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PROLEGOMENA TO CRITICAL *ZUOZHUAN* STUDIES: THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Kai Vogelsang, Kyōto¹

Abstract

The *Zuozhuan* has been hotly debated ever since it was first edited by Liu Xin. Unifying attempts like Du Yu's *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie* notwithstanding, the text continued to be copied, commented upon, and re-edited for many centuries. However, after a definite version was established in the Tang dynasty, almost all traces of this rich manuscript tradition vanished for over a millennium. It was not until the early 20th century that the existence of ancient *Zuozhuan* manuscripts from Dunhuang and Japan became widely known. Surprisingly, *Zuozhuan* scholars have thus far made little use of these sources. The present article provides an inventory of the manuscript witnesses and discusses their value for textual criticism of the *Zuozhuan*. Upon collation of a sample passage, it appears that the manuscripts from Dunhuang, those from Japanese collections, and the Tang stele edition represent three independent branches of tradition that derive from Du Yu's *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*. This is an ideal constellation for the task of scholarly editing. Through analysis of these witnesses' variant readings, it becomes possible to reconstruct large parts of Du Yu's archetype with a great degree of certainty and thus arrive at a critical edition of the text. Although Liu Xin's original remains out of sight, a critical edition of the *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie* certainly provides firmer ground for *Zuozhuan* scholarship than other current editions. In this sense, the study of the manuscript tradition may be read as prolegomena to critical *Zuozhuan* studies.

- 1 This article could have been written nowhere else but in Kyōto. I am grateful to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for supporting my studies in Japan with a generous scholarship, to Christian Wittern who kindly arranged my stay, and to Nishiwaki Tsuneki 西脇常記 without whose invaluable assistance many of the documents presented here would have remained inaccessible to me. I also thank several scholars who helped me find and assemble the texts perused in this article: Michael Friedrich (Hamburg), Kai Marchal (Taipei), Barbara Meisterernst (Berlin), Ōsaki Noriko 大崎紀子 (Kyōto), and Clemens Treter (Beijing). Special thanks are due to David Mammen (New York) for proofreading this article. Needless to say, all remaining mistakes are my own.

Introductory Remark

Ever since the *Zuozhuan* first appeared in the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 9), its textual transmission has been a scholarly concern. The very first bibliography to mention the *Zuozhuan*, Liu Xiang’s (77–6 B.C.) *Bielu*, already carefully noted the line of transmission from a presumed author, Zuo Qiuming, until the early Han; and the *Hanshu* (c. A.D. 90) extended this line down to Liu Xiang’s own times.² These genealogies, be it noted, were not the product of critical inquiry. Rather, they served to confirm the impeccable pedigree of a text whose status as a nearly contemporary commentary to the hallowed *Chunqiu* was not above suspicion. Modern scholarship, on the contrary, has subjected this pedigree to systematic doubt and devoted much research to analyzing the very inconsistencies and contaminations of this tradition.³ Recent studies suggest that from the very beginning the *Zuozhuan* was a heterogeneous work, a “sedimented” or “accretional text.”⁴ Indeed, it now appears that almost all works of pre-Qin China “are either obviously layered texts that ‘grew’ over centuries or are suspected to have been added to, taken from, rearranged, or pieced together after the main author (if there was one) died.”⁵ So was the *Zuozhuan*: a bricolage composed in “an incremental transcription, in many places and over many years, from oral traditions closely tied to the teaching of written annals like the *Chunqiu*.”⁶ Consequently, questions surrounding literary criticism⁷ of the *Zuozhuan*—its literary integrity, composition, larger literary context, and creative transmission—have become an urgent scholarly concern. Only if the process of “incremental transcription” is properly understood, or so the argument runs, may its value as a historical document be correctly assessed.

2 Cf. *Shisan jing zhushu*, 1703, and *Hanshu* 88, 3620. *Jingdian shiwen* 1, 26b [13], combines the genealogies: Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 → Zeng Shen 曾申 → Wu Qi 吳起 → Qi 期 [Wu Qi’s son] → Duo Jiao 鐸椒 → Yu Qing 虞卿 → Xun Qing 荀卿 → Zhang Cang 張蒼 → Jia Yi 賈誼 → Jia 嘉 [the former’s grandson] → Guan gong 貫公 → Changqing 長卿 [his youngest son] → Zhang Chang 張敞 and Zhang Yu 張禹 → Yin Gengshi 尹更始 → Xian 咸 [the former’s son], Zhai Fangjin 翟方進, and Hu Chang 胡常 → Jia Hu 賈護 → Chen Qin 陳欽. Cf. also Shen and Liu 2000, 76–8, as well as Karlgren 1926, 20.

3 Cf., for many, the critical remarks by Gu Jiegang 1988, 43–46.

4 Brooks 2003/4, 51. The Brooks are the most vigorous proponents of this accretional theory, which, according to Pines 2002a, 691, has become “widely accepted.”

5 David Nivison in Loewe and Shaughnessy 1999, 745.

6 Schaberg 1997, 137.

7 A term taken from Biblical studies; cf. Steck 1998, 47–61.

For all its importance, it seems that the attention commanded by the *Zuozhuan*'s formative transmission has distracted scholars from inquiring into its later tradition. For the ancients, the question may rightly have been settled once the authority of the *Zuozhuan* as a classic had been confirmed. Henceforth, the history of the text no longer needed to be an issue. Modern scholars, however, ignore the later tradition at their peril; in fact, it is vital for the task they have set themselves. Without an original text at our hands, it is only through textual criticism of the later tradition that we may hope to restore the *Zuozhuan* as nearly as possible to its original form and thus lay a solid foundation for literary criticism.⁸ For many centuries, however, meaningful textual criticism was impossible, since the *Zuozhuan* tradition before Tang times had been entirely unknown. Scholars, for want of better material, have relied almost exclusively on late imperial print editions to inquire into the meaning of a text that was completed more than a millennium earlier. This situation changed only when old manuscripts that had been preserved in Japanese collections and in the grottoes of Dunhuang came to light in the 20th century. These manuscripts, at long last, provided tangible evidence for an early stage of the *Zuozhuan*'s textual history, and their publication must be regarded as an important contribution to *Zuozhuan* studies. A missing link between the print editions and the original text, they may prove to be a valuable tool for understanding the *Zuozhuan*.

The following article will first give a brief outline of the manuscript tradition. Secondly, it will describe the physical evidence of the manuscript witnesses that have become known in the 20th century. Thirdly, it will consider these manuscripts' value for scholarship and discuss some ways in which they may come to bear on critical studies of the *Zuozhuan*.

1. Traditio

From the beginning, the textual history of the *Zuozhuan* was characterized by two contrary, but mutually reinforcing factors: a rampant diversity which was regularly subdued by unifying measures. This interplay may already be observed in the above-mentioned genealogies. Obviously designed to convey the impression of a single, unbroken line of transmission, they veil what, according to the theory of "incremental transcription," must have been a tradition of considerable

8 And, of course, higher criticism, which deals with such questions as authenticity, attribution, interpretation, and historical evaluation.

variability. Continuing well into late Zhanguo and even Han times,⁹ the end of this formative process seems to have been reached only when the *Zuozhuan* was edited by Liu Xin and officially established as a classic in the reign of emperor Ping (1 B.C.–A.D. 5).¹⁰ Liu Xin’s edition, then, constitutes the “original text” of the *Zuozhuan* in the sense that it stood “at the conclusion of the process of productive, written formation.”¹¹ It was this edition “from which reproductions, copies, etc. have been made” and “that has given rise to varieties.”¹² Indeed, such varieties seem to have arisen from the very beginning. They are indicated by controversies that surrounded the text in the Later Han period¹³ and apparent in more than a dozen different commentaries¹⁴ that were written before the next standardizing work, Du Yu’s (222–84) *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*.¹⁵

Du Yu’s was a work of synthesis in three respects. Firstly, it combined the text of the *Chunqiu* with the *Zuozhuan*, thus splitting both works up and interlacing them in a way that has left them inseparable until today. Secondly, it combined the existing commentaries (hence the title “collected explanations”)

9 For “interpolations” dated to Zhanguo or Han times, cf., for example, Gu Jiegang 1988, 68–73, and Pines 2002, 233–46.

10 *Hanshu* 88, 3621. On Liu Xin’s editing, cf. *ibid.* 36, 1967: 及歆治左氏, 引傳文以解經, 轉相發明, 由是章句義理備焉。

11 Steck 1998, 18. This definition is surprising only at first sight. In point of fact, the notion of an “original” makes no sense in the context of an incremental, creative transcription in which every stage has the same claim to originality. By the same token, there is no place for the concept of a “copy” in this context.

12 *Webster’s New World Dictionary of the American Language*, Second College Edition, New York 1986, s.v. “original.”

13 Cf. Shen and Liu 2000, 110–15.

14 To wit: (1) Liu Xin 劉歆, *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan zhangju* 春秋左氏傳章句, (2) Zheng Zhong 鄭眾, *Chunqiu dieli zhangju* 春秋牒例章句, (3) Jia Kui 賈逵, *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan jiegou* 春秋左氏傳解詁, (4) Jia Kui 賈逵, *Chunqiu Zuoshi changjing zhangju* 春秋左氏長經章句, (5) Yan Du 延篤, *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan Yan shi zhu* 春秋左氏傳延氏注, (6) Xu Shen 許慎, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Xu shi yi* 春秋左傳許氏義, (7) Fu Qian 服虔, *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan jieyi* 春秋左氏傳解詁, (8) Fu Qian 服虔, *Chunqiu chengchang shuo* 春秋成長說, (9) Fu Qian 服虔, *Chunqiu Zuoshi gaomang shie* 春秋左氏膏盲釋痾, (10) Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, *Zhen gaomang* 箴膏盲, (11) Peng Wang 彭汪: *Zuoshi qishuo* 左氏奇說, (12) Xu Shu 許淑, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Xu shi zhu* 春秋左傳許氏注, (13) Ying Rong 穎容, *Chunqiu shili* 春秋釋例, (14) Dong Yu 董遇, *Chunqiu Zuoshi jingzhuan zhangju* 春秋左氏經傳章句, (15) Wang Su 王肅, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Wang shi zhu* 春秋左傳王氏注. None of those survived other than in citations; cf. Shen QiuXiong 2000, 5–6, Liu Wenqi 1959 and Wu Jingan 2005.

15 This edition is variously referred to as *Chunqiu Zuoshi jingzhuan jijie* or *Zuozhuan jijie*; I take the title as it is attested in the manuscript tradition.

and harmonized them, apparently obliterating all earlier commentaries except for that of Fu Qian. “Therefore, since the Jin dynasty, the only cleavage was that between the Fu school and the Du school,”¹⁶ the latter apparently gaining prominence among the Southern Dynasties, while the former prevailed in the north.

Thirdly, and this is a crucial point, Du Yu also standardized the *text* of the *Zuozhuan*. It is important to note that writing a commentary implies reproducing and thus *editing* the text commented upon.¹⁷ When Du Yu combined different commentaries, he must have taken textual decisions in cases of doubt and thereby conflated whatever variants of the text there were (besides unwittingly adding new readings of his own).¹⁸ Although often simply referred to as a commentary, the *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie* was in fact a new edition of the *Zuozhuan*.

Du Yu’s and Fu Qian’s editions, though widely read in the Six Dynasties period, by no means remained unrivalled. At least a dozen other commentaries were written until the Tang dynasty (618–906).¹⁹ It is unknown whether these commentaries went along with complete editions of the text. However, such sporadic quotations as remain of these works suggest that they diverged from Du Yu’s edition in quite a few places.²⁰ At any rate, by early Tang times the need for a new standard edition seems to have been urgently felt. This was brought about by Kong Yingda’s (574–648) subcommentary (642, rev. 653) which determined the “correct meanings” (*zhengyi*) of Du’s commentary, thus establishing it as an undisputed standard edition that finally obliterated all other

16 Shen and Liu 2000, 148.

17 The few remaining fragments suggest that not only Du Yu’s commentary but others, too, were not written separately, but integrated into the text of the *Zuozhuan*; cf. Nos. 18, 25 and 27, below.

18 Similar confluents in early editions of the *Lunyu* are discussed by Simson 2006, 131–42, who concludes: “Die Zusammenlegung der Kommentartraditionen muss deshalb zugleich auch als eine Zusammenlegung der Textversionen gelesen werden“ (132).

19 These include: (1) Ji Kang 嵇康, *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan Ji shi yin* 春秋左氏傳嵇氏音, (2) Cao Mao 曹髦, *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan yin* 春秋左氏傳音, (3) Sun Yu 孫毓, *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan yizhu* 春秋左氏傳義注, (4) Jing Xiangfan 京相璠, *Chunqiu tudi ming* 春秋土地名, (5) Gan Bao 干寶, *Chunqiu Zuoshi hanzhuan yi* 春秋左氏函傳義, (6) Xu Miao 徐邈, *Chunqiu Xu shi yin* 春秋徐氏音, (7) He Daoyang 賀道養, *Chunqiu xuzhu* 春秋序注, (8) Shen Wen’a 沈文阿, *Chunqiu Zuoshi jingzhuan yilue* 春秋左氏經傳義略, (9) Wang Yangui 王元規, *Xu Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan yilue* 續春秋左氏傳義略, (10) Jia Sitong 賈思同, *Chunqiu zhuan bo* 春秋傳駁, cf. Shen Qiuxiong 2000, 5–6.

20 These quotations have been assembled by Shen Qiuxiong 2000.

strands of transmission.²¹ When this authoritative text was engraved in stone by imperial decree in 837, the *Zuozhuan* manuscript tradition in China came to an end.²²

The following phase of tradition is characterized by print editions. It is also characterized by a great degree of uniformity. The Tang stele edition became the basis for the early *Zuozhuan* prints of Song times and has, by and large unaltered, stayed with us until the present day.²³ If it is true that “official protection for the canonical literature, together with the long history of printing in China, have helped to promulgate very uniform printed editions of the ancient texts that now obscure the diversity and ambiguity of the manuscript traditions, on which these prints were originally based,”²⁴ the *Zuozhuan* certainly is no exception. When Ruan Yuan (1764–1849) edited the *Zuozhuan zhengyi* for his *Shisan jing zhushu* in 1815, he regretfully noted that none of the old editions apart from that of Du Yu had survived. With no tangible evidence of the manuscript tradition at his hands, Ruan had to rely on a late Song dynasty print for his edition.²⁵

This situation changed radically less than a century later. First, Chinese scholars took note of the rich Japanese manuscript tradition which, unbeknownst to Ruan Yuan and his predecessors, had continued long after its demise in Tang China. A number of old *Zuozhuan* manuscripts came into prominence, most importantly the famous “ancient scroll” of the Kanazawa bunko, the hotly disputed Fujii manuscript, and, though less widely known, the scrolls in the possession of the Ishiyama dera as well as some younger manuscripts.²⁶ These

21 Kong Yingda’s subcommentary, be it noted, remained separate from the *Zuozhuan* text with Du Yu’s commentary throughout Tang times: this is evidenced by the stele inscriptions of 837 as well as by some manuscripts (cf. below, No. 8). In other words, it is not a new edition of the *Zuozhuan*.

22 This is not to say that no manuscripts were written after this time, far from it. The *Zuozhuan*, at least in parts, continues to be copied by hand until the present day. But these later manuscripts came to depend on printed versions which either served as setting copies or as a reference for collation and “correction” of a manuscript version, thus yielding a contaminated text. They no longer bear witness to a tradition independent of the standard editions current since Tang times.

23 Cf. Takezoe Shinichirō 1911, 9.

24 Simson 2002, 587.

25 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 2000, vol. 1, 6.

26 Cf. below, Nos. 1, 4, 9, 14, 16, 34, and 40. To my knowledge, the first detailed description of the Kanazawa MS was that of Shimada Kan in 1905 (repr. 2003); it was Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839–1915) who brought the Fujii MS to China and described the Ishiyama MSS. For these and other Chinese books in Japanese collections, cf. Yan Shaodang 1991, and

manuscripts finally afforded a glimpse of the diverse tradition that was so long lost to *Zuozhuan* studies. But this was only the beginning. If the Japanese manuscripts aroused scholarly interest, the discovery of the medieval library in the Mogao grottoes of Dunhuang at the beginning of the 20th century, among them about 40 *Zuozhuan* fragments, caused a sensation. As early as 1909, Paul Pelliot showed some Dunhuang documents to Chinese scholars like Dong Kang, Luo Zhenyu, Wang Guowei, Wang Renjun, Jiang Fu, and Ye Gongchuo. “With Pelliot’s help, the scholars made notes, took photographs and made copies of the Dunhuang manuscripts they saw.”²⁷

Their descriptions of the manuscripts in Pelliot’s collection, including those of the *Zuozhuan*, were published in early Republican times, and they left no doubt about the value of the Dunhuang manuscripts. Wrote Liu Shipei about one of these scrolls: “If the whole volume were complete, it would surely be equally splendid as the copy of the Kanazawa bunko.”²⁸ However, the whole of the manuscript did not materialize; worse still, even the surviving fragments from Dunhuang were rendered almost inaccessible for decades to come. And so ended the brief dalliance of *Zuozhuan* scholars with Dunhuang studies. Although descriptive catalogs of Dunhuang collections²⁹ and even photographic reproductions³⁰ have been published, and Dunhuang scholars have even devoted some

2007, 128–48 (esp. 128–30, where 12 MSS are described) as well as Abe Ryūichi 1985–93, vol. 1, 3–396 (especially for the *Zuozhuan*: 216–17, where 16 MSS from the Tang dynasty to the Edo period are listed), and vol. 3, 1–76. For a glimpse of the MSS and prints in the collection of the Kyōto daigaku 京都大学, cf. the superb photographic reproductions at <http://edb.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/exhibit/index.html>.

- 27 International Dunhuang Project, “Chinese Collections,” http://idp.bl.uk/pages/collections_ch.a4d [access: April 2007]. For the acquisition of the MSS by Mark Aurel Stein in 1907 and the subsequent expedition by Pelliot, cf. Stein 1921, vol. 2, 291–330. To be sure, the majority of Chinese scholars, rather than applauding “Pelliot’s help,” would accuse him and other Western archaeologists of having robbed the Dunhuang documents; cf., for many, Wang Zhongmin 1984, 6–15.
- 28 Liu Shipei 1997, vol. 3, 21 [= *Zuoan ji* 左盦集, *juan* 2, 9a]. For other descriptions, cf. Luo Zhenyu 1968–76, 3rd ser., vol. 6, 2331–34, and vol. 7, 2737–842.
- 29 Giles 1957 (now online at: http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_cat.a4d?shortref=Giles_1957), complemented by Rong Xinjiang 1994, and Fang Guangchang 2000, for the Stein collection; *Dunhuang yishu* 1962 (now revised: *Dunhuang yishu* 2000), Wang Zhongmin 1979, Gernet et al. 1970–95. Regrettably, volume two of the last work, which will cover many of the *Zuozhuan* fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale, has not yet been published.
- 30 Notably *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, accompanied by the useful *Dunhuang baocang yishu suoyin* 1996.

fine studies to the *Zuozhuan* manuscripts,³¹ none of this sufficed to rekindle widespread scholarly interest in these texts. *Zuozhuan* studies have so far all but ignored the manuscript transmission.³²

This negligence was doubtlessly due to the poor quality of the available reproductions and the difficulty of accessing the originals scattered over so many parts of the globe. But this unfortunate situation has changed in the last decade. The publication of high-quality photographs of more than 30 *Zuozhuan* manuscript fragments from Dunhuang must be regarded as a most welcome benefit for *Zuozhuan* studies. Since the 1990s, the Sichuan renmin chubanshe and especially the Shanghai guji chubanshe have published facsimile catalogs of major collections of Dunhuang manuscripts in several dozens of beautiful folio volumes.³³ Simultaneously, the International Dunhuang Project and the Digitales Turfan-Archiv have been making excellent digital photographs of these manuscripts readily accessible on the internet.³⁴ Finally, a century after their discovery, scholars in the field now have the entire wealth of this material at their fingertips and can make full use of it.

In the wake of these publications, some scholars have once again turned their attention to the *Zuozhuan* fragments. Especially Li Suo, trained as a linguist, has recently published some detailed studies of these texts, culminating in a comprehensive collection of text-critical notes to the *Zuozhuan* manuscripts

- 31 Cf. Chen Tiefan 1970, 1970a, 1971, and Wang Zhongmin 1979. To be sure, Dunhuang scholars have turned their attention mainly to Buddhist texts, sources of social and economic history and vernacular literature rather than the classical Chinese writings. For the history of Dunhuang scholarship, cf. Rong Xinjiang 2001.
- 32 Witness the entry in Loewe 1993, 72, which, strangely enough, notes only the six manuscripts reproduced by Luo Zhenyu 1968–76, 3rd ser., vol. 7. Yang Bojun, in preparing his *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* (1995), perused only the photographs of Dunhuang manuscripts in the Beijing Library (p. 1), apparently those taken by the above-mentioned scholars at the beginning of the last century. Similarly, Wang Shumin 1998 only considered photographs of Paris fragments from the reigns of Xiang- and Zhao-patriarchs for his collection of variants. *Zuozhuan* scholarship never went beyond the efforts of Luo Zhenyu and others at the beginning of the last century.
- 33 Cf. for the French collection: *Faguo* 1994–2005; for the British collection: *Yingcang* 1990–95; for the Russian collection: *Eluosi* 1992ff. Similar catalogues have been published for the collections of the Beijing University, the Shanghai Library, the Shanghai Museum, the Tianjin Art Museum, and Gansu, but not yet the National Library in Beijing; cf. Wilkinson 2000, 831–32.
- 34 See the home pages of these projects at <http://idp.bl.uk>, and <http://www.bbaw.de/bbaw/Forschung/Forschungsprojekte/turfanforschung/de/DigitalesTurfanArchiv>.

from Dunhuang.³⁵ These works, truly impressive in their scope, approach the manuscripts from a variety of different angles, stressing their importance for such diverse fields as descriptive bibliography (*banben xue*), textual criticism, linguistics (including the study of ancient characters and orthographic variants), and intellectual history.³⁶ Together with the published manuscripts themselves, they provide an excellent basis for further research.

Turning to the consequences of these new publications for *Zuozhuan* studies proper, it will be necessary on the one hand to narrow down the scope of previous articles. Of the above-mentioned fields of inquiry, only descriptive bibliography and, most importantly, textual criticism would seem to be directly pertinent to *Zuozhuan* studies. Moreover, only the text of the *Zuozhuan* itself (including the *Chunqiu*) should be under examination, not that of its commentary; as will be seen, this significantly reduces the amount of readings to be considered. On the other hand, it will be necessary to broaden the perspective, taking into account not only *Zuozhuan* fragments of the major Dunhuang collections, but the entire manuscript transmission, including fragments from Turfan and the whole wealth of manuscripts preserved in Japanese collections.³⁷ In what follows, I will first provide an overview of extant manuscripts and then turn to the question of how they can be put to use for textual criticism of the *Zuozhuan*.

2. Recensio

The following list provides an overview of the *Zuozhuan* manuscript witnesses from approximately the 4th to the 13th century.³⁸ It contains the following information:

- 35 Li Suo 2005. Further pertinent publications by the same author include Li Suo 2003, 2003a, and 2006. Other transcriptions of some *Zuozhuan* fragments have been published in Hao Chunwen 2001.
- 36 Cf. Li Suo 2003a, and 2005, 2–11.
- 37 The most comprehensive survey to date, Li Suo 2005, includes neither Turfan nor Japanese MSS. Moreover, it omits the following fragments from Dunhuang: S.6227 (below, No. 2) Φ356 (No. 6), P.4636 (No. 7), parts of P.3634 (No. 8: namely the excerpts from Xi 16, Xi 20, and Xi 21), 北8155v (No. 15), as well as 中村317 and 中村318 (No. 23), 中村168 (No. 25), and 羽田本 (No. 33).
- 38 This does not exclude the possibility that there may be valuable witnesses among the more recent MSS (cf. n. 26). However, “in the examination of witnesses with a view to their independence, the right course is to begin with the oldest but one and then to work through

- Number of the witness. If fragments or scrolls that are now stored separately originally belonged to the same physical witness, they are listed under the same number.
- Siglum. Separate sigla are maintained for distinct manuscripts even if they constitute the same witness.
- Physical description. ‘Scroll’ means a manuscript consisting of at least two leaves pasted together, ‘fragment’ means (parts of) a single leaf; present location; size (if known); layout; number of lines and average number of characters per line (only *Zuozhuan*, excluding commentary); and approximate age. Since this survey depends on photographic reproductions, no first-hand information about the paper or size of the MSS can be given. Wherever possible, I shall quote pertinent information from descriptive catalogs. However, I have omitted information about the script, since its standards of comparison seem too much at variance in different catalogs.
- Description of contents (CT), including first and last characters.
- References (RF) to editions (E), reproductions (R), partial reproductions (pR), transcriptions (T), descriptive catalog entries (C), and studies (S).
- Further remarks (RM) or comments, if applicable.

1. 金澤本

Scrolls punctuated by Kiyohara no Noritaka 清原教隆 (1199–1265). Formerly in the Kanazawa bunko 金澤文庫, now in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaichō shoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部), Tōkyō. Leaf size: 28.2 x 49.4 cm. 16 lines per leaf, 14–16 characters per line. Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185–1333).

CT Complete text of the *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie* in 30 *juan*.

RF 宮内庁書陵部, 550 函 1 號. Takezoe Shinichirō 1911 (E), and Kamata Tadashi 1971–81 (E). Shimada Kan 2003, 117–35 (S). Yan Shaodang 2007, 129 (C).

RM This MS is apparently based on a Tang dynasty setting copy; it was handed down in the Kiyohara 清原 family.

2. S.6227

Fragment from Dunhuang. British Library, London. Seven characters from the *Zuozhuan* quoted amidst excerpts from other sources.

to the *recentiores* in chronological sequence; these *recentiores* will for the most part, though of course not always, turn out to be dependent” (Maas 1958, 52).

- CT Yin 4: 州吁, 阻兵而安忍.
- RF *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 45, 139 (R). *Yingcang 1990–95*, vol. 10, 202 (R).
3. Дх01367
Fragment from Dunhuang. Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg. 31 x 10 cm. 5 lines, c. 17–18 characters per line.
- CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Huan 2 (昭其數也 to 臨照百[官]).
- RF Chen Tiefan 1971, 122 (C). МЕНЬШИКОВ 1963/67, vol. 1, 553 (C). *Eluosi* 1992ff, vol. 8, 121 (R). Li Suo 2005, 1–2 (T/S).
- RM Only 50 characters of text and 8 characters of commentary are missing between this MS and the following (3 lines of 18 characters?). Yet, layout and calligraphy are too different for the two to belong to the same witness.
4. 藤井本
Scroll held by the Fujii saiseikai yūrinkan 藤井齊成会有鄰館, Kyōto. 28 x 390 cm. 146 lines of 14–16 characters per line. Sui (Luo Zhenyu) or Tang dynasty (Naitō Konan).³⁹
- CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Huan 2 ([官]之失德 to 無覬覦), Huan 3–6 (經三年春 to 子[同生]), and 15–16 (雍糾殺之 to 公至自伐鄭).
- RF *Tō shōhon Saden zankan* 1930 (R). Lithograph of the Shanghai Youzheng shuju 有正書局, Republican period (R). Ōsaka shiritsu bijutsukan 1981, 11–15 (R), and 161–62 (S).⁴⁰ *Kokuhō: genshokuban* 1968–69, vol. 2, No. 52 (pR). *Kyōto no kokuhō* 1961, No. 80A (pR). Yan Shaodang 2007, 128 (C).
- RM This manuscript, classified as a National Treasure (*kokuhō* 国宝) in Japan, changed ownership twice. Originally held in Japan by Kashiwagi Masanori 柏木政矩, it was bought by Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839–1915) and brought to China, from where it was again taken back to Japan by Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 in the 1920s.⁴¹ Both scholars wrote long colophons added to the end of the scroll.
- 39 Cf. Luo Zhenyu 1968–76, 3rd ser., vol. 7, 2841, and Naitō's colophon at the end of the MS. Both disagree with the former owner of this manuscript, Yang Shoujing, who dated it to the Northern Qi period (550–77); cf. his colophon at the end of the scroll: 北齊人書左氏傳共七紙一百四十六行星吾[i.e. 楊守敬]記.
- 40 Again, thanks to Prof. Nishiwaki Tsuneki (Kyōto) for pointing out this publication to me.
- 41 Cf. Yan Shaodang 1991, 29. Yang Bojun 1995, 99 (Huan 3.6), refers to this manuscript as 楊守敬所藏六朝人手寫左氏傳.

5. **S.5743**

Fragment from Dunhuang, British Library, London. Giles: “Very good MS of 7th cent. Yellow paper. 26.5 x 23.5 cm.” 10½ lines, 15–16 characters per line.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Huan 12 (宋成未可知也 to 楚師分).

RF Giles 1957, No. 7078 (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 122 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 44, 419 (R). *Yingcang 1990–95*, vol. 9, 111 (R). Li Suo 2005, 3–5 (T/S).

6. **Φ356**

Fragment from Dunhuang, Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg. 1 line, 12 characters.

CT *Zuoshi zhuan jie*, title of *juan* 4: 春秋左氏傳解第四閔公王氏. *Verso* has the title again.

RF *Eluosi* 1992ff, vol. 5, 294 (R).

RM Could the title refer to Wang Su’s or Wang Yangui’s edition?

7. **a. P.4636**

Fragment from Dunhuang. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Gernet et al.: “6 col. mutilées. [...] VIII^e siècle [...] 14 x 13,5 cm.” 16 characters per line (extrapolated).

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xi 5 (己於召陵 to 由是得罪).

RF Gernet et al. 1970–95, vol. 5, 259 (C). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 32, 224 (R).

b. P.2562

Scroll from Dunhuang. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. 34 leaves, 322 lines, c. 16 characters per line. Early Tang.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xi 5–15 (鄭伯喜於王命 to 戰于韓獲晉侯).

RF *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 122, 127 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 16, 2–10 (R). Luo Zhenyu 1968–76, 3rd ser., vol. 7, 2737–70 (R). Chen Tiefan 1971, 122 (C). Wang Zhongmin 1979, 50 (S). Li Suo 2005, 6–68 (T/S).

RM Gernet et al. note that P.4636 “précède, avec une interruption de quelques col., le n^o 2562.” Layout and calligraphy are the same in both MSS, 2½ lines (26 characters text and 40 characters commentary) are missing in between.

8. a. P.3634

Scroll from Dunhuang, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Gernet et al.: “152 col., 17 à 23 col. par f., 18 à 21 car. par col. [my count: 23–25, 2nd hand: 21] [...] VII^e siècle [...] 27 à 27,5 x 298 cm.” 9 leaves, different hand beginning with the 5th leaf (line 74); untidy manuscript; irregular layout. Occasional characters are blotted out and followed by correct writing; large parts torn out in the beginning and middle.

- CT Excerpts from the *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, without the *Chunqiu*: Xi 20 (文仲 to 則可), Xi 21 (夏大旱 to 饑而不害), Xi 22 (初平王 to 遂逃歸, overlaps with Dlx00362 and S.1443 verso, and 楚人伐宋 to 霸也, overlaps with Dlx00362), Xi 23 (懷公命 to 公享之 [different hand from 怒曰 on], overlaps with S.1443 verso), Xi 24 ([晉侯之大夫]呂卻畏偪 to 刑臣, and 頭須 to 以告公, and 晉侯賞 to 善人), Xi 25 (晉侯問 to 處原, overlaps with P.2499), Xi 28 (晉侯、宋公), again (!) Xi 23 (冬懷公 to 殺之, overlaps with earlier part), Xi 26 (夏齊孝公 to 乃還), Xi 16 (隕石 to 風也 [MS torn]), Xi 27 (讓於欒枝 to 爲右), and Xi 28 ([傳廿八年]晉侯圍曹 to 晉侯宋公). The verso sides of the 5 leaves written in the second hand contain 94 lines of Kong Yingda's sub-commentary from Ai 12 (傳言昭公娶于吳) to Ai 13 (皆云董褐).
- RF Chen Tiefan 1971, 139, 141 (C). Gernet et al. 1970–95, vol. 4, 120–21 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 129, 384 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 26, 160–67 (R). Li Suo 2005, 76–80, 83–91, 97–102, 109–14, 141–46 (T/S).

b. P.3635

Scroll from Dunhuang, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Gernet et al.: “47 col., 21 col. par f. complète, 19 à 20 car. par col.” 3 leaves.

- CT Excerpts from the *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*: Xi 28 ([不如]戰也 to 三日館、穀, and 初, 楚子玉 to 毒也已, and 是會也 to 明德也), Xi 29 (介葛盧聞牛鳴 to 而信), and Xi 30 (九月甲午 to 嘗爲晉[君]). The verso side contains Kong Yingda's sub-commentary to Ai 13–14 (二臣爲吳晉之臣 to 之末有宍象).
- RF Chen Tiefan 1971, 139–40, 143–44 (C). Gernet et al. 1970–95, vol. 4, 121 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 129, 391 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 26, 167–68 (R). Li Suo 2005, 147–52, 156, 164–65 (T/S).
- RM Gernet et al.: “Ce ms. faisait partie initialement du même rouleau que le n^o 3634, qu'il suit sans s'y raccorder immédiatement.”

9. 武田本

Four scrolls, formerly in possession of the Daigo-ji 醍醐寺, Fushimi-ku, Kyōto. Now in the collection of the Takeda kagaku shinkō zaidan, kyōu shooku 武田科学振興財団杏雨書屋, Ōsaka. 28.5 x 1042 cm (21 leaves), 28.5 x 1260 cm (32 leaves), 28.5 x 689 cm (14 leaves), 28.5 x 1430 cm (40 leaves). 16–20 characters per line. Late Heian period.

CT Excerpts from the *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xi 18–24 (經十有八年春 to 施者[未厭], overlaps with P.3634, Дх00362, S.1443) Cheng 13–18 (成下第十三 to 故不可立, overlaps with P.2973), Xiang 22 (曰禍將作矣 to 不敢不[見]), Xiang 31 (子產有辭 to 有威儀也), Ai 1–13 (元年經 to 可勝[也], overlaps with 石山寺乙本).

RF Kyōu shooku 1985, 134 (pR), 64–70 (C). Yan Shaodang 2007, 129 (C).

RM Parts of the above-mentioned passages are missing, others transposed, so that they are scattered over different *juan*.

10. a. Дх00362

b. Дх01252

c. Дх01263

d. Дх01463

e. Дх02945

Three fragments from Dunhuang. Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg. Badly torn, upper part of 31 lines. 13 x 26 cm, 14 x 31 cm, 13 x 20 cm.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xi 21–22 (封須句 to 官殲焉), overlaps with 武田本, P.3634 (twice) and S.1443 *verso*.

RF Меньшиков 1963/67, vol. 1, 554 (No. 1418) (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 123 (C). *Eluosi* 1992ff, vol. 6, 253–54 (R). Li Suo 2005, 70, 72–74 (T/S).

11. a. P.2499

Scroll from Dunhuang. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. 2 leaves, 30 lines, 16 characters per line. Early Tang.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xi 25–26 (軍吏 to 大師職之), overlaps with P.3634.

RF *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 132, 603 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 14, 338, and vol. 31, 52 (R). Chen Tiefan 1971, 124 (C). Li Suo 2005, 103–8 (T/S).

RM *Faguo* 1994–2005 gives a second, identical reproduction of this MS under P.4058.

12. **a. P.2509**

Scroll from Dunhuang. Bibliothèque Nationale. 17 leaves containing 341 lines, 19–21 characters per line. Lower half of the 1st leaf torn off. Paris. Six Dynasties or Tang.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xi 28–33 ([公子]買戍衛 to 禘於廟), overlaps with 3634, 3635.

RF *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 121, 320 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 15, 16–24 (R). Luo Zhenyu 1968–76, 3rd ser., vol. 7, 2771–804 (R). Chen Tiefan 1971, 124–25 (C). Wang Zhongmin 1979, 50 (S). Li Suo 2005, 115–40, 153–55, 157–63, 166–88 (T/S).

13. **S.85**

Scroll from Dunhuang. British Library, London. Giles: “Slightly mtd. near begin. Fine MS. of 7th cent. Bright yellow paper. 13½ ft.” 212 lines of 14–16 characters per line. Six Dynasties.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Wen 14–17 ([七月]乙卯 to 則其入也不).

RF Giles 1957 No. 7079 (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 125 (C). Wang Zhongmin 1979, 52–53 (S). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 1, 450 (R). *Yingcang 1990–95*, vol. 1, 38–43 (R). Hao Chunwen 2001, vol. 1, 123–32 (T). Li So 2003 (S). Li Suo 2005, 189–223 (T/S).

14. **岩崎本**

Scroll punctuated by Kiyohara Yorinari 清原頼業 (1122–89) in 1139. Collection of Iwasaki Hisaya 岩崎久彌 (1865–1955), Tōyō bunko, Tōkyō. 27.5 x 1125 cm. 20 leaves containing 410 lines. The colophone notes a total of 4140 characters of text and 5148 characters of commentary. 12th century.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xuan 1–11 (經元年春 to 事于晉).

RF *Shunjū kyōden shūkai Senjō daijū* 春秋經傳集解宣上第十, Tōkyō: Koten hozonkai 古典保存會 1932 (R). Yan Shaodang 2007, 129 (C).

RM The scroll is classified as a National Treasure (*kokuhō* 国宝) in Japan.

15. **北8155v**

Fragment from Dunhuang, National Library, Beijing. Three lines of writing exercise.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xuan 2 (經二年春 to 衛人[陳人侵鄭], overlaps with 岩崎本).

RF *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 109, 156 (R).

16. 羣書治要

Scrolls punctuated by Kiyohara no Noritaka in the Kenchō 建長 era (1249–55). Formerly in the Kanazawa bunko, now in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency, Tōkyō. 47 *juan*, of which two *juan* *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, totaling 64 leaves with 1049 lines, 13–16 characters per line. Line height: 20.9 cm. Kamakura period.

CT Excerpts from the *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xuan 2, 4, 11, 12, 15, 16, Cheng 2, 6, 8, 7, 16, Xiang 3, 9, 13, 14, 15, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, Zhao 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 25, 28, Ding 4, 5, 9, Ai 1, 11, 14, and 24.

RF 宮内庁書陵部, 550 函 2 號. Osaki Yasushi 1989–91, 221–359 (R). Osaki Yasushi 1991, 128–33 (S). Yan Shaodang 2007, 1113 (C).

17. S.6120

Fragment from Dunhuang, British Library, London. Giles: “Fine MS of the 7th cent. Yellow paper. 28 x 13.5 cm.” 5½ lines, c. 16 characters per line.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xuan 14 (晉使不害 to 屨及於).

RF Giles 1957, No. 7080 (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 125–26 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 45, 42 (R). *Yingcang* 1990–95, vol. 10, 88 (R). Li Suo 2005, 224 (T/S).

18. S.11563

Fragment from Dunhuang. British Library, London. Size: 9 x 3.8 cm. Parts of five lines.

CT Cheng 9 (觀於軍府 to 文子文[子]).

RF *Yingcang* 1990–95, vol. 14, 33 (R). Rong Xinjiang 1994, 219–20 (C). Li Suo 2005, 225 (T/S).

RM The first commentary passage is not Du Yu’s, whereas the second is; cf. Rong Xinjiang 1994, 220.

19. P.2973

Fragment from Dunhuang. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Torn strip of 7 lines with 3 characters per line remaining, and 9 lines with 14–16 characters per line, last line torn.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Cheng 15 (失節 to 禮[以庇身]) and 16 (諸侯皆叛 to 使告).

RF *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 125, 490 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 20, 292 (R). Li Suo 2005, 226–28 (T).

20. **S.133**

Scroll from Dunhuang. British Library, London. Giles: “Begin. mtd. Fine MS. [...] 9½ ft. Good yellow paper.” 127 lines, 17–18 characters per line. 7th cent. (Giles) or Six Dynasties (Wang Zhongmin).

CT Selections from *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xiang 4, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 21, 23, and 25 without the *Chunqiu* text.

RF Giles 1957 No. 7081 (C). Chen Tiefan 1970 (S). Chen Tiefan 1971, 144–46 (C). Wang Zhongmin 1979, 56–57 (S). *Dunhuang baocang* (1981–86), vol. 1, 673–77 (R). *Yingcang 1990–95*, vol. 1, 53–59 (R). Hao Chunwen 2001, vol. 1, 206–14 (T). Li Suo 2005, 229–45, 258–69 (T/S).

21. **a. Dx05067**

Fragment from Dunhuang. Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg. Lower part of 3 lines with 19 characters.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xiang 18 (信于城下 to 吾驟).

RF *Eluosi* 1992ff, vol. 12, 11 (R). Li Suo 2005, 250 (T/S).

b. Dx04657

Fragment from Dunhuang. Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg. Part of two lines with 8 characters.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xiang 18 (於魚齒之 [...] 徒幾盡晉).

RF *Eluosi* 1992ff, vol. 11, 291 (R). Li Suo 2005, 251 (T/S).

RM The two pieces belong together, Dx04657 belonging above Dx05067.

22. **a. P.2767**

Scroll from Dunhuang. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Two leaves with 34½ lines, c. 25–26 characters per line. Large piece missing in the lower middle part.

CT Abridged text of *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xiang 18–19 ([齊師其遁]矣 to 荀偃瘳疽).

RF Chen Tiefan 1970 (S). Chen Tiefan 1971, 146–47 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 124, 40 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 18, 134 (R). Li Suo 2005, 246–49, 252–53 (T/S).

b. S.3354

Fragment from Dunhuang, British Library, London. Giles: “Begin. slightly mtd. Fairly good MS. Buff paper, discoloured. [...] 28 x 27 cm.” 17½ lines, c. 25–26 characters per line.

- CT Abridged text of *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Xiang 19 (生瘍於頭 to 齊侯疾崔杼).
- RF Giles 1957, No. 7082 (C). Chen Tiefan 1970 (S). Chen Tiefan 1971, 147–48 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 28, 20 (R). *Yingcang 1990–95*, vol. 5, 53 (R). Li Suo 2005, 254–57 (T/S).
- RM As shown by Chen Tiefan, the two fragments fit together neatly, forming two leaves (of 26 lines each) from the same manuscript roll.

23. a. 李鳴南本

Scroll from the collection of Li Mingnan 李鳴南, apparently obtained in Gansu; present whereabouts unknown.⁴² 87 lines.

- CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 4–5 [惟逆[君]命 to 山敗].
- RF Yue Zheng 1929 (S). Wang Zhongmin 1979, 53–56 (S). Chen Tiefan 1971, 126–29 (S). Li Suo 2005, 407–11 (S).

b. 中村138

Scroll from the collection of Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 held by the Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan 台東区立書道博物館, Tōkyō. 27,5 x 125,6 cm. 71 lines of 24–28 characters. Tang dynasty.

- CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 5–6 (於人爲言 to 齊侯伐北燕).
- RF Isobe Akira 2005, vol. 2, 320–21 (No. 138).

c. 中村137

Scroll, probably first held by Li Shengduo 李盛鐸 (1858–1937), then by Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, now in the collection of Nakamura Fusetsu. 27,3 x 65,5 cm. 38 lines of 24–28 characters.

- CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 6 (傳六年春 to 若何效辟).
- RF Haneda, vol. 25, No. 743. Chen Tiefan 1971, 133–34 (C). Isobe Akira 2005, vol. 2, pp. 318–19 (No. 137) (R). Luo Zhenyu 1968–76, 3rd ser., vol. 6, 2331–34 (T). Wang Shumin 1998, 340–45.
- RM Whereas little can be said about the provenance and present whereabouts of Li Mingnan's MS, the pedigree of two Nakamura MSS is better documented. No. 137 was probably bought from the collection of Li Shengduo

42 I found neither the MS nor the article by Yue Zheng. Apparently, the collection of Li Mingnan was bought by the Library of the Beijing University 北京大学圖書館. However, I was not able to locate the *Zuozhuan* MS in its catalog; neither do Wang Zhongmin, Chen Tiefan, and Li Suo seem to have seen it.

by Haneda Tōru, whence it came into Nakamura Fusetsu's possession.⁴³ No. 138 was purchased from a different place, which explains why the two Nakamura scrolls are listed separately in the catalog, although they clearly belong together: No. 137 begins exactly where No. 138 ends. Luo Zhenyu's transcription differs in some places from 中村317; however, these seem to be due to copying or printing errors, and since Luo's transcription covers exactly the same range of text as 中村317, it seems very unlikely that he used a different manuscript as a setting copy.

24. **P.3729**

Scroll from Dunhuang, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Gernet et al.: "168 col., 22 col. par f., 13 car. par col. [...] VII^e siècle (?) [...] 28,3 x 323 cm." Early Tang or Six Dynasties.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 5 (不欲毀也 to 其報在邲).

RF Gernet et al. 1970–95, vol. 4, 225 (C). Wang Zhongmin 1979, 56 (S). Chen Tiefan 1970a (S). Chen Tiefan 1971, 129–33 (C/S). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 130, 239 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 27, 156–59 (R). Wang Shumin 1998, p. 328–39 (S). Li Suo 2005, 270–92 (T/S).

RM As shown by Chen Tiefan 1970a, the two manuscripts P.3729 and P.4904 fit together neatly. The Paris catalog has recombined the two fragments, listing them as P.3729.

25. **中村168**

Fragment, apparently from Turfan. Formerly in the collection of Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, now in the collection of Nakamura Fusetsu (cf. No. 23b). Lower part of 12 lines. 15,8 x 26 cm. Jin Dynasty.

CT Zhao 7 ([焉]執之 to 命我先[大夫]).

RF Haneda, vol. 25, No. 745 (R). Isobe Akira 2005, vol. 3, 58 (No. 168/1) (R), and 351 (C).

RM The commentary is not Du Yu's, but apparently that of Fu Qian; cf. Isobe Akira 2005, vol. 3, 351.

43 Cf. the entry in *Dunhuang yishu zongmu suoyin* 1962, 318 (散 205); the same catalog, 333 (散 904), accordingly lists only one *Zuozhuan* MS in Nakamura's collection. Wang Shumin, who notes the variant readings of this MS, claims in the introduction that he used *photographs* of Dunhuang MSS in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (cf. n. 32), perhaps old photos from the times of Luo Zhenyu and others. In this particular case, the MS never reached Paris. For the history of the Haneda collection, cf. the detailed study by Zhang Nali 2006.

26. a. Дх04512

Fragment from Dunhuang. Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg. Lower half of 13 lines, c. 27 characters per line (extrapolated).

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 7 (以大屈 to 不能任其).

RF *Eluosi* 1992ff, vol. 11, 254 (R). Li Suo 2005, 293–94(T/S).

b. Дх01712

Fragment from Dunhuang. Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg. 27.5 x 38 cm. 26 lines, c. 26 characters per line.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 7 (爲政而可 to [爲]惠大[矣]).

RF Меньшиков 1963/67, vol. 2, 468 (No. 2811) (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 134 (C). *Eluosi* 1992ff, vol. 8, 308 (R). Li Suo 2005, 295–98 (T/S).

RM Layout and calligraphy being identical, the two fragments fit together exactly, with 15 characters (being the upper part of line one of Дх01712) missing in between.

27. Maspero 253

Fragment from Ruoqiang *xian*, Lop Nor. British Library, London. Maspero: “Fragment d’un rouleau de papier; complet en hauteur avec deux marges; écrit d’un seul côté. 17 caractères à la ligne; IV^e siècle. Hauteur: 225 mm; largeur: 143 mm.”

CT Zhao 8 ([哀公]縊 to 大叔曰).

RF Maspero 1953, No.253 (pl. XII, and p. 79).

RM The commentary is another than Du Yu’s, but apparently not Fu Qian’s; cf. also Maspero 1953, 79.

28. a. P.3806

Scroll from Dunhuang. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Gernet et al.: “129 col. 18 col. par f., 19 car. par col. [...] VIII^e-IX^e siècle [...] 29,6 x 309 cm.”

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 13 (于乾谿 to 諸侯朝).

RF Gernet et al. 1970–95, vol. 4, 292 (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 134–35 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 131, 23 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 28, 108–12 (R). Li Suo 2005, 299–320 (T/S).

b. S.5857

Fragment from Dunhuang. British Library, London. Giles: “Very good, well-spaced MS. Whitish paper. 18.5 x 16 cm.” Upper half of 6 lines, c. 18 characters per line (extrapolated).

- CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 13 (侯來討 to 以幄幕九張行).
- RF Giles 1957 No. 7082A (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 134 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 44, 515 (R). *Yingcang 1990–95*, vol. 9, 179 (R). Li Suo 2005, 323 (T/S).

c. Дх01456

Fragment from Dunhuang, Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg. 19 x 16.5 cm. Lower half of 7 lines, c. 18 characters per line (extrapolated).

- CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 13 (爲取鄭故 to 悔之每).
- RF Меньшиков 1963/67, vol. 1, 554–55 (No. 1419) (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 135 (C). *Eluosi* 1992ff, vol. 8, 184 (R). Li Suo 2005, 321–22 (T/S).

d. P.2489

Scroll from Dunhuang, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Gernet et al.: “Assemblage des n^{os} 2489 (col. 1 à 23) et 3611 (col. 24 à 56). [...] 56 col., 18 col. par f., 14 [my count: 17–18] car. env. par. col. [...] Rouleau de 4 ff. dont 3 de 43,5 à 44 cm (f. 1, déb. arraché: 13 cm). Pap. irrégulier, chamois [...] IX^e siècle [...] 28 à 29,5 x 144 cm.”

- CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 13 (以幄幕九張行 to 御之乃).
- RF *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 129, 272 (R). Gernet et al. 1970–95, vol. 4, 97 (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 135 (C). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 14, 279–81 (R). Li Suo 2005, 324–34 (T/S).
- RM Calligraphy and layout are the same in P.3806 and S.5857. There are 15 characters of text and 9 characters of commentary missing between these two MSS, which would fit exactly into one line. NB. According to Giles, S.5857 starts from 而歸者, which connects directly to where P.3806 ends; the right edge of S.5857 seems to have got lost in the last half century. The lower half of S.5857, however, is preserved as Дх01456 in St. Petersburg: the torn edges of both MSS fit together exactly. Already Gernet et al. note that P.3806 “[s]emble précéder le fragment Dx. 1419 [sic] (non consulté) sans toutefois s’y raccorder exactement.” S. 5857 is the link between the two. P.2489, in turn, fits directly to the left edge of S.5857. The torn edges fit together exactly, the five uppermost characters being divided neatly between the two MSS: S.5857 carries the right part, whereas P.2489 carries the left part. The text of P.2489 continues exactly where Дх01456 ends.

29. **P.2764**

Scroll from Dunhuang, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. 24 lines (last two partly torn) 18 to 20 characters per line. Early Tang.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 15 (曰王唯信吳 to 平丘之會).

RF Chen Tiefan 1971, 135–36 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 124, 37 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 18, 128 (R). Li Suo 2005, 335–39 (T/S).

30. **a. S.1943**

Scroll from Dunhuang, British Library, London. Giles: “Clear, mediocre MS. Light buff paper. 1²/₃ ft.” 21 lines, 18 to 21 characters per line.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 15–16 (所謂福也 to 復立其子焉禮也).

RF Giles 1957 No. 7083 (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 136 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 14, 611 (R). *Yingcang 1990–95*, vol. 3, 189 (R). Li Suo 2005, 340–45 (T/S).

b. S.2984

Scroll from Dunhuang, British Library, London. Giles: “In the same hand as prec. Light buff paper. 1½ ft.” 19 lines, 18–20 characters per line.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 16 (強賈 to 鄭志皆).

RF Giles 1957 No. 7084 (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 136 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 25, 114 (R). *Yingcang 1990–95*, vol. 4, 264 (R). Li Suo 2005, 346–50 (T/S).

RM Paper, layout, and calligraphy being the same, the two scrolls very likely belong to the same witness, although there is a large part missing in between. Perhaps P.2764 also belongs to this witness.

31. **a. Ch2432**

Fragment from Sängim, Turfan, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. 16.5 x 12.5 cm. Upper half of six lines, c. 18 characters per line (extrapolated).

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 22 (王[弗]應 to 攻賓起殺之).

RF http://idp.bbaw.de/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?recnum=58959;index=1 (R). Nishiwaki 2001, No. 7 (C).

b. Ch1044

Fragment from Sängim, Turfan, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. 28 x 17.5 cm. 9 lines, c. 18 characters per line.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 22 (社十一月 to 辛丑伐京).

RF http://idp.bbaw.de/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?recnum=57770;index=2 (R). Nishiwaki 2001, No. 8 (C).

RM As shown by Nishiwaki Tsuneki, the two fragments belong to the same MS.

32. S.6258v

Fragment from Dunhuang, British Library, London. Giles: “Good, well-spaced MS. [...] Buff paper. 27 x 38 cm.” 15 lines, c. 16 characters per line.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 24 (子不腆 to 大國之憂也).

RF Giles 1957 No. 7085 (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 136–37 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 45, 178 (R). *Yingcang* 1990–95, vol. 10, 230 (R). Li Suo 2005, 351–53 (T/S).

33. 羽田本

Fragment, formerly in the of the collection of Haneda Tōru, present whereabouts unknown. Upper part of 3 lines (1st character missing in the 3rd line), c. 14 characters per line (extrapolated).

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 25 (竊其寶龜 to 昭伯[問家故]).

RF Haneda, vol. 25, No. 744 (R).

34. 石山寺甲本

Scroll in the possession of the Ishiyama-dera 石山寺, Ōtsu, Shiga-ken. Size: 27.9 x 996 cm. 12–13 characters per line. 10th century.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie, chüan* 26, Zhao 27–32 (經二十有七年 to 世脩其勤民忘), overlaps with P.2540 and P.2981.

RF *Kokuhō: genshokuban* (1968–69), vol. 3, No. 52 (pR). Yan Shaodang 2007, 129 (C).

RM The scroll is classified as an National Treasure (*kokuhō* 国宝) in Japan.

35. P.2540

Scroll from Dunhuang. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. 122 lines, 13–14 characters per line. Tang dynasty.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 27–28 (興謗讟 to 敬之哉), overlaps with 石山寺甲本 and P.2981.

RF Luo Zhenyu 1968–76, 3rd ser., vol. 7, 2805–22 (R). Liu Shippei 1997, vol. 3, 20–21 [= *Zuoan ji* 左龔集, *juan* 2, 8a–9a] (S). Wang Zhongmin 1979, 50–52 (S). Chen Tiefan 1971, 137 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 121,

621 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 15, 239–43 (R). Li Suo 2005, 354–69 (T/S).

36. **P.2981**

Scroll from Dunhuang. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Five leaves with 68 lines, 16–18 characters per line.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 28–29 (分羊[舌氏之]田 to 賣之), overlaps with 石山寺甲本 and P.2540.

RF Chen Tiefan 1971, 137–38 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 125, 507 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 20, 310–11 (R). Li Suo 2005, 370–79 (T/S).

37. **Ch1298v**

Fragment from Toyuk, Turfan, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. 12.8 x 12 cm. Upper portion of 5 lines, c. 20 characters per line (extrapolated).

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Zhao 31–32 (日始有謫 to 夏), overlaps with 石山寺甲本.

RF http://idp.bbaw.de/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?recnum=60990;index=1 (R). Nishiwaki 2001, No. 6 (C).

38. **S.5625**

Fragment from Dunhuang, British Library, London. Giles: “Mtd. frag. Very good, well-spaced MS. Buff paper. [...] 15 x 22 cm.” Upper portion of 8 lines, c. 19–20 characters per line (extrapolated).

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Ding 4 (懼而去之 to 濟江入于)

RF Giles 1957 No. 7086 (C). Chen Tiefan 1971, 138 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 44, 38 (R). *Yingcang 1990–95*, vol. 8, 170 (R). Li Suo 2005, 380–81 (T/S).

39. **P.2523**

Scroll from Dunhuang, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. 142 lines, 14–17 characters per line. Six Dynasties.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Ding 4–6 (王寢 to 陽[虎若不能]).

RF Luo Zhenyu 1968–76, 3rd ser., vol. 7, 2823–39 (R). Liu Shippei 1997, vol. 3, 21–22 [= *Zuoan ji* 左盦集, *juan* 2, 9a–10a] (S). Wang Zhongmin 1979, 50, 52 (S). Chen Tiefan 1971, 138 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 121, 454 (R). *Faguo* 1994–2005, vol. 15, 107–11 (R). Li Suo 2005, 382–400 (T/S).

40. 石山寺乙本

Scroll in the possession of the Ishiyama-dera 石山寺, Ōtsu, Shiga-ken. 28.5 x 664 cm. 15 characters per line. 10th century (Yan Shaodang).

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Ai 6–11 ([不]穀不有大過 to 我不成丈夫也).

RF *Kokuhō: genshokuban* 1968–69, vol. 3, No. 53 (pR). Yan Shaodang 2007, 129 (C).

RM The scroll is classified as an National Treasure (*kokuhō* 国宝) in Japan.

41. S.1443

Scroll from Dunhuang, British Library, London. Giles: „Good, well-spaced MS. [...] Begin. badly mtd. Buff paper. 2 ½ feet.” 33 lines (only upper portion of first 13), 18–20 characters per line.

CT *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie*, Ai 14 (小邾射 to 眾知而東之); *verso*: excerpts from Xi 16 (年齊有亂 to 陰陽), Xi 22 (辛有適伊川 to 遂逃歸, overlaps with P.3634), and Xi 23 (晉公子 to 足以上, overlaps with P.3634).

RF Giles 1957, No. 7087 (C). Chen Tiefan 1970 (S). Wang Zhongmin 1979, 56–57 (S). Chen Tiefan 1971, 139–40 (C). *Dunhuang baocang* 1981–86, vol. 10, 684 (R). *Yingcang* 1990–95, vol. 3, 59–60 (R). Li Suo 2005, 69, 81–82, 92–96, 401–6 (T/S).

The above list adds up to a total of 53 manuscripts constituting 41 witnesses.⁴⁴ To be sure, these witnesses are of very uneven quality. They include excerpts from the *Zuozhuan*, some perhaps meant as calligraphy exercises, as well as complete copies of entire rolls, untidy jottings and carefully laid-out specimens of impeccable penmanship, their sizes ranging from shreds of a few characters to scrolls of several meters length.⁴⁵ Due to the different quality of photographs, it is sometimes difficult to determine which manuscripts belong together. By the same token, the comparison of handwriting is precarious, and since hands may

44 *Dunhuang yishu* 2000, 103, lists two other alleged *Zuozhuan* witnesses. For P.3311, the title 春秋正義銜名 is given. The fragment carries the names of editors of a text containing 14,200 characters on 30 leaves, whose title, however, is not noted. Furthermore, the catalog erroneously lists S.6070, which is a fragment from the *Liji*. Cf. Chen Tiefan 1971, 121 and 139–40.

45 Cf. the entry in *Dunhuangxue da cidian* 1998, 774, which emphasizes the difference between “clean copies” (精抄本), “exercise copies” (誦習用本), “popular recitation copies” (民間誦讀抄本), and “excerpt copies” (刪節本) for study purposes.

change within a single witness, it is virtually impossible to tell whether manuscripts belong together when there are large gaps between them. Only an autopsy, including comparison of the paper, can provide definitive answers in such cases. What can be stated with confidence, however, is that the manuscript transmission represents a considerable portion of the *Zuozhuan*: even leaving aside the complete Kanazawa scroll (No. 1), the manuscripts cover at least one third of the text.

Not surprisingly, this rich transmission has revived the interest in textual criticism of the received text. Chinese scholars have repeatedly emphasized this point: “Theoretically speaking, since the manuscript copies are several centuries older than the setting copies used by Ruan [Yuan], to a certain degree they contain less transcriptional errors and can therefore provide important evidence for correcting Ruan’s edition.”⁴⁶ They may allow us to restore at least parts of the *Zuozhuan* to a form that comes close to the original. What is more, they allow us to do this with the methods of modern textual criticism; that is, by means of collation and, most importantly, stemmatic analysis or the study of the interrelationship of witnesses.⁴⁷ The final part of this essay shall discuss how these methods may be brought to bear on the *Zuozhuan*.

4. Editio

There is no critical edition of the *Zuozhuan*. Almost all current editions are ultimately based on print editions from Song times or later. By far the most influential edition up to this date is the above-mentioned Ruan Yuan’s *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, which served as the setting copy for modern punctuated

46 Li Suo 2005, 5.

47 For these principles, cf. Maas 1958. For their application to Chinese texts, cf. Simson 2002. It has often been said that theories and methods developed with reference to Western textual traditions can and should not be applied to Chinese texts. It seems that this somewhat tedious assertion itself betrays a lack of theoretical reflection. Firstly, Chinese traditions can be shown to produce the same kinds of alterations as Western texts; the creation and transmission of the *Zuozhuan*, for example, is closely comparable to that of Biblical literature. Secondly, until at least the 18th century, Western methods of dealing with canonical texts were remarkably similar to traditional Chinese methods. The difference, then, is not one between “Chinese” and “Western” methods, but between pre-critical and critical scholarship.

editions.⁴⁸ The only exceptions to this dependence on uniform print editions are the Japanese editions based on the Kanazawa bunko manuscript (cf. No. 1, above). The alleged superiority of this manuscript has often been stressed, but from the perspective of textual criticism this is quite beside the point. No matter how valuable a witness may be, there is no methodological justification for following “the oldest, the most complete, the best witness, just as if every scribe were not liable to error.” The mistake lies in “treating the *codex optimus* as if it were the *codex unicus*.”⁴⁹ In idolizing one witness as the sole source of grace, editions like those of Takezoe Shinichirō 1911 and Kamata Tadashi 1971–81 are in no way different or superior to that of Ruan Yuan.

To be sure, all these editions more or less systematically provide critical notes on variant readings. But they do not, as a rule, use these readings to alter the received text. This is very much in keeping with the editorial practice of Qing scholars, whose principles are succinctly described by Shen Yucheng and Liu Ning:

When it comes to the peculiarities of textual criticism, Wang Yinzhi, Li Fusun, and Yu Chang valued variant readings and analytical research, and they advocated altering the original text. On the other hand, Lu Wenchao and Ruan Yuan valued transcriptional evidence, and they advocated explaining the right and wrong without altering the wording. The former adhered to “reasoned revision” [*lijiao* 理校], whereas the latter adhered to “collational revision” [*duijiao* 對校].⁵⁰

In other words, whatever changes were proposed for the *Zuozhuan* text, they were mostly based on reasoning and intrinsic probability rather than textual evidence; what was thought to be fitting in a given context mattered, not what was verifiable. Moreover, such emendations typically did not result in new editions but were set forth in separate notes and essays. Editors like Ruan Yuan, however, “rather than taking textual decisions on doubtful points, trying to restore

48 Most notably, Yang Bojun’s influential *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 1995. Ruan Yuan’s *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, apart from the long serviceable two-volume reprint of the *Shisan jing zhushu* by Zhonghua shuju, is now available in a completely revised edition: *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 2000.

49 Maas 1958, 19. The author notes that this practice was common in Western editing, as well, up to the 1950s.

50 Shen and Liu 2000, 298. Cf. the following pages, 298–306, for illuminating examples. Chen Yuan 1996, 421–24, has pointed out that Qing scholarship in general principle preferred “reasoned revision” (*lijiao* 理校), based on intrinsic probability, over “collational revision” (*duijiao* 對校), based on external evidence.

them to an original form, [...] would usually leave the traditional reading in possession of the text and *explain* it.”⁵¹ Such principles, albeit appropriate for their times, run contrary to modern practice of scholarly editing; the resulting editions are decidedly uncritical. Modern textual scholarship consequently calls for “correcting Ruan’s edition,” and for producing not only learned notes but a *critical edition*. Textual criticism, as a part of scholarly editing, must come to bear on the constitution of the text.

Moreover, when it comes to taking textual decisions, ‘reasoning’ should be the last resort: not only because it involves a degree of subjectivity that should be reserved for higher criticism, but because it is ultimately based on circular logic. “Reasoned revision”—or, in modern parlance, “emendation”—tends to refashion the text according to ready-made assumptions concerning grammar, style, and contents of the text in question. In other words, the text is exegetically wrested to conform to a pre-conceived sense; the *Zuozhuan* is made to read the way it should read. To be sure, this fits the requirements of pre-critical scholarship perfectly well and, incidentally, it is also appropriate for the *Zuozhuan* tradition known in imperial times. An emendation, being an alteration of the text against all witnesses, implies the assumption that *all* scribes and editors must have committed the same mistake (or at least: some mistake) at this place. This is only plausible if they all descend in the one line from the same exemplar which may then be held culpable for the error. This was exactly the situation that pre-modern *Zuozhuan* editors faced. However, the assumption that several scribes commit the selfsame error *independently* is highly unlikely. Given a split in the tradition and at least two extant witnesses that represent different “stemmatic” branches of this tradition, their readings are not to be overruled easily. In this situation, an editor is well-advised to rely on “collational revision.” In other words, he should follow the readings where they coincide and make a conjecture—that is, a choice between their readings—where they differ.⁵²

51 Vogelsang 2002, 530. Cf., for example, the passage in Xuan 12, which in Ruan Yuan’s edition reads: 楚軍討鄭; the critical note, however, explains: 楚軍討鄭石經宋本淳熙本足利本軍作君是也 (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 2000, 731). Thus, the corrupt reading is left unaltered against better knowledge: while cases like these abound in Ruan Yuan’s edition, the text is corrected (*dingzheng* 訂正) only in a relatively small number of instances.

52 This is not to say that emendation never comes into play; it does. It is valid in two cases: (1) wherever it can be shown that the same error is likely to have been committed independently by different scribes, for example in the case of *homoeoteleuta*, graphic or phonetic similarity. (2) Wherever a passage reconstructed as far as possible by stemmatic means still has a

It now seems to have become widely accepted that conjecture should take precedence over emendation and that editorial decisions should be based on the evidence of at least one witness rather than on pure intuition. This principle is followed by recent editions like Yang Bojun's *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* (1995) and the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* (2000) which do not hesitate to alter the text of Ruan Yuan's edition wherever it is called for and regularly justify these decisions with reference to textual witnesses.⁵³ Thus, Qing philology has been overcome on two accounts: (1) variant readings in the classic texts are nowadays being altered, not merely commented upon, and (2) such alterations are, more often than not, based on textual evidence rather than subjective intuition. However, it seems that present editorial practice still falls short of methodological exactitude. The most obvious shortcoming is that editorial decisions are made *ad hoc*, not guided by general principles but aimed at one specific case at a time. As a result, the reading of a given group of witnesses may be followed in one case but rejected in another.⁵⁴ Clearly, such decisions are not primarily governed by transcriptional evidence and the systematic application of stemmatics; they ultimately rest on the editor's intuition, which brings them disturbingly close to Qing philology.

As indicated above, every editorial decision should consider the relationship of the witnesses at hand. Obviously, variant readings of two given witnesses are to be treated differently, depending on whether one has been copied from the other or both are independent. In the first case, the reading of the younger witness is to be discarded, in the second case, the variants are of equal value and a conjectural choice is called for. This being said, it would seem that the value of the Dunhuang and Japanese manuscripts lies not primarily in their age. Old age is not *per se* an advantage, since old manuscripts may be much more carelessly copied than later print editions. Therefore,

doubtful reading: in this case, the error may be attributed to the hyparchetype. Principles for such emendations are discussed by Gassmann 2002.

53 Their principles, however, differ. Whereas Yang Bojun alters the text based on his own judgment of the readings of diverse witnesses, including Japanese and Dunhuang MSS, the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* regularly follows the judgments expressed in Ruan Yuan's critical notes which are based on print editions.

54 Yang Bojun 1995, 1263, for example, emends Ruan Yuan's edition, which in Zhao 5 reads 以示卜楚丘。曰 to 以示卜楚丘。楚丘曰, arguing that both P.3729 and the Kanazawa scroll repeat the name 楚丘。However, on the very next page, the editor leaves the passage 自王已下 unaltered although both P.3729 and the Kanazawa scroll read 自王以下。

a witness which is later in date than another is not necessarily on that account also ‘worse’. But the fact is that there are neither ‘good’ nor ‘bad’ witnesses, only dependent and independent ones, that is witnesses which are dependent on or independent of surviving manuscripts or manuscripts which can be reconstructed without their help.⁵⁵

Their real value, then, rests in the fact that these witnesses are presumably *independent* of the print editions. Already the Kanazawa scroll bears witness to a second branch of transmission for collation.⁵⁶ If the other manuscripts, in turn, can be shown to be independent of both the Kanazawa scroll and the print editions, they may put us in the fortunate situation of possessing three independent strands of transmission that cover a substantial part of the *Zuozhuan*. This means that it should be possible “to reconstruct with certainty the text of the archetype at all places”⁵⁷ in a way that is methodologically sound, independent of individual interpretive genius, and easily verifiable.

This archetype, of course, is no other than Du Yu’s *Zuozhuan jijie* from the 3rd century A.D. Its text is as close as we can get to the original, being the conclusion of productive creation in Liu Xin’s edition. Only four small fragments, Nos. 6, 18, 25, and 27, apparently derive from other editions, whereas all the others represent the *Zuozhuan jijie*. Apart from these tantalizing hints, the riches and diversity of the manuscript transmission are lost to us.⁵⁸ The best we may hope for is a fairly sound version of one particular edition of the *Zuozhuan* several centuries removed from the presumed completion of the work.

Let us consider an example of how the *Zuozhuan* may be critically edited. The passage selected is from the fifth year of the Zhao-patriarch.⁵⁹ It is testified, at least partly, by four manuscript witnesses: 金澤本 (No. 1), 羣書治要 (No. 16), 李鳴南/中村138 (No. 23), and P.3729 (No. 24). These have been collated with the Tang stele text of the *Zuozhuan* as well as Ruan Yuan’s edition and his

55 Maas 1958, 52. Cf. also above, p. 967.

56 As shown by Shimada Kan 2003, 117–35, and Takezoe Shinichirō 1911, 1–10.

57 Maas 1958, with reference to a “primary split” in the tradition of “at least *three* branches.”

58 To be sure, this is by no means an exceptional case. Countless other works were lost in the conflagrations between Han and Tang times; cf. *Suishu* 49, 1298–9.

59 Cf. Yang Bojun 1995, 1261–67; *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 2000, 1392–401; Kamata Tadashi 1971–81, 1281–89; Takezoe Shinichirō 1911, *juan* 21, 23–33; *Jingkan Tang Kaicheng shijing*, vol. 3, 1904–8; also the notes in Wang Shumin 1998, 328–33, and Li Suo 2005, 270–84. For a translation, cf. Legge 1991, 603–5. For the treatment of names and titles, cf. Gassmann 2006.

critical notes.⁶⁰ All readings that differ from the edited text are given in the footnotes.⁶¹ In order not to overburden the notes, the numerous calligraphic and orthographic variants that occur in the manuscripts are omitted; the latter are discussed by Wang Shumin 1998 and Li Suo 2005, the former may easily be found in calligraphy dictionaries.⁶² Such graphic variants are not relevant for a critical edition of the *Zuozhuan* which is concerned with the *text* itself, not its visual representation.⁶³ Punctuation, being a concern of higher criticism, is kept to a minimum by using only the circle marks as given by Takezoe Shinichirō 1911.

傳五年。春王正月。舍中軍。卑公室也。毀中軍于施氏。成諸臧氏。初作中軍⁶⁴。三分公室而各有其一。季氏盡征之。叔孫氏臣其子弟。孟氏取其半焉。及其舍之也。四分公室。季氏擇二⁶⁵。二子各一。皆盡征之。而貢于公。以書使杜洩告於⁶⁶殯。曰子固欲毀中軍。既毀之矣。故告⁶⁷。杜洩曰。夫子唯不欲毀也。故盟諸僖閔。詛諸五父之衢。受其⁶⁸書而投之。帥⁶⁹士而哭之⁷⁰。叔仲子謂季孫曰。帶受命於子叔孫。曰葬鮮者自西門。季孫命杜洩。杜洩曰。卿喪自朝。魯禮也。吾子爲國政未改⁷¹禮。而又遷之。群臣懼死。不敢自也。既葬而行。仲至自齊。

60 I have also considered the glosses in *Jingdian shiwen* 19, 3b–4a [276], which do not exhibit any peculiar readings in this passage. The *Jingdian shiwen* is occasionally cited for variant readings. However, there seems to remain no old MS containing the *Zuozhuan* glosses. The print editions, in turn, should be handled with great caution since they have been re-edited time and again and consequently cannot be counted as primary sources for Tang dynasty variants.

61 Not, however, variants in the commentary or occasional misprints in modern editions.

62 I found Fushimi Chūkei 1977 very useful for this purpose. For orthographic idiosyncrasies of the Kanazawa MS, cf. Takezoe Shinichirō 1911, 7.

63 *Pace* Takezoe Shinichirō 1911, 3 and 6, who makes much ado about layout details like elevation of titles and ditto marks. For a more detailed discussion of editorial principles, cf. Vogelsang 2003.

64 金澤本軍下有也字。

65 金澤本二作其二。

66 纂圖本、毛本於改于。

67 金澤本告作敢告。

68 P.3729、李鳴南本無其字。

69 P.3729、李鳴南本帥作師。

70 P.3729、李鳴南本無之字。

71 李鳴南本無未改二字。

季孫欲立之。南遺曰。叔孫氏厚。則季氏薄。彼實家亂。子勿與知。不亦可乎。南遺使國人助豎牛。以攻諸大庫之庭。司宮射之。中目而死。豎牛取東鄙三十邑。以與南遺。昭子即位。朝其家眾。曰豎牛禍叔孫氏。使亂⁷²大從。殺適立庶。又披其邑。將以赦⁷³罪。罪莫大焉。必速殺之。豎牛懼奔齊。孟仲之子殺諸塞關之外。投其首於寧風之棘上。仲尼曰。叔孫昭子之不勞。不可能也。周任⁷⁴有言。曰爲政者不賞私勞。不罰私怨。詩云⁷⁵。有覺德行。四國順之⁷⁶。初穆子之生也。莊叔以周易筮之。遇明夷⁷⁷之謙⁷⁷。以示卜楚丘。楚丘⁷⁷曰是將行⁷⁸。而歸爲子祀。以讒人入。其名曰牛。卒⁷⁹以餒死。明夷日也。日之數十。故有十時。亦當十位。自王已⁸⁰下。其二爲公。其三爲卿。日上其中。食日爲二。旦日爲三。明夷之謙。明而未融。其當旦乎。故曰爲子祀。日之謙。當鳥。故曰明夷于飛。明而⁸¹未融。故曰垂其翼。象日之動。故曰君子于行。當三在⁸²旦。故曰三日不食。離火也。艮山也。離爲火。火焚山山敗。於人爲言。敗言爲讒。故曰有攸往主人有言。言必讒也⁸³。純離爲牛。世亂讒勝。勝將適離。故曰其名曰牛。謙不足飛不翔。垂不峻。翼不廣。故曰其爲子後乎。吾子亞卿也。抑少不終。楚子以屈申⁸⁴爲貳於吳。乃殺之。以屈生爲莫敖。使與令尹子蕩如晉逆女。過鄭。鄭伯勞子⁸⁵蕩于汜⁸⁶。勞屈生于⁸⁷菟氏。晉侯送女于邢丘。子產⁸⁸相鄭伯。會晉侯于邢丘。公如晉。自郊勞至于贈

72 李鳴南本亂下有生字。

73 P.3729 赦作舍。

74 李鳴南本任作往。

75 P.3729、石經初刻云作曰。

76 金澤本無之字。

77 李鳴南本、石經、諸印本無楚丘二字。

78 石經行下旁增乎字。

79 毛本卒作足。

80 P.3729、金澤本、毛本已作以。

81 阮本而作之。

82 石經初刻三在作在三。

83 P.3729 無也字。

84 阮本申作伸。

85 淳熙本子作于。

86 石經、宋本汜作汜。

87 毛本二千字並改於。

88 淳熙本產作陸。

賄。無失禮。晉侯謂女叔齊曰。魯侯不亦善於禮乎。對曰。魯侯焉知禮。公曰。何爲。自郊勞至于⁸⁹贈賄。禮無違者。何故⁹⁰不知。對曰。是儀也。不可謂禮。禮⁹¹所以守其國⁹²。行其政令。無失其民者也。今政令⁹³在家。不能取也。有子家羈。弗⁹⁴能用也。奸大國之盟⁹⁵。陵虐小國。利人之難。不知其私。公室四分。民食於他。思莫在⁹⁶公。不圖其終。爲國君難將及身。不恤其所。禮之本末。將於此乎在。而屑屑焉習儀以亟⁹⁷。言善於禮。不亦遠乎。君子謂叔侯。於是乎⁹⁸知禮。晉韓宣子如楚送女。叔向爲介⁹⁹。鄭子皮子大叔勞諸索氏。大叔謂叔向曰。楚王汰侈已甚。子其戒之。叔向曰汰侈已甚。身之災也。焉能及人。若吾¹⁰⁰奉吾幣帛。慎吾威儀守之以信。行之以禮。敬始而思終。終無不復。從而不失儀敬而不失威。道之以訓辭。奉之以舊法。考之以先王。度之以二國。雖汰侈若我何。

There are 37 variant readings in this passage. Of these, only nine, none of them significant, occur in print editions; this indicates how much more uniform they are as compared to the manuscript tradition.¹⁰¹ Some of the variants in manuscripts have been noted by previous editors, but they were never considered in a systematic way. Consider the first four lines of the above passage, in which several variants occur between the texts of the print transmission and the Kanazawa manuscript (nn. 64, 65, 67). These variants are merely noted, not commented on, by Kamata Tadashi, and they are not even mentioned by Yang Bo-

89 P.3729、群書治要至于作及。

90 P.3729 故初作知。

91 金澤本禮下有者字。

92 群書治要國作國家。

93 中村138 無令字。

94 中村138、群書治要弗作不。

95 群書治要盟初作興。

96 中村138 無在字。

97 群書治要亟初作函。

98 P.3729 無於是乎作於是。中村138 作於之。

99 群書治要介初字不明晰。

100 石經、諸印本無吾字。

101 Another comparison: Ruan Yuan notes 42 variant readings in print editions for this passage, whereas Li Suo notes 197 for P.3729 alone. By far the most of these variants occur in the commentary and subcommentary, and in the MSS, most of them are simply orthographic variations.

jun. It seems that both editors simply follow their respective exemplar, regarding the reading of the other witness as a corruption not worth being discussed, let alone taken as a basis for conjecture. In a similar vein, the new edition of the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* follows Ruan Yuan's judgment to the extent that, against all witnesses, it leaves the readings in nn. 81 and 84 (which Yang Bojun alters tacitly) unchanged.

A critical edition does not adhere to a single setting copy but instead relies on stemmatic analysis. In doing so, it addresses the vexing problem noticed by earlier scholars, that among the manuscripts' variants "some accord with the Kanazawa bunko edition, some with the quotations from other editions in the [*Jingdian*] *shiwén*, some with the first carving of the Tang stone classics, [...] and some differ from all other editions."¹⁰² In other words, the *interrelationship* between the witnesses and, as a result, the specific value of every single one remain poorly understood and must be clarified by means of stemmatics. In order to analyze the situation, it will be convenient to list all variants sorted by witnesses. The following list is numbered according to the above footnotes, variant readings being marked in grey; dashes indicate that a passage is not attested to in a given witness.

Witness No.	金澤本	李鳴南 / 中村138	P.3729	群書治要	石經	諸印本
64	中軍也	中軍	—	—	中軍	中軍
65	擇其二	擇二	—	—	擇二	擇二
66	告於	告於	—	—	告於	告於>告于 (纂圖本, 毛本)
67	故敢告	故告	—	—	故告	故告
68	受其書	受書	受書	—	受其書	受其書
69	帥	師	師	—	帥	帥
70	哭之	哭	哭	—	哭之	哭之
71	未改禮	禮	未改禮	—	未改禮	未改禮
72	使亂	使亂生	使亂	—	使亂	使亂
73	赦罪	赦罪	舍罪	—	赦罪	赦罪
74	周任	周往	周任	—	周任	周任

102 Liu Shippei 1997, vol. 3, 21; also quoted in Wang Zhongmin 1979, 52.

Witness No.	金澤本	李鳴南 / 中村138	P.3729	群書治要	石經	諸印本
75	詩云	詩云	詩曰	—	詩曰>詩云	詩云
76	順	順之	順之	—	順之	順之
77	楚丘楚丘	楚丘	楚丘楚丘	—	楚丘	楚丘
78	將行	將行	將行	—	將行>將行乎	將行
79	卒	卒	卒	—	卒	足(毛本)
80	以下	已下	以下	—	已下	以下(毛本)
81	明而	明而	明而	—	明而	明之(阮本)
82	三在	三在	三在	—	在三>三在	三在
83	讒也	讒也	讒	—	—	讒也
84	屈申	屈申	屈申	—	屈申	屈伸(阮本)
85	子蕩	子蕩	子蕩	—	子蕩	于蕩(淳熙本)
86	汜	汜	汜	—	汜	汜(宋本)
87	于[...]于	于[...]于	于[...]于	—	于[...]于	于[...]于>於 [...]於(毛本)
88	子產	子產	子產	—	子產	子陸(淳熙本)
89	至于	至于	及	及	至于	至于
90	何故	何故	何知>何故	何故	何故	何故
91	禮者	禮	禮	禮	禮	禮
92	國	國	國	國家	國	國
93	政令	政	政令	政令	政令	政令
94	弗能	不能	弗能	不能	弗能	弗能
95	盟	盟	盟	興>盟	盟	盟
96	在公	公	在公	在公	在公	在公
97	亟	亟	亟	函>亟	亟	亟
98	於是乎	於之	於是	於是乎	於是乎	於是乎
99	介	介	介	?>介	介	介
100	若吾奉	若吾奉	若吾奉	—	若奉	若奉

In order to judge the significance of these variant readings, sort out the superfluous ones and use the remaining few in a more systematic way, it is necessary

to determine the interrelationship of all witnesses and their respective position in the line of transmission. This is done by finding *indicative readings*.¹⁰³

Starting from the left, it is apparent that the Kanazawa manuscript has a number of peculiar readings against all other witnesses. Many of these variants like those described in Nos. 64, 65, 67, 76, and 91, involve addition or omission of characters. It would seem highly unlikely that any scribe copying from this witness could have corrected any of these variants, much less *all* of them, by means of emendation. This gives them the quality of *separative readings*: they suffice to prove that no other witness derives from the Kanazawa manuscript. The latter thus represents an independent line of tradition. A similar case may be made for the Li Mingnan/Nakamura manuscript. Nos. 71, 72, 93, and 96 provide sufficient evidence for the conclusion that no other witness is dependent on it; otherwise, they should have preserved all or at least some of these readings. Independence from P.3729 is less obvious, since its peculiar readings are fewer and less significant. Nos. 73, 75, 83, and 98 are, by themselves, not of a nature that would defy correction by emendation.¹⁰⁴ However, taken as a whole,¹⁰⁵ they do suggest that no other witness derived from P.3729. The most clear-cut case is that of the *Qunshu zhiyao* manuscript. Since it only contains excerpts from the *Zuozhuan*, omitting a large part of the passage under consideration, the other witnesses obviously cannot have been copied from it. It follows that not only the print editions are independent of the manuscripts,¹⁰⁶ but also that the latter are mutually independent: no manuscript seems to have been copied from one of the others.

103 For this concept, cf. Maas 1958, 42–49. I prefer the term “indicative readings” to Maas’ “indicative errors” (“Leitfehler”), since the latter implies a notion of corruption which may not always be adequate. The untainted “original” is by no means the only text worth consideration; when it comes to studying the reception of the *Zuozhuan* and its role in the history of Chinese thought, alternative readings may turn out to be very significant. Simply calling them “errors” in this context would miss the point.

104 In fact, No. 75 also occurs and is corrected in the stone steles. As for No. 73, the same variant reading (赦作舍), in another paragraph, also occurs in at least one other witness, 中村168 (No. 25), which suggests that it was not uncommon. Therefore, it may well have been corrected by emendation.

105 And bearing in mind variant readings in later passages such as 朝韓起 vs. 韓起 in all other witnesses.

106 In fact, so much could have been postulated *a priori*, the Dunhuang MSS having been hidden for a millennium and the Kanazawa MS having been equally inaccessible for Chinese editors.

The case of the Tang stele edition is quite different. It only has two peculiar readings (Nos. 78 and 82), and in both cases, the text has been changed on the steles themselves, so that a copyist may have chosen either variant. Clearly, these readings do not provide sufficient grounds to suppose the independence of other witnesses from the stone classics. In fact, the print editions most likely *are* dependent on the Tang steles. As for the manuscripts, this is less likely. With reference to the Kanazawa scroll, it has been remarked that “whoever says that this edition derives from the stone classics is just like a blind man who cannot differentiate the five colors.”¹⁰⁷ Indeed, although the peculiar readings of the stone steles do not bear this out, the number and nature of the Kanazawa manuscript’s peculiar readings (see above) make such a dependency seem unlikely. The same holds true for the Dunhuang witnesses, P.3729 and Li Mingnan/Nakamura. In their case, additional arguments may be adduced for their independence from the Tang stone classics: since the steles were engraved in 837, they surely cannot have been the exemplar for P.3729, which has been dated to the early Tang or Six Dynasties. Moreover, their text is very unlikely to have been transmitted to Dunhuang at all, since the region had been occupied by the Tibetans in the late 8th century and effectively remained outside the reach of the Chinese empire for the following centuries. The *Qunshu zhiyao* manuscript, finally, by its very nature neither derives from the steles nor directly from any other *Zuozhuan* edition but from a *Qunshu zhiyao* exemplar.¹⁰⁸

So far, stemmatic analysis suggests that we have five independent witnesses—the four manuscripts and the stele edition—and a strand of print editions dependent on the Tang steles. Analysis of the interrelationship may be taken one step further by examining not only separative but also *conjunctive readings*, that is readings common to two witnesses against all others whose nature makes it highly improbable that both witnesses arrived at them independently of each other.¹⁰⁹ Such conjunctive readings may be observed for the two Dunhuang witnesses in Nos. 68, 69, and 70. Although any one of these variants may have come about independently, the coincidence in *all* these cases suggest a close relationship between the two witnesses. Since neither one of the two derives from the other, as shown above, the only possible conclusion is that they

107 Shimada Kan 2003, 132. Cf. *ibid.*, 118–19, for some significant readings.

108 The *Qunshu zhiyao* was first compiled in 631 by Wei Zheng and others; it was introduced to the Japanese emperor by 838 (cf. Abe Ryūichi 1985–93, vol. 3, 29).

109 Cf. Maas 1958, 43. Again, I prefer “readings” over Maas’ “errors.”

both derive from the same mutual exemplar.¹¹⁰ Compared to these instances, the common readings in Nos. 75 and 77 do not seem to warrant any conclusions. There remains the irritating case of No. 89 in which P.3729 and the *Qunshu zhiyao* manuscript share a significant variant against all other witnesses. This would appear to be a conjunctive reading, implying that P.3729 and the *Qunshu zhiyao* manuscript derive from the same exemplar. However, since it has been shown that P.3729 and the Li Mingnan/Nakamura manuscript share the same source, it must follow that Li Mingnan/Nakamura deviates from the exemplar at this point. In fact, examination of the context shows that this is not unlikely. The sentence in question, 自郊勞至于贈賄, is an exact repetition of the sentence that appears just one line before: 自郊勞至于贈賄. It is therefore entirely possible that the second sentence read *自郊勞及贈賄 in the exemplar, just slightly varying the wording, and that a copyist's eye, while writing this sentence, strayed to the preceding one. This may easily have resulted in the verbatim repetition of the sentence we have today. While the reading 及 in the second sentence may thus have given rise to the variant 至于, the reverse process is hardly explainable, much less for two different witnesses.¹¹¹ I therefore tentatively conclude that the three witnesses Li Mingnan/Nakamura, P.3729, and *Qunshu zhiyao* all belong to the same stemmatic branch.¹¹²

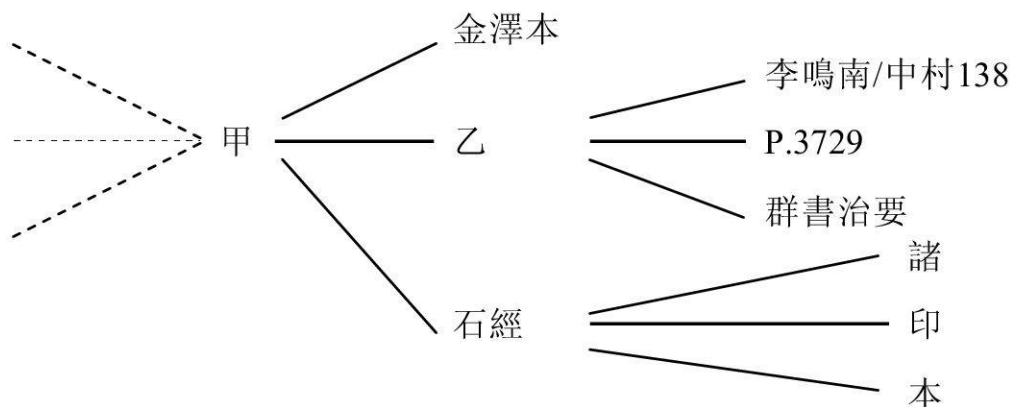
All things considered, the following picture emerges: the Dunhuang manuscripts and the *Qunshu zhiyao*, through an unknown number of intermediate stages, derive from a common hyparchetype (乙) which, in turn, derived from

110 This is further supported by readings in later passages, where both have 不穀過 against 不穀之過也, 不 against 弗, and, in two places, 吳 against 吾 in all other witnesses. One may also consider No. 98, the only case with *three* variant readings. Whereas the other witnesses have 於是乎, P.3729 has 於是 and Li Mingnan/Nakamura 於之. This may be explained by a common exemplar which read *於是, omitting the 乎 of the other witnesses. This was then correctly copied in P.3729 but further altered in the Li Mingnan/Nakamura MS. Of course, stemmatic analysis for other passages, involving other witnesses, must be performed separately. However, as a working hypothesis, it is plausible to suppose that the Dunhuang MSS all belong to the same branch of tradition.

111 The reading of the common exemplar should thus be reconstructed as 及. This does not, however, permit an analogous reconstruction of the *original*; the readings of the other independent witnesses cannot be overruled that easily.

112 This is further supported by No. 94, in which Li Mingnan/Nakamura and *Qunshu zhiyao* share a reading against all other witnesses, and by a later passage in which all three read 不穀過 as opposed to 不穀之過也 in all other witnesses. In the case of No. 98, where Li Mingnan/Nakamura and P.3729 have variants (cf. n. 110), it is well possible that the *Qunshu zhiyao* arrived at the reading 於是乎 by way of emendation.

the archetype (甲). The same holds true for the Kanazawa manuscript and the Tang steles: they, too, derive from the archetype, the intermediate witnesses being unknown. Whereas these witnesses are relevant for textual criticism, the print edition, derivative of the steles, are useful only where the stele text has not survived; in all other cases, their readings can be ignored.¹¹³ These relationships may be visualized as in the following stemma:



The relationship between the witnesses thus established, we may now discuss the consequences for a critical edition. As can be seen from the stemma, we have a tripartite tradition which is ideal for the task of textual criticism. The Kanazawa manuscript, the hyparchetype (乙) and the stone steles, being mutually independent, represent the earliest witnesses to their line of tradition: their readings thus have the same value. Wherever at least two of them coincide, the reading of the archetype can be reconstructed with confidence. All three coincide in Nos. 66, 79, 81, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 93, 96; two of them in Nos. 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 76, 86, 89, 91, 94, and 100. To these may be added the cases in which either the hyparchetype 乙 may not be reconstructed unambiguously or the stele text has been altered (Nos. 71, 72, 73, 74, 78, 82, 83, and 98): in every one of these cases, the others agree so as to make the reconstruction of the archetype unambiguous.

Only a few problematic cases remain which must be solved by way of conjecture. The first is No. 75, in which Kanazawa and Li Mingnan/Nakamura read 詩云, whereas P.3729 reads 詩曰, so that 乙 cannot be reconstructed with certainty. The stele text, in turn, has been altered from 詩曰 to 詩云. In this

113 Cf. Maas 1958, 2: "It will now be obvious that a witness is worthless (worthless, that is, *qua* witness) when it depends exclusively on a surviving exemplar or on an exemplar which can be reconstructed without its help."

case, the same variant has either arisen twice (in P.3729 and the first carving of the stone steles, which was subsequently changed), or the text of the stone steles is contaminated, the corrector having used a different exemplar than the original.¹¹⁴ Since the first possibility seems more likely, 詩曰 being a common phrase, the text may be edited to read 詩云.

The second is No. 77, in which the Kanazawa scroll and P.3729 have an *anadiplosis*, 楚丘楚丘, whereas Li Mingnan/Nakamura and the Tang steles do not repeat 楚丘. Again, the decision hinges on how to reconstruct the hyparchetype 乙: is a dittography in P.3729 to be suspected or rather a haplography in Li Mingnan/Nakamura? In this case, an orthographic practice often to be found in Dunhuang manuscripts may provide a clue for the editorial decision. Dunhuang scribes used to indicate the repetition of characters by rather innocuous ditto marks; thus an *anadiplosis* would have been written like this: 楚=丘=. For a scribe, these marks are easy to overlook, resulting in haplography. On the other hand, the reduplication of 楚丘 would not just be a matter of accidentally writing the same characters again, but of quite consciously adding the ditto marks. This would seem to make dittography less likely.

The third is No. 80, in which the Kanazawa manuscript and P.3729 have 以下 as opposed to Li Mingnan/Nakamura and the stele text which read 已下. Again, conjecture is called for to reach a decision. In this case, an editor might consider the more difficult reading to be preferable (*lectio difficilior potior*), namely 已下; it occurs nowhere else in the *Zuozhuan*, whereas 以下 is not uncommon.¹¹⁵ A scribe is therefore more likely to have altered the unfamiliar 已下 into 以下 unwittingly or by means of emendation, as in fact seems to have been the case in one print witness (毛本).¹¹⁶

We thus arrive at a reconstruction of the archetype that may claim a high degree of certainty. Conjecture was necessary only in three cases, and in every one of them the editorial decision may be supported by good arguments.¹¹⁷ To be

114 We may perhaps exclude the possibility that an error occurred while correcting the text of the steles.

115 Maas 1958, 12, notes that “it is precisely anomalies, unique expressions, &c. which are, by their very nature, peculiarly liable to corruption.”

116 For this reason, it is not to be taken as a conjunctive reading, indicating that the print edition belongs to the same branch of transmission. Such readings “must not be allowed to save a witness from elimination if this is required on other grounds” (Maas 1958, 9).

117 A critical edition should document all these cases as well as the other variants by independent witnesses in the apparatus. The readings of dependent witnesses (included above for the sake of analysis) should be omitted, with conciseness and ease of reference the end in view.

sure, this stemmatic analysis is only valid for the specific passage under consideration. Other passages will yield different, perhaps more divergent results. But, by and large, the present case seems fairly representative. It indicates that a critical edition of the *Zuozhuan*, using the manuscript tradition, will certainly not lead to sweeping changes of the text. This is a reassuring result, since it does not undermine the results of previous scholarship. Variant readings are largely restricted to single characters; in the sample paragraph, only one case (No. 77) involves two characters. Whole sentences, paragraphs or even the contents of *Zuozhuan* narratives at large are never affected. It follows that studies dealing with longer literary units, as a rule, remain unaffected by the results of textual criticism. What is more, even subtle analyses involving sophisticated character counts and the semantic nuances of certain particles remain valid.¹¹⁸ While variants concerning such particles do occur, they mostly do not affect the edited text.¹¹⁹ In point of fact, the edited text is not all that different from other modern *Zuozhuan* editions. It differs from the Japanese editions that follow the Kanazawa scroll in five places: each of the latter's peculiar readings must be considered a divergence from the archetype.¹²⁰ It differs in four places from the newly edited *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, which still follows Ruan Yuan's edition in most cases. And it is very close to the edition of Yang Bojun, who, having considered P.3729 and the Kanazawa scroll for this passage, diverges from the above text only in one case (No. 100). Textual criticism of the above passage to a great extent confirms Yang Bojun's editorial genius.¹²¹

118 Cf. Boltz 1990 for an example of "isocolometrical analysis," and Karlgren 1926, as well as Pines 2002, 217–20, for the usage of 於 vs. 于, and 其 vs. 豈.

119 Cf. Nos. 66 and 87, above; other cases of 於 vs. 于 occur in the Dunhuang MSS. Further common variants include 而 vs. 如, 弗 vs. 不 and the omission or addition of 之, 者 or 也. On the whole, however, such variants are surprisingly few in number, and none of the readings involving these easily interchangeable particles need to be altered, as far as I have seen. This is in striking contrast to the text of the commentary where variants involving such particles are so numerous that some editors explicitly ignore them for the sake of brevity (cf. Hao Chunwen 2001, 130 and 211).

120 The same is true for the numerous peculiar readings in the Dunhuang witnesses. It goes to show that, quite contrary to the assumptions of many editors, the oldest witnesses are by no means the best, at least not in the sense that they come closest to an "original."

121 Note that the above decision for 已下 against 以下 coincides with Yang Bojun's edition (cf. n. 54). The way Yang arrived at this decision, however, differs. The decisive argument for a critical edition is the reading of Li Mingnan/Nakamura, which Yang Bojun did not consider.

Does this make a critical edition unnecessary? By no means. Arguably, the advantage of such an edition lies precisely in the fact that it may *dispense* with genius. Instead, it relies on explicit methods and easily verifiable arguments. It is critical in collating all independent witnesses without adhering to a setting copy; and it is itself open to criticism, since it documents the basis of its decisions in an apparatus.¹²² This makes it so important for scholarship. Only with a critical edition at their hands can *Zuozhuan* scholars be sure about the results of their studies. Perhaps the great enthusiasm vis-à-vis the *Zuozhuan* manuscripts shown by some scholars seems unwarranted. But so is the splendid ignorance displayed by others. Given the high level of sophistication *Zuozhuan* studies have reached, their very basis—scholarly editing—should be no less sophisticated. In a discipline that counts every character, every character counts.

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122 The present author is planning to prepare such a critical edition, beginning with the parts of the *Zuozhuan* that are testified to by MSS witnesses. The results will be made available for scholarly discussion through the internet.

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