

East Asian Institute  
Occasional Papers  
6

The Master Said:  
To Study and . . .

子曰學而

To Søren Egerod on the Occasion  
of His Sixty-Seventh Birthday

East Asian Institute,  
University of Copenhagen  
1990

# The Language of the Ancient Chinese State of Wu

Donald B. Wagner

It seems to be generally accepted that the populations inhabiting south China in the Shang and early Zhou periods and before were not closely related to those of north China, and that they spoke languages which were not related to Chinese. What sorts of languages might these have been? K. C. Chang (1987) argues that the original home of the Austronesian languages was here. His argument is based on archaeological affiliations between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan in prehistoric times; William Meacham (1988: 95–99) questions the archaeological evidence, but in any case the assertion that the prehistoric peoples of Taiwan were the direct linguistic ancestors of the Austronesian-speaking peoples of modern Taiwan is not really testable.<sup>1</sup> Pulleyblank (1983) notes that there is no hard evidence for Austronesian languages on the Chinese mainland in prehistoric times, but that the written sources contain a few glosses which suggest that Austroasiatic languages were spoken here. In this article I shall discuss another written source which may afford some help in this question.

Of the many non-Chinese peoples who inhabited south China in the Shang and Zhou periods we have significant written sources only for the ancient states of Wu 吳 and Yue 越, which covered the region of southern Jiangsu, northern Zhejiang, and eastern Anhui. Their capitals are believed to have been near Suzhou and Kuaiji, respectively. A distinctive archaeological culture in this area is sometimes referred to as the Wu Culture (Ji Zhongqing 1982; Li Boqian 1982; cf. Zhong Min 1982: 50); a definite connection between this culture and the state of Wu seems to have been established in 1986 with the excavation of what is believed to be the tomb of King Yumo 餘昧 of Wu (trad. r. 530–527 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

The earliest mention of either of these states is in the *Chunqiu* 春秋. Both are mentioned often in the *Guo yu* 國語 and the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳,<sup>3</sup> and there are also several early bronze inscriptions which contain relevant narratives (see e.g. Yu Xingwu 1979). The *Shi ji* 史記 devotes several chapters to Wu and Yue,<sup>4</sup> and from the Eastern Han period we have two books, the *Wu Yue chungqiu* 吳越春秋 and the *Yue jue shu* 越絕書, which appear to be severely edited collections of folklore from the region.<sup>5</sup>

**The genealogy of the early rulers of Wu**, translated from *Shi ji* (1962, 31: 1445-1448; cf. Chavannes 1901, 4: 1-5; *Han shu* 1962, 28b: 1667).

Taibo of Wu 吳太伯, and Taibo's younger brother Zhongyong 仲雍, were sons of the Great King of Zhou 周太王 [the grandfather of King Wen of Zhou 周文王] and the older brothers of Jili the King 王季歷.

Jili was wise, and had a sage son, Chang 昌. The great King wished to enthrone Jili, followed by Chang. At this the two men, Taibo and Zhongyong, fled to the Jing barbarians 荆蠻; they tattooed their bodies and cut their hair [in the fashion of the barbarians], showing that they were unsuitable [for the throne], in order to give place to Jili. Jili was in the event enthroned; he became Ji the King 王季 [of Zhou], and Chang became King Wen 文王.

After fleeing to the Jing barbarians Taibo called himself Gou-Wu 句吳. The barbarians found him to be just; over a thousand families came to him and enthroned him as Taibo of Wu 吳太伯.

When Taibo died he had no sons, and his younger brother Zhongyong was enthroned; this was Zhongyong of Wu 吳仲雍.

When Zhongyong died, his son Jijian 季簡 was enthroned.

When Jijian died, his son Shuda 叔達 was enthroned.

When Shuda died, his son Zhouzhang 周章 was enthroned.

At this time [trad. 1122 B.C.] King Wu of Zhou 周武王 defeated Yin 殷; he sought out the descendants of Taibo and Zhongyong, and found Zhouzhang. Since Zhouzhang already ruled Wu, he was enfeoffed with this state. Zhouzhang's younger brother Yuzhong 虞仲 was enfeoffed at the ancient ruin of Xia 夏虛, north of Zhou; thus it was that Zhong of Yu 虞仲 ranked among the lords.

When Zhouzhang died, his son Xionsui 熊遂 was enthroned.

When Xionsui died, his son Kexiang 柯相 was enthroned.

When Kexiang died, his son Qiangjiuyi 彊鳩夷 was enthroned.

When Qiangjiuyi died, his son Yuqiaoyiwu 餘搖疑吾 was enthroned.

When Yuqiaoyiwu died, his son Kelu 柯盧 was enthroned.

When Kelu died, his son Zhouyao 周繇 was enthroned.

When Zhouyao died, his son Quyu 屈羽 was enthroned.

When Quyu died, his son Yiwu 夷吳 was enthroned.

When Yiwu died, his son Qinchu 禽處 was enthroned.

When Qinchu died, his son Zhuan 轉 was enthroned.

When Zhuan died, his son Pogao 頗高 was enthroned.

When Pogao died, his son Goubei 句卑 was enthroned.

At this time [655 B.C.] Duke Xian of Jin 晉獻公 destroyed the Duke of Yu 虞公 north of Zhou by pretending that Jin was attacking Guo 虢.

When Goubei died, his son Quqi 去齊 was enthroned.

When Quqi died, his son Shoumeng 壽夢 was enthroned.

At the time that Shoumeng was enthroned, Wu began to increase in power, and to use the title "king".

From the time that Taibo created Wu 吳 there were five generations until King Wu 武王 defeated Yin. He enfeoffed his [Taibo's] descendants as two hereditary houses: one was at Yu 虞 of the Central States 中國, and one was at Wu 吳 of the Yi barbarians 夷蠻. After twelve generations Jin destroyed Yu of the Central States. Two generations after the destruction of Yu of the Central States, Wu of the Yi barbarians rose to prominence. From Taibo to Shoumeng were altogether nineteen generations.

## The text

The text with which we are concerned here is the genealogy given in the *Shi ji* for the early rulers of Wu, which is translated in the box on the facing page. This passage is one of about thirty genealogies given in the *Shi ji* for the “hereditary houses” of various states of ancient China. Each genealogy begins with an ancestor with some relation to the hereditary house of Zhou and includes a later enfeoffment by Zhou, usually around the time of the Zhou conquest of Shang.

It seems to be a plausible hypothesis that the original source for all these genealogies was a document prepared at the Zhou court (perhaps in the sixth or fifth century B.C.?) with the purpose of legitimizing Zhou rule and giving each of the local *de facto* rulers a place in the family of the Empire. Names taken from local traditions (which may or may not have been organized as genealogies) were placed in a genealogical framework in such a way as to relate the current rulers to the Zhou house. A study of these genealogies, and a hypothetical reconstruction of the original document which was the *Shi ji*'s source, would undoubtedly contribute to an understanding of Zhou politics and court attempts at an ideological unification of an enormous and essentially ungovernable empire. Here we must concentrate on the genealogy of Wu.<sup>6</sup>

The first ruler of Wu, Taibo, is mentioned by Confucius as a paragon who three times renounced the throne (*Lun yu* 論語, book 8, SBCK 4: 11a; tr. Waley 1938: 132). He does not mention a connection with Wu, and the *three* renunciations cannot be explained on the basis of other pre-Han sources, though the commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (A.D. 127–200) makes a valiant effort. It seems unlikely that Confucius drew here on the same tradition as the *Shi ji*; it may be that Taibo originally was a hero in northern tradition, and only later, in the hypothetical Zhou document suggested here, was used *ad hoc* as a bridge between the genealogies of Zhou and Wu.

The intrusive treatment in the genealogy of the minor northern state of Yu 虞 is apparently an explanation of the characters *Wu* and *Yu*. The most obvious explanation for the oddly redundant phrases “Yu of the Central States” 中國之虞 and “Wu of the Yi barbarians” 夷蠻之吳 is that *Yu* and *Wu* were written with the same character in the original source – though not necessarily with either of these two characters. That there might have been some sort of connection between the northern state of Yu and the southern state of Wu is not inconceivable, but there seems to be good reason to believe that the statement of *this* relationship is probably a fiction created to explain

an orthographical coincidence. There is no reason to take it seriously.<sup>7</sup>

### The name Gou-Wu

It is likely that the name which Taibo is said to have adopted, Gou-Wu 句吳, is a transcription of a non-Chinese name, and that the use in the ancient historical texts of the single character Wu 吳 as the name of the state represents an assimilation of the name to normal Chinese usage, in which nearly all states had single-character names. A variety of other transcriptions of the same name can be found in ancient texts and bronze inscriptions. The following list, which undoubtedly is incomplete, gives the reconstructed Archaic reconstructions of those which I have noticed.

*ku ngo* 句吳 (GSR 108a, 59a).<sup>8</sup>

*ku ngio* 句馘 (GSR 108a, 58q)<sup>9</sup>

*kung ngo* 工吳、工吾 (GSR 1172e, 59a, 58f).<sup>10</sup>

*kung ngio* 工虜、工馘 (GSR 1172a, 79d, 79m).<sup>11</sup>

*kung ngo* (or *kông ngo*) 攻吳、攻吾 (GSR 1172e, 59a, 58f).<sup>12</sup>

*kung ngio* (or *kông ngio*) 攻五、攻馘 (GSR 1172e, 58q)<sup>13</sup>

*kǔng ngio* 江虜 (GSR 1172v, 79d)<sup>14</sup>

These versions of the name are all phonetically very similar, and obviously go back to a name pronounced something like *\*kuŋo*.

It is interesting that the state of Yue is referred to in many ancient texts<sup>15</sup> as *Gan-Yue* 干越, which is Archaic *kân-gjwăt* (GSR 139a, 303e). Meng Wentong (1983: 17–19) cites several early sources which indicate that the language of Yue was similar to that of Wu, and it may be that this expression is a transcription of some word cognate to *\*kuŋo* in another Wu–Yue dialect.

Two other names which could be variants of Gou-Wu and Gan-Yue may also be mentioned in passing. The *Hou Han shu* (1965, 24: 839–840; cf. Qiu Zhonglun 1982) mentions an ethnic group in south China called Luo-Yue 駱越, which is Archaic *glâk gjwăt* (GSR 766s, 303e). The *Guo yu* (SBCK 16: 4a; cf. 1978: 511) mentions an ethnic group called Kui-Yue 夔越, which is Archaic *g'jwer* (or *g'jwed*) *gjwăt*, (GSR 1237s, 303e; Karlgren 1954: 298, 302).

**Table 1** Reconstructed Archaic Chinese pronunciations of the names of the first twenty rulers of Wu. Nos. 1, 2, and 6 may not be in the Wu language.

* 1. t'ád pǎk	太伯	GSR 317d, 782i
* 2. d'íōng 'jung	仲雍	GSR 1007f, 1184h
3. k̄iwəd k̄an	季簡	GSR 538a, 191d
4. śiōk d'ât or śiōk t'ât	叔達	GSR 1031b, 271b
5. ĩōg ĩiang	周章	GSR 1083a, 723a
* 6. ngiwo d'íōng	虞仲	GSR 59h, 1007f
7. gīum dziwəd	熊遂	GSR 674a, 526d
8. kâ sjang	柯相	GSR 1d, 731a
9. g'iang kiōg d̄iər or k̄iang kiōg d̄iər	彊鳩夷	GSR 710e, 992n, 551a
10. d̄io   g'íog   ngiəg   ngo     kiōg   ngiək   ngio	餘播疑吾	GSR 821, 1138g, 956a, 58f
11. kâ lo	柯盧	GSR 1d, 69d
12. ĩōg d̄ioḡ or ĩōg d'íōg	周繇	GSR 1083a, 1144n
13. k'iwət giwo	屈羽	GSR 496k, 98a
14. d̄iər ngo or d̄iər ngio	夷吳	GSR 551a, 58f
15. g'iam t'io	禽處	GSR 651j, 85a
16. tiwan	轉	GSR 231e
17. p'wâ kog	頗高	GSR 25p, 1129a
18. ku piēg or k̄iu piēg	句卑	GSR 108a, 874a
19. k'jab dz'iar or k'jab ts̄iər	去齊	GSR 642a, 593a
20. d̄iōg mīang or d̄iōg mung	寿夢	GSR 1090g, 902a

### The names of the rulers

The persons named in the genealogy are likely to have been heroes in the folklore of the people of Wu. From the bare genealogy given here there is no hope of reconstructing this mythology; we cannot even assume that the persons named were originally ascribed any genealogical relationship. It seems reasonable to expect, however, that the names as given here were transcribed on one occasion, and represent a transcription from one Wu idiolect to one Archaic Chinese idiolect. If this is indeed the case, these names should constitute a homogeneous sample of the language of Wu. We see them through a transcription, darkly; but they seem to give us a chance to say something about the phonology of the Wu language.

The Archaic Chinese pronunciations of the names, reconstructed after Karlgren (1954; 1957), are listed in Table 1. Table 2 lists all of the initials and finals of Karlgren's reconstruction and shows how the initials of the Wu names are distributed over these.

In considering these tables a problem to be borne in mind is that the method used by Bernhard Karlgren in the reconstruction of Archaic Chinese, and the comparative material which was available when he was working, do not permit a complete reconstruction of Archaic Chinese phonology. In particular it is to be expected that many initial consonant clusters show up in the reconstruction as single consonants, and that there may have been more final consonants than are indicated here.

With such a small sample of the Wu language, and considering the presumable difficulties of a Chinese scribe transcribing non-Chinese sounds, we should expect to have difficulty finding usable phonological regularities. It is something of a surprise, therefore, to find that a very clear pattern emerges.

The first two names in Table 1 are probably not true Wu names. Neither person is, in the story, originally from Wu. *Taibo* 太伯 means "great earl" (or "lord", "ruler", etc.), and the prefix *tai* 太 is common in the names of founders of hereditary houses. The *zhong* in *Zhongyong* 仲雍 means "second brother", and this fits with his story. No. 6 is also suspect: *Yuzhong* 虞仲 could mean "the second brother, [who went to] Yu", which again would fit the story. The passage about Yuzhong seems to be a rather strained attempt to give a relationship between Wu and Yu; most likely there was no such relationship, and Yuzhong was a figure in Yu's traditions rather than Wu's. When we finally notice in Table 2 that these three names fit rather poorly in the emerging pattern, it seems reasonable to remove them from the sample. We then have a list of 17 Wu names which are likely to derive from a single source.

In this sample we find the following initial consonants:

<i>k-</i>	<i>k'-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>g'-</i>
<i>t-</i>		<i>d-</i>	
<i>f-</i>	<i>ś-</i>	<i>ǰ-</i>	
	<i>p'-</i>		

There are no initial vowels. The final consonants found are:

	<i>-g</i>	<i>-ng</i>
<i>-t</i>	<i>-d</i>	<i>-n -r</i>

The only final vowel is *-o*, which occurs more often than any other final.

**Table 2** Statistics of initials and finals in the reconstructed Archaic Chinese names of the first twenty rulers of Wu.

**Initial in first character:**

	Voiceless			Voiced				
Gutturals	<i>k</i> -4	<i>k'</i> -2		<i>g</i> -1	<i>g'</i> -2	<i>ng</i> -1*		
Laryngals	·-0							
Dentals	<i>t</i> -1	<i>t'</i> -1*	<i>s</i> -0	<i>d</i> -2	<i>d'</i> -1*	<i>z</i> -0	<i>n</i> -0	<i>l</i> -0
	<i>ts</i> -0	<i>ts'</i> -0		<i>dz</i> -0	<i>dz'</i> -0			
Supradentals:	<i>tʃ</i> -0	<i>tʃ'</i> -0	<i>ʃ</i> -0	<i>dʒ</i> -0				
Palatals	<i>ʃ</i> -2	<i>ʃ'</i> -0	<i>ʃ</i> -0	<i>ɖ</i> -1	<i>ɖ'</i> -0	<i>ɳ</i> -0		
Labials	<i>p</i> -0	<i>p'</i> -1		<i>b</i> -0	<i>b'</i> -0	<i>m</i> -0		

**Final in last character:**

	Voiceless	Voiced	
Gutturals	<i>-k</i> 1*	<i>-g</i> 3	<i>-ng</i> 5*
Dentals	<i>-t</i> 1	<i>-d</i> 1	<i>-n</i> 2 <i>-r</i> 2
Labials	<i>-p</i> 0	<i>-m</i> 0	

Vowels: *-o* 5   *-ã* 0   *-u* 0   *-â* 0   *-a* 0

\* There is reason to doubt that nos. 1, 2, and 6 in Table 1 are true Wu names. Eliminating these would give *ng*-0, *t'*-0, *d'*-0, *-k* 0, *-ng* 3.

The initials and finals of the Wu names thus fall into a very simple and symmetric pattern. What happens *inside* the names appears to be rather more complex. This could be due to sandhi phenomena (in Archaic Chinese, or the Wu language, or both), or to the general difficulties of transcription.

The hypothetical name *\*kurjo*, discussed above, fits nicely into the pattern seen here. It would be easy to cull from various sources a much larger sample of Wu and Yue personal names and place names; but this procedure could not be expected to give a sample which is as homogeneous as the one discussed here.

It is fairly certain that the Wu language was not related to Archaic Chinese, and it seems possible to make a case for a relationship



between this phonological system and that of proto-Austronesian as reconstructed by O. C. Dahl (1981: 152). I shall refrain from trying to make this case here, however, for in matters of phonology I am on thin ice. I will be interested to hear from you, Søren, what you think of all this. I wonder too whether some of the names in Table 1 may be found in the traditions of some modern non-Han people of south China or Southeast Asia.

## Notes

This article is part of a project supported by the Danish Research Council for the Humanities, the Carlsberg Foundation, the Julie von Müllen Foundation, and Dr. Joseph Needham.

- 1 Note however Spriggs 1989: 608–609; Terrell 1989.
- 2 *Renmin ribao* 人民日报 (People's daily), 1986.5.25: 3, quoting *Wen hui bao* 文汇报.
- 3 A thorough review of the written sources is given by Liang Baiquan (1980).
- 4 *Shi ji* 1962, • 14: 509–683, "Chronological table of the twelve feudal houses"; cf. Chavannes 1898, 3: 32. • 31: 1445–1476, "The hereditary house of Taibo of Wu"; tr. Chavannes 1901, 4: 1–33. • 41: 1739–1756, "The hereditary house of Goujian 句踐, king of Yue"; tr. Chavannes 1901, 4: 418–448. • 66: 2171–2183, "The biography of Wu Zixu 伍子胥"; tr. Watson 1969: 16–29; Jäger 1960; Rudolph 1962; Allen 1981. • 86: 2516–2519, "The biography of Zhuan Zhu 專諸"; tr. Watson 1969: 46–48. Readers interested in knowing more of the traditional history of Wu are advised to go directly to the *Shi ji*, most of the relevant parts of which are available in translation. The studies of Pfizmaier (1857) and Tschepe (1896) are now so dated that they cannot be recommended.
- 5 On these see especially Eichhorn 1969; Schüssler 1966; 1969.
- 6 Ch'i Ssu-ho (1940) also argues that the Wu genealogy in the *Shi ji* is fiction, but he suggests that it was written at the court of Wu rather than that of Zhou. This would make no difference for the use to which the text is put here.
- 7 The *Han shu* (1962, 28b: 1667) states that the place where Zhouzhang's younger brother (here called Zhōng 中 rather than Zhòng 仲) was enfeoffed was first called Northern Wu 北吳, but later renamed Yu 虞. See also Ruan Yuan's 阮元 discussion of this question, quoted by Chou Fakao (1975, 12: 6079), and *Shang Zhou* 1979: 159.
- 8 *Shi ji* 1962, 31: 1445, 1475; *Huainan zi* 淮南子, SBCK 10: 66; note also 鈞吾, *Shan hai jing* 山海經, SBCK 3: 38b; Yuan Ke 1980: 82.
- 9 Bronze inscription: WW 1981.1:3; Wang Entian 1985: 60.
- 10 *Zuo zhuan* commentary, SSJZS 1873; bronze inscriptions: Cui Molin 1981: 102; 1976: 71.

- 11 Bronze inscriptions: Wang Guowei 1959: 898; Ma Daokuo 1963: 205, 206; Cui Molin 1981: 102; Liu Xing 1981: 28; Li Xueqin 1983: 21.
- 12 Bronze inscriptions: Wang Guowei 1959: 898; Liu Xing 1981: 28; Li Xueqin 1983: 22.
- 13 Bronze inscriptions: Wang Zunguo et al. 1965: 114; WW 1976.11: 65; Cui Molin 1981: 101, 102; Liu Xing 1981: 27–28; Liu Pingsheng 1982; Li Xueqin 1983: 22; Ma Daokuo 1986; Wang Buyi 1986.
- 14 Bronze inscription: *Guangxi* 1978: 7, pl. 55.
- 15 The expressions Gan-Yue 干越 and Yu-Yue 于越 (Arch. *kân-giwät, giwo giwät*, GSR 139a, 97a, 303e) occur in the pre-Han texts *Zhuang zi* 莊子, *Xun zi* 荀子, and *Mo zi* 墨子; in the Han texts *Huainan zi* 淮南子, *Shi ji* 史記, *Yan tie lun* 鹽鐵論, *Xin xu* 新序, and *Han shu* 漢書; and in the somewhat later *Wu du fu* 吳都賦. Since the two expressions are meaningless and graphically very similar they have given scribes and commentators great difficulties, and often the one is replaced by the other in different editions or in quotations. The two are clearly equivalent, regardless of which may be original.

The *Chunqiu* 春秋 refers to Yue three times as Yu-Yue 於越 (arch. *yo giwät*, GSR 61e, 303e). In modern Chinese the characters 於 and 于 have the same pronunciation and meaning, but they were quite distinct in Archaic Chinese, and a confusion between them in a text so old, and so revered by later scholars, is quite unlikely. It seems likely that Yu-Yue 於越 in the *Chunqiu* and Gan-Yue 干越 in the other texts quoted here were transcriptions of two cognate non-Chinese words (possibly the same word). Presumably the use of 於 in this context in the *Chunqiu* led some scholars to substitute *yu* 于 for *gan* 干 in the expression Gan-Yue. In the last two millennia there has hardly been an educated man in China who was not familiar with the *Chunqiu*, and a substitution of *gan* for *yu* in this context is much less likely to have occurred. (For a different interpretation see Ma Liqian 1987.)

• *Zhuang zi*, SBCK 6: 4b; Guo Qingfan 1961: 544; tr. Watson 1968: 169; Graham 1981: 266. • *Xun zi*, SBCK 1: 7b; Zhang Shitong 1974: 1; tr. Dubs 1928: 31; Watson 1963: 15. • *Mo zi* (SBCK 4: 7a) has simply Yue, but the same passage as quoted by the commentator Li Shan 李善 (A.D. ca. 630–689) in *Wen xuan* 文選 (1977, 12: 10a, *Jiang fu* 江賦) has Gan-Yue. • *Huainan zi*, SBCK 1: 7a; textual variants listed in Liu Wendian 1923, 1: 10b–11a; cf. Kraft 1957: 221. • *Shi ji* 1962, 129: 3268; cf. Swann 1950: 445; Watson 1961, 2: 489. • *Yan tie lun*, SBCK 5: 8a; Wang Liqi 1958: 154; cf. Gale 1967: 177. • *Han shu* 1962, 91: 3680; tr. Swann 1950: 417; textual variants listed in Wang Xianqian 1900, 91: 2a–b. • According to Meng Wentong (1983: 45) the expression Gan-Yue occurs in the *Xin xu* of Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 B.C.), in one of the five chapters entitled *Za shi* 雜事. • *Wu du fu*, by Zuo Si 左思 (3rd cent. A.D.), in *Wen xuan* 1977, 5: 3a; tr. von Zach 1958: 57. • *Chunqiu*, Dingong 定公 5th & 14th years, Aigong 哀公, 13th year; SBCK 27: 10a, 28: 12a, 29: 23a; Yang Bojun 1981: 1549, 1593, 1675; Couvreur 1914, 3: 519, 584, 685; Legge 1872: 759, 787, 831.

## References and abbreviations

- Allen, Joseph Roe III 1981 "An introductory study of narrative structure in the *Shi ji*", *Chinese literature: Articles, essays, reviews*, 3.1: 31-66.
- BMFEA = *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (Stockholm).
- Chang, Kwang-chih [Zhang Guangzhi] 1987 张光直  
中国东南海岸考古与南岛语族起源问题  
("Archaeology in southeastern coastal China and the origin of the Austronesians"), *Nanfang minzu kaogu* 南方民族考古 ("Southern ethnology and archaeology", Chengdu), 1: 1-14. English summary, p. 14.
- Chavannes, Édouard (tr.) 1895-1905, 1969 *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*. Tômes 1-5, Paris: Leroux, t. 1, 1895; t. 2, 1897; t. 3, 1898; t. 4, 1901; t. 5, 1905; repr. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1967. T. 6, ed. and completed by Paul Demiéville, Max Kaltenmark, & Timoteus Pokora, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1969.
- Ch'i Ssu-ho [Qi Sihe] 1940 齊思和  
燕吳非周封國說  
("The origins of the feudal states Yen and Wu"), *Yan-jing xuebao* 燕京學報 (Journal of Yen-ching University), 28: 175-196 + English summary pp. 306-307.
- Chou Fa-kao [Zhou Fagao] (ed.) 1974-77 周法高  
*Jinwen gulin* 金文詁林  
("An etymological dictionary of Chinese bronzes"). Vols. 1-15 + index vol. + appendix vol. 附錄. Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- Couvreur, Séraphin (tr.) 1914 *Tch'oun ts'iou et Tso tchouan: Texte chinois avec traduction française*. 3 vols., Ho Kien Fou: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique. Facs. repr. retitled *La chronique de la principauté de Lòu*, 3 vols., Paris: Cathasia, 1951.
- Cui Molin 1976 崔墨林  
河南辉县发现吴王夫差铜剑  
(A bronze sword of King Fuchai of Wu discovered in Huixian County, Henan), *WW* 1976.11: 71 + plate 4.
- Cui Molin 1981 崔墨林  
吴王夫差剑的研究  
(A study of the "sword of King Fuchai of Wu"), *ZYWW* 1981, special issue (*tekan* 特刊), 101-102.
- Dahl, Otto Christian 1981 *Early phonetic and phonemic changes in Austronesian*. Oslo, Bergen, & Tromsø: Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning & Universitetsforlaget.
- Dubs, Homer H. (tr.) 1928 *The works of Hsüntze*. London: Probsthain. Facs. repr. New York: AMS Press, 1977.
- Eichhorn, Werner 1969 *Heldensagen aus dem unteren Yangtse-Tal (Wu-Yüeh ch'un-ch'iu)* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes hrsg. von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Bd. 38, 2). Wiesbaden.

- Gale, Esson M. (tr.) 1967 *Discourses on salt and iron: A debate on state control of commerce and industry in ancient China*. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen. (This is a combined repr. of the Leiden 1931 tr. of ch. 1-19 and the tr. of chapters 20-28 in *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1934, 65: 73-110.)
- Graham, A. C. (tr.) 1981 *Chuang-tzu: The Seven Inner Chapters and other writings from the book Chuang-tzu*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- GSR = *Grammata Serica recensa* (Karlgren 1957).
- Guangxi 1978  
*Guangxi chutu wenwu* 广西出土文物  
 ("Cultural relics unearthed in Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region"),  
 comp. by Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Cultural Relics Committee 广西壮族自治区文物管理委员会. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.  
 Separate 4-page English abstract laid in.
- Guo Qingfan (ed.) 1961 郭慶藩  
*Zhuang zi jishi* 莊子集釋  
 (Collected commentaries on *Zhuang zi*), comp. by — (1844-1896); ed. by Wang Xiaoyu 王孝魚. Orig. publ. 1894; typeset ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1961; 4th repr. 1985.
- Guo yu 1978 國語  
 (Critical ed. of "Discourses of the states"). 2 vols. with continuous pagination, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe.
- Han shu 1962 漢書  
 (The history of the Former Han dynasty [206 B.C. - A.D. 23], by Ban Gu 班固, A.D. 32-92). Critical ed., 12 vols. with continuous pagination, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju. References give *juan* 卷 and page number.
- Hou Han shu 1965 後漢書  
 (The history of the Later Han dynasty, A.D. 25-220, by Fan Ye 范曄, 398-445). Critical ed., 12 vols. with continuous pagination, Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju; repr. 1973. References give *juan* 卷 and page no.
- Jäger, Fritz (tr.) 1960 "Die Biographie des Wu Tzu-hsü (das 66. Kapitel des Shih-chi), OE 7: 1-16.
- Ji Zhongqing 1982 纪仲庆  
 浅谈吴文化和先吴文化  
 (On the Wu culture and pre-Wu culture), NBJ 4: 1-7.
- Karlgren, Bernhard 1954 "Compendium of phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese", BMFEA 26: 211-367.
- Karlgren, Bernhard 1957 "Grammata Serica recensa", BMFEA 29: 1-332. Repr. as a separate vol., Göteborg 1964.
- Keightley, David N. (ed.) 1983 *The origins of Chinese civilization (Studies on China, 1)*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, & London: University of California Press.
- KG = *Kaogu* 考古 ("Archaeology").
- KGyWW = *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 ("Archaeology and cultural relics").
- Kraft, Eva 1957-58 "Zum Huai-nan-tzu: Einführung, Übersetzung (Kapitel I und II) und Interpretation", MS 1957, 16: 191-286; 1958, 17: 128-207.

- Legge, James 1872 *The Chinese classics: With a translation, critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes*. Vol. 5, pts. 1-2: *The Ch'un ts'ew, with the Tso chuen*. Hongkong: Lane, Crawford; London: Trübner.
- Li Boqian 1982 李伯谦  
吴文化及其渊源初探  
(A preliminary study of the Wu culture and its origin), *KGyWW* 1982.3: 89-96 + 3.
- Li Xueqin 1983 李学勤  
试论山东新出青铜器的意义  
(The significance of bronzes recently found in Shandong), *WW* 1983.12: 18-22 + plates 1-3.
- Liang Baiquan 1980 梁白泉  
太伯奔吴说  
(Taibo's flight to Wu), *NBJ* 2: 28-43.
- Liu Pingsheng 1982 刘平生  
安徽南陵县发现吴王光剑  
(A sword of King Guang of Wu discovered in Nanling County, Anhui), *WW* 1982.5: 59. Correction by Liu Yu 刘雨, 1982.8: 69.
- Liu Wendian (ed.) [ca. 1923] 刘文典  
*Huainan honglie jijie* 淮南鸿烈集解  
(Collected commentaries on *Huainan zi*). 6 threadbound vols., Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan.
- Liu Xing 1981 刘兴  
吴文化青铜器初探  
(Bronzes of the Wu culture), *Wenbo tongxun (Jiangsu)* 文博通讯 (江苏) (Jiangsu archaeology and museology bulletin), 1981.4: 25-30.
- Ma Chengyuan (a.o.) 1981 马承源  
商周青铜器铭文选  
(Selected bronze inscriptions of the Shang and Zhou periods: Western Zhou military campaigns against peripheral states, part 1), *Shanghai Bowuguan guankan* 上海博物馆馆刊, 1: 10-49. Preprint of a section from a forthcoming book.
- Ma Daokuo 1963 马道阔  
安徽淮南市菜家岗赵家孤堆战国墓  
(Two Warring States graves at Zhaojiagudui in Caijiagang, Huainan Municipality, Anhui), by the Cultural Relics Work Team, Anhui Provincial Cultural Office 安徽省文化局文物工作队; written by —. *KG* 1963.4: 204-212 + plates 3-6. Abstract, *Rudolph* 1978: 113.
- Ma Daokuo 1986 马道阔  
安徽庐江发现吴王光剑  
(A sword of King Guang of Wu discovered in Lujiang County, Anhui), *WW* 1986.2: 64.
- Ma Liqian 1987 马立千  
释吴越  
(An explication of the names Wu and Yue), *Shi Nianhai* 1987: 157-166.

- Meacham, William 1988 "On the improbability of Austronesian origins in south China", *Asian perspectives*, 26: 89-106.
- Meng Wentong 1983 蒙文通  
*Yue shi congkao* 越史丛考  
(Studies on the history of the ancient state of Yue). Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe.
- MS = *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental studies*.
- NBJ = *Nanjing Bowuyuan jikan* 南京博物院集刊 ("Nanjing Museum journal").
- OE = *Oriens extremus: Zeitschrift für Sprache, Kunst und Kultur der Länder des Fernen Ostens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).
- Pfizmaier, August 1857 "Die Geschichte des Reiches U", *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe* (Wien), 8: 123-153.
- Pulleyblank, E. G. 1983 "The Chinese and their neighbors in prehistoric and early historical times", Keightley 1983: 411-466.
- Qiu Zhonglun 1982 邱钟伦  
马援获骆越铜鼓地点考  
(The place where Ma Yuan obtained a Luo-Yue bronze drum), pp. 159-162 in *Gudai tonggu xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* 古代铜鼓学术讨论会论文集 (Papers from the Conference on Ancient Bronze Drums, Nanning, Guangxi, April 1980), Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.
- Rong Geng & Zhang Weichi 1984 容庚、张维持  
*Yin Zhou qingtongqi tonglun* 殷周青铜器通论  
(*Kaoguxue zhuan* C.2 考古学专刊, 丙种第二号)  
(A study of Yin and Zhou period bronzes), Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.
- Rudolph, R. C. (tr.) 1962 "The *Shi chi* biography of Wu Tzu-hsü", OE 9: 105-120.
- Rudolph, Richard C. (ed.) 1978 *Chinese archaeological abstracts (Monumenta archaeologica, vol. 6)*. Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California. Cf. Dien et al. 1985.
- SBCK = the *Sibu congkan* 四部丛刊 editions, Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1919-1937.
- Schüssler, Axel 1966 *Das Yüeh-chüeh shu als Hanzeitliche Quelle zur Geschichte der Chan-kuo-Zeit* (Dissertation, München). Leutershausen bei Weinheim: K.-H. Meisel.
- Schüssler, Axel 1969 "The Yüeh chüeh shu, an early text about south China", pp. 198-210 in *American Oriental Society, Middle West Branch, Semi-centennial volume (Asian Studies Research Institute Oriental series, no. 3)*, ed. by Denis Sinor. Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press.
- Shang Zhou 1979  
*Shang Zhou kaogu* 商周考古  
(Shang and Zhou archaeology), by the Shang-Zhou Group of the Archaeology Section, Department of History, Beijing University 北京大学历史系考古教研室商周组. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.

## Shi ji 1962 史記

(Records of the Grand Historian, by Sima Qian 司馬遷, ca. 145–90 B.C.).  
Critical ed., 10 vols. with continuous pagination, Beijing: Zhonghua  
Shuju. Facs. repr. Hong Kong 1969. References give *juan* 卷 and page no.

## Shi Nianhai (ed.) 1987 史念海

*Wen shi jilin 2* 文史集林第二輯

(Studies on literature and history), Xi'an: San Qin Chubanshe.

Spriggs, Matthew 1989 "The dating of the Island Southeast Asia Neolithic: an attempt at chronometric hygiene and linguistic correlation", *Antiquity*, 63.240: 587–613.

SSJZ = *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Collected commentaries on the Thirteen Classics), ed. of Ruan Yuan 阮元, 1816; repr. Shanghai: Shijie Shuju, 1935. References give page no. in the 1935 ed.

Swann, Nancy Lee (tr.) 1950 *Food and money in ancient China: The earliest economic history of China to A.D. 25*. Princeton University Press. Repr. New York: Octagon Books, 1974.

Terrell, John 1989 "Commentary: What Lapita is and what Lapita isn't", *Antiquity*, 63.240: 623–626.

Tschepe, Albert 1896 *Histoire du royaume de Ou (1122–473 av. J.-C.) (Variétés sino-logiques, no. 10)*. Chang-hai. Facs. repr. Nendeln: Kraus, 1975.

Waley, Arthur (tr.) 1938 *The analects of Confucius*. Repr. New York: Vintage Books, n.d.

## Wang Buyi 1986 王步毅

安徽霍山县出土吴蔡兵器和车马器

(Weapons and horse and carriage accessories of Wu and Cai unearthed in Huoshan County, Anhui), WW 1986.3: 44–46. Comment by Yin Difei 殷涤非, p. 47.

## Wang Entian 1985 王恩田

河南固始“勾吴夫人墓”——兼论番国地理位置及吴伐楚路线

(The "Tomb of the Lady of Gou-Wu" in Gushi County, Henan; with notes on the location of the state of Po and on the route by which Wu attacked Chu), ZYWW 1985.2: 59–62 + 64.

## Wang Guowei 1959 王國維

*Guan tang jilin* 觀堂集林

(Essays). Orig. publ. 1921; facs. repr., 4 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

## Wang Liqi (ed.) 1958 王利器

*Yan tie lun jiaozhu* 鹽鐵論校注

(Critical ed. of "Discourses on salt and iron"). Shanghai: Gudian Wenxue Chubanshe.

## Wang Xianqian (ed.) 1900 王先謙

*Han shu buzhu* 漢書補注

(Annotated edition of *Han shu*). Facs. repr., 2 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1983.

- Wang Zunguo, Zou Houben, & You Zhenyao 1965 汪遵国、邹厚本、尤振尧  
江苏六合程桥东周墓  
(An Eastern Zhou grave at Chengqiao in Luhe County, Jiangsu), by the  
Jiangsu Provincial Cultural Relics Committee 江苏省文物管理委员会  
and Nanjing Museum 南京博物院; written by —. KG 1965.3: 105–115 +  
plates 1–3. Abstract, Rudolph 1978: 151.
- Watson, Burton (tr.) 1961 *Records of the Grand Historian of China: Translated from  
the Shi chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien*. 2 vols., New York & London: Columbia  
University Press.
- Watson, Burton (tr.) 1963 *Hsün tzu: Basic writings*. New York & London: Co-  
lumbia University Press.
- Watson, Burton (tr.) 1968 *The complete works of Chuang tzu*. New York & Lon-  
don: Columbia University Press.
- Watson, Burton (tr.) 1969 *Records of the historian: Chapters from the Shih chi of  
Ssu-ma Ch'ien*. New York & London: Columbia University Press.
- Wen xuan 1977 文選  
("Selections of refined literature", comp. by Xiao Tong 蕭統 [A.D. 501–  
531], with commentary by Li Shan 李善 [A.D. ca. 630–689]). Facs. repr. of  
the 1809 ed. of Hu Kejia 胡克家, 3 vols., Beijing: Xinhua Shudian.
- WW = *Wenwu* 文物 ("Cultural relics").
- WW 1976.11: 65–71 + plate 4  
襄陽蔡坡12号墓出土吳王夫差劍等文物  
(A sword of King Fuchai of Wu and other artifacts from grave no. 12 at  
Caipo in Xiangyang County, Hubei).
- WW 1981.1: 1–8 + plates 2–4  
河南固始侯古堆一号墓发掘简报  
(Excavation of Tomb no. 1 at Hougudui in Gushi County, Henan).
- WZC = *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 文物资料丛刊 (Cultural relics materials series).  
Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.
- Yang Bojun (ed.) 1981 楊伯峻  
*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注  
(Critical ed. of the *Zuo zhuan*). 4 vols. with continuous pagination + 3  
loose maps, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.
- Yu Xingwu 1979 于省吾  
壽縣蔡侯墓銅器銘文考釋  
(A study of the inscriptions on bronzes from the tomb of the Marquis of  
Cai in Shouxian County, Anhui), *Gu wenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 (Palaeo-  
graphic research), 1: 40–54.
- Yuan Ke (ed.) 1980 袁珂  
*Shan hai jing jiaozhu* 山海經校注  
(Critical edition of *Shan hai jing*, with index). Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe.
- von Zach, Erwin (tr.) 1958 *Die chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen  
hsüan* (*Harvard-Yenching Institute studies*, 18). 2 vols. with continuous pag-  
ination, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.



Zhang Shitong (ed.) 1974 章侍同

*Xun zi jianzhu* 荀子简注

(Concise commentary on *Xun zi*). Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe.

Zhong Min 1982 钟民

江苏句容浮山果园土墩墓第二次发掘报告

(Second season of excavations of tumulus graves at Fushan Orchard in Jurong County, Jiangsu), by Nanjing Museum 南京博物院; written by —. WZC 6: 37-51.

ZYWW = *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 ("Cultural relics from Central Plains").