

# Unearthing the *Classic of Documents*

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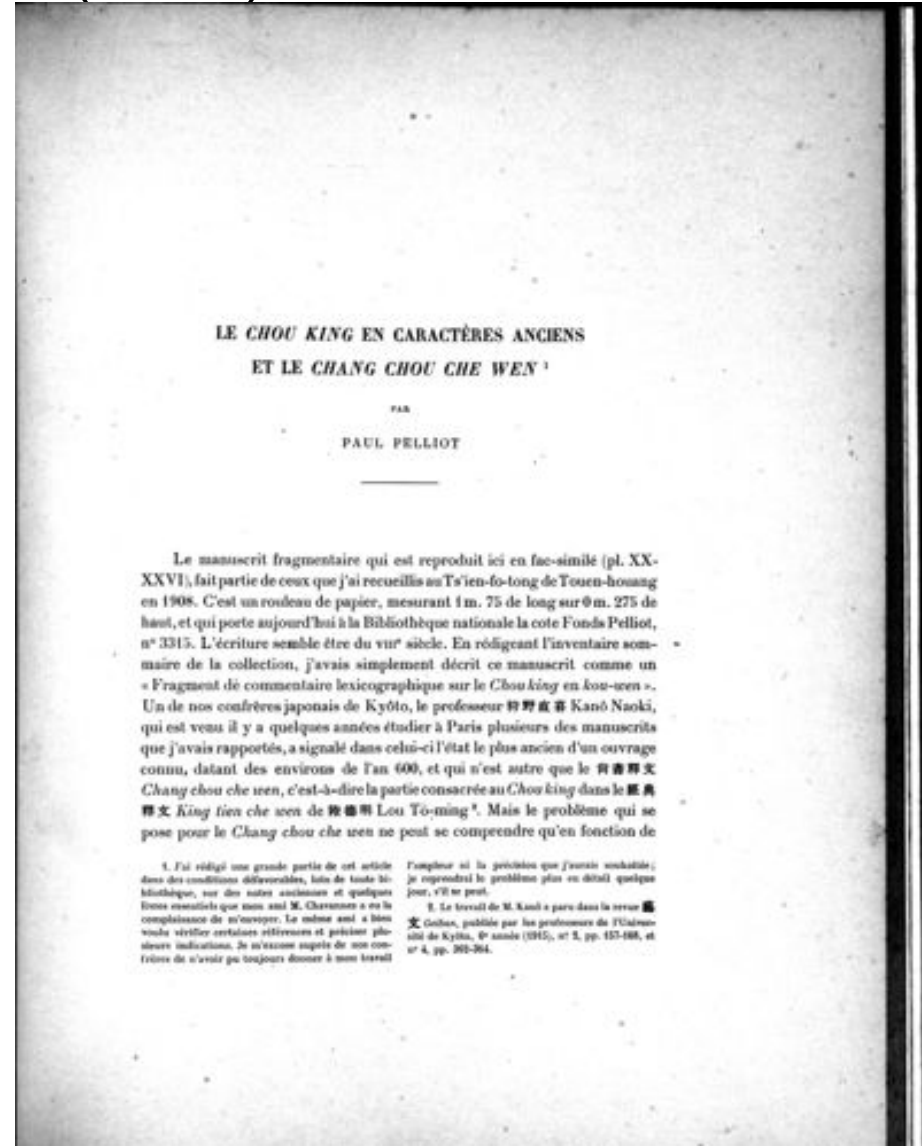
College de France  
13 June 2013

# Paul Pelliot (1878-1945)



*Paul Pelliot*

# Pelliot, "Le Chou King en caractères anciens et le Chang Chou Che Wen," *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale* 2 (1916)



## LE CHOU KING EN CARACTÈRES ANCIENS ET LE CHANG CHOU CHE WEN<sup>1</sup>

PAR  
PAUL PELLIOU

Le manuscrit fragmentaire qui est reproduit ici en fac-similé (pl. XX-VI), fait partie de ceux que j'ai recueillis au Ts'ien-fo-tong de Touen-houang en 1908. C'est un rouleau de papier, mesurant 1 m. 75 de long sur 0 m. 275 de haut, et qui porte aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque nationale la cote Fonds Pelliot, n° 3315. L'écriture semble être du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. En rédigeant l'inventaire sommaire de la collection, j'avais simplement décrit ce manuscrit comme un « Fragment de commentaire lexicographique sur le Chou king en kou-sen ». Un de nos confrères japonais de Kyôto, le professeur 狩野成喜 Kanô Naoki, qui est venu il y a quelques années étudier à Paris plusieurs des manuscrits que j'avais rapportés, a signalé dans celui-ci l'état le plus ancien d'un ouvrage connu, datant des environs de l'an 600, et qui n'est autre que le 齊書釋文 Chang chou che wen, c'est-à-dire la partie consacrée au Chou king dans le 經典釋文 King tien che wen de 陸德明 Lou Tô-ming<sup>2</sup>. Mais le problème qui se pose pour le Chang chou che wen ne peut se comprendre qu'en fonction de

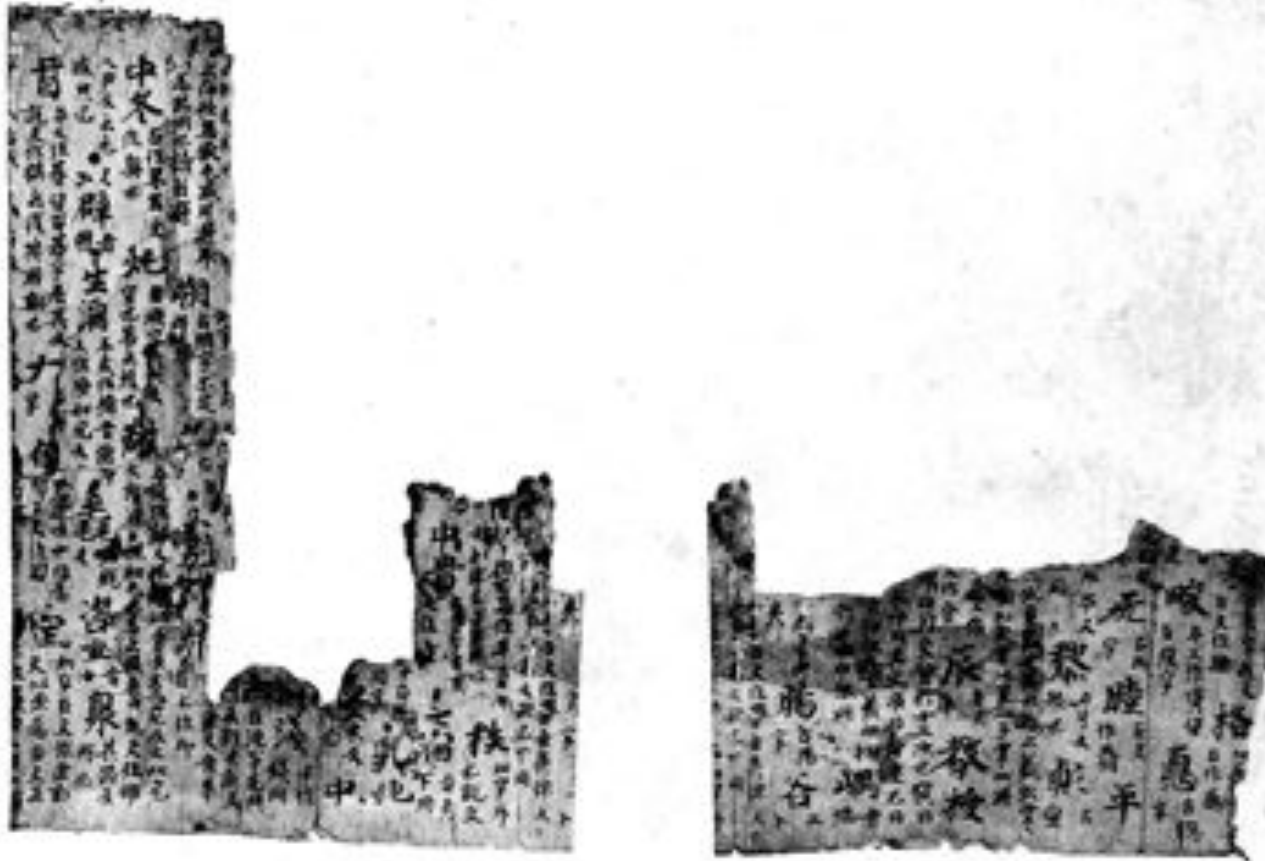
1. J'ai rédigé une grande partie de cet article dans des conditions défavorables, lors de toute bibliothèque, sur des notes anciennes et quelques livres manuscrits que m'a prêtés M. Charvonnat et en la complaisance de m'envoyer. Le volume sera à bien voulu vérifier certaines références et préciser plusieurs indications. Je m'excuse auprès de nos confrères de n'avoir pu toujours donner à mon travail

l'ampleur ni la précision que j'aurais souhaitée; je reprendrai le problème plus en détail quelque jour, s'il se peut.

2. Le travail de M. Kanô a paru dans le 齊書釋文, publié par les professeurs de l'Université de Kyôto, 9<sup>e</sup> année (1915), n° 2, pp. 157-166, et n° 4, pp. 301-304.

# Shang Shu Shiwen 尚書釋文 (P. 3315)

PLANCHE XX



N° 1

N° 1

Manuscrit fragmentaire du Chang chou che wen.













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主月上一日受兵巧夫祖圣瑯瓊玉吳呂叁七政藝曾巧

《書》之所起遠矣，至孔子纂焉，上斷於堯，  
下訖于秦，凡百篇，而為之序，言其作意。

The origin of the *Documents* is distant indeed. Coming to the time of Confucius's editing of it, it stretched from the time of Yao down to Qin, in all one hundred chapters; he wrote prefaces to them, explaining their meaning.

# The Structure of the *Documents*

Section	Old Text	New Text	
Yu shu 虞書	5	2	• Consultations ( <i>mo</i> 謨), which represent dialogues between the king and his ministers
Xia shu 夏書	4	2	• Instructions ( <i>xun</i> 訓), ministers' advice for the king
Shang shu 商書	17	5	• Announcements ( <i>gao</i> 誥), pronouncements by the king to the people at large
Zhou shu 周書	32	19 or 20	• Declarations ( <i>shi</i> 誓), battlefield speeches by kings
			• Commands ( <i>ming</i> 命), entitlements of royal responsibilities and privileges conferred on a single individual

# The *Documents* in Traditional Literature

The *Shang shu* is frequently cited in pre-Qin texts and apparently already by the time of Confucius was regarded as a venerable guide to political philosophy. However, most of the citations in these early works do not accord with the present text of the *Shang shu*; in one survey, **only 45 of 137 citations were found in the received text.** Among pre-Qin texts that cite the *Shang shu*, only the *Xunzi* does not quote from any text other than those in the received text. Coupled with the probable Qin date for the latest chapters in the 'New Text' *Shang shu*, this suggests perhaps that a text roughly resembling the received text (of the 'New Text' chapters) was edited about the middle of the third century B.C.

# 213 B.C.: Qin “Burning of the Books”



# Fu Sheng Transmits the *Jinwen* 今文 or “New Script” Documents



In the 160s, Fu Sheng 伏生 (or 勝) reconstituted 28 or 29 chapters.

Transcribed into the “clerical script” (*lishu* 隸書) of the Han dynasty, these subsequently became the recognized text at the Imperial Academy and are now usually referred to as the *Jinwen* 今文 or “New Script” Documents.

# Discovery of the *Gurwen* 古文 or “Ancient Script” Documents

Some decades later, during the renovation of Confucius’s mansion, texts written in “tadpole” characters were discovered secreted in the wall. There is much confusion about when this discovery took place; the best estimate is the second half of the second century B.C. The standard account is that there were an additional 16 chapters.



*Xiping Stone Classics* 熹平石經 (175-183) vs.  
*Zhengshi* 正始 or *Santi Stone Classics* 三體石經  
(240-249)





After the disturbances that brought the Western Jin dynasty to an end in 311 B.C., Mei Ze 梅賾 (*fl.* 317–322), presented a text entitled the *Kong Anguo Shang shu* 孔安國尚書 to the newly established Eastern Jin court at Nanjing. This text, of 45 documents in 58 chapters, included all of both the *jinwen* and *guwen* chapters. It also included a Preface and commentary attributed to Kong Anguo.

The *Kong Anguo Shang shu* 孔安國尚書 presented by Mei Ze was accepted by the Eastern Jin court as authoritative. It was subsequently adopted by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) as the basis for the *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (as also, before that, by Lu Deming 陸德明 [d. 630] in his *Shang Shu Shiwen* 尚書釋文).

ou moins authentiques. En tout cas, ses successeurs n'y manquèrent pas. Il ne s'agit plus là des formes du *hou-aren* ou de l'écriture « sigillaire » conservées par le *Chou wen*, mais de graphies aberrantes ou de caractères pris phonétiquement l'un pour l'autre, et se rattachant toujours ou presque toujours à l'écriture *li*. Il n'est pas invraisemblable qu'un certain nombre de ces formes aient reposé sur une tradition valable. Mais du *iv<sup>e</sup>* siècle à la fin du *vi<sup>e</sup>*, des lettrés épris d'archaïsme se plurent à multiplier ces graphies anormales, et parfois sans doute à en généraliser l'emploi en les étendant d'un cas isolé à tous ceux où le même mot reparaissait dans d'autres sections du classique.

Tel était donc le *Chou king* du début du *vi<sup>e</sup>* siècle : une recension fabriquée au moins en partie, trois siècles plus tôt, par un faussaire, précédé d'une préface et accompagné d'un commentaire parfaitement apocryphes, émaillé enfin de formes archaïsantes où il était devenu fort difficile de faire le départ entre ce qui provenait d'une tradition respectable et ce qui n'était dû qu'à la fantaisie de lettrés récents. C'est là le *Chou king* que glossèrent alors Lou Tō-ming et K'ong Ying-ta. Mais l'histoire du *Chou king* ne s'arrête pas là ; le zèle bien intentionné, mais fâcheux, d'un empereur allait faire subir au classique une nouvelle transformation.

Le texte de Mei Tsō avait été présenté à une dynastie établie au Sud du Fleuve Bleu : jusque dans la deuxième moitié du *vi<sup>e</sup>* siècle, c'est surtout dans les régions du Kiang-sou et du Tchō-kiang que cette recension fut étudiée ; c'est là que les lettrés farcirent de caractères archaïques, authentiques ou

## First Suspicions Regarding the *Ancient Script Documents*

Wu Yu 吳棫 (d. 1154), best known for his studies of ancient phonology, was the first to raise suspicions concerning the Ancient Script chapter of the *Documents* in his *Shu bizhuan* 書棹傳.

Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) also voiced suspicions, concluding especially that the Kong Anguo Preface and commentary were written in the Eastern Jin.

Wang Bo 王柏 (1197-1274), *Shu Yi* 書疑  
(Doubts about the Documents):

How can one dare to doubt the classics of the past kings? Unfortunately, the Qin burning of the books caused damage to them, and later generations were unable to see the complete classics of the past kings. Because of their incompleteness, the classics must be called into doubt. It is not that I doubt the classics of the past kings; it is just that I doubt Fu Sheng's oral transmission of the classics.

Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333), *Shu zuanyan* 書纂言  
(Compiled sayings on the *Documents*)

I was once reading Fu Sheng's *Documents*. Although it is difficult to master in its entirety, nevertheless its words and meanings have an ancient flavor. There can be no doubt that it represents documents from higher antiquity. The twenty-five chapters that Mei Ze added have a literary style that seems to be the work of a single author. Cutting and pasting, each character has its origin but the style is weak. It does not resemble pre-Han writings. These Ancient Script chapters cover thousands of years but were the last to appear, and they are without omissions or errors, in a uniform style. Doesn't this warrant suspicion?

Mei Zhuo 梅鷟 (c. 1483-1553), *Shang shu kao yi* 尚書考異  
(Examining the differences in the Elevated Documents)

Benjamin Elman: “He exposed the stylistic, geographical, and chronological anachronisms that the forger of the Old Text chapters had unwittingly allowed to enter his version. More importantly, however, Mei Tsu (*sic*) went on to show the textual origins of the material the forger had worked into his forgery. This involved a case by case examination of the cut and paste techniques the forger had cleverly wielded to prepare the Old Text chapters in the third century A.D.”

Mei Zhuo 梅鷺 (c. 1483-1553), *Shang shu kao yi* 尚書考異

大禹謨：人心惟危，道心惟微，惟精惟一，允執厥中  
“Da Yu mo”: The human heart is endangered and the moral heart is subtle; only what is refined and unitary can truly hold to the mean between them.

荀子解蔽：故道經曰：人心之危，道心之微。危微之機，惟明君子而後能知之。

Xunzi “Jie bi”: Therefore the Classic of the Way says: “As for the human heart’s danger and the moral heart’s subtlety, only the enlightened gentleman can know the trigger point between danger and subtlety.



However, Mei Zhuo's *Shang shu kao yi* was not published during his lifetime, and survived only in a manuscript copy housed in the Tianyi ge 天一閣 library in Ningbo 寧波, where it was discovered only in the course of the Siku quanshu 四庫全書 project of the 1770s and 1780s. It thus exerted almost no influence on later Chinese textual history.

Yan Ruoqu 閻若璩 (1636–1704), *Shang shu guwen shuzheng*  
尚書古文疏證 (Analytical evidence regarding the Elevated  
Documents ancient script); posthumously published in  
1745

Yan cited 128 specific instances demonstrating the spurious nature of the Ancient Script *Shang shu*. For instance, in the 'Kong Commentary' the place name 'Jincheng' 金城 is mentioned, but this city was not established until the reign of Han Zhao di 漢昭帝 (r. 87–74 b.c.), well after the time when Kong Anguo is reported to have died.

Yan Ruoqu 閻若璩, *Shang shu guwen shuzheng* 尚書古文疏證

What Classics? What Histories? What Commentaries? My concern is only with what is true. If the Classic is true and the History and Commentary false, it is permissible to use the Classic to correct the History and Commentary. If the History and Commentary are true and the Classic false, then is it impermissible to use the History and Commentary to correct the Classic?

Hui Dong 惠棟 (1697–1758), *Guwen Shang shu kao* 古文尚書考 (An examination of the Ancient Script Elevated Documents)

Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753-1818), *Shang shu jin gu wen zhushu* 尚書今古文注疏 (Annotated Comments on the Elevated Documents' Modern and Ancient Scripts), begun in 1794 and completed in 1815

Juan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849) ed., *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (*Annotated comments on the Thirteen Classics*), 1804

Zhang Xiezhì 張諧之, *Shang shu guwen bianhuo* 尚書古文辨惑 (*Discriminating the confusion regarding the Elevated Documents Ancient Script*), 1904:

In recent years, Kang Youwei (1857-1927) has come out to say that the Six Classics are all works forged by Liu Xin. As a result, the calamity precipitated by Yan Baishi's [Ruochu] delusions and deceptions has reached its most extreme expression.

# Zhang Zhenglang 張政烺 (1912-2005)

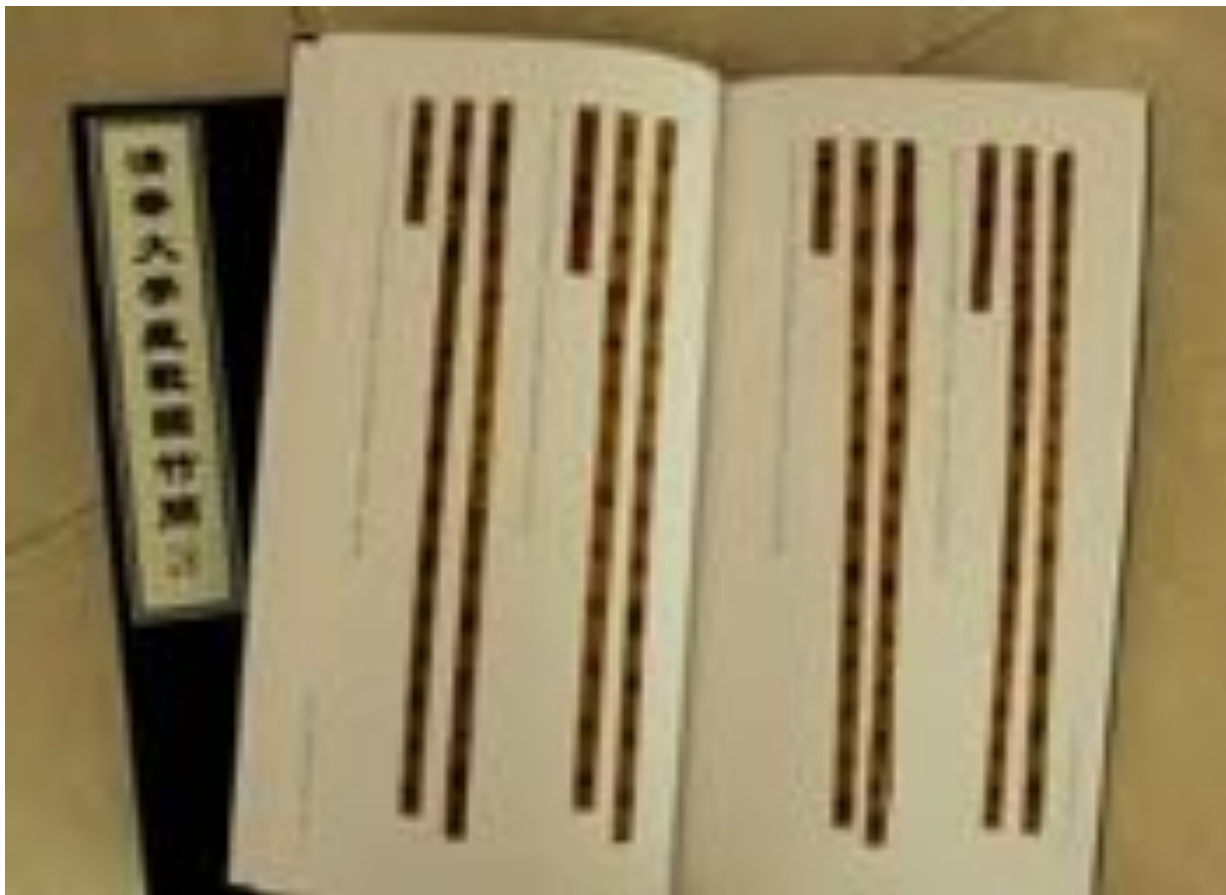


After having served as editor of the Mawangdui manuscripts and observing the other great discoveries of the 1970s, 80s and 90s, said: "I will be happy when they excavate a text of the *Shang shu*."

# Qinghua University



*Qinghua Daxue Cang Zhanguo Zhu Jian*  
清華大學藏戰國竹簡





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Qinghua University Bamboo-Strip  
Manuscripts of or Related to *Shang Shu*

“Jin teng” 《金滕》

“Yin gao” 《尹誥》 (“Xian you yi de” 《咸有一德》 )

“Yue ming” 《說命》

“Huang men” 《皇門》 (*Yi Zhou shu* 《逸周書》 )

“Zhai Gong” 《祭公》 (*Yi Zhou shu* 《逸周書》 )

# Questions about the *Shang shu* that the Qinghua Manuscripts Can Answer



Whether there was a “*Shang shu*” in antiquity?

Whether the “archaic text” (古文) *Shang shu* is authentic or not?

Whether there was a distinction between the *Shang shu* and the *Yi Zhou shu*?

Whether there was only a single version of the *Shang shu*?

Whether the *Yi Zhou shu* derived from Han-dynasty editors?