

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

# SHIGAKU ZASSHI SUMMARY OF JAPANESE SCHOLARSHIP FOR 2010: SHANG, ZHOU, SPRING AND AUTUMN\*

# KAKUDŌ Ryōsuke 角道亮介

Translated by Eno Compton IV

Over the last several years, the field has seen a tremendous amount of research that spans historical periods, not only for the so-called Chinese sphere, but also for northeast Asia as well as the northern grasslands. At the same time, there has been a notable growth in cross-disciplinary research that makes use of methods from the natural sciences with great success. There is no doubt that the continued development of such diversified research will play an important role in creating a fully-fledged understanding of ancient society.

#### General Works

IKKAI Tomoyoshi's 一海知義 *Shiji* 史記 includes "The Story of Li Ling 李陵," which originally appeared in Ikkai's 1973 book of the same name.¹ Ikkai focuses on a number of famous episodes from the *Shiji* and adds his own analysis. In *The Birth of Chinese Culture: From Legend to History*,² TSURUMA Kazuyuki 鶴間和幸 introduces representative artifacts from the Neolithic period to the Northern Song. In addition, there is also information on museums in Henan province.

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<sup>\*</sup> Shigaku zasshi 史学雑誌 120.5 (2011), 189–95. As in previous translations of the summaries, Shang is used in place of Yin in the original Japanese. All Japanese and Chinese authors' surnames are in capitalized letters at their first appearance. Numbers in square brackets, e.g., [189], refer to page numbers in the original article.

<sup>1.</sup> IKKAI Tomoyoshi 一海知義, *Shiki* 史記 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社). For the original publication, see *Shiki* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房). In addition, "The Story of Li Ling" has been published in KANO Naosada 狩野直禎 et al., *Yuto hishō* 雄 図飛翔 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1998).

<sup>2.</sup> TSURUMA Kazuyuki 鶴間和幸, Tanjō! Chūgoku bunmei: densetsu kara rekishi e 誕生! 中国文明: 伝説から歴史へ (Tokyo: Chūō kōron shinsha 中央公論新社).

#### Paleolithic and Neolithic Age

Let us begin with the Paleolithic age. In *Northeast Asia and the Japanese Archipelago during the Paleolithic Age*,<sup>3</sup> SATŌ Hiroyuki 佐藤宏之 summarizes the transformations in Paleolithic culture within East Asia including the Chinese mainland, with a focus on the northeast. Satō points out that during the early part of the Paleolithic age, within northeastern and eastern Asia, an East Asian-style hand axe appeared which bore the unique features of an early period Assyrian axe. With an East Asian-like sphere beginning to form, the axe barely remained in use throughout the mid-Paleolithic age in the south of China. However, in the north and northeast of China, chips of the axe have been found throughout the region.

In terms of research on the Neolithic age, there is NAKAMURA Shin'ichi's 中村真一 General Interdisciplinary Research on the Ruins at Tianluo Mountain in Yuyao City, Zhejiang Province.4 As a work of joint Chinese-Japanese research, the book presents general research inclusive of analyses of plant and animal remains as well as radiocarbon dating. As such, it is a major achievement. In "Images of Men and Women in the Chinese Neolithic Period,"5 IMAMURA Yoshiko 今村佳子 examines the function and meaning of male and female idols from China's Neolithic period in light of the circumstances of their distribution and excavation. While there is a predominance of idols with no distinct sex in the northern, central, and southern regions of China, idols symbolic of men appeared and flourished much earlier than those of women. In the late Neolithic period, the production of idols died out entirely. [190] Imamura argues that the taozu 陶祖 and shizu 石祖 produced from the late Neolithic period onward are distinct from the the idols found in earlier periods. In "The Design of Animals during China's Prehistoric Age," Imamura gathers together imagery of animals in the Neolithic age and considers to what extent the intentions of the images' creators may be deduced by using archeological methods. Imamura notes the wide distribution of bird imagery and ornamentation as well as the connections between the depicted animals and the material qualities of the artifacts. As Imamura points out, comprehensive and interdisciplinary analysis remains a major issue within the field of archeology.

<sup>3.</sup> SATŌ Hiroyuki 佐藤宏之, "Kyūsekki jidai no hokutō Ajia to Nihon rettō" 旧石 器時代の北東アジアと日本列島, Kōkogaku jānaru 考古学ジャーナル 605.

<sup>4.</sup> NAKAMURA Shin'ichi 中村真一, ed., Sekkō shō Yoyō Denrazan iseki no gakusai teki sōgō kenkyū 浙江省余姚田螺山遺跡の学際的総合研究 (Heisei 18-21 nendo kakenhi hōkokusho 平成 18-21 年度科研費報告書, Kanazawa dai 金沢大).

<sup>5.</sup> IMAMURA Yoshiko 今村佳子, "Chūgoku shinsekki jidai ni okeru danjo gūzō" 中国新石器時代における男女偶像, in Tatsuta kōkokai 龍田考古会, ed., Sen Shin gaku, kōkogaku ronkyū ken 先秦学・考古学論究, vol. 5.

In "Research on the Villages and Graves of the Qinghai High Plains during the Neolithic Age," WANG Miaofa 王妙發 presents a comparison of Majiayao 馬家窰, Banshan 半山, and Machang 馬廠, all Neolithic-age ruins within Qinghai province. Wang argues the scale of the villages, the area of which is each less than 10,000m², was commonplace. Although Wang compares the period of each village as judging from the depth at which artifacts have been recovered, just how has the contemporary natural environment of each area been restored?

In "Research on Ceramic Bells from China's Neolithic Age," KUBOTA Shinji 久保田慎二 classifies the types of ceramic bells excavated from Neolithic-age ruins and discusses the bells' relationship with copper bells of the same period. Ceramic bells of the Neolithic period are generally divided into two branches, i.e., one of the central plains and one of the north. Kubota argues that whereas the copper bells excavated from the Taosi ruins were influenced by the northern branch ceramic bells, the copper bells from the Erlitou ruins on the other hand were influenced by the central plains branch. Judging from their excavation, Kubota points outs that Neolithic age ceramic bells were in general use, worn on the body, and served as ritual implements. Finally, while the Taosi copper bells were not simply connected with the social hierarchy, the circumstances of their excavation suggest that they are no different from the copper bells from Erlitou.

On the mainland, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences's Institute of Archeology has published *Chinese Archeology: The Neolithic Period.*8 The book divides the Neolithic period into four stages: an early, middle, late, and end period. The book is a major accomplishment which summarizes Neolithic-period culture throughout all of China.

### **Peripheral Regions**

The following works will be introduced chronologically according to their region. We will start with northeast Asia. In "On the Dwellings of the Hunter Peoples of Greater and Lesser Khingan," ŌNUKI Shizuo 大

<sup>6.</sup> WANG Miaofa 王妙發, "Seikai kōgen shin sekki jidai no shūraku to bochi no kenkyū" 青海高原新石器時代の集落と墓地の研究, Wakayama daigaku keizai gakkai kenkyū nenhō 和歌山大学経済学会研究年報 14.

<sup>7.</sup> KUBOTA Shinji 久保田慎二, "Chūgoku shin sekki jidai tōrei kenkyū" 中国新石器時代陶鈴研究, in KIKUCHI Tetsuo 菊池徹夫, ed., Hikaku kōkogaku no shin chihei 比較考古学の新地平 (Tokyo: Dōseisha 同成社).

<sup>8.</sup> Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会学院考古研究所, ed., *Zhongguo kaoguxue: Xin shiqi shidai juan* 中国考古学: 新石器時代巻. (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue).

<sup>9.</sup> ŌNUKI Shizuo 大貫静夫, "Dai, Shōkō Anrei shuryō min no kyojū keitai ni tsuite"

貫静夫 provides an example of ethnoarcheology in northeast Asia and introduces details of the dwellings of the native peoples in the northern Tungusic language family who spread across the Greater and Lesser Khingan Mountains. In "The Diversity of Neolithic Society in Northeast Asia," 10 Ōnuki focuses on the Far Eastern Neolithic society known for flat-basin earthenware and pit dwellings, and demonstrates both the expansion of field-based millet cultivation and the transformation of society from the west to the east and north. At the same time, Ōnuki argues that the changes in the Far East were not uniform and therefore points out the danger of assessing a society based on the presence or absence of farming.

As for the northern grasslands, there is TAKAHAMA Shū's 高濱秀 "The Composite Bow of Central Eurasia"11 which is an examination of bows before the rise of the Xiongnu in Central Eurasia. Takahama points out the oldest composite bows in the Eurasian grass plains are those shown on deer stones in Mongolia and Zabaykalsky. It is possible Scythian bows originate from this bow. Takahama explains that the tips of bows used during the plank stone grave culture (banshimu wenhua 板 石墓文化) period which spread after the deer stone period were made from notched bones or antlers. The style of bow first spread throughout the early nomadic cultures in north China and was later enlarged into the Xiongnu and Hun style bone as it spread west. For the appearance of mounted nomadic people in the grasslands and the origin of the Scythians, see HAYASHI Toshio's 林俊雄 "Archeology in the Grasslands."12 [191] For the Xinjiang region, there is GOTŌ Ken's 後藤健 "Villages in Prehistoric Xinjiang."13 Gotō compares Xinjiang's Hami region with the Begash ruins in the southeastern part of Kazakhstan as well as ruins in the surrounding regions as a way to determine the form of villages in prehistoric Xinjiang, a region which still holds many mysteries. Pointing out the similarities between the two regions, Gotō believes the grouped stone structures of southern Xinjiang are in fact dwellings. Gotō argues that along the Tian Shan Mountains a cattle breeding society developed

大・小興安嶺狩猟民の居住形態について, Hikaku kōkogaku no shin chihei 比較考古学の新地平 (Tokyo: Dōseisha 同成社).

<sup>10.</sup> Ōnuki Shizo, "Hokutō Ajia shin sekki shakai no tayōsei" 北東アジア新石器社会の多様性, in KIKUCHI Toshihiko 菊池俊彦, ed., *Hokutō Ajia no rekishi to bunka* 北東アジアの歴史と文化 (Sapporo: Hokudai shuppankai 北大出版会).

<sup>11.</sup> TAKAHAMA Shū 高濱秀, "Chūō Yūrashia no fukugōkyū" 中央ユーラシアの複合弓, Kanazawa daigaku kōkogaku kiyō 金沢大学考古学紀要 31.

<sup>12.</sup> HAYASHI Toshio 林俊雄, "Sōgen no kōkogaku" 草原の考古学, in *Hokutō Ajia no rekishi to bunka* 北東アジアの歴史と文化.

<sup>13.</sup> Gotō Ken 後藤健, "Shinkyō senshi jidai no shūraku keitai" 新疆先史時代の集落形態, in *Hikaku kōkogaku no shin chihei* 比較考古学の新地平.

which bore similar social structures and occupational forms. For the peripheral regions of ancient China, there are no textual records and so archeological artifacts and ethnologies are an especially important source of information. Such research on the peripheral regions will likely continue to improve in the future.

#### Shang and Zhou

We will begin with research on the production techniques of bronze implements. First, there is "A Structural Analysis of Shang and Zhou Bronzes Using CT"14 by IMAZU Setsuo 今津節夫, TORIKOSHI Toshiyuki 鳥越俊行, KAWANO Kazutaka 河野一隆, ICHIMOTO Rui 市元塁, HIGUCHI Takayasu 樋口隆康, and HIROKAWA Mamoru 廣川守. The authors focus on the jue 爵 and lei 罍 vessels from the Shang and Zhou dynasties and, using a CT scan, provide an elucidation of the vessels' internal structures and production techniques. Imazu et al. show that there were two methods used to connect the vessel with its handles: 1) connecting the handles at the time of the vessel's casting, and 2) making a tenon on the vessel beforehand to attach a casted handle afterword. The authors also point out the location of an observed spacer. In "A Structural Analysis of the Shang Rhinoceros Cup Using CT,"15 Hirokawa Mamoru, Imazu Setsuo, Torikoshi Toshiyuki, and WADA Kei 輪田慧 present a similar analysis of a Shang dynasty rhinoceros cup. The authors point out the use of a half-ring in connecting the vessel with its handles. They also show how the method of connecting the handle differed from that of the *yi* 恒 from the late Western Zhou. In "An Examination of the Bronze jue 爵 Held in the Display Room of the Faculty of Letters at Tokyo University,"16 SUZUKI Mai 鈴木舞 presents a detailed examination of the bronze *jue* held at Tokyo University and makes conjectures about its production techniques. Suzuki points out that for part of the jue which dates to the Erligang 二里岡 period, production techniques unique to the Erlitou 二里頭 period were used. Suzuki argues that Xia craftsmen were involved in bronze production in the early part of the Shang dynasty.

<sup>14.</sup> IMAZU Setsuo 今津節夫, TORIKOSHI Toshiyuki 鳥越俊行, KAWANO Kazutaka 河野一隆, ICHIMOTO Rui 市元塁, HIGUCHI Takayasu 樋口隆康, and HIRO-KAWA Mamoru 廣川守, "X sen CT o riyō shita In Shū seidōki no kōzō kaiseki (I)" X 線 CT を利用した殷周青銅器の構造解析 (I), Sen-oku hakukokan kiyō 泉屋博古館紀要 26.

<sup>15.</sup> Hirokawa Mamoru, Imazu Setsuo, Torikoshi Toshiyuki, and WADA Kei 輪田慧, "X sen CT sukana o riyō shita Indai seidō jikō no naibu kōzō kaiseki" X 線 CT スキャナを利用した殷代青銅図觥の内部構造解析, Chūgoku kōkogaku 中国考古学 10.

<sup>16.</sup> SUZUKI Mai 鈴木舞, "Tōkyō daigaku bungakubu retsuhinshitsu shozō seidōshaku ni kan suru kōsatsu" 東京大学文学部列品室所蔵青銅爵に関する考察, Tōkyō daigaku kōkogaku kenkyūshitsu kenkyū kiyō 東京大学考古学研究室研究紀要, 24.

When considering the production techniques and artisanry involved in bronze vessels, one must inevitably discuss the molds of the vessels. Unfortunately, there are precious few such materials available at present. An increase in the quantity of excavated materials is eagerly awaited.

### **Shang Dynasty**

In "Research on the Patterns and Decorations on Shang and Zhou Dynasty Bronze Vessels," <sup>17</sup> UCHIDA Junko 内田純子 introduces past work on the patterns and decorations on Shang and Zhou dynasty bronze vessels while pointing out the importance of detailed research from one year to the next. Uchida discusses the possibility of reconstructing the details of craftsmen guilds and the world views of contemporary people. The changes in the layered nature of patterns as well as the relationship between the composition of bronze and the complication in patterns, all of which appear in Uchida's article, will remain important points for future research on bronze vessels.

### **Zhou Dynasty**

In "An Examination of Bronze Ritual Vessels as Burial Accessories in the Late Western Zhou," <sup>18</sup> OZAWA Masahito 小澤正人 discusses a shared sacrifice in the state of Guo 虢 and Jin 晉, which consisted of cooking, washing, and offering, from an analysis of the bronze ritual vessels excavated from Tomb 2001 from the Guo state tombs and Tomb 93 from the Jin Marquis tombs. As background to the sacrifices carried out in the different states, Ozawa speculates that in this period the sacrifices of the Zhou dynasty existed as a larger framework that the two states incorporated, which also bound them to the system of rule. It is of great interest that Ozawa notes that an even number of bronze ritual vessels used for offerings became burial accessories. In the case of sacrifice, we can perhaps assume that with ritual bronze vessels, two people used one pair of vessels to present offerings. [192]

In "An Examination of Foreign Relations in the State of Yu 強 during the Western Zhou," TAHATA Jun 田畑潤 and KONDŌ Haruka 近藤はる香 present an analysis of bronze vessels excavated from the Yu state

<sup>17.</sup> UCHIDA Junko 内田純子, "Shō Shū seidōki no monyō, sōshoku kenkyū" 商周青銅器の紋様・装飾研究, *Chūgoku kōkogaku* 中国考古学 10.

<sup>18.</sup> OZAWA Masahito 小澤正人, "Sei Shū jidai kōki ni okeru seidō reiki no fukusō ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu" 西周時代後期における青銅礼器の副葬についての一考察, in Hikaku kōkogaku no shin chihei 比較考古学の新地平.

<sup>19.</sup> TAHATA Jun 田畑潤 and KONDŌ Haruka 近藤はる香, "Sei Shū jidai Kyokoku ni okeru taigai kankei ni tsuite no kōsatsu" 西周時代強国における対外関係についての考察, Chūgoku kōkogaku 中国考古学 10.

tombs in Baoji 寶雞 city, Shaanxi province, with special attention on the burial system and the background of their production. Tahata and Kondō argue that as a result of the major changes in the state of Yu's foreign relations during King Zhao's southern expedition, the state of Yu ultimately collapsed. In addition, Tahata and Konō's article is a novel attempt at analyzing bronze vessels which attempts to quantify the patterns and casting techniques of the vessels as well as calculate the the level of the work. In "Changes in the Distribution of Ritual Bronze Vessels in the Central Plains during the Western Zhou," KAKUDŌ Ryōsuke 角道亮介 attempts to determine the extent of the Western Zhou's royal domain (wang ji 玉畿) from the distribution of ritual bronze vessels in the central plains during the Western Zhou.

In "The Western Zhou Royal House and the ceming 冊命 Ritual as Seen from Bronze Inscriptions,"21 TSUTSUMI Eriko 堤絵莉子 notes that *ceming* inscriptions became fixed from the later half of the mid-Western Zhou. Tsutsumi argues that because the ceming ritual was a limited phenomenon, it was a way to maintain the power of the Western Zhou royal house. For other research on ceming, there is TANI Hideki's 谷秀樹 "An Examination of the Shaandong 'Zhou Transformation' during the Western Zhou."22 Tani discusses the gradual advancement of a "Zhou Transformation" which emerged from the Shaandong 陝東 region as seen from the alterations to or disappearance of the year-numbering system, posthumous names, and pictographs in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. Through an examination of the ceming ritual as seen in bronze inscriptions, Tani argues that from the reforms of the mid-Western Zhou there was a need for a "Zhou Transformation" to contribute to the center of royal politics. According to Tani, this only served to hasten the "Zhou Transformation" which emerged from Shaandong. As for past work on the ceming ritual, there is MUSHA Akira's 武者章 "Towards a Classification of Western Zhou ceming Bronze Inscriptions."23 Musha divides ceming bronze inscriptions into three types. For each type, Musha notes the subject of the *ceming* ritual, the bestowed items, the maker, the site of excavation, and the period. Of course, there remains a question

<sup>20.</sup> KAKUDŌ Ryōsuke 角道亮介, "Sei Shū jidai kanchū heigen ni okeru seidō iki bunpu no kenka" 西周時代関中平原における青銅彝器分布の変化, *Chūgoku kōkogaku* 中国考古学 10.

<sup>21.</sup> TSUTSUMI Eriko 堤絵莉子, "Kinbun shiryō kara mita Sei Shū ōshitsu to sakumyō girei" 金文資料からみた西周王室と冊命儀礼, *Senshi gaku, kōkogaku ronkyū* 先史学・考古学論究 5 ge 下.

<sup>22.</sup> TANI Hideki 谷秀樹, "Sei Shū dai Sentō shutsuji sha 'Shū ka' kō" 西周代陝東 出自者「周化」考, *Ritsumeikan bungaku* 立命館文学 617.

<sup>23.</sup> MUSHA Akira 武者章, "Sei Shū sakumyō kinbun bunrui no kokoromi" 西周冊 命金文分類の試み, Tōyō bunka 東洋文化 (Tōdai 東大) 59 (1979).

of how recent discoveries relate to the initial work of Musha and others.

In "An Examination of Zhou Dynasty Bronze Vessels from Liangdai Village, Hancheng,"<sup>24</sup> KIKAWADA Osamu 黄川田修 explains how many of the bronze vessels dating from the late Western Zhou and early Spring and Autumn period, which were excavated from the tombs of Liangdai Village in Hancheng, correspond to the group of royal Zhou bronze vessels. Kikawada also notes that the area was part of a state within the Huaxia system. Pointing out that the Jinnan 晉南 region was closely connected to the northern world, Kikawada discusses the possibility that the region functioned as a new route connecting Guanzhong with the north

## **Spring and Autumn Period**

We will now focus on the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 as a fundamental source for historical research. In *The Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals: Its Formation as a Standard*, <sup>25</sup> NOMA Fumichika 野間文史 examines the narrative shorthand records and frames them as source materials for the *Zuo zhuan* which, Noma argues, should be thought of as initially existing as dramatic plays. Noma views the central focus of the *Zuo zhuan* in the early period as being the hegemon (*ba* 覇) system of Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 and Duke Wen 文 of Jin 晉. In the middle period, it was the offensive and defensive battles of Jin and Chu 楚. Finally, in the late period, it was the age of worthies (*xianren* 賢人) in politics. Judging from the appraisal of Duke Wen of Jin and Duke Huan of Qi, Noma argues that the *Zuo zhuan* was compiled in support of the ritual system which took the Zhou king as its apex and as such was most likely the work of Ruists.

The Formation of the Idea of "Zhonghua" in the Ancient Period,<sup>26</sup> WATA-NABE Hideyuki 渡邉英幸 points out the multi-layered nature of the idea of *zhonghua* in the pre-Qin period by discussing textual and excavated materials. Watanabe notes that in the Western Zhou there was not an opposition between Zhongguo 中國 and Xia 夏 on one hand and Yi 夷, Man 蠻, or Rong 戎 on the other. However, with the formation of alliances between the numerous states in the Spring and Autumn period, a *zhonghua* framework formed from a three tiered consciousness which consisted of oppositions between 1) groups of different cultural back-

<sup>24.</sup> KIKAWADA Osamu 黄川田修, "Kanjō Ryōtai son ryō Shū tōki kō" 韓城梁帯 村両周銅器考, Waseda Chūgoku shi kenkyū 早期中国史研究 2.1.

<sup>25.</sup> NOMA Fumichika 野間文史, Shunjū Sashi den: Sono kōsei to kijiku 春秋左氏伝: その構成と基軸 (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan 研文出版).

<sup>26.</sup> WATANABE Hideyuki 渡邉英幸, Kodai "Chūka" kannen no keisei 古代〈中華〉観念の形成 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店).

ground and the feudal states, 2) feudal states which were connected by blood to the Zhou royal house, and *yirong* 夷戎 along with small states, and finally 3) Xia and Zhongguo which served as an alliance headed by the Zhou king, and powers not part of the alliance. Watanabe argues that in the Warring States period the *zhonghua* idea was established as an imperial justification which legitimated the integration of disparate groups through a specific authority.

In Research on the History of Chinese Astronomy,<sup>27</sup> KOZAWA Kenji 小沢賢二 [193] describes the creation of calendars in ancient China and discusses the nature of Mu tianzi zhuan 穆天子傳 of the Jizhong 汲冢 texts together with Warring States bamboo texts in the collection of Tsinghua University. In "Misquotation and Criticism," <sup>28</sup> HIRASE Takao 平势隆郎 shows how in the work of Kozawa and others Hirase's own arguments have been criticized on the basis of misquotation. In addition, in "Remarkable Things Heard on the Street Corner," <sup>29</sup> Hirase shows how the same misinformed criticism has been directed at his later work as well.

In "The Creation and Development of Bronze Currency in Ancient China (Part 6),"30 EMURA Haruki 江村治樹 argues that from the changes in the distribution and lead content of Chu bronzed cowries in the pre-Qin period, the bronzed cowry came into wide circulation when the state of Chu moved its capital to Chen. Following the move, the currency developed in response to the new economic situation. In addition to not recognizing the cowry itself as a form of currency from the time of the Neolithic period to the Western Zhou, Emura argues that the reason for the Chu bronze cowry being chosen as a unified currency and being modeled on the cowry was a strong interest in Zhou culture which was prominent in the state of Chu.

In "An Examination of *rang* 讓 in the Pre-Qin Period,"<sup>31</sup> KODERA Atsushi 小寺敦 presents an examination of *rang* as it relates to the succession of rulers in the pre-Qin period. The article expands on Kodera's previous published piece, "On *rang* as Seen in Transmitted Texts from the

<sup>27.</sup> KOZAWA Kenji 小沢賢二, *Chūgoku tenbungaku shi kenkyū* 中国天文学史研究 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin 汲古書院).

<sup>28.</sup> HIRASE Takao 平勢隆郎, "Tadashikarazaru inyō to hihan no 'katachi'" 正しからざる引用と批判の「形」, *Kyūko* 汲古 9.

<sup>29.</sup> Hirase Takao, "Machikado de mitsuketa kimyō na hyōgen 2" 街角で見つけた 奇妙な表現, Shiryō hihan kenkyū 資料批判研究 9.

<sup>30.</sup> EMURA Haruki 江村治樹, "Chūgoku ni okeru kodai seidō kahei no seisei to tenkai (roku)" 中国における古代青銅貨幣の生成の展開 (六), Nagoya daigaku bungakubu kenkyū ronshū 名古屋大学文学部研究論集 (shigaku 史学) 56.

<sup>31.</sup> KODERA Atsushi 小寺敦, "Sen Shin jidai 'jō' kō" 先秦時代「讓」考, Rekishigaku kenkyū 歷史学研究 871.

Pre-Qin, Qin, and Han Period."<sup>32</sup> Although it is believed that the act of "yielding" existed prior to the Spring and Autumn period, Kodera argues that it was not connected with *rang* until the Warring States period. The succession of rulers prior to the Spring and Autumn period expressed in terms of *rang* was originally a succession within the bloodline and *rang* did not carry the same meaning that it did during the Warring States period. However, from the end of the Spring and Autumn period to the mid-Warring States period, the word *rang* appeared which, in meaning, had little connection to any notion of a bloodline and instead related to esteeming worthies. From that point, as Kodera explains, with the compilation of textual materials, *rang* was introduced for some instances of past succession. Kodera surmises that at the same time the Zhou patriarchal clan system as it related to *rang* was formed in theory starting in the mid-Warring States period.

In "The Balance of Power of the Three Huan in the State of Lu as Seen from 'Felling the Three City Walls' (duo sandu 墮三都),"<sup>33</sup> YOSHIDA Akihito 吉田章人 considers the reason for "felling the three city walls" through the relationships between the various fiefs of the three Huan (san huan 三桓) who took control of Lu during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. The power over the fiefs of the three Huan was the first to have been established with the support of the fief governor (yizai 邑宰) and the fief residents. However, because the three Huan were unable to expand the reach of their power, "felling the three city walls" was brought about to quell internal conflict. Yoshida notes that the reason for the fall of the three Huan in the Warring States period was a failure to establish a new basis of power with the three cities.

In "The Formation and Possibility of jun 郡 in the Pre-Qin Period," "34 TSUCHIGUCHI Fuminori 土口史記 focuses on jun and argues that the unit appeared under the Qin together with the large scale expansion beyond the territories of neishi 內史, the traditionally controlled regions. Tsuchiguchi affirms that there was no succession between the jun of the Spring and Autumn period and the jun of the Warring States period.

For work which deals with the writing of excavated materials, there is ASANO Yūichi's 浅野裕一 The Ancient Chinese Philosophy Expressed

<sup>32.</sup> Kodera Atsushi, "Sen Shin Shin Kan no densei bunken ni mieru 'jō' ni tsuite" 先秦秦漢の伝世文献にみえる「譲」について, Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō 東洋文化研究所紀要 (Tōdai 東大) 156 (2009).

<sup>33.</sup> YOSHIDA Akihito 吉田章人, "'Da santo' kara miru Ro no Sankanshi no kenryoku kōzō"「堕三都」から見る魯の三桓氏の権力構造, Tōkai daigaku kiyō bungakubu 東海大学紀要文学部 93.

<sup>34.</sup> TSUCHIGUCHI Fuminori 土口史記, "Sen Shin ki ni okeru 'gun' no keisei to sono keiki" 先秦期における「郡」の形成とその契機, Kodai bunka 古代文化 61.4.

in Bamboo Slips, 35 SASAKI Kenta 佐々木研太 and SHIMODA Makoto's 下田誠 "The Longgang Qin Bamboo Slips, Annotated and Translation (Part I),"36 EBINE Ryūsuke's 海老根量介,"The Regional and Stratified Nature of Rishu 日書 of the Warring States Period,"37 to name but a few examples. In any case, because each focuses on the Warring States period, we will not introduce them here.

### On the Appearance of Copper and Iron

There have been a number of articles on the subject here. In "The Copper Vessels of Nomadic and Agricultural Peoples," OKAUCHI Mitsuzane 岡内三眞 begins the discussion on how metal implements began to be used in Eurasia given the close relationship between the natural environment and human activity. [194] With examples of excavated copper vessels from China's Neolithic period to the Western Zhou, Okauchi summarizes the difference between the bronze cultures of the northern nomadic peoples and the southern agricultural peoples.

In "Early Period Iron Culture in Northeast Asia,"<sup>39</sup> MURAKAMI Yasuyuki 村上恭通 examines the early period iron culture of northeast Asia. Discussing its connection with the casting of iron vessels in the state of Yan 燕, Murakami argues that the spread of iron began in the late Warring States period. Murakami suggests there were two routes along which iron spread, a route from the Second Songhua River to the Amur River and a second route from the base of the Korean peninsula across the Bohai Gulf to the Sea of Japan. However, as Murakami points out, in northeast Asia a self-sufficiency in the production of iron vessels appeared quite late and hence indicates a significant disparity throughout the region.

In "The Reception and Development of Early Period Iron Implements in the Northern Grasslands of China,"40 TANAKA Yūko 田中裕子

<sup>35.</sup> ASANO YŪICHI 浅野裕一, ed., Chikukan ga kataru kodai Chūgoku shisō 竹簡が語る古代中国思想, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin).

<sup>36.</sup> SASAKI Kenta 佐々木研太 and SHIMODA Makoto 下田誠, "Ryūkō Shin kan yakuchū (zenpen)" 龍崗秦簡訳注 (前編), Chūgoku shutsudo shiryō kenkyū 中国出土資料研究 14.

<sup>37.</sup> EBINE Ryūsuke 海老根量介, "Sengoku Nissho ni han'ei sareta chiikisei to kaisōsei" 戦国『日書』に反映された地域性と階層性, Chūgoku shutsudo shiryō kenkyū中国出土史料研究 14.

<sup>38.</sup> OKAUCHI Mitsuzane 岡内三眞, "Yūbokumin to nōkōmin no dōki" 遊牧民と農耕民の銅器, in Hikaku kōkogaku no shinchihei 比較考古学の新地平.

<sup>39.</sup> MURAKAMI Yasuyuki 村上恭通, "Hokutō Ajia no shoki tekki bunka" 北東アジアの初期鉄器文化, in Hokutō Ajia no rekishi to bunka 北東アジアの歴史と文化.

<sup>40.</sup> TANAKA Yūko 田中裕子, "Chūgoku hoppō sōgen chitai ni okeru shoki tekki no

discusses the reception of early period iron implements and the development of an iron culture in China's northern grasslands. While iron was introduced from the southern part of Longdong 隴東 and Ningxia 寧夏 to the southern part of Inner Mongolia during the middle to late Spring and Autumn period, the shift from bronze to iron in sharp-edged tools occurred much faster in the eastern grasslands and during the late Warring States period an iron culture was well established there. Tanaka argues that it was not until the end of the Western Han that an iron culture appeared from Hetao 河套 and Ordos to the eastern part of Longdong and Ningxia. Tanaka points out that the spread of iron implements occurred from west to east, while the establishment of an iron culture occurred from east to west.

In "The Reception and Development of Iron Implements in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region," <sup>41</sup> Tanaka Yūko presents a similar discussion this time focused on Xinjiang. While iron implements were introduced from the west as early as the first period of Xinjiang history, which corresponds to the mid-Western Zhou to the Spring and Autumn period, during the second period sharp-edged tools were still made of bronze. From the third period, during the Han dynasty, a majority of sharp-edged tools were made of iron. Having illustrated the process by which iron replaced bronze, Tanaka explains that the spread of iron in the northern grasslands and southern Siberia occurred at roughly the same time.

In *The Origin and Early Developments of Iron in Ancient China*,<sup>42</sup> BAI Yunxiang 白雲翔 discusses the development of iron implements in ancient China with a focus on excavated artifacts. According to Bai, a unique system of technologies formed during the period from the Shang dynasty up to the Warring States period. During the Shang and Western Zhou, there was the discovery of iron meteorite processing and cementation to make steel from pieces of wrought iron. During the Spring and Autumn period, there was the discovery of how to smelt pig iron and decarburize cast iron. Finally, during the Warring States period, there was the discovery of how to decarburize cast iron for steelmaking as well as the use of forging techniques to create the hole on an axehead. As Bai argues, with the development of such technologies, there was both

juyō to tenkai"中国北方草原地帯における初期鉄器の受容と展開, in Hikaku kōkogaku no shin chihei 比較考古学の新地平.

<sup>41.</sup> Tanaka Yūko, "Shinkyō Uiguru jichiku ni okeru tekki no juyō to tenkai" 新疆ウイグル自治区における鉄器の受容と展開, *Chūgoku kōkogaku* 中国考古学 10.

<sup>42.</sup> BAI Yunxiang 白雲翔 (trans. MAKIBAYASHI Keisuke 槙林啓介), "Chūgoku kodai tekki no kigen to shoki no tenkai" 中国古代鉄器の起源と初期の展開, in MAT-SUI Kazuyuki 松井和幸, ed., Higashi Ajia no kodai tetsu bunka 東アジアの古代鉄文化 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku 雄山閣).

a diversification in the types of iron implements as well as an increase in their use. While Chinese iron implements after the Shang are said to have developed unlike any other, there are few excavated pieces from before the Western Zhou. In addition, because no iron forges have been discovered as of yet, it remains uncertain to what extent there was continuity between the iron implements from before the Western Zhou and those of the Spring and Autumn period onward. As Bai himself points out, there is also a need to consider what kind of technological connections there were among the excavated iron implements of the Xinjiang region which are classified as belonging to the northwestern line.

#### Diachronic Research

In Luoyang: A Thousand Years of Imperial Capitals, 43 SHIOZAWA Hirohito 塩沢裕仁 investigates the human and natural environments of the ancient capital Luoyang. Shiozawa introduces an exhaustive summary of research organizations and museums relating to the remnants of Luoyang and its vicinity from the Neolithic period up to the Song dynasty. Shiozawa's presentation on the historical geography of district walls (xian cheng 縣城) and ancient highways is fascinating.

In "Human Groups in Northeast Asia,"<sup>44</sup> MATSUMURA Hirofumi 松村博文 and ISHIDA Hajime 石田肇 discuss from an anthropological point view the dispersion of northeastern people throughout the far north, the Americas, southern China, and southeast Asia over the course of the past twenty thousand years. In "The Chariot-Pulling Horse,"<sup>45</sup> KIKUCHI Daiki 菊地大樹 focuses on the horse which pulled chariots during the Pre-Qin period and reconsiders the uses of the chariot. [195] Kikuchi argues that horses used with chariots in the Pre-Qin period belonged to a line of Mongolian horses. From animal husbandry data, Kikuchi calculates the running distances and pulling strength of the horses. Kikuchi also estimates the speed of the chariots at approximately 7 km per hour by considering the weight of the chariot as deduced from changes in the chariot's size and an identification of the chariot's wood. The research will likely cause a stir among the research on Pre-Qin chariots. In "The Chinese Earthenware Production of Salt (Preface),"<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43.</sup> SHIOZAWA Hirohito 塩沢裕仁, Sennen teito Rakuyō 千年帝都洛陽 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku 雄山閣).

<sup>44.</sup> MATSUMURA Hirofumi 松村博文 and ISHIDA Hajime 石田肇, "Hokutō Ajia no jinrui shūdan" 北東アジアの人類集団, in *Hokutō Ajia no rekishi to bunka* 北東アジアの歴史と文化.

<sup>45.</sup> KIKUCHI Daiki 菊地大樹, "Basha o hiku uma" 馬車を牽くウマ, Chūgoku kōkogaku 中国考古学 10.

<sup>46.</sup> IRIE Fumitoshi 入江文敏, "Chūgoku no doki seien (josetsu)" 中国の土器製塩

IRIE Fumitoshi 入江文敏 introduces past research and argues that the basin-shaped earthenware from Shandong, and the pointed-base and urn-shaped earthenware from Sichuan and Chongqing were used for saltproduction from the Western Zhou to the Han dynasty.

We will now look at research on intellectual history and cosmology. In "The Half-Open Door to the Other Side," 47 KOMINAMI Ichirō 南一郎 presents a discussion of ancient Chinese views of "spirits" (Jp. tamashii), arguing that the "spirit" had an intellectual, religious meaning. Kominami situates funerary rites as a way to collectivize the spirit on its way to join the world of the ancestors. Kominami discusses how funerary rites themselves changed in relation to the emphasis on individuality during life and later came to include the purification of sin as part of the collectivizing process. Kominami also points out that people believed the spirit rose to heaven only after *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 had joined together. Joint funerals of both husband and wife were a manifestation of such thinking. In "The Emperor's Royal Beast," 48 Kominami discusses the cultural meaning of dragons as well as their origin. In addition to laying out the relationship between dragons, water animals, land animals, and astronomical phenomena, Kominami emphasizes the connection between the dragon and land animals with four feet, especially domestic livestock, while paying close attention to the dragon's ability of ascending to the heavens. Kominami focuses on three kinds of records on dragons. First, there are those in the Zuo zhuan and Jin shu 晉書 of raising dragons or sometimes even eating them. Second, there is the passage seen in the "Zhengjian" 正諫 section of the Shuoyuan 說苑 where a white dragon is kept as the emperor's own. And finally, there are the excavated artifacts which are thought to depict dragons through the use of features common to oxen and pigs. Given such information, Kominami surmises that a ritual existed which equated dragons to domestic livestock. Kominami also shows how the dragon was closely related to animal rituals, especially sacrifice which served as a means to connect heaven and earth by presenting animal offerings to Tiandi 天帝. What's more, Kominami also argues that taotie 饕餮 were variations on animal forms and served to connect the worlds of the ancestors and the living. Because the rain ceremony, a practice of making rain fall from the heavens to the earth with the help of a dragon, was related to bringing about a flourishing crop, Kominami sets the origin of the ceremony to the Neolithic period.

<sup>(</sup>序説), Ishikawa kōkogaku kenkyūkai kaishi 石川考古学研究会会誌 53.

<sup>47.</sup> KOMINAMI Ichirō 小南一郎, "Hanbiraki no tobira no achira" 半開きの扉の彼方, Kokugakuin Chūgoku gakkai hō 国学院中国学会報 55 (2009).

<sup>48.</sup> Kominami Ichirō, "Tentei no kichiku" 天帝の貴畜, Sen'oku hakukokan kiyō 泉屋博古館紀要 26.

In "The Nature of the Gods of Mountains and Streams,"<sup>49</sup> TAKATO Satoshi 高戸聰 points out that in regard to gods in the Pre-Qin period, there were some gods as well as associated sacrifices which had been separated from the sacrificial order. Takato argues that some gods did not carry out any orders from heaven and were instead offered sacrifices on an arbitrary basis. Such gods were typically gods of mountains and streams.

As we have seen in the summaries above, there continues to be an attempt to overcome disciplinary divisions in the search for new approaches. Of course, a certain degree of prudence is required which does not casually engage with novelty. Perhaps what is needed at this point is a multi-faceted perspective which is at the same time aware of the limits of past methodologies and even inquiry itself.

<sup>49.</sup> Kominami Ichirō, "Tentei no kichiku" 天帝の貴畜, Sen'oku hakukokan kiyō 泉屋博古館紀要 26.