

INTRODUCING THE TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY *WU JI 五紀 MANUSCRIPT WITH A FOCUS ON ITS MATERIALITY AND ITS STATUS AS A SOURCE

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Abstract

The recently published Tsinghua University bamboo manuscript **Wu ji* 五紀 presents a manuscript copy that is riddled with curious irregularities, omissions, and mistakes in its text, punctuation, and the preparation of the slips. Only some of these mistakes were corrected by a proofreader, others reveal errors of misunderstanding by the scribe and/or punctuator. Furthermore, paratext that was included in a previous instantiation of the text was only preserved in paratextual notes in the present copy. An analysis of these aspects of the manuscript helps shed light on its potential status as a source and raises questions about the relationship between unearthed and transmitted texts more generally.

Introduction

The recently published volume 11 of the Tsinghua manuscripts is comprised of a single, 130-slip long manuscript, called the **Wu ji* 五紀 (*The Five Guidelines*) by the editors.¹ The manuscript's name was based on the frequent repetition of the term *wu ji* throughout the text, names such as *Hou yue* 后曰 (*Hou said*) and *Hou fan* 后範 (*Hou's model*) were also

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1. Qinghua daxue Chutu wenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin 清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心 ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujuan (shiyi)* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡（拾壹）(Shanghai: Zhong Xi, 2021).

considered, given the prominence of the figure Hou in the text and similarities to the *Shangshu* 尚書, “Hong Fan” 洪範 chapter.²

After an initial organization of the slips and a coarse transcription of the graphs, four editors were charged with transcribing and annotating sections of the text.³ These initial transcriptions were collectively read, discussed, and re-edited three times in sessions attended by all members and affiliates of the Research and Conservation Center for Unearthed Texts at Tsinghua University, before a final session established the text. These sessions were conducted mostly based on a printout of the transcription as it stood, with occasional reference to relevant parts of the images of the bamboo slips projected on a screen. Except in rare cases where detailed observation of graphs was necessary, the physical slips were not frequently consulted at this stage.⁴

Timed just before the publication of the manuscript, several studies appeared written by the editors responsible for the initial preparation of different sections of the manuscript.⁵ These introduce the theme of

2. For these similarities, see Ma Nan 馬楠, “Qinghua jian Wu ji pian chushi” 清華簡《五紀》篇初識, *Wenwu* 9.2021, 80–81.

3. For the previously published volumes 9 and 10, outside experts were also consulted in separate meetings to discuss the manuscript and clarify issues, but because of travel restrictions during the pandemic, this was not possible for the present volume.

4. This was to limit exposure of the fragile slips to light. The images are generally clearer, as these were made under special lighting and because the slips degrade gradually over time. The large amounts of funding, specialized workers, and care required to provide safe and long-lasting storage for the slips gives insight into the reasons why so many (often still unpublished) slips have remained in storage under sub-optimal conditions across the country.

5. *Wenwu* studies: Ma Nan, “Qinghua jian Wu ji pian chushi”; Shi Xiaoli 石小力, “Qinghua jian Wu ji zhong de ershiba xiu chutan” 清華簡《五紀》中的二十八宿初探, *Wenwu* 9.2021, 82–86; Cheng Hao 程浩, “Qinghua jian Wu ji zhong de Huang di gushi” 清華簡《五紀》中的黃帝故事, *Wenwu* 9.2021, 91–94; Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔, “Qinghua jian Wu ji zhong de ‘xingxiang’ zhi ze yu ‘tian ren’ guanxi” 清華簡《五紀》中的“行象”之則與“天人”關係, *Wenwu* 9.2021, 87–90, 94. *Chutu wenxian* studies: Cheng Hao 程浩, “Qinghua jian Wu ji sixiang guannian fawei” 清華簡《五紀》思想觀念發微, *Chutu wenxian* 4.2021, 1–16; Huang Dekuan 黃德寬, “Qinghua jian Wu ji ‘si shen’ shuo” 清華簡《五紀》篇“四尢”說, *Chutu wenxian* 4.2021, 17–23; Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔, “Qinghua jian Wu ji de ‘hai’ ji xiangguan zi de zai taolun” 清華簡《五紀》的“骸”及相關字的再討論, *Chutu wenxian* 4.2021, 24–34; Shi Xiaoli 石小力, “Qinghua jian Wu ji de ‘tan’ yu Guodian jian Tang Yu zhi dao de ‘shan’” 清華簡《五紀》的“壇”與郭店簡《唐虞之道》的“禪,” *Chutu wenxian* 4.2021, 35–43. *Xueshu jie* studies: Huang Dekuan 黃德寬, “Qinghua jian Wu ji pian jiangou de tian ren xitong” 清華簡《五紀》篇建構的天人系統, *Xueshu jie* 285 (2022), 5–13; Cheng Hao 程浩, “Qinghua jian Wu ji zhong de zhenfa, yizhang yu junwu zhanghe” 清華簡《五紀》中的陣法、儀仗與軍舞戰歌, *Xueshu jie* 285 (2022); 14–19. For suggested revisions to the transcriptions, see Qinghua daxue chutu wenxian dushu hui 清華大學出土文獻讀物補正, *Qinghua daxue Chutu wenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin wangzhan*

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the text as a whole and similarities to previous materials (Ma Nan), the way it correlates the human body with the heavens (Jia Lianxiang), the twenty-eight mansions (lunar lodges, Shi Xiaoli), and the story of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝 and Chi You 蚩尤 (Cheng Hao). In a *Guangming Daily* article the text is presented as an encyclopedia, and to the extent that a wide range of knowledge is gathered for non-specialist consumption this seems a fair assessment.⁶ The content of the text provides an interesting counterpoint to the highly specialized astro-calendrical texts found at Mawangdui, for example. Instead of the process of classification, calculation, and divination often seen in technical materials, the *Wu ji appears more focused on the mythical origins and the moral-philosophical applications of these technical principles.⁷

The text deals with a variety of topics, introduced through the figure of Hou(di) 后(帝). The embedded narrative structure has this unknown cultural hero from antiquity responding to a personification of primal chaos *You Hong* 有洪 perhaps here best translated as “Flood Bringer.” Hou is credited with a range of measures that impose order. In typical fashion reminiscent of texts such as the “Hong Fan” 洪範 chapter of the *Shang shu* 尚書, Hou establishes the constituent elements of the cosmos, the calendar, spirits and so forth, before correlating these with virtues (*li* 禮, *yi* 義, *ai* 愛, *ren* 仁, *zhong* 中), images (*xiang* 象), parts of the body, numbers, demons and illnesses.⁸ Often, these correlations are made with

清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心網站, posted December 16, 2021, www.ctwx.tsinghua.edu.cn/info/1081/2749.htm.

6. Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔, “Qinghua jian guanyu Zhanguo shiqi ‘baike quanshu’ de xin faxian” 清華簡關於戰國時期“百科全書”的新發現, *Guangming ribao*, October 30, 2021, p.11, https://epaper.gmw.cn/gmrb/html/2021-10/30/nw.D110000gmr_20211030_2-11.htm.

7. For introductions see for example, Christopher Cullen, “Wu xing zhan 五星占 ‘Prognostics of the Five Planets,’” *SCIAMVS* 12 (2011), 193–249; Daniel P. Morgan, *Astral Sciences in Early Imperial China: Observation, Sagehood, and the Individual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); and Marc Kalinowski, “Diviners and Astrologers under the Eastern Zhou: Transmitted Texts and Recent Archaeological Discoveries,” in *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC–220 AD)* (2 vols.), ed. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 341–96. The Daybooks likewise present common ways of integrating specialist knowledge into more accessible formats, see Donald Harper and Marc Kalinowski eds., *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Handbook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin and Han* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

8. This may be linked with Donald Harper’s discussion on the emergence of correlative philosophy; see especially his discussion in “Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 813–84, esp. 824–30, for the relation between the spread of technical expertise and the rise of yin-yang thought and Five Phases correlative cosmology, see e.g. p. 825: “If the cosmological

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rhyiming statements, many of which are in the *Yang*-group rhymes familiar from the Daybooks and other technical texts.⁹ In the final sections, we find a short narrative on the Yellow Emperor and Chi You, before returning to Hou's summative discussion on the *Wu ji* 五紀 (see Table 1).¹⁰

Table 1 **Wu ji* structure

* <i>Wu ji</i> Slip #	Contents	Function
1–2	Myth of Hou Di	Opening frame
3–9	Five Guidelines	Basic parameters and concepts
9–26	Calendar, directions, virtues, asterisms	Rules of operation
26–42	Heavenly and earthly spirits, stems and branches, seasons, materials, days, and appellations.	Correlative thought
42–46	Rhymed quatrains	Integration of correlative thought
46–62	Sacrifice, divination, prayer	Application
62–79	Heavenly bodies, calendar, asterisms, images	Organizing cosmos, follow commands of Hou
79–87	Correlation with body and spirits, virtues	Visualizes correlations, possibly accompanied by image ¹⁰
88–91	Calculation, body as measurement unit	Visualizes correlations, possibly accompanied by image
91–97	Demonography, ailments	Contains paratext and may have been tabular (see section on Paratext, below)
97–112	Yellow Emperor and Chi You	Mythographic insertion
112–120	Link story elements to ritual practice	Explanation of origin story
120–130	Repetition of key virtues and concepts	Summary and effects

knowledge of the natural experts and occultists was primarily an applied knowledge intended to resolve particular situations as they arose (typical of astrology and divination), perhaps Zou Yan fashioned theories that demonstrated the relevance of cosmology to the state and the individual, thereby making it indispensable to philosophy."

9. Rens Krijgsman, "A Preliminary Analysis of Rhymed Passages in the Daybook Manuscripts," *Bamboo and Silk* 4.2 (2021), 291–335.

10. Jia Lianxiang, "Qinghua jian *Wu ji* zhong de 'xingxiang' zhi ze yu 'tian ren' guanxi," 89.

Given the careful integration of this wide range of materials, it seems clear that the text is not a miscellany or understood as a compilation of separate texts. It is nevertheless quite possible that the text originated as a composite that arranged and adapted multiple sources into the single text that this manuscript presents. As an object, however, it appears that the present manifestation of text and manuscript was perhaps incompletely copied from an earlier, more comprehensive ensemble that involved tables or visual structuring, and perhaps images.

The Manuscript

In this introduction to the manuscript, I focus on the quality of the manuscript's preparation and editing. Given the manuscript's length, it is remarkably intact. Besides missing slips 14–15 and 113–114, a number of slips have parts broken off. Slips are about 45 cm long and 0.6 cm wide, featuring three binding cords. Traces of the binding cords remain visible, especially at the last slip of the manuscript where it was tied off. Across the slips the cords left clear imprints, revealing that in the middle of the manuscript the binding cords may have loosened at some point during the life of the manuscript and pressed down slanting upwards along the slips.¹¹

Because each slip is marked sequentially on the recto just below the bottom binding cord, the order of the slips was easily determined. The end of the text is marked with a hook-shaped punctuation mark on the final slip, followed by blank space. Hook-shaped marks are also used to mark section divisions within the manuscript. Dash-shaped marks are occasionally used to this effect as well, and I have not been able to determine any particular significance in the distribution of these two marks.¹² The writing is neatly laid out on the manuscript and generally features well-inked brush strokes. There are areas where the ink is unclear and smudged. This may be due in part to the shifting of the slips noted above; it is not clear when this happened exactly.

Errors and Corrections

Based on corrections visible in the manuscript, some of which are clearly in a different hand, it appears that the manuscript went through at least

11. On the verso, this is particularly visible between slip 73 and 88 (middle binding cord), see also slip 73–94 (top binding cord).

12. See for instance the mark before 后曰 on slip 18. It is of course possible that one of the types was added during production and the other during a reception, but there is not enough data to establish this.

one round of proofreading. Errors and corrections in manuscripts are of course quite common,¹³ what is noteworthy in this manuscript is the number of mistakes left uncorrected and the large number of errors in the punctuation of the text despite clear signs of proofreading.¹⁴

13. See Gansu sheng bowuguan 甘肅省博物館 and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogusuo 中國科學院考古所 eds., *Wuwei Han jian* 武威漢簡 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1972), in particular, see Chen Mengjia's 陳夢家 analysis of the errors and methods of correction therein, esp. 65–71. For general overviews, see Li Junming 李均明 and Liu Jun 劉軍, *Jiandu wen-shu xue* 簡牘文書學 (Nanning: Guanxi jiaoyu, 1999), 60–88; Huang Ren'er 黃人二, "Jian-lun xian Qin liang Han shushou chaoxie hou zhi jiaokan dagai" 簡論先秦兩漢書手抄寫後之校勘大概, in *Xin chutu wenxian yu gudai wenming yanjiu* 新出土文獻與古代文明研究, ed. Xie Weiyang 謝維揚 and Zhu Yuanqing 朱淵清 (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue, 2004), 308–11; Zhang Xiancheng 張顯成, *Jianbo Wenxian xue tong-lun* 簡帛文獻學通論 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2004), 179–214; Li Ling 李零, *Jianbo gushu yu xueshu yuanliu* 簡帛古書與學術源流 (Beijing: Sanlian, 2008), 121ff; Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔, *Zhangguo zhushu xingzhi ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu: yi Qinghua daxue cang Zhangguo zhujian wei zhongxin* 戰國竹書形製及相關問題研究：以清華大學藏戰國竹簡為中心 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2015), 159, 173–82; Cheng Pengwan 程鵬萬, *Jiandu boshu geshi yanjiu* 簡牘帛書格式研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2017), 132–39; 271–72; for a recent study specifically devoted to errors, see Cai Wei 蔡偉, *Wuzi, yanwen yu yongzi xiguan: chutu jianbo gushu yu chuanshi gushu jiaokan de jige zhuanti yanjiu* 誤字、衍文與用字習慣：出土簡帛古書與傳世古書校勘的幾個專題研究 (Xinbei: Hua Mulan wen-hua, 2019); on errors of form ("corruption") see the studies collected in Zhao Ping'an 趙平安 ed., *E zi yanjiu lunji* 訛字研究論集 (Shanghai: Zhong Xi, 2019). On scribal habits as a preliminary to mistakes, see particularly Matthias L. Richter, "Towards a Profile of Graphic Variation," *Asiatische Studien* 59.1 (2005), 169–207; Matthias L. Richter, "Faithful Transmission or Creative Change: Tracing Modes of Manuscript Production from the Material Evidence," *Asiatische Studien* 63.4 (2009), 889–908; Daniel P. Morgan, "A Positive Case for the Visuality of Texts in Warring States Manuscript Culture," (paper presented at the conference "The Rise of Writing," University of Chicago, October 15–16, 2011); for a study of the use of a practice manuscript involving corrections, see Daniel P. Morgan and Karine Chemla, "Writing in Turns: An Analysis of Scribal Hands in the Bamboo Manuscript *Suan shu shu* 算數書 (*Writings on Mathematical Procedures*) from Zhangjiashan Tomb No. 247," *Bamboo and Silk* 1.1 (2018), 152–90; for comparative material from Dunhuang, see Imre Galambos, "Correction marks in the Dunhuang manuscripts," in *Studies in Chinese Manuscripts: From the Warring States Period to the 20th Century*, ed. Imre Galambos (Budapest: ELTE Institute of East Asian Studies, 2013); for a study with a strong methodological discussion and review of scholarship including on transmitted texts, see Crispin Williams, "Scribal Variation and the Meaning of the Houma and Wenxian Covenant Texts' Imprecation Ma Yi Fei Shi 麻夷非是," *Early China* 37 (2014), 101–79, esp. 135–46. On collation in the early empire, see Max Jakob Fölster and Thies Staack, "Collation in Early Imperial China: From Administrative Procedure to Philological Tool," in *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, ed. Jörg B. Quenzer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), vol. 2, 889–912.

14. Here Richter's call to establish a "profile of graphic variation" in order to establish, for instance, the range of variation and susceptibility of a scribe to mistakes that can be expected within a manuscript is crucial, see his "Towards a Profile of Graphic Variation," 170. Compare for instance the *San bu wei* 參不韋 manuscript in volume 12 of the Tsinghua manuscripts. That manuscript is comparable in genre, scope of content,

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The writing of the manuscript starts below the top binding cord and ends before the bottom cord, with numerals written below the bottom cord. Graphs avoid the bindings and it seems likely that the manuscript was bound before writing, or, that the scribe referenced the notches in the slips in determining the layout of the text.¹⁵ Against this layout, the presence of two lightly brushed graphs, *dong zhu* 東柱 “eastern pillar,” above the top binding on slip 83 stand out in stark contrast. These, and the two graphs and punctuation mark, *zuo gu* 左股 “left thigh,” immediately following on the slip are brushed lighter and squeezed more closely together, as are the preceding graphs at the bottom of slip 82, *xi zhu you gu* 西柱右股 “western pillar right thigh.” This highly repetitive section of the text (it is preceded and followed by multiple limbs, east and west), may have thrown off the scribe and led him to drop a few graphs. This mistake was then corrected later (see [Figures 1 and 2](#)).

Any previous writing was scraped off (this is admittedly not entirely clear from the images) and the corrections appear to be in a different hand from the immediately surrounding text.¹⁶ The correction is followed by a punctuation mark, which may suggest that the correction was done based on a master-copy that included punctuation, or, that the proofreader supplied it himself.¹⁷ The spacing of the punctuation *vis à vis* the writing does not suggest an order either way, as there is plenty of

and sheer size (124 slips), but features only a handful of clearly identifiable mistakes. For a set of introductory studies, see Shi Xiaoli 石小力, “Qinghua jian *San bu wei* gaishu” 清華簡《參不韋》概述, *Wenwu* 2022.9, 52–55+97+1; Ma Nan, “Qinghua jian *San bu wei* suo jian zaoqi guanzhi chutan” 清華簡《參不韋》所見早期官制初探, *Wenwu* 2022.9, 56–58; Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔, “Qinghua jian *San bu wei* de daosi ji youguan sixiang wenti” 清華簡《參不韋》的禱祀及有關思想問題, *Wenwu* 2022.9, 59–63; Cheng Hao 程浩, “Qinghua jian *San bu wei* zhong de Xia dai shishi” 清華簡《參不韋》中的夏代史事, *Wenwu* 2022.9, 64–67.

15. In general, for the position of the middle binding, more distance is left preceding the binding cord than at the start of the next character after the cord, suggesting that the scribe planned out the placement of the graphs based on the presence of the cords. Nevertheless, especially as the manuscript progresses, graphs draw in closer to the middle binding cord position and graphs are also spaced out less widely.

16. As can be seen from a different execution of strokes (for example, straight ends vs. tapered ends on *you* 右), different writing of components (compare, for example, the crossing of the final two strokes of *dong* 東 on slip 82 with the curled, single stroke variety on the top of slip 82, the execution of *zhu* 柱, etc.), and in general, a more horizontal, less upward slanted alignment of the writing in the corrections.

17. Conceptually, we need to distinguish between the copyist, punctuator, and proofreader responsible for the production of this manuscript, and note that the punctuation could have been supplied by copyist and proofreader alike. For a discussion, see Rens Krijgsman, “An Inquiry into the Formation of Readership in Early China: Using and Producing the **Yong yue* 用曰 and *Yinshu* 引書 Manuscripts,” *T’oung Pao* 104.1–2 (2018): 2–65.



Figure 1 Left: slips 81–83, bottom. Courtesy of the Research and Conservation Center for Unearthed Texts, Tsinghua University, Beijing.

space left between graphs to accommodate the punctuation and marks are placed in typical fashion anywhere between a third to halfway in between the space of two graphs.

Other examples of correction can be found in the addition of missing graphs. Slip 97 has *ren* 人 squeezed in between in smaller script, and slip 61 has *bei* 北 squeezed in smaller script in between the first two graphs of the slip. These graphs were likely added either in a round of corrections, or, directly after the scribe noticed the skipped graph; their simple composition makes it hard to definitively distinguish the hand of the scribe responsible for the corrections.¹⁸

18. The simple composition of the graphs makes it hard to compare their execution with other examples, and it is unclear whether a separate proofreader added these.



Figure 2 Right: slips 82–84, top. Courtesy of the Research and Conservation Center for Unearthed Texts, Tsinghua University, Beijing.

Slips 59–61—the section of text that contained the supplemented *bei* 北 noted above—has other errors that were not corrected. For example, the editors note that the writing of *zhai* 宅 in this section was executed incorrectly with the *nü* 女 signfic in the first instance, switching to *zhai* 尾 in the second instance, before slipping into the first form again on slip 61. Generally speaking, the **Wu ji* shows variation in graph component structure between different sections of the text, a phenomenon that Jia Lianxiang attributes to the scribe faithfully copying different forms from an eclectic range of materials that formed the sources of the present copy of the **Wu ji*.¹⁹ But perhaps some of the variation is the result

19. On variation in writing in the **Wu ji* see Shi Xiaoli 石小力, “Qinghua jian *Wu ji* xin yong zi xianxiang juli” 清華簡《五紀》新用字現象舉例, in *Chutu wenxian zonghe yanjiu*

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of the scribe slipping into personal scribal habits between attempts to faithfully copy the *vorlage*.²⁰

The officiant of sacrifices then held on to the rites, and set up an altar in the eastern mansion, saying: “[The one] grasping ritual is called the officiant of sacrifices”; saying: “Following these movements!” The ancestor then held on to humaneness, and set up an altar in the south, saying: “The smells from the sacrificial vessels are gentle”; saying: “Pure smells!” The head of officials held on to propriety, and set up an altar in the western mansion, saying: “Use these animals for the sacrifice”; saying: “The Sacrifice!” The master artisan held onto care, and set up an altar in the northern mansion, saying: “Vessels and silks topped with color”; saying: “Beautiful!” These are called the four mansions, the four regions of the world, ritual is called a standard, humaneness is called food, propriety is called a model, care is called adhering, the four rites are to show respect, when fully loyal it is called a blessing.²¹

祝乃秉禮，壇于西<東>奎<厓>（宅）曰：𠄎禮號祝，曰：唯順是行。𠄎宗乃秉仁，壇于[59]南宅曰：祭器香柔，曰：唯蠲香𠄎。官長秉義，壇于東<西>厓（宅）曰：牲用比物，曰：唯犧𠄎。工師秉愛，壇[60]于北宅曰：器幣上色，𠄎曰：唯嘉𠄎。曰四奎<厓>（宅），四域天下，禮曰則，仁曰食，義曰式，愛曰服，四禮以恭，全忠曰福[61]。²²

The passage includes another mix-up of the east and west formula. The correlation of the virtues *li* 禮 and *yi* 義 with their corresponding directions established on slip 20 in the manuscript has been inverted here on slip 59. This may of course have been an error already present in an earlier iteration of the text, spaced roughly forty slips apart it would

jikan (di shiwu ji) 出土文獻綜合研究集刊（第十五輯），ed. Xi'nan daxue chutu wenxian zonghe yanjiu zhongxin 西南大學出土文獻綜合研究中心 and Xi'nan daxue hanyu wenxian yanjiu suo 西南大學漢語言文獻研究所（Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2022），117–27; and Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔，“Qinghua jian Wu ji zhong de yuzhou lun yu Chu boshu deng tushi de fangxiang wenti” 清華簡《五紀》中的宇宙論與楚帛書等圖式的方向問題，*Qinghua daxue xuebao* 2023.5, 134–44. Both note numerous examples of the single scribe responsible for writing the manuscript using differently structured graphs to write key terms. Jia Lianxiang suggests that it is likely that the scribe copied, rather faithfully, the different forms from a rather eclectic range of source texts.

20. For a similar instance, see the discussion in Richter, “Faithful Transmission,” 897–900.

21. For reading *zhong* 忠 as “loyal” here, see the arguments in Cheng Hao, “Qinghua jian Wu ji sixiang guannian fawei,” 15–16.

22. To minimize clutter, only readings that differ from the source publication are annotated, all others are written out in interpretive transcription straight away. Numbers between square brackets indicate the slip-numbers assigned by the editors.

be a stretch to imagine a scribe or proofreader verifying the correlations of these items. Nevertheless, it does reveal that any proofreading of the text did not engage with the actual content. The same is true for the missing graph *li* 禮 on slip 63 following this section, parallelism with *bing yi* 秉義 in the next line indicates that it ought to be there:

The virtue of the sun is called: “We meet (according to) [ritual] and set up the seasons, the gathered multitude (of gods) confer and inquire, the world anxiously observes it.”

日之德曰：我期[禮]作時，叢羣謀詢，天下惴察[63]之。

The gist of this section revolves around pairing the virtues with heavenly bodies, officials, and proper duties. Here, for instance, the time-structuring aspect of ritual is linked to the sun’s leading role in the establishment of the seasons, which in turn provide guidance to all the officials, artisans, officers etc.²³ Given the text’s careful and regular correlation of these elements, it appears that the occurrence of the mistakes should be attributed to a scribe who was not likely intellectually involved in the content of the text and is perhaps best understood as a copyist. This would, at least for this iteration of the text, exclude the expert user-producers that we tend to associate with technical manuscripts.²⁴

Irregularities and Punctuation

The punctuation likewise contains a number of irregular features. Whether such irregularities are best understood as errors of copying or misunderstanding, or rather reflect an attempt to guide the reader with meaningful distinctions, needs to be evaluated in light of the overall state and habits of execution visible in the manuscript as a whole.²⁵ As was already visible in the example above (slips 59–61), hook- and dash-shaped punctuation marks seem to alternate without particular meaningful distinction, and sometimes seem to have been added irregularly:

The master artisan held on to care, and set up an altar in the northern mansion, saying: “Vessels and silks topped with color”; saying: “Beautiful!”

工師秉愛，壇[60]于北宅曰：器幣上色，一曰：唯嘉。

23. See slips 57–58.

24. Donald Harper, quoted in Richter, “Faithful Transmission or Creative Change,” 892n4.

25. Richter, “Towards a Profile of Graphic Variation.”

All the other lines in this section feature a mark only after the second *yue* ... 曰 ... statement. But here the punctuator adds it after both the first and the second statement, even though no disambiguation was particularly necessary—maybe it alerts the reader to the end of this list of formulaically patterned statements.²⁶ Indeed, there are other examples of irregularities at the end of lists that are equally ambiguous. Take slips 13 and 123 for instance. These feature a repetition mark written with a single instead of a double dash even though the others in the series are all executed with the much more regularly occurring double dash:

Hou said: “In the world, the eyes assist ritual, and ritual exercises straightness; the mouth assists propriety, and propriety exercises squareness; the ears assist care, and care exercises measure; the nose assists humaneness, and humaneness exercises balance; the heart assists loyalty, and loyalty exercises the rounding out of desires.

后曰：天下目相豊=（禮，禮）行[12]直；口相義=（義，義）行方；耳相悉=（愛，愛）行準；鼻相訐=（仁，仁）行稱■；心相中■<=>（忠，忠）行圓欲■。

The addition of a mark after *cheng* 稱 is irregular in this series, but it appears even more pronounced because of the use of a single-dash shaped repetition mark after *zhong* 中 before the list is closed with a final mark. The mark after *cheng* was likely intended, as in the example above, to indicate to the reader that the list was about to end and that the rhythm was about to change.²⁷ Perhaps the use of a single instead of a double-dashed mark for *zhong* is an example of the scribe accidentally skipping a stroke on the reduplication mark because he had just written a single, dash-shaped mark, only three graphs earlier.²⁸ The final mark simply ends the series.

26. For the use of punctuation as “attention marks” to make sure the reader correctly parses the text, especially in light of similar changes within items in a list, see Matthias Richter, “Textual Identity and the Role of Literacy in the Transmission of Early Chinese Literature,” in *Writing and Literacy in Early China: Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar*, ed. Li Feng and David Prager Branner (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 223–27.

27. The ending in a verb–object structure, *yuan yu* 圓欲, likewise breaks up the pattern textually to indicate to the reader that the list is over. Compare also Guodian **Yucong* 語叢 2 where the arrangement on the bamboo is used to highlight the structure of the anadiplosis, see Rens Krijgsman, *Early Chinese Manuscript Collections: Sayings, Memory, Verse, and Knowledge* (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 49–55.

28. I thank Matthias Richter, personal correspondence of 23 October 2022, for helping me clarify this section of the argument.

Similarly, on slips 122–23 we find again some irregularities in a series of anadiplosis. It features a missing repetition mark at the beginning,²⁹ a concept that mistakenly occurs twice in the series, and finally, another repetition mark executed with a single dash for the last item of the series:

Hou said: Trustworthiness, those who are trustworthy exercise ritual, those who exercise ritual will necessarily be bright. Hou said: Excellence, those who are excellent exercise propriety, those who exercise propriety will necessarily be adept. Hou said: Long-lasting, those who last long exercise care, those who exercise care will necessarily be pleasing. Hou said: Straightness, those who are straight exercise humaneness, those who exercise humaneness will necessarily have strength. Hou said: Goodness, the good exercise loyalty, those who exercise loyalty will necessarily see results.

后曰：訃[=]（信，信）者行=豐=（行禮，行禮）者必明。后曰：善=（善，善）者行=義=（行義，行義）者必巧。后曰：[122]義<永>=（永，永）者行=悉=（行愛，行愛）者必美。后曰：貞=（正，正）者行=訃=（行仁，行仁）者必有力。后曰：良= <=>（良，良）者行=中=（行忠，行忠）者必果。

To be sure, there are examples of using a single line to mark repetition found in other unearthed texts. The consensus opinion is that these either represent a convention or “economy” 簡省.³⁰ The examples in the *Wu ji seem to defy a simple explanation as they occur irregularly. Here, it probably was just a slip of the brush. Nevertheless, it is interesting that this and the other mistakes in punctuation were not corrected by the proofreader. Another less ambiguous case can be found on slip 34. It has a mark added in the middle of a phrase:

Birds, beasts, and the myriad creatures engender them. Regarding the people’s desired materials, they covet precious metals, jades, and stones.

禽單<獸>百物[33]□（生？）之。民之{-}欲材，其珍金、玉、石。

29. A repetition mark is also dropped after *wei* 畏 on slip 109, as noted by Jia Lianxiang, “Qinghua jian Wu ji zhong de yuzhou lun yu Chu boshu deng tushi de fangxiang wenti,” 4

30. Often quoted are two examples, from Dunhuang and Turfan, for reduplication; see Li Junmin and Liu Jun, *Jiandu wenshu xue*, 67. Three other examples can be found in the Shanghai Museum *Ziyi* 緇衣, slip 1; Tsinghua University **Baoxun* 保訓, slip 8, and a hook-shaped ligature mark in the *Hou Fu* 后父, slip 5; for the latter, see Jia Lianxiang, *Zhangguo zhushu xingzhi ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu*, 154, 157. The reason it stands out in these manuscripts and the *Wu ji is the isolated or irregular occurrence of a single-dash shaped mark to indicate repetition. By comparison, the Guodian **Wuxing* 五行 manuscript uses a single dash to indicate repetition consistently throughout the text. I agree with Matthias Richter, personal correspondence of 23 October 2022, that these indicate a convention or a habitual usage instead.

Probably, the mark here is simply mistaken. In a less likely alternative, given that the mark occurs at the top of the slip where errors are prone to occur as the copyist and future readers have to mentally ‘carry over’ the text from the bottom of one slip to the top of the next, perhaps the mark indicates that a reader should not erroneously parse the phrase *sheng zhi min* 生之民 instead.

Another case where the punctuator likely made another simple mistake presents itself in the superfluous repetition mark present after *shi* 豈 on slip 54:

Using expenses and not minding the season, (then) above and below will not be compliant.

用費[53]而不豈{=} (時) , 卡= (上下) 不順。

This may be due to the copyist skipping ahead to the ligature of *shang* 上 and *xia* 下 that immediately follows and erroneously adding a repetition mark after *shi* 豈, if not, it would reflect a case of misunderstanding the text.

Most revealing of the confusion that characterizes the punctuation, however, is the section on the eighteen day-spirits on slips 36–42. The ink in this section of the manuscript has smudged more than the other slips and as a result, punctuation marks are not always clearly visible. In this section of text, the eighteen spirits and the multitudinous gods are listed with their names, an epithetic description, and corresponding stem and branch dates. I divide it into two sections to make it easier to follow:³¹

Hou said: As to the days of these eighteen spirits of heaven, the first *jia* day of the month is used to refer to the earthly branch day; As to the days of these multitudinous spirits of earth, the earthly branch is used to refer to the heavenly stem day;

As to the names of the multitudes and spirits:

Heaven, its name is called Vast and August, High and Awesome, the first *jia* day has *zi*;

Earth, its name is called Descended Expanse, Heaven combines with it and there is soil, the first *jia* day has a *xu*;

The four wastes together are called the Heavenly Wastes, the light governs the dark, the first *jia* day has *shen*;

31. I thank reviewer two for their valuable suggestions on how to read this difficult section. For discussions on this section, see also Zi Ju 子居, “Qinghua jian shiyi Wu ji jiexi zhi san” 清華簡十一《五紀》解析之三, http://www.36odoc.com/content/22/0210/21/34614342_1016773314.shtml, February 10, 2022; Cheng Hao “Qinghua jian Wu ji sixiang guannian fawei,” 7–8; Jia Lianxiang, “Qinghua jian Wu ji zhong de ‘xingxiang’ zhi ze yu ‘tian ren’ guanxi,” and Huang Dekuang, “Qinghua jian Wu ji pian ‘si yin’ shuo.”

The four movers together are called the Heavenly Movers,³² they move and plan with order, the first *jia* day has *wu*;

The four pillars together are called the Heavenly Pillars, they establish peace with constancy, the first *jia* day has *chen*;

The four wefts together are called the Heavenly Wefts, they move and observe the four regions, the first *jia* day has *yin*.

后曰：凡此十神有八之日，上甲以爰辰，凡此羣[36]祗之日，辰爰日■。凡羣神之號：

天其號曰³³蒼皇，高畏，上甲有子■。

地其號曰降魯，天合有土，上甲有戌。

四[37]荒同號曰天荒，有光司晦，上甲有申。

四尢同號曰天尢，行猷有倫，上甲有午。

四柱同號曰天柱，建[38]安有常，上甲有辰。

四維同號曰天維，行望四方，上甲有寅³⁴。

The eastern officers are together called Holders of Rites, they govern the regulations, on a favorable branch, stem X;

The southern officers are together called Holders of Humaneness, they govern the seasons, on a favorable branch, stem X;

The western officers are together called Holders of Propriety, they govern straightness, on a favorable branch, stem X;

The northern officers are together called Holders of Care, they govern measure, on a favorable branch, stem X;

The four wefts are together called Moving Stars, they have an end, on stem X;

32. Because of the epithet in this same line, I chose to read *yin* following the *Shuo wen* gloss “appearance of walking” 行貌. These four moving elements probably contrast to the stable pillars *zhu* 柱 mentioned below.

33. There are a number of ink blots in this section positioned in the middle or to the left-hand side of the slip. In general, punctuation is placed on the right-hand side and it seems likely that these are drops of ink or smudges, and are not necessarily meaningful. See for example, the light mark to the left, after *yue* 曰 here; there is likewise a mark to the left after the following *shang jia* 上甲 and what appears to be a partial impression after the following *yue*.

34. It is possible that there is a faint mark after *yin* 寅, closing off this list, but it is too vague to say for certain.

The southern gate, its name is called Heavenly Gate, Heavenly Opening, it establishes straightness, holds humaneness, sets up compliance and summons followers left and right, on stem X;

The Big Dipper, its name is called Northern Ancestor, Heavenly Compass, it establishes constancy, holds care, corrects the world, and straightens the four positions, on stem X.

東司同號曰秉禮，司章，元辰日某。

南[39]司同號曰秉仁，司時，元辰日■某。

西司同號曰秉義，司正■，元辰日某■。

北司同號曰秉愛，司度，元[40]辰日■某。

四維同號曰行星，有終，日某。南門其號曰天門、天啟，建正，秉仁立順及左右徵徒，日某。■北[41]斗其號曰北宗、天規，建■常，秉愛，匡天下，正四位，日某■。

In this section, the phrase *yuan chen ri mou* 元辰日某 “(on a) favorable earthly branch, stem X,” is punctuated twice differently. First, probably following the logic of the mark placed after *chen yuan ri* 辰爰日■ “the branch is used to refer to the stem day” in the opening of the first section, a mark is incorrectly placed directly after *ri* 日 and not after *mou* 某, probably because the punctuator assumed *chen ri* 辰日 ought to be read together as “branch day.” At the following occurrence of the phrase, it is marked correctly and in addition a mark occurs after the preceding *si zheng* 司正, effectively bracketing the construction *yuan chen ri mou* . The next line sees yet another incorrectly punctuated example of the same formula. Placed at the top of slip 41, *chen ri—mou* 辰日■某 is punctuated as if the day name *chen ri* 辰日 was intended, just like the previous instance of the error (see Figure 3). The next instance of the formula is not punctuated at all and the final two lines of the section finish on the less ambiguous *ri mou* only, and are marked correctly again. The phrasing *ri mou* is used in ritual pronouncements wherein the day is left unspecified.³⁵ It is seen more often among the daybooks, spells, and rite-books and required a user to fill in a specific date according to the calendar. Any daybook (or other specialized potential source) in active use would have punctuated consistently after *ri mou* and it seems likely that these errors were introduced by the punctuator of (some version of) the * *Wu ji* itself rather than any potential source text.

35. See for example the usage in the *Yi li zhushu* 儀禮注疏, *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經註疏, ed. Ruan Yuan 阮元 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980), 25.1128 (“Shi sangli” 士喪禮); 44.1180 (“Texing kuishi li” 特牲饋食禮).



Figure 3 Slip 41 top.

The inconsistency in punctuation suggests that the punctuator may have been not very careful or unaware of the technical details of the text. The first instance of *ri mou* is not marked at all and likely not yet understood as a structuring element in the text, the second instance is marked as if a branch day designation were intended. By the third instance of *ri mou*, the punctuator may have picked up on the formulaic repetition of the text, punctuating both before and after *yuan chen ri mou*, before falling into error once again at the top of the next slip—likely due to the added visual effect of the term occurring at the top of the slip. Why the next case was missed again is unclear, but the punctuator rallied and correctly marked the final two (unambiguous) examples. The punctuator seems either careless or unsure of the meaning of the text, and as a result did not know how to parse the text. The problems encountered by the punctuator reinforce the understanding that the irregular use of punctuation in the previous examples also reflect the punctuator struggling with the intended parsing of the text.

Paratext

Some things went wrong in the preparation of the manuscript as well. The numbers on the bottom of the slips feature an error (see Figure 4). The number 123 is skipped and instead, 124 百廿四 is marked on the bottom. Nevertheless, the content of the text runs uninterrupted and the carved lines on the back of the slips likewise run continuously (see Figure 5), suggesting that the mistake occurred in the numbering of the slips rather than that a slip has gone missing.

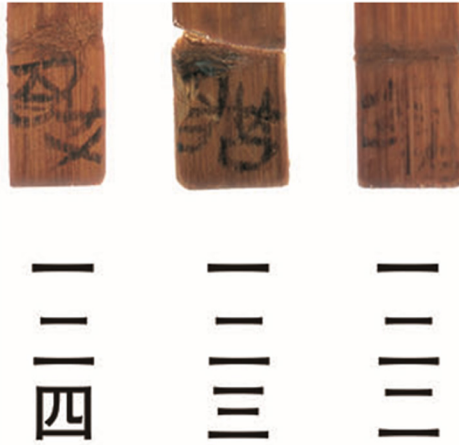


Figure 4 Erroneous slip numbers on slips 122–24, transcription: 百廿{五}<四> [124]百廿{四}<三>[123]百廿二[122].



Figure 5 Verso of slips 115–30.

There are indications that at least in the present arrangement, the text of the manuscript refers to elements not present in the current instantiation. Jia Lianxiang has already suggested the likelihood that the lengthy section describing the main concepts of the text in terms of the human body was accompanied by a number of images. He reconstructs a possible rendering in his study.³⁶ Such images and visual arrangements of data are commonly included in technical material such as the day-books or the manuscripts from Mawangdui.³⁷

The idea that other material may have accompanied (parts of) the text is further supported by a paratextual note on slip 97:

Straight columns, ten of X and five.

正列十莖(乘?)有五。³⁸

The note may refer to fifteen content divisions within the text up to this point or reflect a tabular or otherwise visual presentation of the text. Paratextual notes such as these have been discussed for the **Tianwen qixiang zazhan* 天文氣象雜占 from Mawangdui as well, and they are often used in reference to images and visual representations of texts.³⁹ It immediately follows a list of evil influences causing a variety of diseases in the body.⁴⁰ More tellingly, it closes the technical content of the text.

After this note, the text again returns to the frame, here narrating the Yellow Emperor's struggle with Chi You.⁴¹ In this sense, the note may reflect a counting, conclusion, or summation of the technical content of

36. Jia Lianxiang, "Qinghua jian *Wu ji* zhong de 'xing xiang' zhi ze yu 'tian ren' guanxi," 87, 89.

37. For a collection of studies on the interplay between visibility and text, see Jean-Pierre Drège and Costantino Moretti, ed., *La Fabrique du Lisible: La Mise en Texte des Manuscrits de la Chine Ancienne et Médiévale* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises, 2014).

38. The reconstruction of *cheng* 乘 is not certain. Given the use of *lie* 列 "columns" it could indicate that a column and row arrangement was perhaps intended.

39. Compare Chen Songchang 陳松長, "Three Research Notes on the Silk Manuscript **Tianwen qixiang zazhan* 天文氣象雜占," *Bamboo and Silk* 2.2 (2019), 274–89.

40. As such, an alternative reading has the comment refer to an arrangement of ten columns with five rows, where the five types of evil influences *sui* 祟 mentioned in the text may have been related with the ten stem days, but this cannot be established with any certainty. The text preceding the tabular notes five types of evil influences (*tian gui sui* 天鬼祟; *di gui sui* 地鬼祟; *zu meng sui* 誼盟祟; *ren gui sui* 人鬼祟; *wangliang buzhuang si sui* 亡良、不壯死祟), and notes that these had corresponding cyclical dates: "There appeared myriad evil influences ... with branch and stem dates" 作有百祟[...]有辰與日.

41. For a discussion on this frame narrative structure in light of other technical materials which likewise "sandwich" the complex, drier, technical content in between essayistic or narrative sections, see Rens Krijgsman, "Framing Discourse and the Suggestion of Similarity in Collections: the Tsinghua University **Wuji* 五紀 manuscript,"

footnote continued on next page

the **Wu ji* as a whole and thus reflect a *tu* 圖 “diagram” conceptually if not visually.⁴²

Nevertheless, as striking as this may be, the note is not set apart from the remainder of the text through space or punctuation. Likewise, the next section on the Yellow Emperor is not clearly marked, even though the other sections in the text are clearly indicated. Whether as paratextual note or concluding statement, then, the significance of the remark was not underscored in the production of the present manuscript and it seems likely that it was mechanically copied in without a marked awareness of its significance. If parts of the present text were at some point arranged in a tabular format or included separate tables and/or images, then why were these not included in the present arrangement of the text? If earlier manifestations of the manuscript did not include forms of visualization, then what is the significance of the paratextual mark? Given the lack of further data, any reconstruction is necessarily tentative, but I think at least part of the answer lies in the overall quality of the preparation of the manuscript.

Discussion and implications

The irregularities in the production and proofreading of the manuscript discussed above raise a number of questions. To be sure, I do not expect a manuscript copy to be errorless—my own writing certainly is not. A proofreading likewise often overlooks mistakes or introduces new ones. There is plenty of manuscript evidence to suggest that in early China, this was no different, and that more often than not we need to be talking not about mistakes, but about different habits or standards of writing and reading a text.⁴³ Some of these “readings” are in hindsight clearly mistaken, and others may have had their own contextual sense. Nevertheless, when we combine all these irregularities above, they call into question the status and potential usage matrix of the manuscript and text in its present form.

paper presented at the *International Conference on Intertextual Dialogue in Early Chinese Texts*, Yale-NUS College, May 5–7, 2022.

42. I have benefitted immensely from a prolonged conversation with Donald Harper on this issue in personal correspondence, especially 20 September and 4 October 2022. Don is in the process of translating the **Wu ji* for The Tsinghua University Warring States Bamboo Manuscripts: Studies and Translations series edited by Edward L. Shaughnessy and Huang Dekuan. He suggests reading the text as a ring composition. From that perspective, the framing narrative discusses the establishment of a diagram by Hou / the Yellow Emperor to subjugate chaos. The text in between (concluded by the paratextual remark) is then the content of that diagram. To read the text as a whole as a diagram in ring composition is a very promising and stimulating angle into the intellectual underpinnings of the text.

43. See note 13 above.

Some manuscripts were better prepared than others. It is striking to note that the *San bu wei* in volume 12 of the Tsinghua University manuscripts, while similar in length, complexity, and narrative structure, appears to contain only a few obvious errors at most.⁴⁴ Clearly, more care went into the production of that manuscript.

It is a methodological question to what degree we evaluate the status of a manuscript as a source, especially when comparatively it was not prepared very well. In the present case, the most obvious consideration is how to evaluate the paratextual note and whether or not source material(s) of the present copy came with tables, visualization, or images. To me, the relatively poor levels of production and quality control suggest at least the likelihood that some of the potential qualities and attributes of the source(s) may not have been copied in faithfully or completely. Any paratextual references to them were then likely copied in by rote without an understanding of their meaning.

Such considerations alert us that any “original” meanings, paratexts, and usage considerations that may have been enclosed in a manuscript within a living context of use (*sitz im leben*),⁴⁵ need not have carried over to every copy, let alone one that ended up in a grave. From a methodological point of view, any definitive assertions that can be made about an unearthed text are therefore necessarily restricted to a particular manuscript instantiation of that text.

Who made and who used the manuscript, and for what purpose? The number of errors of understanding suggests that this particular manuscript copy would have been a sub-optimal copy for specialized use. The lack of visual paratext beyond punctuation and slip numbers further suggests that display was also not likely intended. If display were the main goal, why leave out the text’s potential for visual manifestation? If the manuscript was prepared specifically for the grave, why the half-hearted attempt at proofreading and correction? Perhaps this manuscript makes most sense as a partially corrected, or simply imperfect practice copy of sorts.⁴⁶

44. See note 14 above.

45. Compare also the considerations in Markus Hilgert, “‘Text-Anthropologie’: Die Erforschung von Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen als hermeneutische Strategie,” in *Altorientalistik im 21. Jahrhundert: Selbstverständnis Herausforderungen, Ziele. Beiträge zur altorientalistischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft* 1, ed. Markus Hilgert (Berlin: Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, 2010), 1–31.

46. For well-studied examples of practice copies, compare for example the doubles from the Shanghai Museum collection, e.g., Richter, “Faithful Transmission or Creative Change,” and Morgan, “A Positive Case for the Visuality of Texts.” For a possible teacher’s involvement in scribal practice, see Morgan and Chemla, “Writing in Turns.”

All of these questions come into play when we evaluate the status of **Wu ji* manuscript as a source and base our arguments on its text. What I have tried to show is that at least this particular manuscript copy was likely not prepared by a technical expert, and was probably not the best copy for active use by someone intellectually invested in the subject matter either. To take the present copy as representative of the full usage and intellectual potential of the **Wu ji* is therefore probably inaccurate.

In all, it is highly uncertain how to evaluate not just the status of this manuscript, but also what it was intended for and how contemporaries would have perceived its quality and potential for use. This leads to a more general question: what happened to those manuscripts that contemporaries involved in their production and reception did not consider good enough for either transmission or use in the world of the living? To speculate further, could those manuscripts possibly have been “recycled” or repurposed for the grave?⁴⁷ If so, we may need to be careful of the inherent source bias in using unearthed manuscripts, which, in one way or the other, may not have been representative of the materials the living used.

清華大學藏《五紀》簡概要—以其物質屬性及史料價值為中心

武致知

摘要

近期出版的清華大學藏《五紀》簡在文本、標識符號和製作方面充滿有趣的不一致、漏寫和錯誤。這些錯誤能夠反應抄手或句讀者的誤解，然而只有其中一小部分錯誤被校對者修改。其次，母本原有的副文本特徵只通過小題記得以保留。通過分析寫本以上特徵能夠闡明其文本的史料價值，同時使得我們反省出土文獻與傳世文獻的關係。

Keywords: Punctuation, proofreading, paratext, scribal variation, mistakes
標識符號, 校對, 副文本, 抄寫變異, 錯誤

47. For an early but still relevant discussion on why manuscripts may have been deposited in graves, see Enno Giele, “Using Early Chinese Manuscripts as Historical Source Materials” *Monumenta Serica* 51 (2003), 409–38, compare especially his discussion on “selection” and “*mingqi*,” 428–33.