



Universität Hamburg

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CENTRE FOR THE  
STUDY OF  
MANUSCRIPT  
CULTURES

**The Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC)**

cordially invites you to the conference

## **Standardisation of Written Artefacts in East Asia**

東亞寫本文獻之規範化國際學術研討會

**Wednesday, 17 August, 9:30 am–5:00 pm CEST**

**Thursday, 18 August, 9:30 am–5:00 pm CEST**

**Friday, 19 August, 9:30 am–2:30 pm CEST**

Warburgstraße 26 (Pavilion), 20354 Hamburg – Hybrid Event

Registration:

<https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/en/register-workshop27>

Understanding ‘standard’ broadly as an explicit or implicit (e.g., legal vs. customary) rule that governs the creation of written artefacts, the conference aims at approaching the topic diachronically – from the ancient to the modern period – and across East Asian cultures, focusing on artefacts bearing Chinese writing. Shedding light on the various forms and functions of standards as well as the socio-political, economic, cultural, and other settings that give rise to (or impede) them, we seek to unravel the complex dynamics in the creation and evolution of standards. Among the questions we propose to address are: How did standards come into existence and what were the practical needs behind them? Did they embrace and institutionalise former habitual practices, or were they purposefully modelled against them by an authority? Who were the agents in the formulation of standards, and how were they implemented, enforced and maintained? What new developments in writing techniques and practices did they trigger? What differences can we note between privately and officially produced artefacts? The contributions will explore a wide array of written artefacts, ranging from documents on bamboo or wood, to inscriptions on stone or bronze to manuscripts on paper, and address these and other questions pertaining to the standardisation of written artefacts in East Asia.

## Programme 會議議程

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**Tuesday 週二, 16 August 2022**

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Visit to 'Turfan Studies' Project, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities  
訪問柏林勃蘭登堡科學與人文學院“吐魯番研究項目”（柏林）

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**Wednesday 週三, 17 August 2022, 9:30 am–5:00 pm**

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**9:30–11:00 Opening Ceremony and Keynote 開幕式與主題演講**

9:30–9:45 Welcome and Opening Remarks 開幕致辭

Liu Cheng-Chung 劉正忠 (NTU)

Michael Friedrich 傅敏怡 (Hamburg)

9:45–10:00 Group Photo 與會學者合影

10:00–10:30 Hsu Fu-Chang 徐富昌 (NTU)

*On the Problems Related to Variance in the Anhui University Warring States  
Period Shijing Manuscript*

從安徽大學藏戰國竹簡談《詩經》的異文相關問題

10:30–11:00 Coffee break 茶敘

**11:00–12:30 Session 1: Standardisation in Textual Transmission: Early Modern Period**

**第一場：文本流傳中的規範化：近代東亞**

Chair 主持人: Barend ter Haar 田海

11:00–11:30 Chao Fei-Peng 趙飛鵬 (NTU)

*Standardisation of Written Artefacts from the Perspective of the Siku Quanshu zongmu*

從現存《四庫全書總目》看寫本文獻的規範化

11:30–12:00 Li Ren-Yuan 李仁淵 (Academia Sinica)

*Transcribing Ritual Texts in Late Imperial Chinese Villages: Observations from a Family Collection in Northeastern Fujian*

12:00–12:30 Liu Chia-Jung 劉佳蓉 (NTU)

*The Writing Style of Manuscripts by Interpreters of Chinese Languages (Tōtsūji) in Seventeenth Century Nagasaki: The Cases of Yang Erh Chi and Hiao Hai Erh*

十七世紀長崎唐通事書的寫本型態——以《養兒子》、《小孩兒》為中心

**12:30–2:00 Lunch Break + Lab Tour (optional) 午餐、小憩、參觀 CSMC 實驗室（可選）**

**2:00–3:30 Session 2: Standardisation in Textual Transmission: Medieval Period**

**第二場：文本流傳中的規範化：中古時期**

Chair 主持人: Imre Galambos 高奕睿

2:00–2:30 Ye Ziwei 葉子葳 (Oxford)

*Textual 'Solidification' of Xuan Ying's 玄應 Yiqiejing yinyi 一切經音義: From Individual Transcription to Standardised Engraving*

2:30–3:00 Chiu Wan-Chun 邱琬淳 (NTU)

*A Study of the Transcribing of the Lotus Sutra in the Medieval Period*

造寫·應驗·祈願：中古時期《法華經》寫經研究

3:00–3:30 Coffee Break 茶敘

**3:30–5:00      Session 3: Standardisation in Epigraphic Materials**

**第三場：銘刻材料中的規範化**

Chair 主持人: Xue Lei 薛磊

3:30–4:00      Dagmar Schäfer 薛鳳 (Berlin)

*Quantity without Standardisation: A New Age of Textile Production, 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Century*

4:00–4:30      Claudia Wenzel 溫狄婭 (Heidelberg/Bonn)

*Standardizing Formats on Stone Writing Supports: Examples from Chinese Buddhist Epigraphy of the Sixth to Eighth Centuries*

4:30–5:00      Ondřej Škrabal 石安瑞 (Hamburg)

*Stages in Standardisation of Manufacturers' Labels in the Warring States Period*

戰國時期“物勒工名”題銘規範化的不同階段

**6:30              Conference Dinner 晚餐**

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Thursday 週四, 18 August 2022, 9:30 am–5:00 pm

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**9:30–11:00 Session 4: Standardisation in Historical Writing**

第四場：歷史書寫中的規範化

Chair 主持人: Olivier Venture 風儀誠

9:30–10:00 Lee Long-Shien 李隆獻 (NTU)

*On Standardisation in the Xinian Manuscript: The Case of Writing about Warfare and Armistice*

論《繫年》的規範化：以戰爭與弭兵書寫為例

10:00–10:30 Tsai Ying-Ying 蔡瑩瑩 (UTaipei)

*Standardization of Early Chinese Historiography: The Cases of the Zuozhuan and the Tsinghua Bamboo Slips*

早期中國歷史文獻的書寫與規範化：以《左傳》與清華簡的個案為例

10:30–11:00 Coffee Break 茶敘

**11:00–12:30 Session 5: Standardisation in Manuscript Production: Early China**

第五場：寫本製作中的規範化：早期中國

Chair: Lee Long-Shien 李隆獻

11:00–11:30 Enno Giele 紀安諾 (Heidelberg)

*Layouting Authority: Hierarchy and Standardization of Layout in Early Chinese Administrative Documents*

11:30–12:00 Thies Staack 史達 (Hamburg)

*Standardisation in Early Imperial Administration: The Case of the Qin Documents from Liye*

12:00–12:30 Tong Chun Fung 唐俊峰 (Heidelberg)

*Between Slip and Board: Standardization and Destandardization of Writing Supports in Eastern Han China, 25–220*

**12:30–2:00 Lunch Break + Lab Tour (optional) 午餐、小憩、參觀 CSMC 實驗室 (可選)**

**2:00–4:00 Session 6: Standardisation in Manuscript Production: Medieval to Republican China**

第六場：寫本製作中的規範化：中古至民國時期

Chair 主持人: Chao Fei-Peng 趙飛鵬

2:00–2:30 Imre Galambos 高奕睿 (Cambridge)

*Standardisation in Dunhuang Manuscripts Commissioned by the Tang Court*

2:30–3:00 Costantino Moretti 牟和諦 (Paris)

*Standards and 'Codicological Trends' in Chinese Translations of Buddhist Scriptures*

3:00–3:30 Qu Jian 瞿見 (Beijing)

*From 'Xuanton' to 'Republic': The Change in the Year Notation in the Contract Documents from the Qingshui River Basin Area*

从「宣统」到「民国」：清末民初清水江契约文书中的纪年更替

3:30–4:00 Coffee Break 茶敘

**4:00–5:00 Session 7: Standardisation of Non-textual Elements**

第七場：非文字元素的規範化

Chair 主持人: Ondřej Škrabal 石安瑞

4:00–4:30 Gu Run 顧潤 (Leuven)

*Shifting of Standards in Portrait Bricks: The Evolution of Funerary Ideology from the Western Han to the Six Dynasties*

4:30–5:00 Lin Wen-Hsin 林文心 (NTU)

*History of Literature in Pictures: The Case of Illustrations in Zheng Zhenduo's Illustrated History of Chinese Literature*

畫寫文學史——以鄭振鐸《插圖本中國文學史》的插圖為主體

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Friday 週五, 19 August 2022, 9:30 am–2:30 pm

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**9:30–11:30 Session 8: Standardisation of Script**

第八場：文字的規範化

Chair 主持人: Thies Staack 史達

9:30–10:00 Xiao Yunxiao 肖芸曉 (Princeton)

*Individualized and Standardized: Scribal Agency of the Guodian and Tsinghua Manuscripts*

10:00–10:30 Zheng Yifan 鄭伊凡 (Berkeley)

*Understanding the Qin Nomenclature Change through and beyond the Liye No. 8-461 'Gengming fang' 更名方 Wooden Board*

10:30–11:00 Xue Lei 薛磊 (Corvallis)

*Script Standard, Text Production, and Cultural Politics in Southern Dynasty China*  
“今體” 楷書、文本生產與南朝的文化政治

11:00–11:30 Coffee Break 茶敘

**11:30–1:00 Session 9: Standards and Variants in Early China**

第九場：早期中國規範與異體

Chair 主持人: Hsu Fu-Chang 徐富昌

11:30–12:00 Olivier Venture 風儀誠 (Paris)

*Variety and Standards in Warring States Seals*  
戰國璽印：規範與多樣

12:00–12:30 Li Xiuzhen 李秀珍 (Xi'an/London)

*Casting, Chiselling, and Wheel Incising: Character Standardisation and Technological Innovation*



12:30–1:00 Javier Caramés Sánchez 哈偉爾 (NTU)  
Mou 謀 *in the Zongheng Manuscripts of Mawangdui*

1:00–2:00 **Lunch Break** 午餐、小憩

2:00–2:30 **Final discussion** 會議總結發言



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## Abstracts and Contributors

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### Keynote 主題演講

**Hsu Fu-Chang 徐富昌 (National Taiwan University 國立台灣大學)**

*On the Problems Related to Variance in the Anhui University Warring States Period Shijing Manuscript*

從安徽大學藏戰國竹簡談《詩經》的異文相關問題

Wednesday, 17 August, 10:00–10:30 am

安徽大學藏戰國竹簡《詩經》是先秦抄本的《詩經》，也是現今所能見到最早的《詩經》文本。秦火之後，經籍多佚。漢初說《詩》者有四家，即齊、魯、韓、毛四家。東漢鄭玄為《毛詩》作箋，故《毛詩》影響獨大，而《齊詩》亡於魏，《魯詩》亡於晉，《韓詩》亡於宋。其後學者陸續為三家詩作輯佚，然究非三家詩真本面貌。而安大簡《詩經》乃戰國古本《詩經》，其年代比四家詩早得多，其內容所記錄的語言文字，更接近早期文本的原貌，可說是《詩經》異文研究的一手材料。安大簡《詩經》與今本所見《毛詩》，兩者在國風排序與名稱、詩篇排序與數目、詩文章次和字詞等方面，都有一定程度的差異，這些「異文」正反映了先秦《詩經》不同傳本之間所存在的差異現象。吾人可透過《詩經》古本與安大簡《詩經》間的文本及異文材料，進行《詩經》文本的形成與傳承、詩旨與訓詁、楚文字用字習慣等，進行更深層的考察。因此，本文將歸納其中異文的各種現象，並針對個別用字、字詞增減、句數章次，及通假、異體、同義等相關問題進行討論。

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### Session 1: Standardisation in Textual Transmission: Late Pre-modern Period

#### 第一場：文本流傳中的規範化：近代東亞

**Chao Fei-Peng 趙飛鵬 (National Taiwan University 國立台灣大學)**

*Standardisation of Written Artefacts from the Perspective of the Siku Quanshu zongmu* 從現存《四庫全書總目》看寫本文獻的規範化

Wednesday, 17 August, 11:00–11:30 am

紙張及印刷術發明以後，寫本與刻本始終並行不廢，主要原因在於寫本的存在，仍有其必要性。例如發行量較少的、罕見善本的流通；善本拷貝的快速取得；以書寫幫助背誦記憶等用途，仍然必須倚賴手寫。即使卷帙龐大的叢書，有時也以手寫方式保存，則是考量避免雕版印刷製作的鉅額成本。官方的圖書尤其如此，例如：明代的

《永樂大典》、清朝的《四庫全書》，都是採用寫本，即這方面很好的範例。其中，《四庫全書》的副產品之一，也是中國目錄學的鉅著《四庫全書總目》（簡稱《總目》），目前保存了由寫本到刻本過程中的各種稿本、鈔本，呈現出寫本趨向規範化的作用。本文將從形式、內容兩方面，考察現存各種《四庫全書總目》的版本，探討其在寫本文獻規範化方面的意義。

### 一、現存《四庫全書總目》在形式上的差異

現存的《四庫全書總目》不同版本，約有 10 多種，大部分是不完整的抄本或稿本，刊印本則僅有 3 種。這也可看出書寫本在《四庫全書總目》流傳過程中的重要作用。在形式上，各本有共通之處，例如：1、小題：書名、卷數；2、大題：四部名稱；3、避諱：多以同音字代替。至於其不同之處，如：1、書寫字體：寫本文獻由於出自個人手寫，所以個別性的差異也顯而易見；2、著錄圖書來源：各書進呈之來源，稿本僅少數有註明，刊本則多詳加註明；3、行款、版式。

### 二、現存《四庫全書總目》在內容上的差異

由於《四庫全書總目》在形成的過程中，經過多人、多次的增刪改寫，最後再由總纂官紀昀潤飾定稿，因此在內容上的差異，是比較大的。例如：1、所收書目不同：稿本《總目》所收書，明顯少於刊本《總目》；2、不分「應收」、「存目」：這部分因為稿本尚未定案，某些書籍的定位尚不明確；3、提要內容重點不同：稿本《總目》重視一書的思想、義理，刊本《總目》則著重版本源流、文字考據。這也與《總目》的預設讀者是哪些人有關。

### 三、探討差異原因與寫本規範化問題

印刷單行本《四庫全書總目》的印行目的，是提供社會上知識分子公開閱讀、學習的，與書前《提要》僅供皇室閱覽有所不同，立場、思想自然也有其差異。而且印刷的單行本不受字數限制，內容也可以更加多元、豐富。

思考寫本規範化的問題，有兩個主要因素：第一，是書寫者的立場：官方或政府的文書、檔案、書籍，會有比較明確的規範；私人的抄寫保存，比較沒有固定規範，除了少數藏書家為了整齊美觀，會有較為規範的書寫形式之外，一般都較為自由。第二，是寫本的性質：學術性的寫本，如經、史、子、集等之正式圖書，規範化較為明顯；藝術性的寫本，個人色彩較濃，不容易看出其中的規範化現象。

## Li Ren-Yuan 李仁淵 (Academia Sinica, Taipei)

*Transcribing Ritual Texts in Late Imperial Chinese Villages: Observations from a Family Collection in Northeastern Fujian*

Wednesday, 17 August, 11:30 am–12:00 pm

Even in the era when printing had become the common technique to duplicate standardized texts and textual knowledge, hand-copying was still widely practiced in specific spheres in both rural and city regions. This paper is preliminary observations from a family collection in northeastern Fujian mountains that I encountered in 2008. A family with a tradition of training ritual practitioners, the Chen family preserved both printed books and manuscripts produced from 18<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. While the printed books contain various subjects, most of the manuscripts in this collection are related to ritual practices: ritual manuals, chants, scriptures, exemplars of talisman etc. These hand-copied artefacts provide a concrete case with historical and social contexts to observe how villagers in late imperial China transmit standardized ritual contents via transcribing and collecting written texts. As scholars of ancient and medieval China have meticulously studied manuscripts and other written artefacts, many related to rituals too, their methods might provide some insights for the studies of late

imperial manuscripts, which are not fully explored by scholars of late imperial China. Carefully examining these materials will help us to understand how certain universal knowledge and practices, such as rituals of ancestral worship or of dispelling evil spirits, were spread to different regions and transmit generation by generation from medieval to late imperial eras, with or without the intervention of print media.

**Liu Chia-Jung 劉佳蓉 (National Taiwan University 國立台灣大學)**

*The Writing Style of Manuscripts by Interpreters of Chinese Languages (Tōtsūji) in Seventeenth Century Nagasaki: The Cases of Yang Erh Chi and Hiao Hai Erh*

十七世紀長崎唐通事書的寫本型態——以《養兒子》、《小孩兒》為中心

Wednesday, 17 August, 12:00–12:30 pm

The thesis discusses voice elements in Tōtsūji (Tangtongshi) manuscripts and how they encouraged the transformation of overseas vernacular Chinese in seventeenth century. The author attempts to introduce the variety in the mentioned style from spiritual construction, knowledge structure and discourse. First, the thesis introduces tales featuring evil karma, analyzing the descriptive trajectory of loyalty and filial piety. Secondly, the author analyzes how Tongshi manuscripts were influenced by the festive cultures and transformed them into inspirations for writing. Tongshi manuscripts could be considered a form of knowledge diffusion. On the other hand, it could create a negative voice which obscures the function of textbook it represents but enlightens readers based on the voice. This writing style not only redefines the childhood education but the cultural meaning during the transitional period.

本文旨在探論唐通事書裡的聲音元素，如何做為一種顛覆力量，推動十七世紀域外白話文體的轉換。本文嘗試從唐通事的心靈構造、知識結構和話語模式三個面向，綜合展示文體變形的面貌。文中首先針對「惡報」故事類型的運用著手，闡釋其對忠孝倫理內涵的抽換。其次，分析通事書如何反過來吸收慶典文化的思維，進而將其衍為一種書寫動力。一方面鋪展出民間知識傳播的途徑，另一方面製造出負面聲腔，鬆動其做為「教本」的示範意義，形成以聲音為啟蒙的另類手段，既有別於傳統童蒙書，也揭示其書寫型態在轉型時代中的文化意義。

## Session 2: Standardisation in Textual Transmission: Medieval Period

### 第二場：文本流傳中的規範化：中古時期

**Ye Ziwei 葉子葳 (University of Oxford 牛津大學)**

*Textual 'Solidification' of Xuan Ying's 玄應 Yiqiejing yinyi 一切經音義: From Individual Transcription to Standardised Engraving*

Wednesday, 17 August, 2:00–2:30 pm

*Yinyi* 音義 (lit. sounds and meanings) refers to an interdisciplinary genre of ancient Chinese hermeneutics that targets difficult characters and phrases found in canonical sutras, and aims to explain their pronunciation, meaning, and other pertinent information. As the oldest

surviving *Yinyi* book for Buddhist sutras, there are numerous copies of Xuan Ying's 玄應 25-volume *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 ('Pronunciation and Meaning of All Scriptures') produced in the Tang Dynasty (618–907) that have remained in existence. Not only are the manuscripts of Xuan Ying's *Yinyi* discovered in Dunhuang, Turfan and Japan all idiosyncratic, but also the blockprinted versions are divided to two groups, represented by the *Tripitaka Koreana* 高麗藏 and the *Tripitaka Qisha* 磧砂藏, respectively. Although the two versions of Xuan Ying's *Yinyi* generally maintained their overall content, the key differences go beyond our previous general understanding of the heterogeneity of ancient Chinese texts. To explain these textual distortions, this paper shall shed light on the textual changes that occurred in the process of transmission from author to readers, where the transcribers or readers changed the appearance of the text at will, and according to their own preferences or intentions of use. At the same time, there are also aspects of the process of printing that shaped the appearance of the Xuan Ying's *Yinyi*, such as the layout and textual orientation of the text. Furthermore, taking into account the repeated process of printing and re-collation, I intend to address the motivations behind the revisions and standardisations of the Song-era (960–1279) collators of the Chinese Tripitaka. By utilising this approach, this paper will trace the transition from manuscript to print in the textual world of mediaeval East Asia, highlighting the changes arising from the materiality of the text.

**Chiu Wan-Chun 邱琬淳 (National Taiwan University 國立台灣大學)**

*A Study of the Transcribing of the Lotus Sutra in the Medieval Period*

造寫·應驗·祈願：中古時期《法華經》寫經研究

Wednesday, 17 August, 2:30–3:00 pm

一部經典能經過歷史文化的汰除與僧尼士庶的支持而成為「經典」，必然仰賴廣大的信仰實踐與經典傳播作為基礎。本文從造寫經卷為中心，首先分析《法華經》經典本身所敘述的經本崇拜與功德觀，復以法華應驗故事與敦煌法華寫卷的題記檢驗中土的信眾如何接受、實踐經中所述的寫經法門，並論析佛經作為敘事文本、法身實相及宗教聖物在不同層面的作用，藉此探討中古時期法華經卷信仰的形成、實踐與傳播。透過本文研究可以看到《法華經》藉由經一佛一法的等同聯繫將實體經本、歷史佛身與大乘法義匯聚合一，進而賦予經卷成為佛滅之後傳續大乘佛法的正統性與權威性。並提供了一套以書寫流通經卷為法門而應感諸佛菩薩救助來化解現實難題的祈願—感應敘事，由此逐漸演變為受持、書寫、誦讀、供養經典的經卷崇拜。在《法華經》經卷信仰的形成過程中，《法華經》至少扮演了三種不同角色：一是記錄受持寫經法華修持方法的敘事文本；二是眾人信仰受持的「法身舍利」的神聖物質文本；三為應驗記作者欲透過應驗記的傳鈔輯錄而提高神聖性的宗教文本。藉由《法華經》與法華信仰的交互分析，可見經典的敘事如何藉由自我指涉達到複製、宣傳經本自身的目的，並在中國廣被實踐，並在此誦讀、造寫、應驗、祈願的迴圈流通下，加速《法華經》的正典化。

### Session 3: Standardisation in Epigraphic Materials

#### 第三場：銘刻材料中的規範化

**Dagmar Schäfer 薛鳳 (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science 馬克斯-普朗克科學史研究所)**

*Quantity without Standardisation: A New Age of Textile Production, 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Century*

Wednesday, 17 August, 3:30–4:00 pm

In this contribution I will provide a close look at standards of production and its conceptualisation during the Yuan era (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> c.) when Mongolian/central-Asian imaginations of silk production clashed with an existing private economy of silk weaving controlled by the state mainly through tax and tribute rules. The focus will be on the shifting approach to textile as a hybrid product made of many materials: silk, cotton, gold, leather, or things such as feathers. Based on these four materials I will tackle ‘technical systems’ and ‘technology’ and illustrate on how their definitions rely on distinct historical and contemporary notions of materials as ‘raw’ or processed.

**Claudia Wenzel 溫狄婭 (Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities / University of Bonn 海德堡科學與人文學院 / 波恩大學)**

*Standardizing Formats on Stone Writing Supports: Examples from Chinese Buddhist Epigraphy of the Sixth to Eighth Centuries*

Wednesday, 17 August, 4:00–4:30 pm

From the sixth to the eighth century, Buddhist patrons in China set out to carve sacred texts on writing supports of stone or rock, such as natural mountain cliffs, man-made caves, and ready-made stone slabs. Regardless of the different sizes of the carving projects and the amount of money and resources that were available, the patrons of all projects had to deal with the problem of how to transfer the text passages selected for carving on the stone surfaces, and how to arrange columns of characters and to format the chosen texts to make them fit the natural conditions. This paper will discuss various approaches observed in Buddhist epigraphy in the regions of present Hebei and Shandong (second half of the sixth century), Shaanxi (Jinchuanwan Cave, 662–670), and Sichuan (Wofoyuan, Kaiyuan era, 713–741). These include the use of grid lines for organising the text, experiments with layouts in landscape and portrait format, imitation of the format of free-standing steles, and several experiments on how to make good use of available wall surfaces inside caves. At the end of the period under discussion, we see the first well-organized text caves of standard sizes with sutra texts covering all inner walls in a neatly manner emerging in Sichuan. The trend towards standardization of formats appears to have been driven mainly by practical concerns, which the paper will try to specify, in addition to naming the difficulties that were encountered during the carving process. The paper will also keep an eye on possible influences on the formatting of the carved texts by the traditional Chinese reproduction technique of making paper rubbing from such stone supports.

**Ondřej Škrabal 石安瑞 (University of Hamburg 漢堡大學)**

*Stages in Standardisation of Manufacturers' Labels in the Warring States Period*

戰國時期“物勒工名”題銘規範化的不同階段

Wednesday, 17 August, 4:30–5:00 pm

Between the late fourth and third centuries BCE, the practice of inscribing ‘manufacturers’ labels’ became widespread in state-run workshops across the ancient Chinese realm. These short labels would commonly provide information about the date of production, workshop, and personnel engaged in the manufacture of the product. Most of the states formulated their own set of requirements for labelling particular artefacts, with standardized ceramic measures and bronze weapons being most common targets of these requirements. Apart from providing precious information about the underlying administrative practices and legal frameworks, labels used by different polities betray various degrees of standardisation both on the local and state level, ranging from the textual structure and content to inscription technique, placement, and layout. In this paper, I compare the standardisation practices pertaining to labelling ceramic containers in Qi and Yan and bronze weapons in Qin, Han, and Zhao, and assess the factors behind the increased attention paid to the content and form of manufacturers’ labels toward the end of the Warring States period.

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#### **Session 4: Standardisation in Historical Writing**

#### **第四場：歷史書寫中的規範化**

**Lee Long-Shien 李隆獻 (National Taiwan University 國立台灣大學)**

*On Standardisation in the Xinian Manuscript: The Case of Writing about Warfare and Armistice*

論《繫年》的規範化：以戰爭與弭兵書寫為例

Thursday, 18 August, 9:30–10:00 am

本文由《繫年》的性質出發，透過比較《繫年》的「戰爭」與「弭兵」書寫，並與《春秋》、《左傳》、《國語》等書有關的載述，論述四書之書寫方式與書寫目的異同，再由部分用詞與兩次「弭兵」的載錄，述論《繫年》的規範化趨勢。除〈前言〉外，計分七節：一、《繫年》內容述略。二、《繫年》研究述略。三、《繫年》性質述論。四、《繫年》與《左傳》兩次弭兵的異同。五、《繫年》與《春秋》、《左傳》、《國語》性質的差異。六、論《繫年》的規範化。七、結論。

**Tsai Ying-Ying 蔡瑩瑩 (University of Taipei 臺北市立大學)**

*Standardization of Early Chinese Historiography: The Cases of the Zuozhuan and the Tsinghua Bamboo Slips*

早期中國歷史文獻的書寫與規範化：以《左傳》與清華簡的個案為例

Thursday, 18 August, 10:00–10:30 am

本研究以《左傳》與出土文獻清華簡為例，探討三種不同層面的書寫「規範」議題。一、在傳統《左傳》學史上，原本單行的《春秋》與《左傳》二文本，在經傳合併的過程中，約定俗成地產生了「經文年份前不得有傳」的習慣。本文透過金澤文庫寫卷本與通行本刊本的比對，探討杜預「分傳附經」的爭議以及「經前之傳」的幾個例子。

二、在出土文獻清華簡《繫年》、《越公其事》與《左傳》的比較上，可以發現同一件史事，在不同文本中，依據不同的原則而產生差異的分段與連綴方式，顯示出書寫者對於事件的始末或主題，有不同的理解和認識。

三、在文字的使用原則上，本文觀察出土文獻的戰爭相關用詞，並與《左傳》等傳世文獻比對。特定案例顯示出傳世文獻使用戰爭用詞的規範性質較強，出土文獻則相對寬鬆。

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## Session 5: Standardisation in Manuscript Production: Early China

### 第五場：寫本製作中的規範化：早期中國

**Enno Giele 紀安諾 (Heidelberg University 海德堡大學)**

*Layouting Authority: Hierarchy and Standardization of Layout in Early Chinese Administrative Documents*

Thursday, 18 August, 11:00–11:30 am

The layout of administrative documents from Early Imperial China shows a high degree of pragmatism and at the same time both standardization and flexibility. This will be introduced observing parameters and techniques such as the physical format of single- and multi-piece manuscripts, column changes, registers, indentation, bullet points or marks, other punctuation, elongation of brush strokes, size of characters, and hands.

**Thies Staack 史達 (University of Hamburg 漢堡大學)**

*Standardisation in Early Imperial Administration: The Case of the Qin Documents from Liye*

Thursday, 18 August, 11:30 am–12:00 pm

While notions of 'unification' or 'standardisation' have long been shaping our understanding of the establishment and maintenance of the Qin Empire, new archaeological finds made in recent decades have proven the picture gained from received sources to be overly simplistic. Research has begun to explore to what extent the ideology-driven project of a centralized empire reverberated with these archaeological finds, which come from specific local contexts. Following this line of inquiry, the present paper approaches the area of conflict between

standardization and flexibility in the production of administrative documents during the Qin period. By comparing actual administrative documents excavated from Liye well no. 1 with contemporary standards regulating their production, the paper explores to what extent official document standards set by the central government were implemented in everyday practice on the grassroots level: at ancient Qianling county. Probing beyond a simple dichotomy of faithful adherence or complete neglect, it illuminates the large grey zone in-between these two extremes and also aims to carve out which features of administrative documents (e.g. format, layout, content) tended to be more standardized than others and why. In doing so, this paper traces the competing factors that underlie the production of written artefacts in the lower echelons of Qin administration.

**Tong Chun Fung 唐俊峰 (Heidelberg University 海德堡大學)**

*Between Slip and Board: Standardization and Destandardization of Writing Supports in Eastern Han China, 25–220*

Thursday, 18 August, 12:00–12:30 pm

This paper discusses the dynamics between the decision-making of local rulers and the materiality of the writing supports of administrative documents. Evidence from Linxiang county during Eastern Han China reveals that during the decision-making process, magistrates would have authorised the suggestions of their subordinate officials regarding administrative affairs by signing on the submitted documents.

The texts of such documents were written on two types of manuscripts. The first one comprises single-piece boards (*du* 牘), whose lower registers also record the suggestions of subordinate officials. The second type is the hybrid of slip (*die* 牒) and board; that is, subordinates would write their suggestions on bamboo slips, followed by a board that records the authorisation of the magistrate. Both types could be tied or bound with supplementary manuscripts. Previous studies contend that single-piece instructions were compiled on the basis of their multi-piece counterparts. This paper suggests otherwise. Examining the handwriting and dating of these manuscripts, it discovers that most published specimens of the first type were clustered around 106-107 CE and were mostly signed by the same hand. In contrast, the dated manuscripts of the other type were outside this timeframe.

The implication of this phenomenon is twofold. First, it indicates that although certain degrees of standardization regarding the forms of administrative documents were maintained by local officials, the choice of their writing supports could be highly flexible, contingent possibly upon the ruler's personal preference. Second, that the approval of magistrates had to be written on boards suggests that they were perceived as the standard writing supports for reporting to one's superiors. These suggest that although rulers could have deliberately changed the form of rulership-administrative writing, the choices were still standardized by the contemporaneous manuscript culture and thus not completely arbitrary.



**Session 6: Standardisation in Manuscript Production: Medieval to Republican China** 第六場：寫本製作中的規範化：中古至民國時期

**Imre Galambos 高奕睿 (Cambridge University 劍橋大學)**

*Standardisation in Dunhuang Manuscripts Commissioned by the Tang Court*

Thursday, 18 August, 2:00–2:30 pm

The manuscripts discovered inside the Dunhuang library cave include a handful of sutras from the second half of the seventh century that were commissioned by the Tang court and copied in the Tang capital Chang'an. These sutras are among the most exquisite scrolls in the Dunhuang collection, exhibiting a high degree of standardisation in their form, orthography and aesthetics. This paper examines the degree of uniformity in these sutras to define what the concept of standardisation may have meant for the individuals and agencies involved in their production. Additionally, I compare the scrolls to local Dunhuang manuscripts with similar scriptures from approximately the same period, in an attempt to explore whether these items had any impact on local sutra-copying practices.

**Costantino Moretti 牟和諦 (École française d'Extrême-Orient 法國遠東學院)**

*Standards and 'Codicological Trends' in Chinese Translations of Buddhist Scriptures*

Thursday, 18 August, 2:30–3:00 pm

Shortly after the introduction of Buddhism, Chinese scholars started cataloguing and classifying all Indic texts brought to China and translated into Chinese. Medieval catalogues of Buddhist scriptures provide details on the structure and/or internal organization of sūtras and commentaries in an early phase, also setting out interesting codicological details concerning book collections stored in official monastic libraries. By comparing early catalogues to later sources significant differences in the structure of various texts come to light, indicating that scriptures were, at times, circulating in several formats—possibly with a different layout—and that textual divisions may have evolved over the centuries before 'stabilizing', in many cases, during the Tang dynasty. Moreover, while a number of codicological elements found in Chinese translations were probably absent in the Indic 'source manuscripts', specific trends in the layout and formal organization of scriptures in manuscript form also attest the evolution of standards/habits in the production of these types of texts. Through an analysis of pertinent data, in the present paper, I will set forth a number of considerations regarding the process of standardization in this specific cultural and historical context.

**Qu Jian 瞿見 (China Agricultural University 中國農業大學)**

*From 'Xuanton' to 'Republic': The Change in the Year Notation in the Contract Documents from the Qingshui River Basin Area*

从「宣统」到「民国」：清末民初清水江契约文书中的纪年更替

Thursday, 18 August, 3:00–3:30 pm

纪年方式的更替，往往与政治更迭及社会政治认同相联系。立契日期是黔东南清水江契约文书中的必备项目；在 1911 年以前的契约中，其年代记载一般依清代普遍使用的

年号纪年法，而自 1912 年始，民国纪年法逐步进入当地的契约书写之中。但是，这一自“宣统”而“民国”的转换并非一蹴而就：在民国初年的文书中，在“民国”以外，尚有“大汉”“大汉纪元”“皇汉”“天运”“[黄帝]纪元”“中华”或干支纪年等多种纪年方式，甚至存在仍保留“宣统”纪年的情况。作为一种契约书写中的纪年“标准”，民国纪年大约在“民国四年（1915 年）”之后才开始相对稳固地在清水江契约文书中确立下来。在政治大环境的剧烈变动中，探究新旧纪年方式在民间契约文书中的更替细节，不仅能揭示普通民众对新旧政治的认同，更因契约本身的法律属性，而可颇多体现契约书写者（及当事方）为维护契约文本所确定的权利义务关系而作出的策略擘划。

## Session 7: Standardisation of Non-textual Elements

### 第七場：非文字元素的規範化

**Gu Run 顧潤 (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven 天主教魯汶大學)**

*Shifting of Standards in Portrait Bricks: The Evolution of Funerary Ideology from the Western Han to the Six Dynasties*

Thursday, 18 August, 4:00–4:30 pm

A tomb portrait brick is an architectural material with a painting on its surface in shallow relief. By the Western Han Dynasty, the prevalence of Confucianism led to the growth of filial piety and elaborate funeral of ancestors, which reinforced the popularity of brick chamber tombs and portrait bricks. During the Eastern Han Dynasty, the themes of portrait bricks were expanded from nature and religions, such as gods, beasts, and trees, to a record of real life and flourished in their scales. As the center of economic gravity shifted southwards and socio-political stability set in the south of the Yangtze River, the artistic peak of portrait bricks moved to southern places such as Nanjing. Portrait bricks from the Six Dynasties were fired and painted in a unified manner by a special official body, and presented in the form of large-scale collage, smooth lines and elegant styles. Buddhism was introduced into China and reacted with Metaphysics, Daoism and Confucianism, and Buddhist stories and images directly influenced the theme, layout, and painting techniques of the bricks.

This paper aims to thoughtfully explore and critically assess the standard shift from private to official, from small-scale production to mass circulation of portrait bricks. This process was accompanied by changes in themes, techniques, and layouts. First, I will offer a brief definition of portrait bricks, their origins, and their transformation from building materials to funerary objects, accompanied by the rise of Confucianism and the prevalence of elaborate funerals. Next, I will discuss the trend in the standard shift of portrait bricks from the Western Han to the Six Dynasties. Such a trend is evident in the shift from the peak of painting in the north to the south in places such as Nanjing, in the expansion of painting subjects from simple natural scenes, to human activities, and in the shift in painting techniques from basic geometric lines to spell portrait bricks. In the next step, I will turn to the reasons behind this trend from social, political, economic, religious, and technical perspectives. The change in the standard of portrait bricks also coincided with the introduction of Buddhism, the prevalence of

Metaphysics, and the southward shift of economic gravity, with the southern economy and culture continuing to influence the north. The tradition of portrait bricks eventually ended in the Sui and Tang dynasties, which revered northern burial customs. Finally, I will focus on spell brick painting, which offers key clues to the political structure, funerary ideology, aesthetic preferences, and social thinking of the Six Dynasties.

**Lin Wen-Hsin 林文心 (National Taiwan University 國立台灣大學)**

*History of Literature in Pictures: The Case of Illustrations in Zheng Zhenduo's Illustrated History of Chinese Literature*

畫寫文學史——以鄭振鐸《插圖本中國文學史》的插圖為主體

Thursday, 18 August, 4:30–5:00 pm

本文以鄭振鐸《插圖本中國文學史》一文的插圖為研究對象，關注其中的圖像種類、選圖標準，以及背後所照見的諸種學術源流。鄭振鐸本人曾於《插圖本中國文學史·例言》中論及，此作之創新處在於將變文、戲文與諸宮調視為研究材料，收納至文學史的論述框架之中；另外，更自言在「中國文學史的附入插圖，為本書作者第一次的嘗試。」從以上二點可知，《插圖本》中對俗文學材料的看重，以及於文學史中加入插圖，是此一著作的兩大特色。由於文學史為近代以來的新興書寫形式，考察鄭氏以前的中國文學史著作，附有插圖者確實相當罕見。而鄭振鐸強調，插圖之於文學史的功能，除了提高讀者的興趣之外，更「可以使我們得見個時代的真實的社會的生活的情態」。換言之，插圖是除了文字之外，用以還原歷史語境、召喚文學想像的另一媒介，據此，本文認為，鄭振鐸的《插圖本中國文學史》標誌了文學史書寫者如何留意到了媒介之間多種功能以及樣態，為中國文學的歷史書寫拓展了不同的認知框架。其中更值得注意的是，鄭氏之插圖「大抵以宋以來的的書籍裡所附的木版畫為採擷的主體，其次亦及於寫本。」此說在某一程度上，標誌出時代遷移之下媒介形式的轉換——過往的寫本即是內容本身，如今卻化身成為附加於書頁邊緣的插圖，印刷字和手寫字攜手合作，提供讀者想像過去的多元管道。此一作法不僅牽涉了鄭振鐸對於敦煌寫本的關注，更帶出了書籍史中物質研究的前衛視野，若說文學史的書寫有著形塑經典、將文本材料規範化的作用，則鄭振鐸則在其文學史書寫中，則將寫本看作一種具有多重意義的媒介，召喚出寫本的文字意義與圖像的視覺功能，使其共同運作，不僅在文學史既有的規範基礎之上，更賦予經典的嶄新意義。而在後代不斷新出的版本中，更可發覺不同的「寫本圖片」不斷被更新並加入書頁之中。故本文將以其為例，探討寫本文字如何在現代以來的文學史書寫中轉生為圖像，並且於歷史敘述中展現出多重的媒介功能。

## Session 8: Standardisation of Script

### 第八場：文字的規範化

**Xiao Yunxiao 肖芸曉 (Princeton University 普林斯頓大學)**

*Individualized and Standardized: Scribal Agency of the Guodian and Tsinghua Manuscripts*

Friday, 19 August, 9:30–10:00 am

In this study, by addressing the discovered manuscripts as both cultural documents and material artefacts, I will portray the divergent orthographic standards, working mechanics, and scribal practices behind different pre-imperial literary manuscripts. I will start by depicting the in general non-standard nature of early manuscript culture: fluidity can be observed in both textual and material spectra; a manuscript' material features were not intrinsic qualities that attached to the text per se but more determined by the very producers' working autonomy and personal traits.

However, depicting the non-standard nature of early manuscript culture is not merely to demonstrate the heterogeneity or randomness of the materials, but to reveal the diversity and complexity of human activities. Focusing on the materials that I consider most important and representative, the Guodian 郭店 and the Tsinghua 清華 corpora, my foray will continue with an analysis of the meanings and implications of a series of codicological and textual properties. I find imperfect yet clear overlapping among the typology of material dispositions (e.g., title, slip numbers, and punctuations), the classifications of orthography and different hands, and possibly also the genre of the texts, whereas this correlation did not appear in the Guodian corpus. The coincidence in the scribal hand and material features indicates that the duty and craftsmanship of the scribes of the Tsinghua corpus extended to both writing the texts and designing the manuscripts. Furthermore, the Tsinghua corpus had a much higher degree of consistency in orthography, handwriting, and many other physical features which also shows that, despite the intertextuality of these two corpora, they are two very different sets of material objects with distinct and distinctive standards of production, utilization, or preservation. Hence, within the Tsinghua corpus, different scribal hands also exhibit different degree of human agency and working habits: for the two leading scribal hands (each of them wrote more than ten manuscripts), although they both shared a comparatively high degree of orthographic consistency, hand A was even more rigorously consistent and standardized than hand B. Finally, the sharp contrast in the orthographic uniformity (or lack thereof) between the Guodian and the Tsinghua corpora allows us to rethink the occasions, functions, and practical uses that defined the 'things' they are: as two extremes (personalized, individualized, less disciplined writings vis-à-vis standardized, authoritative writings with more orthographic discipline), they might have been used in very different contexts and were thus produced with a different set of standards. In this regard, the recently discovered bamboo, wood, and silk manuscripts, the actual artifacts of the ancient scholars or scribes themselves, have granted us a rare glimpse into both the unprecedented ancient texts and the previously unknown physical realities of ancient texts, helping us to keep exploring the intricate interplays between material condition, textual knowledge, and ancient writers and readers.

**Zheng Yifan 鄭伊凡 (University of California, Berkeley 加利福尼亞大學伯克利分校)**

*Understanding the Qin Nomenclature Change through and beyond the Liye No. 8-461 'Gengming fang' 更名方 Wooden Board*

Friday, 19 August, 10:00–10:30 am

The discovery of a wooden board, later known as Liye No. 8-461 '*gengming fang*' excavated from a well of Liye site, Hunan Province has revealed more details about the 'standardization of scripts' project initiated by the First Emperor in China. It not only enriched our knowledge about the nomenclature change in the earliest Empire of China, but also provided a lens through which modern scholars can better observe the practice of scribe's work, verify the claimed unification of scripts in history, and explore the rationales behind the change of various appellations.

Based on enormous discoveries of manuscripts over the past four decades in China, we are now in a better position to understand the 'standardization' as a dynamic change within a period rather than a one-time and immediate shift in writing. Previous scholarship has been focused on dating the change of a certain script or arguing whether a specific script was a taboo character or not. But when scholars are doing this work, they usually see the standardization as a one-sided ruling order implemented from the top down. In my paper for the conference, I will direct attention to the scribes' practice and see their work as bi-directional agency, through which we can not only see what was changed in the written artefacts as a result but also the scribes' understanding of the standardization. Except for simply testing the efficacy of implementing the standardization, I will also present concrete examples of palimpsest and 'over-correction', which helps us understand the role agents played in transmitting the manuscripts as well as their mentality.

Seeing '*gengming fang*' as a material demonstration of an intermediate link of the whole process rather than a direct copy of an actual edict will open up new approaches to understand the nature of standardization. As some scholars have already summarized, the agenda of this project is not only unifying 'script forms' but also 'use of scripts' and 'meanings of words'. Based on these observations, I argue that the very existence of this wooden board is a challenge of our previous understanding of the concept 'standardization' itself. Standardization does not mean 'unification' or simplification. Instead, standardization could be compatible with variation and diversity. A new understanding of standardization could in turn to help us understand the terminologies used in the '*gengming fang*', which itself is the best contemporary database of linguistic terms and deserves serious examination. Thinking beyond the scope of script standardization, I argue that '*gengming fang*' could be seen as a blueprint for a newly established empire and its vision of a new world order. The rationale behind these changes should be explored both in the context of the social and institutional change, and in the change of language. '*Gengming fang*' is a vivid example of the words of power, and the power of words.

**Xue Lei 薛磊 (Oregon State University 奧瑞岡州立大學)**

*Script Standard, Text Production, and Cultural Politics in Southern Dynasty China*

“今體” 楷書、文本生產與南朝的文化政治

Friday, 19 August, 10:30–11:00 am

Archaeological findings have confirmed that the script type *kaishu* (standard script) gained today's appearance during the six dynasties period. It is believed to be the result of progress in both writing materials and techniques, thanks to the increasing demand on mass-production of text. The social ground for this change requires further study, however. What was the role of professional scribes and the elite calligraphers in developing and adopting a new script? How did script models, if any, circulated? Were there any interventions or even standardizations at state or local levels? Whereas few contemporaneous records directly address script standard, traces of such a practice may be inferred from historical accounts on 'modern style' (*jinti* 今體) calligraphy, reportedly invented by Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344 – 386) and prevalent during the fifth and early sixth centuries. In the light of manuscript culture, the 'modern style' should be redefined as a new script standard for text production. Its implement, still traceable in transmitted calligraphic works and archaeological artifacts, may at least partially related to a state-sponsored institutionalization. The 'modern style' was abruptly denigrated by Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 502 – 549) in the 520s. The imperial campaign, long viewed as stemming from merely aesthetic preference, should be revisited as a script reform that was part of broader policies that the emperor initiated to secure his dynasty's cultural dominance and political legitimacy.

敦煌寫本以及出土的南北朝墓誌，為探討 5-6 世紀楷書字體的形成提供了大量的視覺材料。然而字體形成的具體社會機制則史料闕如。下層抄手與貴族“書法家”之間如何互動？特定的字樣標準是如何形成傳播的？這些標準是否以正式或非正式的渠道經由官方指定和頒行？對此，歷史文獻並沒有提供直接的答案。本文從寫本文化的角度，重新審視書法史中關於王獻之發明“今體”以及梁武帝在 520 年左右提出的以“鐘（繇）體”取代“今體”兩樁著名公案，認為六朝文獻中所謂的“今體”其實是劉宋時期直至梁武帝初年、抄寫文書典籍以及刻石所用流行字樣，或反映官方意志。本文進而推測，梁武帝所關注者，乃是自上而下的字體改革，意在從文化層面鞏固政權，取代劉宋王朝的文化記憶，並樹立正朔觀念以抗衡北魏。

## Session 9: Standards and Variants in Early China

### 第九場：早期中國規範與異體

**Olivier Venture 風儀誠 (Paris Sciences et Lettres University 巴黎文理研究大學)**

*Variety and Standards in Warring States Seals*

戰國璽印：規範與多樣

Friday, 19 August, 11:30 am–12:00 pm

If seals appeared in China as early as the late Shang period (ca 1250–1050 BC), it's apparently only during the Warring States period (481–221 BC) that those objects started to be used quite widely. The great variety of Warring States seals is often emphasised. In this paper, I would like to look for traces of standards within this variety, taking into consideration regional contexts, categories of seals and the use of seals in ancient China.

**Li Xiuzhen 李秀珍 (Museum of the Emperor Qin Shihuang's Mausoleum / University College London 秦始皇帝陵博物館 / 倫敦大學學院)**

*Casting, Chiselling, and Wheel Incising: Character Standardisation and Technological Innovation*

Friday, 19 August, 12:00–12:30 pm

One of the Qin First Emperor's great achievements was to standardise the written characters to consolidate the first Chinese empire. And at the same time, the Qin Empire (221–206 BC) witnessed the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Bronze vessels and weapons continued to be used for ritual and practical purpose, but the inscriptions were created mainly by incising instead of casting. The tools made of iron steel were advanced for creating such incised inscriptions in the hard bronze. The chiselling marks can be clearly observed using Scanning Electron Microscope on the silicone rubber impressions obtained from the large quantity of bronze weapons that equipped the Qin Terracotta Army. However, inscriptions on the bronze *ding* vessel that was collected by the Museum of the Qin First Emperor's Mausoleum provide a dynamic story. This bronze *ding* vessel was dated to the Warring States (475–221 BC), and its inscriptions included names of four cities incised from the Warring States to the Han Dynasty (202 BC–220 AD). In addition to chiselling, the possible wheel incising techniques were employed in the Han Dynasty. It suggested not only the character standardisation with the Qin conquering and unification, but also the technological changes that created the inscriptions in different contexts. The result is an overview of the transition from inscription casting to chiselling, then to wheel incising, and it also provides some pointers for investigation about the emergence of iron and steel, and further the use of mechanical wheel device in ancient China.

**Javier Caramés Sánchez 哈偉爾 (National Taiwan University 國立台灣大學)**

*Mou 謀 in the Zongheng Manuscripts of Mawangdui*

Friday, 19 August, 12:30–1:00 pm

*Mou 謀* is an essential sinogram in Chinese classical rhetoric. Its meaning is rooted in a predominant view of persuasion: a metaphor in which persuasion is a path. This paper will focus on the meaning of *mou 謀* in *Zongheng* School Mawangdui manuscripts. We will see that *mou 謀* works as a verb in most cases. In addition, in Mawangdui manuscripts, the structure somebody + *mou 謀* (plan)+ *guo 國* (state) is very common. In these cases, *mou 謀* means to plan against a state. It is not very common in transmitted text, and most rare cases are in the *Zhan Guo Ce*. The use of *mou 謀* as a verb and, more specifically, as a verb referring to political action against another state must have been more frequent than in the transmitted texts.

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