

# 清華簡研究

(第三輯)

《清華大學藏戰國竹簡(伍)》國際學術研討會論文集

中西書局

李學勤 艾 蘭 呂德凱 主編

清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心 古代中國研究會 編

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# 致 謝

當此論文集出版之際，我們想表達對於德國埃爾朗根-紐倫堡大學國際人文研究院“命運、能動性及預測：東亞文化和歐洲文化中的應對策略”研究項目及其主任朗宓榭(Michael Lackner)的誠摯謝意。他們主辦並資助了我們 2016 年 5 月的討論會。本書即源自於此次會議。此外，國際文化研究院還邀請王進鋒於會議之前來埃爾朗根住校數月，編輯《清華簡(伍)〈殷高宗問於三壽〉〈湯處於湯丘〉〈湯在啻門〉三篇集釋》。該書為會議討論和許多會議論文提供了必要的學術基礎。國際文化研究院的這些工作都有賴於德國聯邦教育和科研部提供的基金。同時，我們也感謝參與會議組織的所有同事，特別是趙璐和 Petra Hahn。

我們感謝清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心及其主任李學勤。中心資助了 2016 年的會議以及自 2010 年以來在美國達慕思學院舉行的數次有關清華簡的學術工作坊。上述會議和工作坊的參加者們全都得益於清華團隊的趙平安、劉國忠、沈建華、李均明和李守奎。他們不僅在討論中與我們分享了古文字學知識和編輯清華簡的經驗，而且為本論文集撰寫了論文。

我們感謝清華大學出土文獻研究和保護中心的學者們將本書收入他們的《清華簡研究》集刊。同時，我們特別感謝劉國忠在校閱稿件和準備本書付印方面作出的重要貢獻。

我們也感謝傅筆立(William French)和陳鵬宇的幫助。他們不計報酬，各自運用自己出色的專業知識將一篇漢語稿件譯成英文。

柯鶴立(Constance Cook)與 Sam Goldstein 為本書的編輯付出了巨大的心血。我們對此非常感激。

最後，我們感謝本書所有的撰稿人。他們中的許多人擴展了會議論文，或者在討論後又提供了新的原創性觀點，這使得本書的內容大大超出了一般會議論文的範疇。

艾蘭(達慕思學院；古代中國研究會)

呂德凱(埃爾朗根-紐倫堡大學國際人文研究院)

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express our gratitude to the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities “Fate, Freedom and Prognostication: Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe” (IKGF) at Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg and to its director Michael Lackner for hosting and generously supporting the conference in May 2016 from which this volume originated. The International Research Consortium also invited Wang Jinfeng to stay as a visiting fellow prior to the conference, allowing him to compile “Collected Annotations”, which proved an indispensable foundation for both the discussions during the conference and for many contributions to this volume. For all of this, the International Research Consortium relied on funding by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) of Germany. We would also like to thank all those who helped in preparing the conference, particularly Zhao Lu and Petra Hahm from the International Research Consortium.

We are especially grateful to the Research and Conservation Center for Excavated Texts of Tsinghua University and its director, Li Xueqin, for supporting the 2016 conference as well as the preceding workshops and conferences on the Tsinghua University manuscripts held at Dartmouth College since 2010. The participants are all indebted to the Tsinghua team, Zhao Ping'an, Liu Guozhong, Shen Jianhua, Li Junming, and Li Shoukui for generously sharing their palaeographic expertise and experience in producing the scholarly editions of the manuscripts, as well as their own research, during the conference and for contributing to this publication.

We thank the scholars of the Research and Conservation Center for Excavated Texts for supporting the publication of this volume within their series *Qinghua jianyanjiu* and, especially, Liu Guozhong for his generous efforts in reviewing the



manuscript and preparing it for printing.

We thank William French and Chen Pengyu for offering, on a *pro bono* basis, to each translate a Chinese-language contribution into English. We are grateful for their assistance, as the articles called for a high level of scholarly expertise which they were able to provide.

Constance Cook and Sam Goldstein provided invaluable help in the editing of this volume, for which we are very grateful.

Finally, we would like to thank all the authors of this volume, many of whom substantially expanded their conference presentations or offered new original contributions after the conclusion of our discussions, making this much more than a simple conference volume.

Sarah Allan (Dartmouth College; Society for the Study of Early China)

Michael Lüdke (International Consortium for Research in the Humanities,  
Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)

# 開幕辭

Michael Lackner 朗宓榭\*

我很高興這個具有重大意義的學術會議“人性、道德與命運：《清華大學藏戰國竹簡》中的《湯處於湯丘》《湯在啻門》與《殷高宗問於三壽》”能够在我們國際人文研究院召開。我本人不是行家，所以我這次主要是作為一個聽眾，還請大家見諒。我的研究時段是宋代至今。鑒於在座的有些與會者對我們研究院還不太了解，我就借這個機會，給大家做一個十分簡短的介紹：我們研究院成立於 2009 年，得到了聯邦教育科研部的大力支持，是全德國十大研究基地之一，也是唯一一所研究中國課題為重點，同時涉及歐洲中世紀研究的人文研究院，研究主題是“命運、能動性及預測：東亞文化和歐洲文化中的應對策略”。

在過去的幾年中，我們對中國、東亞和歐洲中世紀及近代的傳統預占術進行了大量研究。從商代的甲骨文到八字、扶乩，從《周易》到《日書》《通書》以及東西方的星象學都是我們的研究對象。當然，術數本身並不是我們的研究重點，我們最關心的是術數在社會和政治中的地位以及知識階層對術數的評價。與預占緊密相連的是各個時期和不同文化的命運觀。以上領域我們都有相應的出版物，同時我們還建立了一個自己的影像資料庫，保存了如採訪、論壇等特別事件的錄像。近幾年，我們也開始有訪問學者作客我們研究院，對印度和歐洲古典時代進行研究。我們研究院可以說逐漸繪製了一張“命學世界地圖”，囊括了預測的現象學研究。過幾個星期，我們還將成立一個中國術數史研究協會。

大多數訪問學者來我們研究院作為期一年以內的學術訪問，每周有一次學術報告和一次讀書會。不同於大學的授課，讀書會不是介紹研究成果，而是討論文本中遇到的問題，大家獻計獻策，真正達到了學者意義上的交流和溝通。另外，差不多每隔六周，我們還會舉辦一次小型研討會。我們的訪問學者都是碩果累累，發表了論文或

---

\* Director, International Consortium for Research in the Humanities, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (埃爾朗根-紐倫堡大學國際人文研究院主任)

專著,對我們的研究課題作出了貢獻。他們常常在訪問期間產生出可以繼續合作的很多想法,所以研究院的研究領域在不斷擴大。我們也很慶幸,一直能夠贏得符合我們課題的造詣深厚的學者的青睞。有些學者之前並沒有對命理學作過思考,但是之後對這個方面的研究則可謂是“一發而不可收”。當然,像今天這樣大型的國際學術會議不可能是家常便飯,還是少數。

這是我們學院的一個非常簡短的介紹。我想大家現在也可以理解,我們為什麼非常歡迎今天這個學術會議在我們這裏召開。這場會議是達慕思學院的艾蘭教授和清華大學之間的合作的繼續,其主題既符合我們的研究方向,也和我們的工作互為補充。我很高興,Dr. Michael Lüdke 能夠邀請到艾蘭教授和其他學者一起來到了我們這裏,濟濟一堂,各抒己見。我再次對各位表示最誠摯的歡迎,在今後幾天我將洗耳恭聽。謝謝大家!

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# THE TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY MANUSCRIPT *MING XUN* 命訓

Liu Guozhong 劉國忠\*

Translated by William French 傅筆立<sup>†‡</sup>

## Introduction

In July 2008, Tsinghua University accepted an alumnus' donation of a cache of Warring States bamboo slips. Around 2,500 slips in total, the cache contains canonical (*jing* 經) and historical (*shi* 史) texts that have garnered much attention. With enthusiastic support, six volumes of *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰

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\* Research and Conservation Center for Excavated Texts, Tsinghua University, Beijing (清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心)

† Harvard University (哈佛大學)

‡ Translator's note: This essay is a translation of a paper by Liu Guozhong entitled "Qinghua jian *Ming xun* yanjiu" 清華簡《命訓》研究. This in turn is a revision of two earlier papers published separately: "Qinghua jian *Ming xun* chutan" 清華簡《命訓》初探, *Shenzhou daxue xuebao* (*Renwen shehui kexue ban*) 深圳大學學報(人文社會科學版) (2015.3): 37–41; "Qinghua jian *Ming xun* zhong de minglun buzheng" 清華簡《命訓》中的命論補正, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 (2016.1): 25–28. Interested readers may wish to consult the Chinese versions, but should note that the content here has been revised and bolstered for the purposes of this translation. To improve English-language readability, the translator occasionally has paraphrased lines, moved sections to the footnotes, or deleted obsolete information. In the footnotes, a considerable amount of detailed source citations and references to translations have been added by the translator, to comply with western academic conventions. Statements on substance in the footnotes are those of the author. The translator would like to thank Sarah Allan and Michael Lüdke for providing him with the opportunity to both attend the conference at Erlangen and to translate this piece. Most of all, the translator would like to thank Prof. Liu, and to apologize for infelicities of expression and no doubt introducing errors into the translation. Readers are also encouraged to consult Prof. Liu's book, *Introduction to the Tsinghua Bamboo-slip Manuscripts*, trans. Christopher Foster and William French (Leiden: Brill, 2016), for more background on the Tsinghua cache.

國竹簡 have been published thus far.<sup>①</sup> At the same time, the Tsinghua slips have become a popular research topic. This paper will discuss the text entitled *Ming xun* 命訓, which was published in the fifth volume of *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian*.

The Tsinghua bamboo-slip manuscript *Ming xun* consists of fourteen bamboo slips that were originally bound by three channels of binding cords. None of the slips have survived completely intact. It is estimated that the slips were originally 49 cm in length. The text on slips 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 12, 14, and 15 has suffered damage. Except for the final slip, each slip is numbered in sequence (*cixu bianhao* 次序編號) on joints in the bamboo on the verso side.<sup>②</sup> The text did not originally have a title. We have given it the title *Ming xun*, since our examination has revealed that its contents are essentially the same as the “Ming xun” chapter in the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, and that it ought to be considered a Warring States manuscript copy (*Zhanguo xieben* 戰國寫本) of that chapter. This discovery of another text from the *Yi Zhou shu* is extremely significant.<sup>③</sup>

The “Ming xun” chapter occupies a particularly important position in the received *Yi Zhou shu*. The beginning of the *Yi Zhou shu* is comprised of three chapters, collectively known as “the three ‘xun’-chapters” (*san xun* 三訓): “Du xun” 度訓, “Ming xun” 命訓, and “Chang xun” 常訓. These chapters are unique in their content and their position in the compilation. According to one recent scholar’s assessment, “the three ‘xun’-chapters sit at the head of the *Yi Zhou shu*, where they transmit the model of governance, establish the tradition of royal speech, and guide the entire text’s meaning.”<sup>④</sup> Qing scholar Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 even went so far as to believe that the

① Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡, 6 vols. (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2010 -). Note: each volume, referred to in this essay as the “editorial report” (*zhengli baogao* 整理報告), contains original-size photos, enlarged photos, transcription and annotation for each text. Each volume also includes character concordances and physical information about each slip.

② Slip 4 is broken off at a joint in the bamboo, so its slip ordinal number is missing. Slip 14 is damaged and the graph for “ten” (*shi* 十) is missing, leaving only part of the graph “four” (*si* 四). See Li Xueqin, ed., *Qinghua*, vol. 5, 57 (photo of slip 14 verso).

③ To date, three other texts from the received *Yi Zhou shu* have been recovered: *Cheng wu* 程寤, *Huang men* 皇門, and *Zhai gong* 祭公. These were published in vol. 1 of Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2010). Scholars have pointed out the close relationship between the Tsinghua *Bao xun* 保訓 bamboo-slip manuscript, also published in vol. 1, and the *Yi Zhou shu*. However, *Bao xun* was not transmitted in the *Yi Zhou shu*.

④ Wang Lianlong 王連龍, *Yi Zhou shu yanjiu* 《逸周書》研究 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian, 2010), 93.