說命中, *Shuoming xia* 說命下, *Zhougong zhi qinwu* 周公之琴舞, and *Ruiliang fu bi* 芮良夫毖 published in the third volume (2012); *Houfu* 厚父, *Fengxu zhi ming* 封許之命, *Mingxun* 命訓, and *Yin gaozong wenyu sanshou* 殷高宗問於三壽 published in the fifth volume (2015); *Sheming* 攝命, *Bangjia zhi zheng* 邦家之政, *Bangjia chuwei* 邦家處位, *Zhibang zhi dao* 治邦之道, *Xin shi wei zhong* 心是謂中, and *Tianxia zhi dao* 天下之道 published in the eighth volume (2018); *Zhibheng zhi dao* 治政之道, *Chengren* 成人, *Naiming yi* 迺命一, and *Naiming er* 迺命二 published in the ninth volume (2019); and *Sigao* 四告 published in the tenth volume (2020). Among these, the *Yin'gao* of the first volume is referred to as *Xianyou yide* 咸有一德 in the preface of the *Shiji* 史記 “Yinbenji 殷本紀” chapter and it is also contained in the *Guwen shangshu* found in the walls of Kongzi’s old home. However, there are significant differences between the *Yin'gao* and Mei Ze’s 梅賾 (a ca. 4th century CE scholar) *Guwen shangshu* “Xianyou yide”, showing that the latter is a fabricated text. The *Chengwu* is the same as the chapter of the same name in the *Yizhoushu* that was lost in transmission very early on in history, but which can now be supplemented with the bamboo manuscripts. “*Zhou wurwang youji zhou gong suoziyi dai wang zhi zhi*” is the name written on the bamboo slips themselves, but the text thereof is referred to as *Jinteng* 金滕 in the *Shangshu*. The *Huangmen* is also in the *Yizhoushu* under the same title. “*Jigong zhi guming*” is the name on the bamboo slip and is referred to in both the *Guodian* and *Shangbo* versions of the *Ziyi* when it quotes from the *Shangshu* while the *Yizhoushu* refers to it as *Jigong* 祭公. The three chapters of the *Shuoming* in volume three are given the title *Fushuo zhi ming* 傳說之命 on the slips themselves but the editors have changed the title in accordance with the preface of the *Shiji*. Mei Ze’s version of the *Shuoming* diverges greatly from the Tsinghua manuscript, proving again that the former is a forgery. The first of the nine songs in the *Zhougong zhi qinwu* is the same as the “Jingzhi” chapter in the *Shijing*. The *Zhibang zhi dao* in the eighth volume and the *Zhibheng zhi dao* in the ninth volume are actually the same text – a point made clear by the editors in the ninth volume.

In drawing conclusions from the above Confucian texts, those that belong to the *Shujing* include *Yinzhi*, *Yin'gao*, *Chengwu*, *Baoxun*, *Shiye*, *Zhou wurwang youji zhougong suoziyi dai wang zhi zhi*, *Huangmen*, *Jigong zhi guming*, *Shuoming*, *Houfu*, *Fengxu zhi ming*, *Mingxun*, *Sheming*, *Chengren*, and *Sigao*; those that belong to the *Shijing* include *Zhougong zhi qinwu* and *Ruiliang fubi*; the remaining texts belong to those of the “masters tradition”. In addition, the *Shifa* 筮法 and *Biegua* 別卦 in the fourth volume belong to divinatory *Yijing* texts, but have nevertheless provided important insights for solving problems related to the “numbers” of the hexagrams. Again, it is clear that the content of the Confucian texts in the Tsinghua collection focuses on governance.

The Tsinghua manuscripts have drawn much scholarly attention and related research has been quite penetrating. This research was first undertaken mostly by scholars affiliated with Tsinghua University and published in such journals as *Wenwu* 文物 and *Chutu wenxian* as introductory and research articles, and then other scholars followed with their own research on the basis of these publications. The graduate student reading group of the Fudan University Centre for Excavated Texts and Ancient Philology is worthy of note with regard to increasing the quality of the arrangement of bamboo slips and annotations. The classical texts in the Tsinghua collection have been researched by no small number of scholars, for example: Li Xueqin's *Chushi qinghuajian* 初識清華簡 (2013) and *Qinghuajian ji gudai wenming* 清華簡及古代文明 (2017), Feng Shengjun's 馮勝君 (2021) *Qinghuajian shangshu lei wenxian jianshi* 清華簡尚書類文獻箋釋, Liu Guangsheng's 劉光勝 (2022) *Qinghuajian yu zhongguo zaoqi wenming yanjiu* 清華簡與中國早期文明研究, Xu Wenxian's 許文獻 (2021) *Qinghuajian yiyin wupian yanjiu* 清華簡伊尹五篇研究, and the *Qinghuajian yanjiu* 清華簡研究 (2019) published by the Tsinghua University Research and Conservation Center for Unearthed Texts. In addition, there are a few books that deal with historical problems based on the texts related to the *Shijing* in the Tsinghua collection that we will not go over here. However, other than the *Baoxun*, *Houfu*, and *Xin shi wei zhong*, there is not enough research on the other Confucian materials in the collection.

4. *Anda, Xiajiatai, and Wangjiazui Collections*

The Anda manuscripts were purchased from Hong Kong in 2015 and are held by Anhui University. According to carbon dating, the slips date from approximately 2,280 years ago (with 1,950 years ago as the standard date) and according to relevant chemical analyses it was determined that they are from the early-middle period of the Warring States (see the preface in the *Anhui daxuecang zhanguo zhujian* vol. 1). This means that they are older than the Guodian, Shangbo, and Tsinghua collections. There are total of 1,167 slips in the collection, including the *Shijing* in 97 slips, texts related to the history of Chu in more than 300 slips, nine groups of texts related to the study of the masters, and two groups related to the Chuci 楚辭 (*Elegies of Chu*). In addition, this collection also contains some materials related to physiognomy and dream divination. At present, two volumes have been published. The first volume published in 2019 includes the *Shijing* and the second volume published in 2022 contains *Zhongni yue* and *Caomo zhi chen* 曹沫之陳. The bamboo versions of the *Shijing* and *Zhongni yue* are Confucian texts. The *Shijing* is consistent with the “Guofeng” section of the transmitted text in a

total of 57 chapters, but their arrangement differs from the *Maoshi* 毛詩 ordering. There are 13 slips to the *Zhongni yue* and this text was originally lacking a title. The content of this text is highly important to confirming information regarding the thought of Kongzi. For example, we can know that the idea of “moral circum-spection” (*shendu* 慎獨) was originally Kongzi’s idea, and that the *Zhongyong* and *Daxue* 大學 in the *Liji* were developments thereof.

According to reports, between August of 2014 and August of 2015, the Jingzhou Museum undertook emergency excavations of Warring States tombs at Liujiatai 劉家台 and Xiajiatai 夏家台 wherein they discovered more than 400 bamboo slips in Tomb No. 106 containing content from the *Shijing* (14 chapters), the *Shangshu*, and the *Rishu* 日書. Both the bamboo *Shijing* and *Shangshu* are Confucian classics, where the chapter “Lüxing 呂刑” from the latter is especially important. At present, these bamboo slips have yet to be published.

In June of 2021, the Jingzhou Museum discovered 3,200 bamboo fragments at Tomb No. 798 at Wangjiazui, and these are estimated to constitute a total of 800 complete slips. This collection includes the *Shijing*, *Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 and several pieces of music taking up approximately 160 slips. The tomb that these bamboo fragments were found in is from the early part of the later period of the Warring States (Jingzhou 2023, 5–14). Even though the Wangjiazui materials have yet to be edited and published, two articles on the *Shijing* and *Kongzi yue* have already been published. The *Shijing* in more than 300 slips is the largest collection related to that text to date, representing a complete Warring States version, the content of which comes from the “Guofeng” section, where each chapter is titled (Jiang and Xiao 2023, 30–42). According to the editors, the *Kongzi yue* discovered at Wangjiazui will be very useful in resolving problems related to the formation of the *Lunyu* 論語 and has certain connections with Han Dynasty versions of that text, while diverging from the structure of the current version of the *Lunyu* that we have today, and thus it cannot be seen as the same book (Zhao 2023, 43–48).

Newly Excavated Qin-Han Confucian Texts and Related Research

Since 1972, many silk and bamboo manuscripts have been excavated, including many Confucian texts: a Han bamboo copy of the *Yanzi* 晏子 was found at Yinqueshan in 1972; Han bamboo copies of the *Lunyu*, *Aigong wen wuyi* 哀公問五義, *Baofu zhuan* 保傅傳 and *Rujiazhe yan* 儒家者言 were found at Bajiaolang in 1973; silk copies of the *Zhouyi*, *Sangfu tu* 喪服圖, *Wuxing*, *Desheng* 德聖, *Mingjun* 明君 were found at Mawangdui in 1977; and Han bamboo copies of the *Zhouyi*, *Shijing*, and *Rujiazhe yan* were found at Shuanggudui in 1977. All of these are Confucian

texts, but they do not belong to the range of texts meant by the phrase “newly excavated silk and bamboo texts” in this article. The *Changsha mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成 compiled and edited by the Hunan Museum and Fudan University Center for Excavated Texts and Ancient Philology published in 2014 includes many newly excavated bamboo manuscripts. Among the manuscripts, are those of a Confucian nature such as the Haihunhou Liu He Han tomb manuscripts and the Peking University Western Han bamboo manuscripts.

1. Haihun Han Texts

The Haihunhou Liu He tomb is situated north of Nanchang in Jiangxi province. Liu He 劉賀 (92–59 BCE) was Han Feidi 漢廢帝 and the grandson of Liu Che 劉徹 or Han Wudi 漢武帝 (156–87 BCE). Liu He’s tomb produced a large number of Confucian manuscripts.

In July of 2017, the Jiangxi Cultural Artifacts Archaeological Institute discovered over 5,200 bamboo slips and 109 wooden stakes in Liu He’s coffin room. Most of the bamboo slips belong to ancient texts, with over 500 being related to the political and ritual affairs of the kingdom of Changyi and fiefdom of Haihun. Included among the over 80 documents were both books and official documents. The wooden stakes contained notations on funerary goods such as clothing and other objects along with their quantity (Zhu 2020, 60–61). The Confucian texts excavated from the tomb of Liu He were mostly on the six arts. We can provide the following summary analysis based on the *Haihunhoumu chutu jiandu gaishu* 海昏侯墓出土簡牘概述 (ibid., 60–71):

1. *Shijing*. There are over 1,200 slips belonging to the *Shijing* and the titles and text of the poems were recorded on the slips with such phrases as “305 chapters of poems”, “30 chapters of *song* poems”, “31 chapters of the *daya* poems”, and “60 chapters of *feng* poems”. The character for “chapter” (*pian* 篇) is written throughout without the radical (i.e. as *bian* 扁). According to calculations, there are 74 chapters in the Haihun version of the “Xiaoya 小雅” section. These are all consistent with the transmitted Mao version of the *Shijing*, with the only difference being that the bamboo version has 1,076 passages while the transmitted version has 1,142. The editors of the collection think that the Haihun *Shijing* might represent “the form of the Lu *Shijing* from the Han dynasty”.
2. *Liji*. There are around 300 slips relating to the *Liji* but many of them are damaged in one way or another. They can be categorized into four groups according to the form, script, and content of the bamboo slips. The first group has content seen in the transmitted version of the *Liji*’s “Quli shang 曲禮上”

and “Quli xia 曲禮下” resembling almost 30 passages. The second group has content seen in the *Liji*’s “Jiyi 祭義” and “Sangfu sizhi 喪服四制”, but there is a rather large discrepancy between them. The third group has content seen in the transmitted *Dadai liji*’s 大戴禮記 “Baofu 保傅”. The fourth group has content seen in the *Liji*’s “Zhongyong 中庸”, “Jiyi 祭義”, and the “Gong Mingyi listens to Zengzi discuss filiality” passage in the *Dadai liji*’s “Zengzi daxiao 曾子大孝”. At the time of excavation this material was mixed up with that belonging to the *Lunyu*.

3. Temple ceremony texts. There are over 100 slips about temple ceremonies involving prayers to the spirits and for blessings. These texts are records of Liu He’s ceremonial activities during his time as king of Changyi.
4. *Lunyu*. There are over 500 slips belonging to the *Lunyu* containing approximately a third of the transmitted version of the *Lunyu* extant today. The titles of each chapter are written on the back of the bamboo slips, and those of “Yongye 雍也”, “Zilu 子路”, “Yao 堯”, and “Zhidao 智道” have been identified. Much of the content belongs to the chapters “Gongye zhang 公冶長”, “Yongye”, “Xianjin 先進”, and “Zilu”, but nothing from the “Xiangdang 鄉黨”, “Weizi 微子”, or “Zizhang 子張” chapters has been found. The Haihun bamboo version of the *Lunyu* belongs to the so-called *Qi Lunyu*. It can be pointed out here that the version of the *Lunyu* found at Bajiaolang 八角廊 belongs to the Lu version of the text.
5. *Chunqiu* 春秋. There are over 200 slips belonging to the *Chunqiu*, but much of the written characters are unidentifiable and only 40 or so have been deciphered, which all belong to sections on the reign of Xi Gong 僖公. While some of the bamboo version’s content can be seen in all three transmitted versions of the *Chunqiu*, most of the content is found in the *Gongyangzhuàn* 公羊傳. That being said, there are some differences between the excavated and transmitted versions.
6. *Xiaojing* 孝經. There are over 600 slips relating to the *Xiaojing* which mostly deal with explaining and interpreting the idea of *xiao* 孝 (filiality). The bamboo texts repeatedly refer to and directly quote from the *Xiaojing*, and some lines and passages are the same as or related to the *Rujiazhe yan* from Bajiaolang and the Han bamboo *Xiaojing* from Jianshuijinguan 肩水金關.
7. Political texts. There are over 50 slips related to politics that focus on governing through humanity and rightness (*renyi* 仁義). These are similar in nature to the kinds of Confucians discussed in the “Yiwenzhi” chapter of the *Hanshu*. In addition, there are many slips that begin with “The *Chunqiu* says ...”

8. Divinatory texts. There are more than 180 slips belonging to the *Yizhan* 易占 that have been preserved quite well. These bamboo slips are not direct copies of lines or passages from the *Yijing*, but instead use it to undertake divination for everyday purposes of determining auspiciousness and inauspiciousness, and therefore are of a divinatory nature. Even though the *Haihunhou Yizhan* does not belong to the corpus of Confucian classics and commentaries, it nevertheless helps us solve problems related to the study of the *Yijing*.

At present, the *Haihun* bamboo materials have yet to be edited and published, but there have been a few attempts to provide an account thereof. Among them, the *Haihun jiandu chulun* 海昏簡牘初論, published in 2020, is worthy of attention as it is a relatively comprehensive introduction and summary of the collection. This book has three parts in 20 chapters. Of the four chapters in the first part, the central one is “*Haihunhou liu he mu de kaogu fajue yu chutu jiandu zongshu* 海昏侯劉賀墓的考古發掘與出土簡牘綜述”; of the 12 chapters in the second part, the central one is “*Haihun zhushu chulun* 海昏竹書初論”; of the four chapters in the third part, the central one is “*Haihun mudu yu kongzi yijing chulun* 海昏木牘與孔子衣鏡初論”. Each of the twelve chapters in the second part has to do with a Confucian text: “*Haihun zhushu shi chudu* 海昏竹書詩初讀” by Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚 (2020, Ch. 5); “*Haihun zhushu baofu chutan* 海昏竹書保傅初探” by Han Wei 韓巍 (2020, Ch. 6); “*Haihun zhushu ‘yi’ lei wenxian chulun* 海昏竹書“儀”類文獻初論” by Tian Tian 田天 (2020, Ch. 7); “*Haihun zhushu chunqiu chudu* 海昏竹書春秋初讀” by Chen Suzhen 陳蘇鎮 (2020, Ch. 8); “*Haihun zhushu lunyu chulun* 海昏竹書論語初論” by Chen Kanli 陳侃理 (2020, Ch. 9); “*Haihun zhushu xiaojing shuojie jian chulun* 海昏竹書孝經說解簡初論” by He Jin 何晉 (2020, Ch. 10); and “*Haihun zhushu yizhan chushi* 海昏竹書易占初釋” by Li Ling (2020, Ch. 13). These chapters all aim to provide initial explanations and interpretations of these various Confucian texts.

2. PKU Slips

In 2009 Peking University was gifted a collection of Han bamboo slips from someone who had purchased them in Hong Kong. According to the editors of this collection, this cache of bamboo texts was written sometime after the reign of Emperor Wudi 漢武帝. There are a total of 3,346 pieces and approximately 1,600 complete slips with an estimated total of 2,300 complete slips. All of the texts from this collection are classical books, numbering 20 or so, and the texts with a Confucian nature have been published as the *Rujiashuo cong* 儒家說叢.

The *Rujiashuo cong*, edited by Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚 and Chen Kanli 陳侃理, was included in the third volume of the *Beijing daxuecang xihan zhushu* 北京大學藏西漢竹書 (2015). This text is constituted of a total of 11 pieces and after being put together they made a total of nine slips. In its current form, it can be divided into three parts whose content corresponds to that of transmitted texts, such as the *Yanzi chungiu* 晏子春秋, *Shuoyuan* 說苑, *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 and others.

Other than this, the *Guizang* 歸藏 from the Wangjiatai Qin bamboo collection is related to the study of the *Yijing* and is worth highlighting. In March of 1993, archaeologists working at Tomb No. 15 at Wangjiatai discovered the bamboo *Guizang* version of the *Yijing*. According to Wang Mingqin's 王明欽 summarization, this bamboo text has over 4,000 characters with over 70 hexagram images (excluding those that are repeated, there is a total of 54). The trigrams use — for *yang* lines and ^ for *yin* lines (whereas the transmitted version uses a solid—line for *yang* and a broken - - line for *yin*). There are 76 hexagram names and excluding those that are repeated leaves a total of 53. (Wang 2004, 29–39) The *Guizang* has yet to be officially published, but individual scholars have undertaken some discussions based on Wang Mingqin's work.

Conclusion

We are living through a new era of discoveries of pre-Qin and imperial Qin and Han silk and bamboo texts, which started with the Guodian excavations of 1993. The excavated Confucian texts discovered since 1993 can be summarized in the following few points:

1. Texts related to the *Shijing*. This category of texts, other than the bamboo manuscripts discovered at Fuyang 阜陽, mostly come from the Anda, Xiajiatai, Wangjiazui, and Haihun collections. The first three belong to Chu manuscripts from the middle of the Warring States period and the latter is a Han dynasty manuscript from the middle of the Western Han dynasty. Among them, evidence for “lost odes” and “deleted odes” have been found in the Shangbo and Tsinghua collections. Even though the three Warring States versions of the *Shijing* have differences among themselves and with the transmitted version, they nonetheless show that the *Shijing* had more or less taken shape by the middle of the Warring States Period, and that the legend of Kongzi editing the *Shijing* and *Shujing* is reliable. The *Kongzi shilun* in the Shangbo collection directly showcases Kongzi's own ideas on the odes, including the interpretive principle that “odes reveal hidden aspirations, music reveals hidden emotions, and culture reveals hidden doctrines”, as

well as explanations of various individual odes. In contrast with the discovery of the bamboo *Shijing*, the discovery of the *Kongzi shilun* is seemingly more important. It should be said that this is one of the most important theoretical texts for the field of *Shijing* classical studies, and it has become an important focus of academic research with many results.

2. Texts related to the *Shujing*. This category of texts is mostly from the Shangbo collection and not only includes several texts seen in the transmitted version of the *Shujing* and the *Yizhoushu*, but it also includes texts from the Western Han ancient text *Shangshu*. Scholars have reaffirmed that the *Yizhoushu* is a pre-Qin text based on evidence from the Tsinghua bamboo texts, and also that many of the chapters therein were written prior to the middle period of the Warring States Period. In addition, Mei Ze's *Guwen shangshu* has been proven to be a forgery. According to the *Shuoming*, Guanzhong 管仲, *Wuji* 五紀, and *Sanbuwei* 參不韋 in the Tsinghua collection, it can be inferred that the “Hongfan 洪範” chapter of the *Shangshu* was written even earlier than the Warring States Period. The *Shangshu* materials from the Tsinghua collection greatly enriched the thought from the Western Zhou and the Spring and Autumn Periods, and have garnered great attention from various scholars whose research has been related above.

3. Texts related to the *Liji*. This category of texts is seen in the Guodian and Shangbo collections. The discovery of the bamboo versions of the *Ziyi*, *Min zhi fumu*, *Neili*, *Wuwang jianzuo* and others has proven that the two transmitted versions of the Dai 戴 family *Liji* are most likely from the end of the Spring and Autumn to the middle of the Warring States Period. However, some of the specifics in these chapters regarding their characters and length differ between the Warring States and imperial versions. It is especially worth mentioning that the excavated *Zhongyong* from Liu He's tomb at Haihun has already drawn much scholarly attention.

4. Texts related to the *Yijing*. Other than those discovered at Mawangdui and Fuyang, this category of texts includes the “classic” in the Shangbo collection and the *Guizang* Qin bamboo version found at Wangjiatai. In addition, other texts related to the *Yijing* include the *Shifa* and the *Biegua* from the Tsinghua collection and the *Yizhan* from the tomb at Haihun. The Shangbo version of the *Yijing* proves that the *yao* lines were composed no later than the middle period of the Warring States and that the modern versions of the hexagrams was produced no later than this period as well. According to the *Shifa* and *Biegua*, we can arrive at a solution to the problem of the form and origin of the *yao* lines themselves: the hexagram images originate in divinatory numerology and were either determined by the numbers six and seven or seven and eight. Furthermore, according to the *Shifa* in the Tsinghua collection and the *Yizhan* from the Haihun collection,

the *najia* 納甲 and *nazhi* 納支 methods of divination were actually formulated quite early rather than being a late invention of Han dynasty Confucians. There are many articles and books on the excavated *Yijing* materials, and in addition to those mentioned above others include Xing Wen's 邢文 (1997) *Boshu zhouyi yanjiu* 帛書周易研究, Liu Dajun 劉大鈞's (2005) *Jin bo zhushu zhouyi zongkao* 今帛竹書周易綜考, Liao Mingchun's (2008) *Boshu zhouyi lunji* 帛書周易論集, Zhang Zhenglang's 張政烺 (2008) *Marwangdui boshu zhouyi jingzhuan jiaodu* 馬王堆帛書周易經傳校讀, Ding Sixin's (2017) *Zhouyi suyuan yu zaoqi yixue kaolun* 周易溯源与早期易學考論, Ikeda Tomohisa's (2022) *Marwangdui chutu wenxian yizhu congshu yi* 馬王堆出土文獻譯註叢書·易, and Edward Shaughnessy's *The Origin and Early Development of the Zhou Changes* (2022). These and many more texts are worth referencing.

4. Texts related to Kongzi. The types of texts in this category are found in the Guodian, Shangbo, Anda, and Wangjiazui collections. According to the latest investigations, the Guodian texts of the *Zun deyi*, *Liude*, and *Chengzhi wenzhi* were possibly written by Kongzi himself, while the *Xing zi ming chu* (and the *Xingqinglun*) were either written by Kongzi or his disciples. The *Kongzi shilun*, *Ziyi*, *Min zhi fumu*, *Zi gao*, *Ji kangzi wen yu kongzi*, *Kongzi jian ji huanzi*, *Zhong gong*, *Junzi wei li*, *dizi wen*, and *Yan yuan wen yu kongzi* all belong to this category, where the latter four belong to texts related to the *Lunyu*. The *Zhongni yue* in the Anda collection and the *Kongzi yue* in the Wangjiazui collection are thus written records of Kongzi's sayings. These various kinds of bamboo manuscripts are from the middle period of the Warring States. Previously, people often limited the study of Kongzi to the single text of the *Lunyu*, and some even went so far as to doubt whether this text was even reliable, so there was a serious lack of material resources to research the thought of Kongzi. However, the excavated items have greatly increased the materials available for studying the thought of Kongzi. Furthermore, the excavated texts have also influenced scholars' understanding of the phrase "*zi yue* 子曰" ("the Master said"), so that we have a clearer understanding of what materials are quotations and what materials are summarizations or have been imputed to the voice of Kongzi. It is now necessary to rewrite the history of Kongzi's ideas due to the new knowledge gained from these materials.

5. Finally, from an academic perspective, a great number of excavated Confucian texts deal with the fields of politics and ethics, but because there are so many we will not rehearse them here. It remains to be pointed out, though, that at present the academic studies of these political and ethical texts are far from sufficient, as there are few books with focussed treatments of these topics.

The excavated silk and bamboo texts considered in this paper have had a great influence on contemporary ideas about academic research. Among these, one particularly important idea is Li Xueqin's notion of "leaving behind the age of doubting antiquity". The excavated silk and bamboo texts are the basis upon which Li's idea was founded. Not only is this the case, but Li's "leaving behind the age of doubting antiquity" has led to a debate between those in Li's camp and those in the "doubting antiquity" camp. Those who adhere to Li's notion include Liao Mingchun, Guo Yi, Liang Tao, and Xie Weiyang 謝維揚, while those in the latter camp who have criticized Li Xueqin and defended Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 include Ikeda Tomohisa, Cao Feng, Nishiyama Hisashi 西山尚志, Yang Chunmei 楊春梅, and Chen Chun 陳淳. It should be said that Li's slogan of "leaving behind the age of doubting antiquity" embodies an important transition in the movement of Chinese classical studies. In terms of practice, modern Chinese-language research into excavated silk and bamboo texts has developed under this idea. Thanks to both sides of the debate this academic slogan has now spread far and wide, and has seemingly had a great influence on the minds of people all over the world.

Acknowledgements

This paper is supported by the Major Program of National Social Science Foundation of China, project "Comprehensive Studies of the Four Versions of Excavated Laozi Manuscripts" (Chutu jianbo si guben Laozi zonghe yanjiu 出土簡帛四古本老子綜合研究) (15ZDB006).

References

- Anhui University Chinese Characters Development and Application Research Center 安徽大學漢字發展與應用研究中心. 2022. *Anhui daxuecang zhanguo zhujian (yi)* 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡 (一) (*Anhui University Collection of Warring States Bamboo Slips (1)*). Shanghai 上海: Zhongxi Shuju 中西書局.
- . 2022. *Anhui daxuecang zhanguo zhujian (er)* 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡 (二) (*Anhui University Collection of Warring States Bamboo Slips (2)*). Shanghai 上海: Zhongxi Shuju 中西書局.
- Cao, Jianguo 曹建國. 2010. *Chujian yu xianqin shi xue yanjiu* 楚簡與先秦詩學研究 (*Study on the Chu Manuscripts and Pre-Qin Shijing Learning*). Wuhan 武漢: Wuhan Daxue Chubanshe 武漢大學出版社.
- Chao, Fulin 晁福林. 2013. *Shangbojian shilun yanjiu* 上博簡詩論研究 (*Study of the Shangbo's Shilun*). Beijing 北京: Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館.

- Chang, Sen 常森. 2023. *Chutu wenxian shilun wuxing yu xianqin xueshu sixiangshi de chonggou* 出土文獻詩論五行與先秦學術思想史的重構 (*The Excavated Manuscripts of the Shilun and Wuxing and the Reconstruction of Pre-Qin Intellectual History*). Beijing 北京: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大學出版社.
- Chen, Linqing 陳霖慶. 2002. *Guodian xing zi ming chu ji shangbo xingqinglun zonghe yanjiu* 郭店性自命出暨上博性情論綜合研究 (*Comprehensive Study of the Guodian Xing zi Ming Chu as the Shangbo Xingqinglun*). Taiwan 台灣: Taiwan Shifan Daxue Xuewei Lunwen 台灣師範大學學位論文.
- Chen, Lai 陳來. 2009. *Zhubo wuxing yu jianbo yanjiu* 竹帛五行與簡帛研究 (*The Bamboo and Silk Wuxing and Bamboo and Silk Manuscript Research*). Beijing 北京: Sanlian Shudian 三聯書店.
- Chen, Renren 陳仁仁. 2010. *Zhanguo chuzhushu zhouyi yanjiu* 戰國楚竹書周易研究 (*Study of the Warring States Chu Bamboo Book Zhouyi*). Wuhan 武漢: Wuhan Daxue Chubanshe 武漢大學出版社.
- Ding, Sixin 丁四新. 2000. *Guodian chumu zhujian sixiang yanjiu* 郭店楚墓竹簡思想研究 (*Study of the Thought in the Guodian Chu Tomb Bamboo Slips*). Beijing 北京: Dongfang Chubanshe 東方出版社.
- . 2011. *Chuzhushu yu hanboshu zhouyi yanjiu* 楚竹書與漢帛書周易研究 (*Study on the Chu Bamboo Book and Han Silk Book Versions of the Zhouyi*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.
- . 2016. “Cong chutu cailiao lun zhouyi guayaohua de xingzhi he laiyan 從出土材料論周易卦爻畫的性質和來源 (Discussion on the Characteristics and Origin of the Depictions of the Trigrams and Hexagrams in the Zhouyi from the Perspective of Excavated Materials).” *Zhexuemen* 哲學門 (*Beida Journal of Philosophy*) 31: 1-24. Beijing 北京: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大學出版社.
- . 2017. *Zhouyi Suyuan yu zaoqi yixue kaolun* 周易溯源與早期易學考論 (*Investigation into the Origins of the Zhouyi and Early Period Zhouyi Learning*). Beijing 北京: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe 中國人民大學出版社.
- . 2020. “Guodianjian zun deyi pian shi kongzi benren zhuzuo 郭店簡尊德義篇是孔子本人著作” (*The Guodian Bamboo Zun deyi was Written by Confucius Himself*).” *Kongzi Yanjiu* 孔子研究 (*Confucius Studies*), Vol. 5.
- . 2022. *Shangbo chuzhushu zhexue wenxian yanjiu* 上博楚竹書哲學文獻研究 (*Study of the Philosophical Texts in the Shangbo Chu Bamboo Books*). Shijiazhuang 石家莊: Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe 河北教育出版社.
- Feng, Shengjun 馮勝君. 2021. *Qinghuajian shangshu lei wenxian jianshi* 清華簡尚書類文獻箋釋 (*Annotated Shangshu texts from the Tsinghua Slips*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.

- Gou, Dongfeng 苟東鋒. 2011. “Jianbo *wuxing* yanjiu shuyu 簡帛五行研究述要 (Brief on Research on the Bamboo and Silk *Wuxing*).” *Zhongguo shiyou daxue xuebao* 中國石油大學學報, vol 3.
- Guo, Yi 郭沂. 2001. *Guodian zhujian yu xianqin xueshu sixiang* 郭店竹簡與先秦學術思想 (*Guoxian Bamboo Slips and the Thought of Pre-Qin Learning*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Jiaoyu Chubanshe 上海教育出版社.
- He, Linyi 何琳儀. 2007. “Shanghai bowuguan cang chuzhushu *zhouyi* 上海博物館藏楚竹書周易 (The Shanghai Museum’s Chu Bamboo Book *Zhouyi*).” *Ruzang* 儒藏 (*Confucian Canons*), Vol. 281. Beijing 北京: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大學出版社.
- Hou, Naifeng 侯乃峰. 2018. *Shangbo chujian ruxue wenxian jiaoli* 上博楚簡儒學文獻校理 (*Annotated Confucian Texts from the Shangbo Chu Manuscripts*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.
- Huang, Dekuan 黃德寬. 2017. “Anhui daxue cang zhanguo zhujian gaishu 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡概述 (Summary of the Warring States Bamboo Slips in the Anhui University Collection).” *Wenwu* 文物 (*Cultural Artefacts*), vol. 9.
- Ikeda, Tomohisa 池田知久, supervisor. 1999–2006. *Guodian chujian yanjiu* 郭店楚簡研究 (*Guodian Bamboo Slips Studies*), Vols. 1–7.
- , ed. 2003. *Guodian chujian rujiao yanjiu* 郭店楚簡儒教研究 (*Study on Confucianism in the Guodian Manuscripts*). Tokyo 東京: Kyūko Shoin.
- , supervisor. 2007–2012. *Shanghaihaku soken no kenkyū* 上海博楚簡の研究 (*Study on the Shanghai Museums’ Chu Manuscripts*), Vols. 1–6. Tokyo 東京: Tokyo Bunka Daigaku Daigakuin Jimushitu 東京文化大學大學院事務室.
- . 2022. *Mawangdui chutu wenxian yizhu congshu yi* 馬王堆出土文獻譯註叢書·易 (*Translation and Annotation of the Mawangdui Silk book version of Yi*). Tokyo 東京: Tōhō Shoten 東方書店.
- Ji, Xusheng 季旭昇. 2002–2017. *Shanghai bowuguan cang zhanguo chuzhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (*Shanghai Museum Collection’s Warring States Chu Bamboo Books*), Vols. 1–9. Taipei 台北: Wanjuanlou Tushu Youxian Gongsi 萬卷樓圖書有限公司.
- Jingmen City Museum 荊門市博物館. 1997. “Jingmen guodian yihao chumu 荊門郭店一號楚墓 (Chu Tomb No. 1 at Jingmen Guodian).” *Wenwu* 文物 (*Cultural Artefacts*), Vol. 7.
- Jingmen City Museum 荊門市博物館. 1998. *Guodian chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 (*Guodian Chu Tomb Bamboo Slips*). Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社.
- Jiang, Guanghui 姜廣輝. 1999. “Guodian chujian yanjiu 郭店楚簡研究 (Research on the Guodian Chu Manuscripts).” *Zhongguo zhixue* 中國哲學 (*Chinese Philosophy*), Vol. 20. Shenyang 沈陽: Liaoning Jiaoyu Chubanshe 遼寧教育出版社.

- Jiang, Lujing 蔣魯敬, and Xiao Yujun 肖玉軍. 2023. "Hubei jingzhou wangjiazui m798 chutu zhanguo chujian *shijing* gaishu 湖北荊州王家嘴M798出土戰國楚簡詩經概述 (Summary of the Book of Songs on Chu Bamboo Slips from the Warring States Period Unearthed at Wangjiazui M798 in Jingzhou, Hubei)." *Jiangnan kaogu* 2: 30–42.
- Jingzhou Bowuguan 荊州博物館. 2023. "Hubei jingzhou wangjiazui 798 hao chumu fajiu jianbao 湖北荊州王家嘴798號楚墓發掘簡報 (Excavation report on Chu Tomb No.798 at Wangjiazui, Jingzhou, Hubei)." *Jiangnan kaogu* 江漢考古 (*Jiangnan Archaeology*) 2: 5–14.
- Lee, Seungyul 李承律. 2001. "Kakuten sobo chikuken no jyuka shisō kenkyū 郭店楚墓竹簡の儒家思想研究 (Study of the Confucian thoughts in the Guodian Bamboo Manuscripts)." PhD diss., Tokyo University.
- . 2022. *Mawangdui chutu wenxian yizhu congshu yi* 馬王堆出土文獻譯註叢書·易 (*Translation and Annotation of the Mawangdui Silk book version of Yi*). Tokyo 東京: Tōhō Shoten 東方書店.
- Li, Ling 李零. 2002. *Guodian chujian jiaoduji* 郭店楚簡校讀記 (*Reading Notes on the Guodian Chu Bamboo Texts*). Beijing 北京: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大學出版社.
- Li, Tianhong 李天虹. 2002. *Guodian zhujian Xing zi ming chu yanjiu* 郭店竹簡性自命出研究 (*Study on the Guodian Bamboo Xing zi Ming Chu*). Wuhan 武漢: Hubei Jiaoyu Chubanshe 湖北教育出版社.
- Li, Xueqin 李學勤. 2013. *Chushi qinghuajian* 初識清華簡 (*Preliminary Study of the Tsinghua Bamboo Slips*). Shanghai 上海: Zhongxi Shuju 中西書局.
- . 2017. *Qinghuajian ji gudai wenming* 清華簡及古代文明 (*Tsinghua Bamboo Slips and Ancient Civilization*). Nanchang 南昌: Jiangxi Jiaoyu Chubanshe 江西教育出版社.
- Liang, Tao 梁濤. 2008. *Guodian zhujian yu simeng xuepai* 郭店竹簡與思孟學派. (*Guodian Bamboo Manuscripts and the Si-Meng School*). Beijing 北京: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe 中國人民大學出版社.
- Liang, Tao 梁濤, and Si Yunlong 斯雲龍. 2011. *Chutu wenxian yu junzi shendu—shendu wenti taolunji* 出土文獻與君子慎獨——慎獨問題討論集 (*Excavated Texts and Moral Circumspection—Discussions on the Problem of Moral Circumspection*). Guilin 桂林: Lijiang Chubanshe 灕江出版社.
- Liao, Mingchun 廖名春. 2008. *Boshu zhoyi lunji* 帛書周易論集 (*Collected Essays on the Silk Zhouyi Manuscript*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.
- Liu, Dajun 劉大鈞. 2005. *Jin bo zhu shu zhoyi zongkao* 今帛竹書周易綜考 (*Comprehensive Investigation of the Transmitted, Silk, and Bamboo Versions of the Zhouyi*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.

- Liu, Guangsheng 劉光勝. 2022. *Qinghuajian yu zhongguo zaoqi wenming yanjiu* 清華簡與中國早期文明研究 (*Study on the Tsinghua Bamboo Slips and Early Chinese Civilization*). Jinan 濟南: Shandong Youyi Chubanshe 山東友誼出版社.
- Liu, Xinfang 劉信芳. 2000. *Jianbo wuxing jiegou* 簡帛五行解詁 (*Explanatory Philology of the Bamboo and Silk Wuxing*). Taipei 台北: Yiwen Yinshuguan 藝文印書館.
- . 2003. *Kongzi shilun shuxue* 孔子詩論述學 (*Study on the Kongzi shilun*). Hefei 合肥: Anhui Daxue Chubanshe 安徽大學出版社.
- Liu, Zhao 劉釗. 2005. *Guodian chujian jiaoshi* 郭店楚簡校釋 (*Annotated Guodian Bamboo Texts*). Fuzhou 福州: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe 福建人民出版社.
- Ma, Chengyuan 馬承源. 2001. “Qianyan: zhanguo chuzhushu de faxian baohu he zhengli 前言：戰國楚竹書的發現保護和整理 (Preface: The Discovery, Conservation, and Ordering of the Warring States Chu Bamboo Books).” In *Shanghai bowuguan cang zhanguo chuzhushu (yi)* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (一) (*The Chu Bamboo Book of the Warring States Period (1) Collected by the Shanghai Museum*), edited by Ma Chengyuan, p.2. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.
- . ed. 2001-2012. *Shanghai bowuguan cang zhanguo chuzhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (*The Chu Bamboo Book of the Warring States Period Collected by the Shanghai Museum*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.
- Meyer, Dirk. 2012. *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China*. Leiden: Brill.
- Pang, Pu 龐樸. 2000. *Zhubo wuxing pian jiaozhu ji yanjiu* 竹帛五行篇校註及研究 (*Bamboo and Silk Wuxing Annotations and Research*). Taipei 台北: Wanjuanlou Tushu Youxian Gongsi 萬卷樓圖書有限公司.
- Peking University Research Institute for Unearthed Texts 北京大學出土文獻研究所. 2011. “Beijing daxue cang xihan zhushu gaishuo 北京大學藏西漢竹書概說 (Summary of the PKU Collection’s Western Han Bamboo Books).” *Wenwu* 文物 (*Cultural Artefacts*), Vol. 6.
- . 2015. *Beijing daxue cang xihan zhushu (san)* 北京大學藏西漢竹書 (三) (*The PKU Collection’s Western Han Bamboo Books*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.
- Shan, Yuchen 單育辰. 2015. *Guodian zun deyi chengzhi wenzhi liude sanpian zhengli yu yanjiu* 郭店尊德義成之聞之六德三篇整理與研究 (*Ordering and Study of the Three Guodian Texts of Zun Deyi, Chengzhi wenzhi, and Liu de*). Beijing 北京: Kexue Chubanshe 科學出版社.
- Shaughnessy, Edward. 2022. *The Origin and Early Development of the Zhou Changes*. Leiden: Brill.
- Tian, Yong 田勇, and Wang Mingqin 王明欽. 2016. “Hubei jingzhou liujiatai yu xiajiatai mudi faxian dapi zhanguo muzang 湖北荊州劉家台與夏家台發現

- 大批戰國墓葬 (Discovering a Large Quantity of Tomb Goods at Liujiatai and Xiajiatai in Jingzhou, Hubei)." *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中國文物報 (*Bulletin on Chinese Artifacts*), Vol. 8.
- Tsinghua University Research and Conservation Center for Unearthed Texts 清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心, ed. 2010. *Qinghua daxuecang zhanguo zhujuan (yi)* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡 (壹) (*Tsinghua University Collection's Warring States Bamboo Slips (1)*). Shanghai 上海: Zhongxi Shuju 中西書局.
- Wang, Bo 王博. 2001. *Jianbo sixiang wenxian lunji* 簡帛思想文獻論集 (*Essays on Silk and Bamboo Intellectual Manuscripts*). Taipei 臺北: Taiwan Guji Chubanshe 臺灣古籍出版社.
- Wang, Mingqin 王明欽. 2004. "Wangjiatai qinmu zhujuan gaishu 王家台秦墓竹簡概述 (Summary of the Bamboo Slips from the Qin Tomb at Wangjiatai)." In *Xinchu jianbo yanjiu* 新出簡帛研究 (*Studies on Newly Excavated Bamboo and Silk Texts*), edited by Allan, S. 艾蘭, and Xing Wen 邢文, pp. 29-39. Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社.
- Wei, Qipeng 魏啟鵬. 2005. *Jianbo wenxian wuxing jianzheng* 簡帛文獻五行箋證 (*Proofs of the Bamboo and Silk Texts of the Wuxing*). Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局.
- Wuhan University Bamboo and Silk Manuscript Research Center 武漢大學簡帛研究中心, and Jingmen City Museum. 2011. *Chudi chutu zhanguo jiance beji (yi)* *Guodian chumu zhushu* 楚地出土戰國簡冊合集 (一)·郭店楚墓竹書 (*Chu Territory Excavated Warring States Texts Collection (1) Guodian Chu Tomb Bamboo Books*). Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社.
- Wuhan University Chinese Culture Research Institute 武漢大學中國文化研究院. 2000. *Guodian chujian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 郭店楚簡國際學術研討會論文集 (*Essay Collection of the International Academic Forum on the Guodian Chu Manuscripts*). Hubei 湖北: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe 湖北人民出版社.
- Xie, Junzhi 謝君直. 2008. *Guodian chujian rujiazhexue yanjiu* 郭店楚簡儒家哲學研究 (*Study of the Confucian Philosophy in the Guodian Bamboo Manuscripts*). Taipei 台北: Wanjuanlou Tushu Gufen Youxian Gongsi 萬卷樓圖書股份有限公司.
- Xing, Wen 邢文. 1997. *Boshu zhouyi yanjiu* 帛書周易研究 (*Study of the Silk Book of Changes*). Beijing 北京: Renmin Chubanshe 人民出版社.
- Xu, Wenxian 許文獻. 2021. *Qinghuajian yiyin wupian yanjiu* 清華簡伊尹五篇研究 (*Study of the five Tsinghua bamboo texts of Yiyin*). Taipei 台北: Wanjuanlou Tushu Gufen Youxian Gongsi 萬卷樓圖書股份有限公司.
- Zhao, Xiaobin 趙曉斌. 2023. "Hubei jingzhou wangjiatai m798 chutu zhanguo chujian kongzi yue gaishu 湖北荊州王家嘴M798出土戰國楚簡孔子曰概述 (Summary of the bamboo texts of Kongziyue from the Chu tombs No.798 of the Warring States Period at Wangjiatai, Jingzhou, Hubei)." *Jiangnan kaogu* 2: 43-48.

- Zhang, Zhenglang 張政烺. 2008. *Mawangdui boshu zhouyi jingzhuan jiaodu* 馬王堆帛書周易經傳校讀 (*Annotated Reading of the Mawangdui Silk Version of the Zhouyi*). Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局.
- Zheng, Yushan 鄭玉珊. 2008. *Shangbo (yi) Kongzi shilun yanjiu* 上博(一)孔子詩論研究 (*Study of the Shangbo vol. 1's Kongzi shilun*). Taibei 台北: Huamulan Wenhua Chubanshe 花木蘭文化出版社.
- Zhu, Yuanqing 朱淵清, and Liao Mingchun 廖名春. 2002. *Shanghai bowuguan-cang chuzhushu yanjiu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書研究 (*Study on the Shanghai Museum Collection's Warring States Chu Bamboo Books*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe 上海書店出版社.
- Zhu, Fenghan 朱鳳瀚. 2020. *Haibun jiandu chulun* 海昏簡牘初論 (*Preliminary Discussion of the Haibun Texts and Stakes*). Beijing 北京: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大學出版社.