

The Afterlife of *Before Confucius*: *Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics*

孔子之前： 中國經典誕生的研究

Edward L. Shaughnessy
夏含夷

The University of Chicago
Hong Kong Campus

2019.11.12



孔子之前

中国经典诞生的研究

「美」夏含夷 著

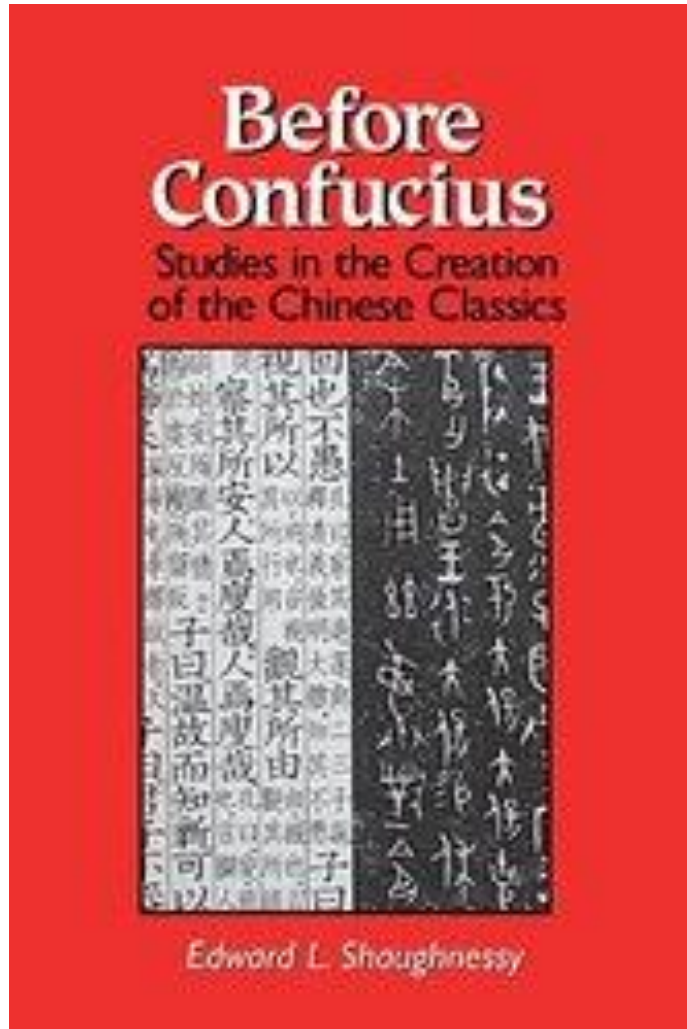
黄圣松 杨济襄 周博群 等译

范丽梅 黄冠云 修订

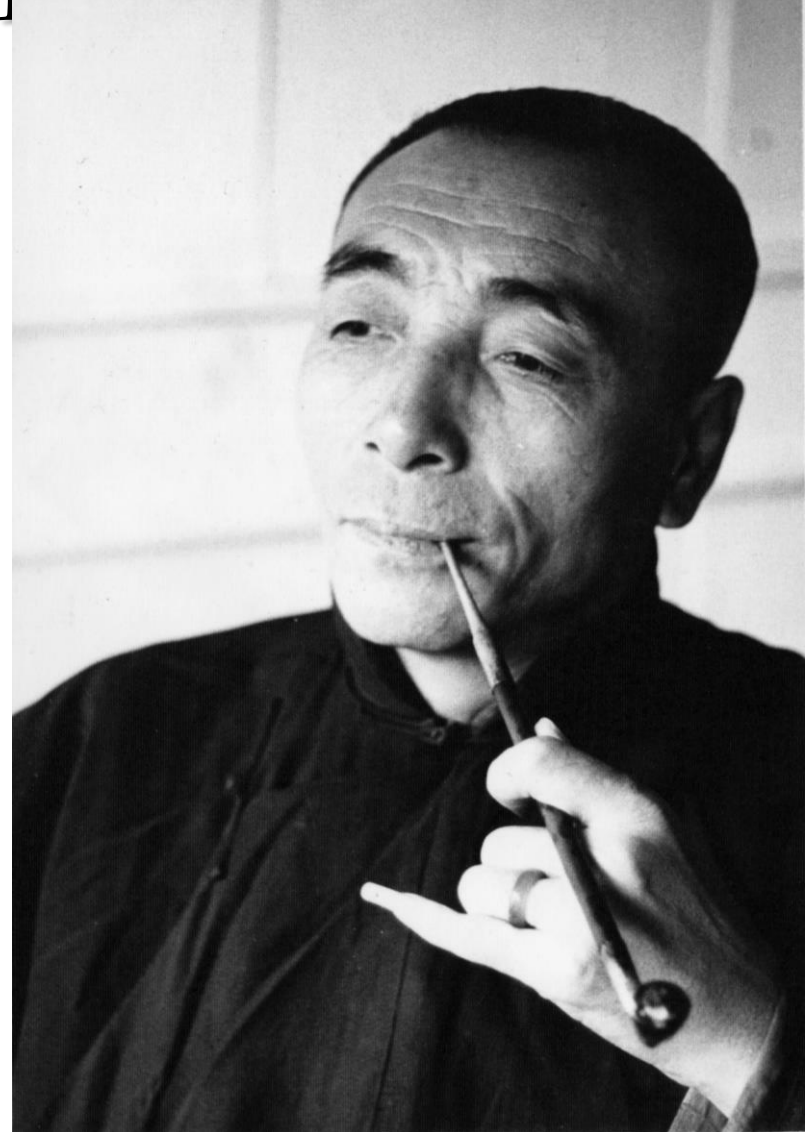
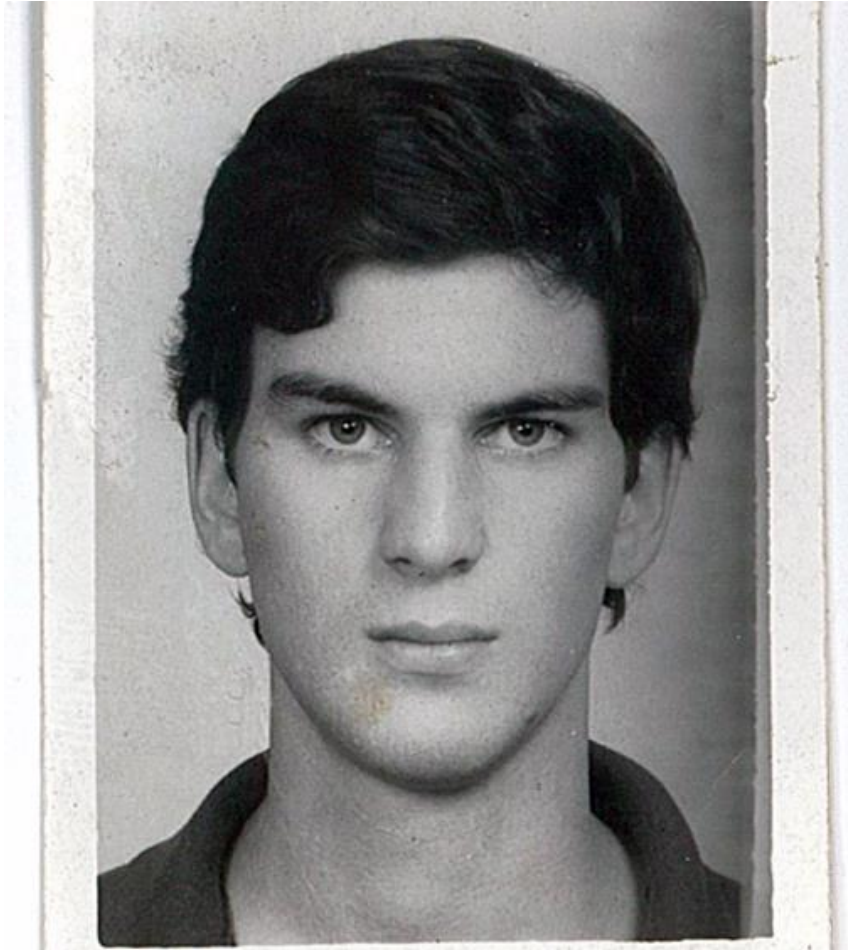
中西書局

Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics
Edward L. Shaughnessy

Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1997); 《孔子之前：中國經典誕生的研究》（台北：萬卷樓出版社，2013年）



Studies with Aisin-gioro Yuyun 愛新覺羅毓鋆, Taipei, 1974-77



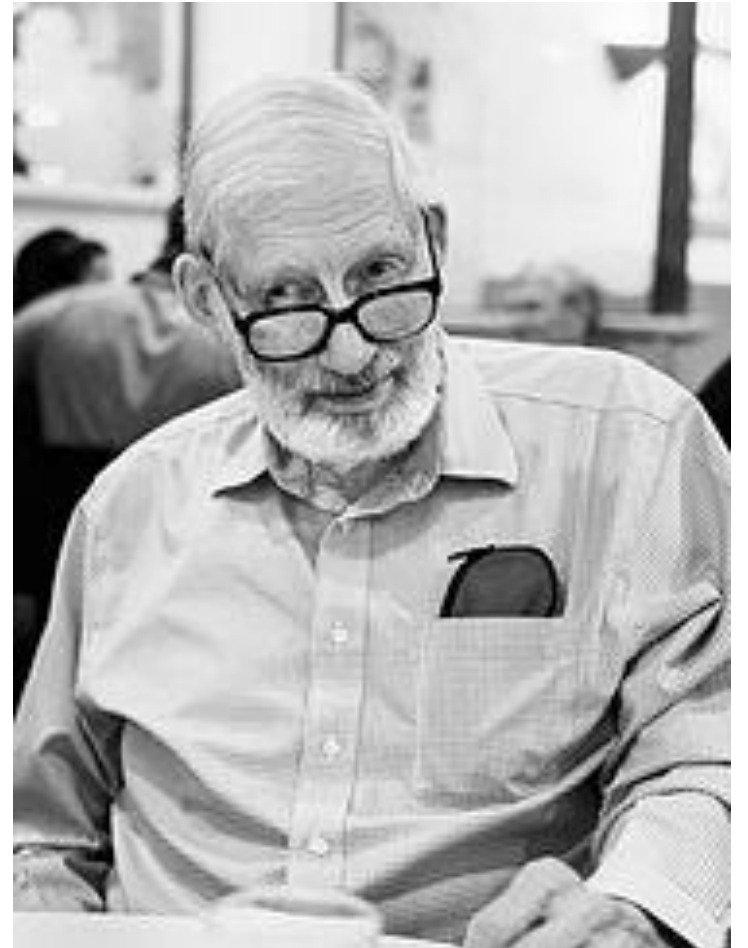
With Yu-lao 毓老 in 2005
celebrating his 100th birthday



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xsaAWiMMqT4&list=PLirA7Qig0v1n2qdTdU39TUz0AQuxdRM1A&index=2>



At Stanford University, 1978-1983,
studying with David S. Nivison (1923-2015)



目次

再版序	001
中译本序	001
导论.....	001
结婚、离婚与革命	
——《周易》的言外之意	014
武王克商的“新”证据	028
《竹书纪年》的真实性	062
周公居东与中国政治思想中君臣对立辩论的开端	091
大保奭在周王朝的巩固中所扮演的角色	121
由颂辞到文学	
——《诗经》早期作品的仪式背景	141
《乾》与《坤》的书写	
——论《周易》里的卦象	162
女性诗人何以最终烧毁王室	181

孔子之前 中国经典诞生的研究

〔美〕夏含夷 著

黄圣松 杨济襄 周博群 等译

范丽梅 黄冠云 修订

中西書局

Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics
Edward L. Shaughnessy

目次

Contents

再版序	001
中译本序	001
导论.....	001
结婚、离婚与革命	
——《周易》的言外之意	014
武王克商的“新”证据	028
《竹书纪年》的真实性	062
周公居东与中国政治思想中君臣对立辩论的开端	091
大保奭在周王朝的巩固中所扮演的角色	121
由颂辞到文学	
——《诗经》早期作品的仪式背景	141
《乾》与《坤》的书写	
——论《周易》里的卦象	162
女性诗人何以最终烧毁王室	181

List of Illustrations	ix
Introduction	1
1. Marriage, Divorce and Revolution: Reading between the Lines of the <i>Book of Changes</i>	13
2. “New” Evidence on the Zhou Conquest	31
3. On the Authenticity of the <i>Bamboo Annals</i>	69
4. The Duke of Zhou’s Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Minister-Monarch Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy	101
5. The Role of Grand Protector Shi in the Consolidation of the Zhou Conquest	137
6. From Liturgy to Literature: The Ritual Contexts of the Earliest Poems in the <i>Book of Poetry</i>	165
7. The Composition of “Qian” and “Kun” Hexagrams of the <i>Zhouyi</i>	197
8. How the Poetess Came to Burn the Royal Chamber	221
Selected Bibliography of Secondary Works	239
Index	247

Studying Oracle-Bone Inscriptions with David N. Keightley (1933-2017)



When I told him that I hoped to use oracle-bone inscriptions to study the *Yi ying* 易經 *Classic of Changes* for my doctoral dissertation, he said this was mis-guided, that what was important now was to study unearthed textual materials, and to disregard the Chinese Classics.



On the other hand, in 2005, talking with Yu lao about the just published Shanghai Museum manuscript of the *Zhou Yi* 周易 *Zhou Changes*, he raced across the room to get the volume, brought it back and threw it on the floor, proclaiming that it was not Confucius's *Zhou Yi*.

The Composition of *Qian* 乾 and *Kun* 坤 Hexagrams (《〈周易〉乾卦六龍新解》)

乾：元亨，利貞。

初九：潛龍。勿用。

九二：見龍在田。利見大人。

九三：君子終日乾乾。夕惕若厲。

无咎。

九四：或躍在淵。无咎。

九五：飛龍在天。利見大人。

上九：亢龍有悔。

用九：見群龍无首。吉。

坤：元亨，利牝馬之貞。君子
有攸往，先迷后得主，利西
南得朋，東北喪朋。安貞吉。

初六：履霜，堅冰至。

六二：直方大，不習。无不利。

六三：含章。可貞。或從王事，

无成有終。

六四：括囊。无咎无譽。

六五：黃裳。元吉。

上六：龍戰於野，其血玄黃。

用六：利永貞。

The Composition of *Qian* 乾 and *Kun* 坤 Hexagrams (《〈周易〉乾卦六龍新解》)

乾：元亨，利貞。

Qian: First receipt; beneficial to determine.

初九：潛龍。勿用。

First Nine: **Submerged dragon**; don't use.

九二：見龍在田。利見大人。

Nine in the Second: **See the dragon in the fields**; beneficial to see a great man.

九三：君子終日乾乾。夕惕若厲。无咎。

Nine in the Fourth: **And now jumping in the depths**; no trouble.

九四：或躍在淵。无咎。

Nine in the Fifth: **Flying dragon in the heavens**; beneficial to see a great man.

九五：飛龍在天。利見大人。

Top Nine: **Throated dragon**; there is regret.

上九：亢龍有悔。

Use the Nine: **See the flock of dragons without heads**; auspicious.

用九：見群龍无首。吉。

The Composition of *Qian* 乾 and *Kun* 坤 Hexagrams (《〈周易〉乾卦六龍新解》)

坤：元亨，利牝馬之貞。君子有攸往，先迷后得主，利西南得朋，東北喪朋。安貞吉。

初六：履霜，堅冰至。
六二：直方，大不習。无不利。
六三：含章。可貞。或從王事，无成有終。
六四：括囊。无咎无譽。
六五：黃裳。元吉。
上六：龍戰於野，其血玄黃。
用六：利永貞。

First Six: **Stepping on frost**: Hard ice will come.

Six in the Second: **Examining the borderlands**.

Six in the Third: **Possessing a pattern**.

Six in the Fourth: **Tying the sack**.

Six in the Fifth: **Yellow skirts**.

Top Six: **Dragons battling in the wilds; their blood is black and yellow**.

The “Dragon” 蒼龍 Constellation in Chinese Astronomy

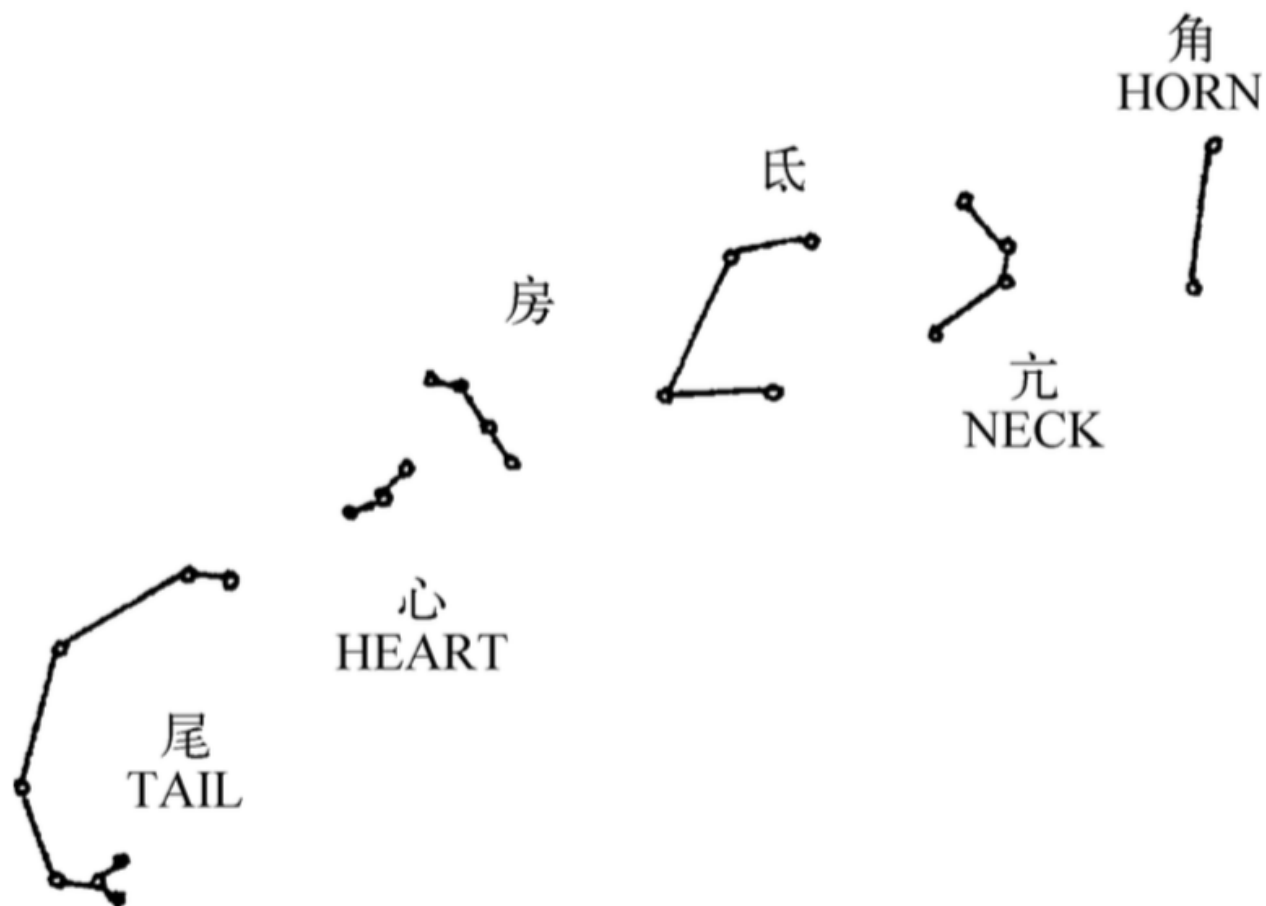


图 7.1 星群中的龙

Qian First Nine: **Submerged dragon**; don't use.

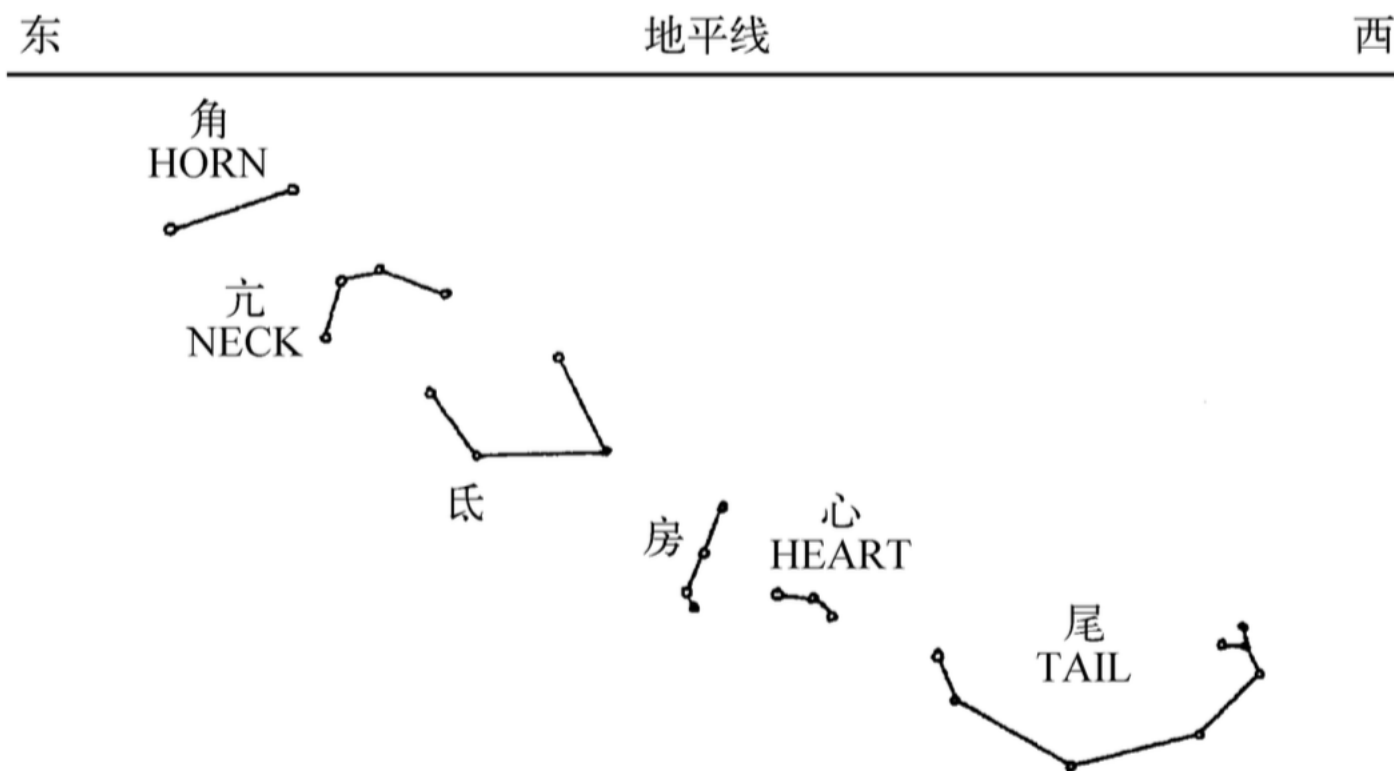


图 7.2 “潜龙”

(公元前 800 年冬至黄昏龙形天体的位置)

Qian Nine in the Second: See the dragon in the fields

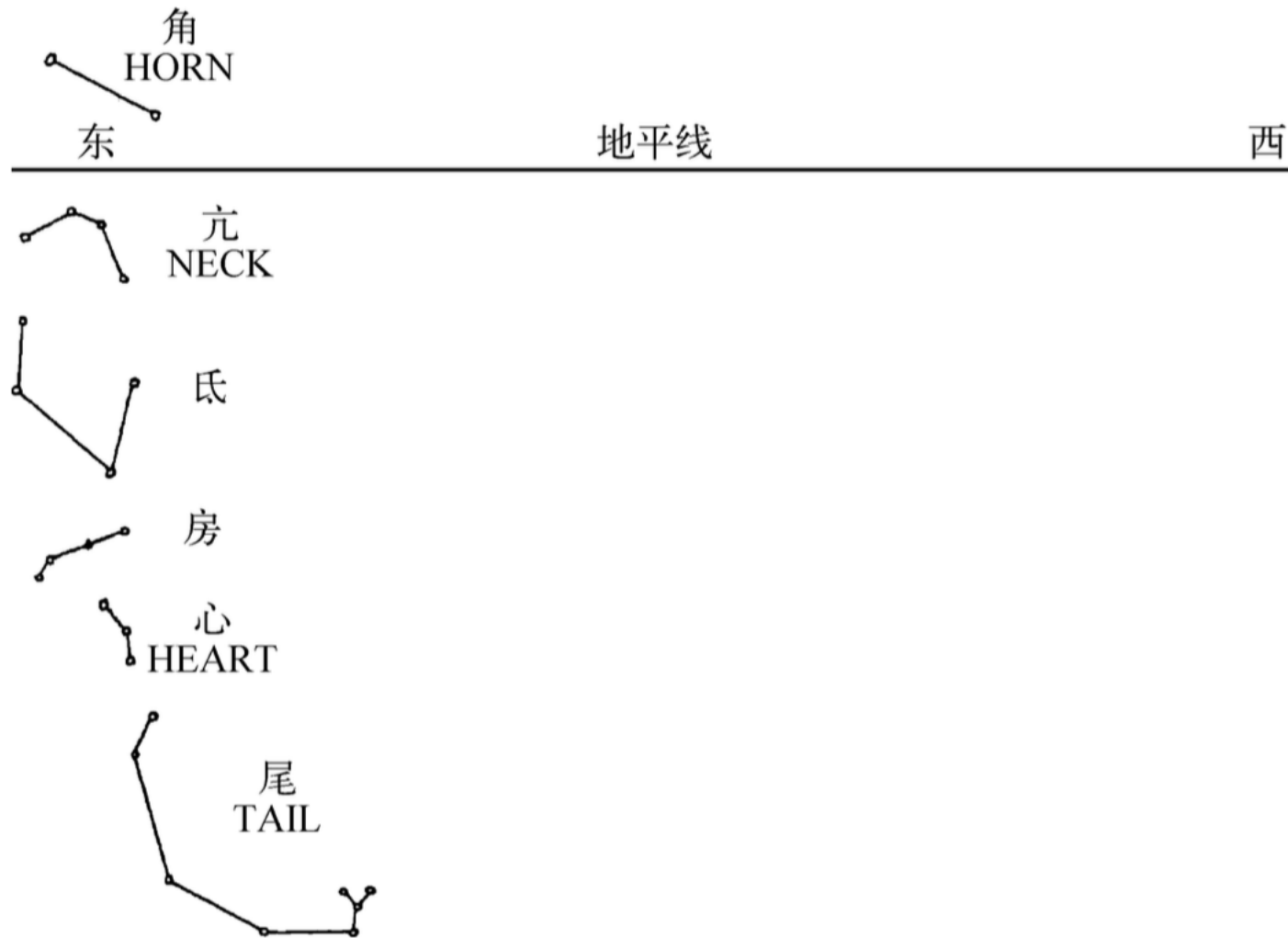


图 7.3 “见龙在田”

(公元前 800 年 3 月初黄昏龙形天体的位置)

Qian Nine in the Fourth: And now jumping in the depths

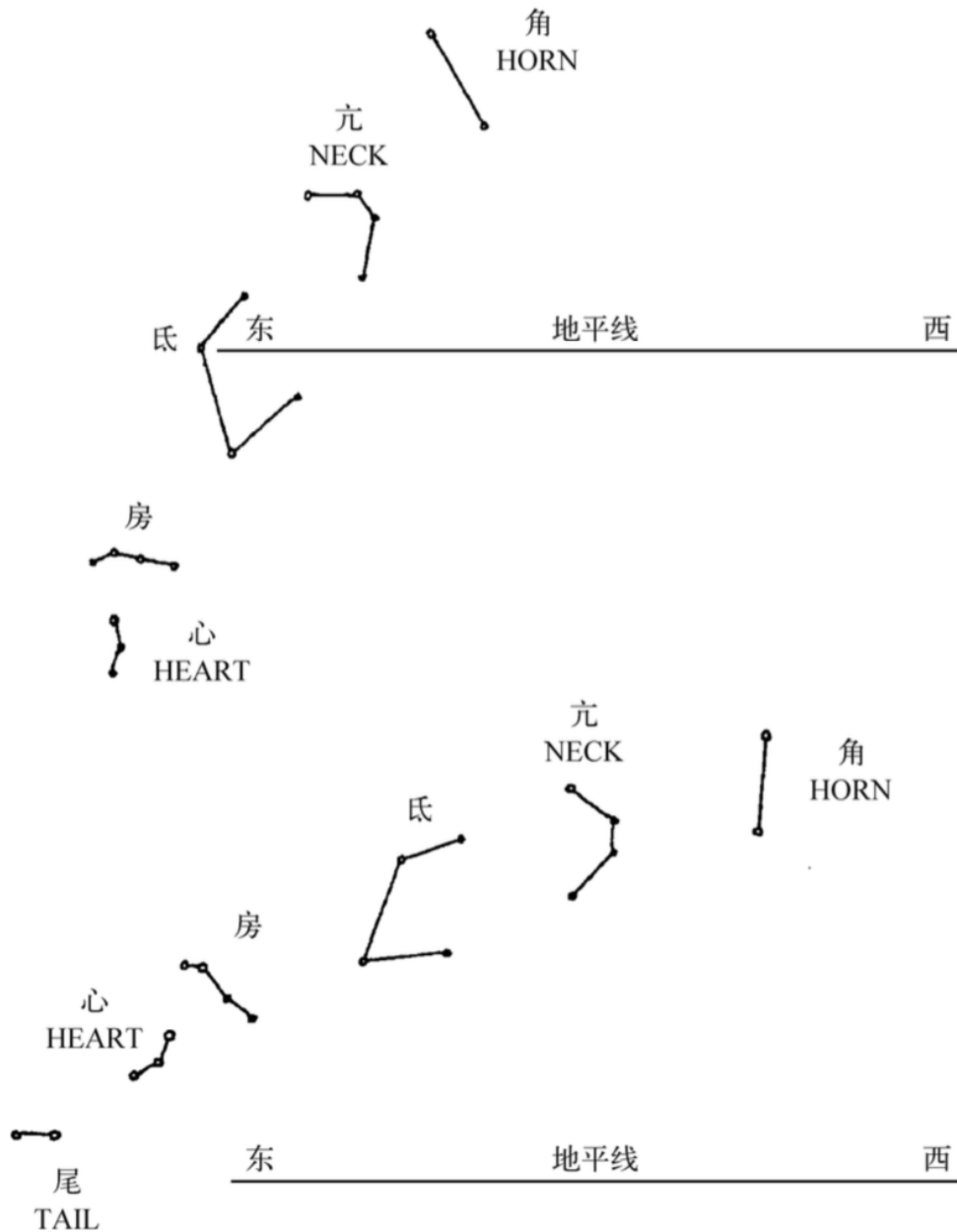


图 7.4 与 7.5 “或跃在渊”

(公元前 800 年 4 月底〔上〕与 5 月中〔下〕黄昏龙形天体的位置)

Qian Nine in the Fifth: Flying dragon in the heavens

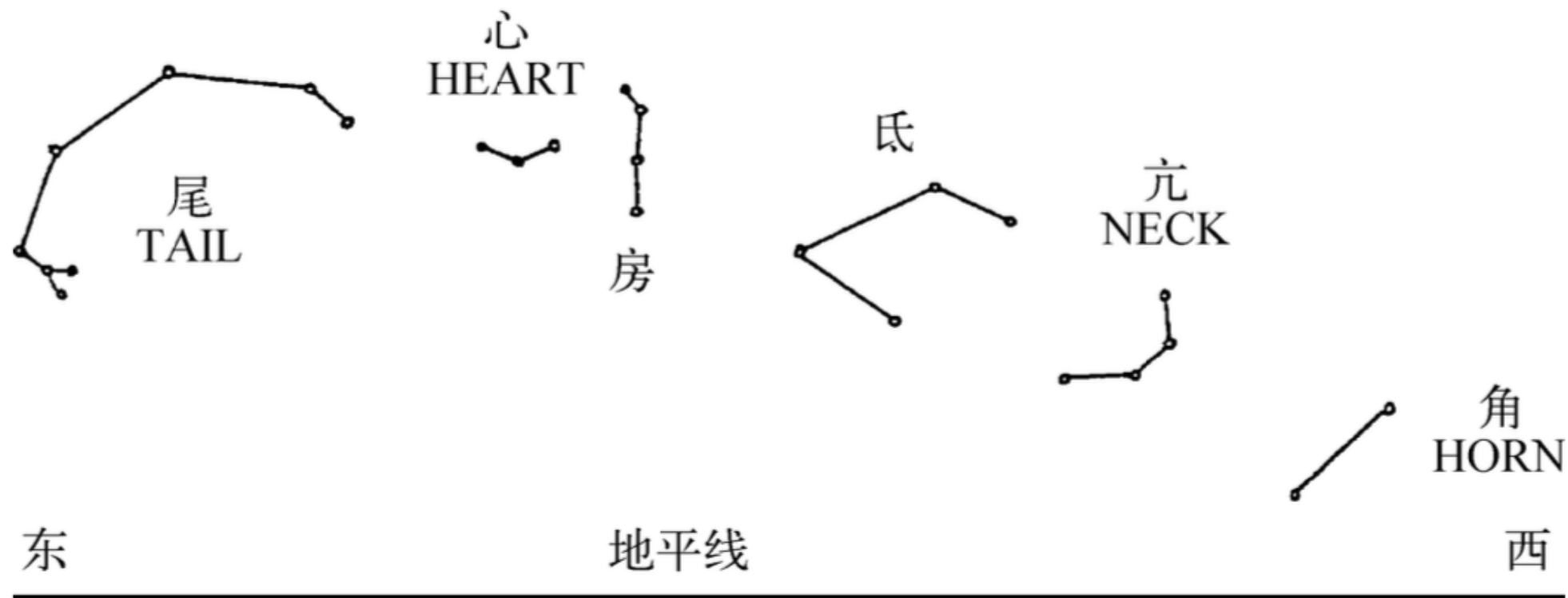


图 7.6 “飞龙在天”

(公元前 800 年夏至黄昏龙形天体的位置)

Qian Top Nine: Throated dragon

Use the Nine: See the flock of dragons without heads

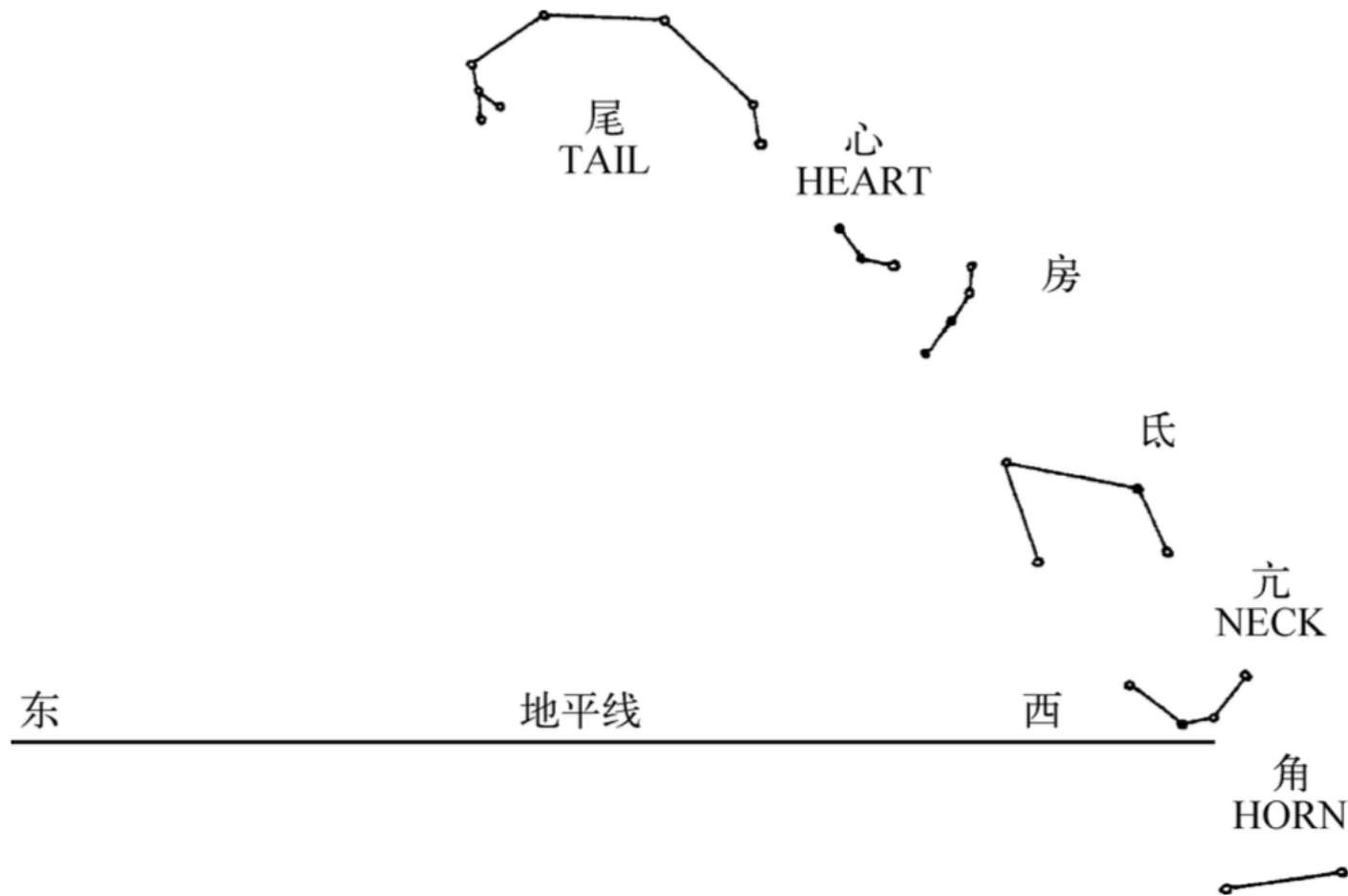


图 7.7 “亢龙”，“见群龙无首”
(公元前 800 年 8 月中黄昏龙形天体的位置)

Kun Top Six: Dragons battling in the wilds; their blood is black and yellow.

《說文解字》：“壬”位北方也，陰極陽生。故《易》曰：“龍戰于野”。戰者，接也，像人褰妊之形，承亥壬以子，生之叙也。

Shuo wen jie zi: *Ren* is located in the north, where *yin* culminates and *yang* is born. Therefore, the *Changes* says: “Dragons battling in the wilds.” “To battle” is to interlock. It resembles the shape of someone who is pregnant. Followed by *hai*, *ren* gives birth, the narrative of life.

Kun Top Six: Dragons battling in the
wilds; their blood is black and yellow.

《爾雅翼》：介潭生先龍，先龍生元龜。

Erya yi: The great pond gives birth to the Foremost Dragon,
and the Foremost Dragon gives birth to the Prime Turtle.

《石氏星經》：北方玄武七宿斗，有龍蛇蟠接之象。

Mr. Shi's Star Classic: The northern quadrant is the seven
lodges of the Black Warrior and the Dipper, having the
image of the Dragon and the Snake coiling together.

坤上六：龍戰於野，其血玄黃。

Kun Top Six: Dragons battling in the wilds; their blood is black and yellow.

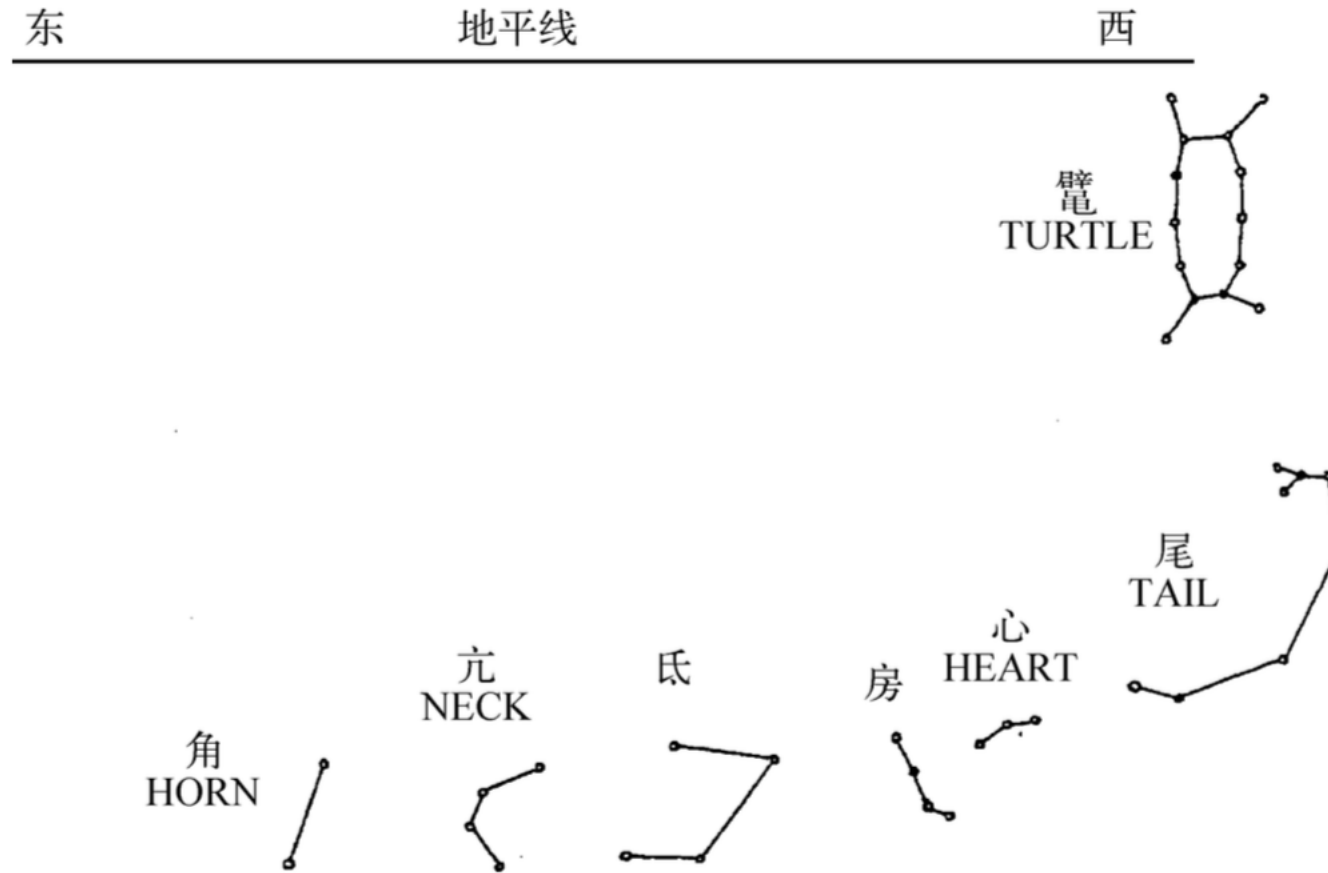


图 7.9 “龙战于野，其血玄黄”

(公元前 800 年 10 月黄昏龙形与鳖形天体的位置)

女性詩人何以最終燒毀王室

How the Poetess Came to Burn the Royal Chamber

《汝墳》，道化行也。文王之化，行乎汝墳之國，婦人能閔其君子，猶勉之以正也。

“Ru fen”, the influence of the *dao* acts. King Wen’s influence acts throughout the countries of the banks of the Ru; the wife is able to sympathize with her husband and also to encourage him to be upright.

遵彼汝墳，
伐其條枚，
未見君子，
惄如調飢。

Following that bank of the Ru,
Chopping up its twigs and stems
Not having seen the son of the lord,
Yearning like dawn's hunger.

遵彼汝墳，
伐其條肄，
既見君子，
不我遐棄。

Following that bank of the Ru,
Chopping up its twigs and shoots.
Now having seen the son of the lord,
He did not leave me behind.

魴魚赭尾，
王室如燬，
雖則如燬，
父母孔邇。

The bream-fish has a ruddy tail,
The king's chamber's as if ablaze.
Even though it's as if ablaze,
Father and mother are quite near.

“魴魚赭尾”

The bream-fish has a ruddy tail

《毛傳》：“魚勞則尾赤”。

Mao Zhuan: When a fish labors then its tail turns ruddy.

《鄭箋》：“君子仕于亂世，其顏色瘦病，如魚勞則尾赤”。

Zheng [Xuan] Commentary: “When a gentleman serves in a disordered world, then his complexion is lean and sickly, just as when a fish labors then its tail turns ruddy.

聞一多 (1899-1946) , 《詩經新義》

Wen Yiduo (1899-1946): *New Meaning of the Classic of Poetry*

未見君子，惄如調飢

Not having seen the gentle-son
Yearning like the hunger of dawn.

既見君子，不我遐棄

Now having seen the gentle-son
He did not leave me behind.

“hunger” as sexual longing

伐其條枚

Chopping up its twigs and stems.

伐其條肄

Chopping up its twigs and shoots.

firewood as a metaphor for the heat of romance

“惄如調飢”

Yearning like the hunger of dawn.

彼侯人兮，何戈與祲。 Oh, those men at waiting, Bearing spears and halberds.
彼其之子，三百赤芾。 Those young men over there: Three hundred red knee-pads.

維鵜在梁，不濡其翼。 There's a pelican on the bridge, Who doesn't wet his wings.
彼其之子，不稱其服。 That young man over there , Doesn't match his clothing.

維鵜在梁，不濡其喙。 There's a pelican on the bridge, Who doesn't wet his beak.
彼其之子，不遂其媾。 That young man over there, Doesn't pursue his date.

薈兮蔚兮，南山朝隲。 Oh, how dense; oh, how lush, South Mountain's morning mist.
婉兮孌兮，季女斯飢。 Oh, how cute; oh, how charming, Is this hunger of the young girl.

雖則如燬， 父母孔邇
Even though it's as if ablaze,
Father and mother are quite near.

《野有死麋》 “In the Wilds there is a Dead Doe”

野有死麋， 白茅包之， In the wilds there is a dead doe, With white rushes we blanket her.
有女懷春， 吉士誘之。 There is a girl cherishing spring, A lucky guy enticing her.

林有樸櫨， 野有死鹿， In the woods there are bushy shrubs, In the wilds there is a dead deer.
白茅純束， 有女如玉。 With white rushes we bind it round. There is a girl who is like jade.

舒而脫脫兮， 無感我帨兮， Slowly, oh be gentle, gentle, Oh, please don't you touch my girdle,
無使尫也吠。 Don't get the dog to barking.

王室如燬

The king's chamber's as if ablaze.

From the Warring States period into the Han, the way of writing changed:

王 玉

王 王

In the text *Su nü jing* 素女經 *Classic of the Pure Maiden*, the vulva is referred to as “Jade Gate” 玉門 or “Jade Window” 玉戶, and the uterus as “Red Chamber” 朱室

如果我們特別考慮到當時正在發展中的道德、政治經學傳統，就至少可以設想當《詩經》定型為現在這個樣子的時候(無論是在孔子的時代還是晚至漢朝)，《汝墳》中原本的“玉”可能並沒有改變過，但被人有意無意地讀成了“王”。

Particularly considering the developing political-moral exegesis of the *Classic of Poetry*, it is at least conceivable that when the text achieved its present form (whether at the time of Confucius or as late as the Han dynasty), an original *yu* 玉 “jade” might have been—advertently or inadvertently—left unchanged such that it was read *wang* 王 “royal.”

《武王克商的“新”证据》

“New” Evidence of the Zhou Conquest

在此可以作一结论：每当铸有铭文的青铜器出土时，现代学者们的兴奋是完全合理的。但土地并不是唯一埋藏真实记载的地方。在《世俘》的例子中，儒家理想主义同样掩埋着真相。让我们不要屈从于自己的偏见而向非地下出土的证据说不，而要像对待新出土文献一般检验这些文献。无论是在年代、军事还是朝廷礼仪等方面，《世俘》可以告诉我们许多关于西周早期的事情。

In conclusion then, modern scholars are justifiably excited whenever a bronze vessel bearing an inscription is unearthed. But earth is not the only thing that can bury authentic records. In the case of this “Shi fu” text, Confucian idealism has been nearly as obscurant. Let us not succumb to our own prejudices against “unattested” evidence, but instead examine this text just as we would a newly discovered bronze inscription. Whether in terms of chronology, military affairs, or court ritual, it has much to tell about the very early Zhou.

謝謝

孔子之前

中国经典诞生的研究

「美」夏含夷 著

黄圣松 杨济襄 周博群 等译

范丽梅 黄冠云 修订

Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics
Edward L. Shaughnessy

中西書局