

I.

EXAMINATION AND VERIFICATION OF THE LATE ZHOU SILK MANUSCRIPT

Cai Jixiang

(1) Explanations

Cai Jixiang (1897–1980) was the first collector to possess the Zidanku Silk Manuscripts.¹ Born in Changsha, he was schooled privately at home until 1912, when, aged 15, he entered Jinting School 金庭學校, a modern school the recently founded Republican government had set up in Xiangtan 湘潭 (Hunan). Three years later, Cai Jixiang left the school without graduating and returned to Changsha to become a merchant's apprentice (we do not know in what exact trade). As of 1919, Cai was involved in left-leaning newspaper publishing; together with the publisher Wu Shoumin 吳受珉, he produced the *Hunan Review* (*Xiangjiang pinglun* 湘江評論), the first issue of which carried a latterly famous manifesto by Mao Zedong. Later, Cai and Wu published the newspaper *Star* (*Mingxing bao* 明星報). In 1927, when the Nationalist government conducted an anti-Communist purge in Changsha (Mari 馬日 Incident), Cai Jixiang fled to Shanghai, where for three years he ran a general store on Fifth Avenue (now Guangdong Road) in the International Concession. He returned to Changsha in 1930.



Fig. B.I.1 Portrait of Cai Jixiang

It seems to have been around this time that Cai first became seriously involved in buying and selling antiques. As the Nationalist government, in anticipation of a Japanese attack, was preparing the military defense of Changsha, ancient objects were coming out of the ground in large numbers. By the mid-1930s, Cai Jixiang was making a good living as a middleman in the antiques trade, and he had built a sizable collection of his own. It is in that context that he first met John Hadley Cox during the latter's stay at Yali (Yale) Middle School from 1935–37. Cox, as well, was very actively buying looted antiques in the Changsha area.

¹ The events and dates of Cai's life are recorded in several documents kept in Cai Jixiang's personnel file in the Hunan Provincial Museum archives. One is an administrative form "Geren jiantao" 個人檢討 ("Self-criticism") comprising seven pages in Cai's own hand and dated July 16, 1956.

One main clientele for looted antiques were foreign collectors and dealers. Shanghai had by far the largest foreign population of any city in Republican China, and Cai first went there in 1936 to sell antiques from Changsha. In 1937 he moved his family to Shanghai, where he had purchased a residence in the French Concession at Mingxiacun 明霞村 no. 5, rue Tenant de la Tour (Ladu lu 拉都路). That year the Sino-Japanese War broke out, and Shanghai was occupied by Japanese troops. For several years Cai and his family's lives went on more or less unchanged as antiques markets continued to flourish. But in 1943 Cai was involved in a dispute with a tenant and was arrested by the Japanese Military Police, the much-feared Kenpeitai 憲兵隊. One of the major Shanghai antique dealers with whom Cai was working, Jin Congyi 金從怡,² interceded on his behalf with the governor of the French Concession, Roland Jacquin de Margerie,³ and a Japanese individual named Tomioka Shigenori 富岡重德,⁴ to obtain Cai's release. Cai through Jin Congyi gave Tomioka more than a thousand antique coins as a gift for Tomioka's efforts on Cai's behalf. Worried about further incidents were he to remain in Shanghai, Cai soon returned home to Changsha. Shortly after his return, he acquired the Zidanku Silk Manuscripts and other artifacts unearthed together with them. The events that followed—the rescue of the Silk Manuscripts from the Fourth Battle of Changsha, the writing of *Examination and Verification of the Late Zhou Silk Manuscript*, and Cai's attempts to sell the Zidanku Silk Manuscripts to the United States through John Cox as his intermediary—are recounted in detail below.

Cai's family circumstances were quite complicated. His first wife, née Xu, had died in 1929; she was the mother of his eldest son Cai Xiuhuan 蔡修渙 (dates unknown), who was an adult by the time of the events recounted below. Xiuhuan, who lived in Macau later in life, was artistically gifted. Cai's second wife, Huang Fulian 黃弗蓮 (1905 or 1906–1944),⁵ was a famous singer of Hunan local opera; with her he had two sons, Cai Xiuchun 蔡修淳

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- 2 Jin Congyi (aka T. Y. King, 1904–?) was a Chinese Muslim (Huimin 回民). His antique shop was called Jincaiji; it was located at 202 Guangdonglu 廣東路 (then known as Fifth Avenue 五馬路). After the Pacific War broke out in 1941, Jincaiji became the largest antique store in Shanghai. In 1949 Jin escaped to Hong Kong, where he continued to manage his business at Des Voeux Road.
- 3 [Roland Jacquin de Margerie (1899–1990) was a French diplomat. Later in life he served as France's ambassador to West Germany and played an important role in the post–World War II normalization of Franco-German relations.]
- 4 [This person may have been identical to Tomioka Shigenori 富岡重德 (1896–1979), the founding president of Japan Metals & Chemicals Co. After his death, his former mansion in Tōkyō became the Tomioka Museum 富岡美術館, which closed in the early 2000s. In 2004 its collections were transferred to the Aizu Museum 合津博物館 at Waseda University 早稻田大學.]
- 5 [Huang Fulian's age at death is given as 39 in Yan Zhihou's afterword (see below); it is unclear whether it is according to Chinese or Western reckoning (the same ambiguity applies to Cai Lingyi's birth year). From the fact that at least two of her children with Cai were born before Cai's first wife's death in 1929, one may deduce that Huang Fulian was originally Cai's concubine (if Yan Zihou can be believed, she “entered the household” at 19, i.e., in 1924 at the latest). Polygamy was legal and widely practiced in Republican China. Whether Huang Fulian's status was raised to that of primary wife after Cai's first wife's passing is unclear; that Cai as well as Yan Zihou refer to Huang Fulian as Cai's wife may be a way of honoring her posthumously after her heroic death.]

(1928–2013) and Cai Xiupai 蔡修沛 (1931–?), and three daughters, Cai Lingyi 蔡鈴儀 (1925 or 1926–1944), Cai Meiyi 蔡美儀 (dates unknown), and Cai Xiayi 蔡霞儀 (d. ca. 1943). After the war, Cai successively lived with three other women: Peng Xiaojun 彭筱菊 (from 1945–1947), Li Wenlan 李文蘭 (from 1947–1950), and Dai Shushen 戴淑慎 (from 1951 onward); with Dai he had one more daughter, Cai Huiyu 蔡慧玉.⁶ Throughout his adulthood, Cai was perennially in need of money to support his family; this should be kept in mind as the backdrop of his actions with regard to the Zidanku Silk Manuscripts.

After the war, Cai continued to deal in antiques. As documented below, he returned to Shanghai in 1946 and 1947, though he no longer possessed his own residence there. He also plied his trade in Shaoguan (Guangdong) 廣東韶關 in 1947 and in Guangzhou in 1948. In December 1950, he was arrested for antiques smuggling in December, having sold some lacquer plates from Changsha to agents of the formerly Shanghai– (then Hong Kong–, later New York–) based Dai Fubao in Guangzhou earlier that year.⁷ Perhaps on account of his early leftist political engagement, the higher authorities facilitated his release, with the Hunan Provincial Cultural Relics Protection Commission acting as guarantor. Be it as a voluntary show of gratitude and patriotism, or as an agreed-upon condition of his freedom, Cai thereupon turned over to the Hunan provincial government some 500 antiques from his holdings. By far the most important among them was the Chu silk painting from Chenjiadashan, which he had acquired upon its discovery in 1949. All these objects are now in the Hunan Provincial Museum.

Cai was appointed a member of the Hunan Provincial Cultural Relics Protection Commission in 1951. From 1953, he worked at the Preparatory Office for the Hunan Provincial Museum. The museum opened in 1956, and Cai stayed on its staff until his retirement in 1960. During the 1950s, he was subjected to repeated interrogations and forced to practice self-criticism for his dealings with foreign art dealers before 1949. He survived these tribulations as well as the Cultural Revolution, and he died in Changsha in January 1980.

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According to its preface, *Examination and Verification of the Late Zhou Silk Manuscript*—apparently Cai's only published book—was written in 1944, when Cai had fled to Anhua (Hunan) 湖南安化. In the fourth lunar month of that year (May–June 1944), when the Japanese army attacked Changsha, Cai took his wife Huang Fulian, his sons Cai Xiuhuan,⁸

6 [The dates of these members of Cai's household could not be verified. The names of Peng Xiaojun and Li Wenlan suggest that, like Huang Fulian, they may have been members of the female entertainment profession and, as such, occupied a status below that of full wives. After 1949 they may have been subject to reeducation, and Cai very possibly came under pressure to lead a more conventional life.]

7 On Dai Fubao, see above, Part A, footnote to Section I(2); and below, Part B, Sections VI and XI.

8 [Actually, Cai's text omits Cai Xiuhuan, mentioning only the younger children. Hence it is unclear whether Cai Xiuhuan joined his father, stepmother, and stepsiblings on their flight and witnessed the gruesome events that followed. Possibly he stayed behind in Changsha to guard the family home, or he fled separately with his own family (which he must have had

Cai Xiuchun, and Cai Xiupei, and his surviving daughters Cai Lingyi and Cai Meiyi to take shelter at Shilintang 石林塘 in the southern suburbs of Changsha. They were planning to flee to Xiangtan. But reports of emergencies soon arrived from Xiangtan, thwarting these plans. Instead, they fled to the island of Xingmazhou 興馬洲 in the middle of the Xiang river, where unfortunately they encountered Japanese bandits. On the sixth day of the fifth lunar month (June 26, 1944), Cai's wife and eldest daughter, unable to bear their shame, drowned themselves in the river and died. Cai and his surviving children fled onward to Anhua. During his flight, Cai carried with him the silk manuscripts from Zidanku and photographs of the objects unearthed together with them; he never let them out of his sight.⁹ In the middle of the sixth lunar month, Changsha surrendered. Desperate over the ruin of the country and the loss of his home, and in deep mourning over the death of his wife and daughter, Cai wrote this book as a memorial for them. He finished the draft at Anhua in the eighth lunar month (mid-September to mid-October 1944) and turned it over to the printing shop in the first lunar month of the following year (mid-February to mid-March 1945). The printing took place in Lantian township of Lianyuan county 漣源縣藍田鎮.¹⁰

The book's print run was very small. In June 1972, the Arts and Culture Publishing House (Yiwen Yinshuguan 藝文印書館) in Taipei issued a photomechanical reprint based on the copy in the possession of Mr. Fritz Löw-Beer, New York.¹¹ Another reprint was published by Sino-Western Publishing House (Zhongxi Shuju 中西書局) in Shanghai in 2013. In preparing this fundamental text for inclusion into the present book, I have newly typeset it based on my own copy of the 1945 original, adding punctuation and some corrections.¹² It goes without saying that, from the standpoint of modern archaeology,

by then). He did eventually take an active part in the production of this book by drawing its illustrations; perhaps he joined Cai Jixiang in his place of refuge in Anhua, or they corresponded. Mail service is said to have been relatively dependable even in wartime China.]

9 Cai's second son Cai Xiuchun, in a conversation with me, recalled that during the flight the silk manuscripts were contained in an iron tube. [The various other objects Cai had acquired from the Zidanku tomb, of which Cai mentions he had taken along photographs, also survived; presumably, they had been left behind in Changsha. Since Cai explicitly mentions that Cai Xiuhuan drew them from the original for publication in the book, either they must have been delivered to him to his place of refuge in Anhua or Xiuhuan drew them in Changsha and brought the drawings to Anhua, where he drew Zidanku Silk Manuscript I.]

10 As recorded in Cai's personnel file at the Hunan Provincial Museum.

11 [Fritz Löw-Beer (1906–1976) was a Czech-born American collector of Chinese lacquers. The bulk of his collection is now in the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart (Germany), except for some important pieces that were acquired by the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin.]

12 The presentation of the text [as edited by LL and published in the Chinese version of this book] endeavors to adhere to the original with only minimal emendations. Corrected readings of words are given in parentheses; corrected graphs in curly brackets; and missing graphs in brackets. For the punctuation, Cai's own punctuation marks have been left in place except when there is an obvious error. [The translation follows the text as emended and does not make the emendations explicit; it also omits numerous footnotes concerning changes in punctuation. In addition, it subdivides the sections of the original into shorter paragraphs. An effort has been made to trace all quotations of classical sources in Cai's text; these citations

many of Cai's interpretations are outdated and questionable. I have presented my annotations on selected passages of Cai's text in Part A, Section I(2), above; the respective passages are repeated here in their original context but without my annotations.

(2) Front Matter and Author's Preface

Cover:

Name of the book: *Examination and Verification of the Late Zhou Silk Manuscript*

Calligrapher's signature: "Inscribed by Cao Dianqiu 曹典球"¹³

Calligrapher's seals: "Seal of Cao Dianqiu" (in white on cinnabar-red); "Meng'an 猛龔" (cinnabar-red on white).

Title page, obverse:

Name of the book: *Examination and Verification of the Late Zhou Silk Manuscript*

Calligrapher's signature: "Inscribed with all my heart; Huang Mian 黃綿 (Lady Hunding 渾丁女子), on a spring day in the *yiyou* 乙酉 year (1945)."¹⁴

Seal: Hunding 渾丁 (in white on cinnabar-red)

Title page, reverse:

"Turned over to the printing shop in the first lunar month of the *yiyou* year (1945)."

In the summer of 1944, the Japanese Barbarians invaded Changsha.¹⁵ Together with my family I fled southward and took up residence at the village of Shilintang,¹⁶ where the tombs of my ancestors are located. That location is on a narrow road leading from Changsha to Xiangtan. When we learned the news of emergencies at Xiangtan,¹⁷ our plans [to go there] were thwarted. Instead we relocated to the river island of Xingmazhou.¹⁸ But before we had been able to find a place to stay, the Japanese bandits suddenly arrived, raping, plundering, and indiscriminately killing people with the utmost cruelty. My wife

are not indicated in any of the Chinese versions. As indicated in the notes, many citations are quite inexact—understandably so, considering the conditions under which the book was written. For the translator, the decision whether to follow Cai's often faulty renderings or render the actual texts has sometimes been a difficult one.]

¹³ [Cao Dianqiu 曹典球 (1877–1960) was a prominent politician and educator from Changsha and an early supporter of Mao Zedong. An experimental school he had founded had temporarily relocated from Changsha to Anhua during the war, where Cai presumably approached him to write the calligraphic title for his book. After 1949 he occupied high positions in the Hunan provincial government.]

¹⁴ Huang Mian may have been Huang Fulian's sister. No biographical details seem to be known.

¹⁵ This refers to the Japanese attacks on Changsha in the fourth lunar month (late May–early June) of 1944, known as the Fourth Battle of Changsha.

¹⁶ Shilintang is to the south of Changsha.

¹⁷ Xiangtan is ca. 56 km south of Changsha.

¹⁸ Xingmazhou is a river island in the middle of the Xiang river, about 40 km south of Changsha. It is to the south of Orange Isle (Juzizhou 橘子洲), a famous tourist destination.

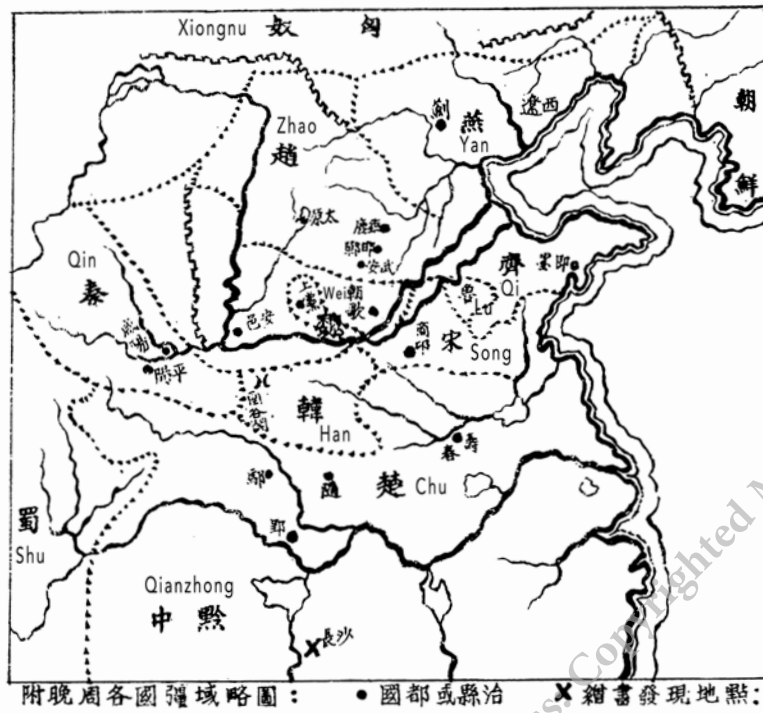


Fig. B.I.2 Approximate boundaries of the polities of the Late Zhou period

繒書墓葬：一、(平面) 二、(側面) 三、(墓室建築模型) 附：晚周各國疆域略圖。

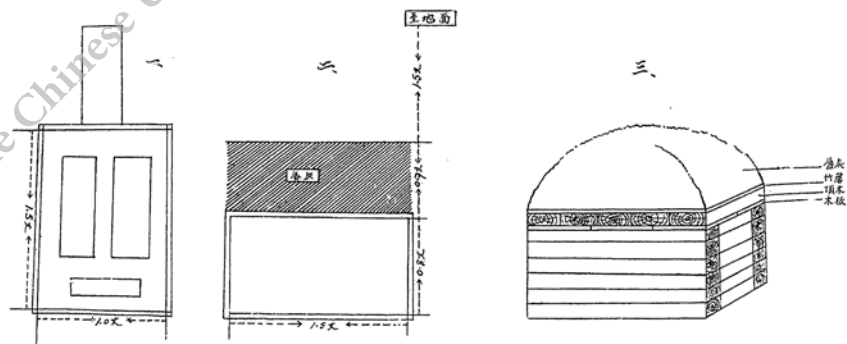


Fig. B.I.3 The tomb from which the silk manuscripts were unearthed

PART E
ZIDANKU SILK MANUSCRIPTS, PLATES

The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press: Copyrighted Materials

EXPLANATIONS

Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1 and the Zidanku Silk-Manuscript Fragments are kept at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, which, together with the Freer Gallery of Art, belongs to the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1 is owned by the Arthur M. Sackler Foundation and is on loan to the Sackler Gallery, loan no. MLS2028. It is stored separately from the Zidanku Silk-Manuscript Fragments in one Solander box. The Zidanku Silk-Manuscript Fragments and related materials donated by John Cox to the Sackler Gallery in 1992 are in five Solander boxes, Sackler Gallery accession no. S1992.84.1–5. One other fragment from the Zidanku Silk Manuscripts survives. The fragment belonged to Shang Chengzuo and in 1997 was donated to the Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha, by his son, Shang Zhitan, along with an old photograph of thirteen now lost fragments that had been in Shang Chengzuo's possession.

The condition of the Zidanku Silk-Manuscript Fragments and related materials when acquired by the Sackler Gallery in 1992 is documented in the photograph taken at the time (see Part I, fig. 1). The Silk-Manuscript Fragments were embedded in several fused masses of carbonized silk fabric. Some loose bits of fabric were in the lid of the plaited-bamboo basket, in which all the Zidanku Silk Manuscripts had been placed when buried in the Zidanku Chu tomb. More bits of fabric were inside the cardboard box containing the fused masses and basket. Conservation began in 1993 under Mary Ballard, conservator at the Smithsonian Institution, who kept me informed of progress between the years 1993–1996. In 1997, work stopped for several years until 2000, when conservation continued under Christine Giuntini, conservator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and was completed in 2007.

As pieces of fabric were removed from the fused masses, they were assigned numerical codes and a record was made of the position of each fragment relative to adjacent fragments. In the final stage of conservation, the fragments were placed between plexiglass sheets so that both sides are visible, surrounded by cutouts of conservation-quality paper. The pieces of sandwiched plexiglass holding fragments vary in size depending on the size of the fragment or fragments encased in each piece, sometimes one fragment and sometimes a grouping of adjacent fragments. Each plexiglass piece is labeled with the numerical codes of the fragments and occasionally a descriptive statement (there is only one unlabeled piece, containing fragments without numerical code or descriptive statement). Some fragments are a single layer of silk fabric; some still have several layers of fused fabric. When the layers are not completely separated, text on the outer surface of the outermost layers can be seen, but text on the inner layers cannot, and the relationship of the text on the front or “recto” to the text on the back or “verso” is uncertain.¹

The plexiglass pieces are stored in three of the five Solander boxes. Box 1 and Box 2 contain small-size plexiglass pieces, thirty in Box 1 and fifty-one in Box 2. The nine plexiglass pieces in Box 3 are larger, including two fragments that belong to the manuscript

1 The Chinese graphs on some fragments as conserved on the plexiglass pieces appear upside-down relative to the placement of the labels with numerical codes.

I reconstruct as Zidanku Silk Manuscript 3. Box 4 is divided into open compartments containing two large, fused masses from which no further fragments could be removed, the plaited-bamboo basket, and eight leather fragments removed from the basket. Box 5 has scraps and crumbled bits of silk fabric and bamboo from the basket, placed in thirty-five plexiglass-covered compartments.

The sequence of plates follows the presentation of the Zidanku Silk Manuscripts in transcription and translation in Part F:

1. Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1, on one piece of silk and mounted. The content of Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1 treats the four seasons and related *shiling* 時令 “seasonal ordinances,” providing information about favorable and unfavorable activities during the twelve months of the year. A title is not written on the manuscript. I assign the title *Sishi ling* 四時令 (Ordinances of the four seasons) based on the content. Inside the tomb, the basket containing the Zidanku Silk Manuscripts was saturated with water. Some layers of manuscript fabric show signs of ink that had seeped from layers above or below and left an imprint. On Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1, traces in red ink of graphs and designs from a different manuscript are imprinted in direct image on the surface of the fabric at the bottom of text B, extending across to text C, section 9. This occurred when red ink on the manuscript positioned beneath Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1 in the basket penetrated through the back of the fabric, leaving the direct-image imprint on the front (when the writing on one layer of manuscript fabric pressed against the layer facing it, transferring the ink onto the surface of the opposite layer, the imprinted graphs appear in reverse image). Noel Barnard referred to these red-ink traces as the Second Manuscript. Now that I have reconstructed Zidanku Silk Manuscript 2 and Zidanku Silk Manuscript 3 based on the Zidanku Silk-Manuscript Fragments, Barnard’s reference to a Second Manuscript should be treated as obsolete. While the red-ink imprints on Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1 cannot be associated with the conserved Zidanku Silk-Manuscript Fragments, they were the result of its position inside the basket relative to other manuscripts. The color plate of Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1 is provided courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Foundation. The black and white plate is courtesy of the National Museum of Asian Art.

2. Zidanku Silk Manuscript 2. The reconstruction is based on my forensic examination of all Zidanku Silk-Manuscript Fragments at the Sackler Gallery in October 2007, as conserved in the plexiglass pieces, and on the digitized images produced by the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research of the Freer and Sackler Galleries. Plates are arranged in the sequence of my reconstruction. The content of Zidanku Silk Manuscript 2 treats the *wuxing* 五行 “five agents” and related *shiling* 時令 “seasonal ordinances,” providing information about favorable and unfavorable activities during the twelve months of the year. There is no evidence of a title. I assign the title *Wuxing ling* 五行令 (Ordinances of the five agents) based on content. Plates are provided courtesy of the National Museum of Asian Art.

3. Zidanku Silk Manuscript 3. Like Zidanku Silk Manuscript 2, this is a reconstruction based on the Zidanku Silk-Manuscript Fragments. Plates are arranged in the sequence of my reconstruction. The content of Zidanku Silk Manuscript 3 treats the four directions, providing information about favorable and unfavorable circumstances for both attacking and defending city walls. There is no evidence of a title. I assign the title *Gongshou zhan* 攻守占 (Divination for attack and defense) based on content. Plates are provided courtesy of the National Museum of Asian Art.

4. Other Zidanku Silk-Manuscript Fragments. Zidanku Silk-Manuscript Fragments that are not assigned to Zidanku Silk Manuscript 2 and Zidanku Silk Manuscript 3 are arranged here. Some fragments may belong to Zidanku Silk Manuscript 2 or Zidanku Silk Manuscript 3, but I have not attempted to place them in the reconstruction of either manuscript. Some fragments undoubtedly belong to a manuscript or manuscripts that I have not been able to identify as manuscript units. Included are four fused masses of fabric from which no further fragments could be removed, two of them mounted in plexiglass in Box 3 and two in open compartments in Box 4. Plates are provided courtesy of the National Museum of Asian Art.

5. Fourteen fragments of the Zidanku Silk Manuscripts that belonged to Shang Chengzuo. The relatively large surviving fragment is now in the collection of the Hunan Provincial Museum. It is reproduced in a color photograph, an infrared photograph, and a hand-drawn facsimile. The photograph of the thirteen lost fragments is also at the Hunan Provincial Museum. Plates are provided courtesy of the Hunan Provincial Museum.

PLATES

(1) Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1: *Sishi ling* 四時令



Fig. 1
Color plate of Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1, photograph provided courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Foundation in 2012.

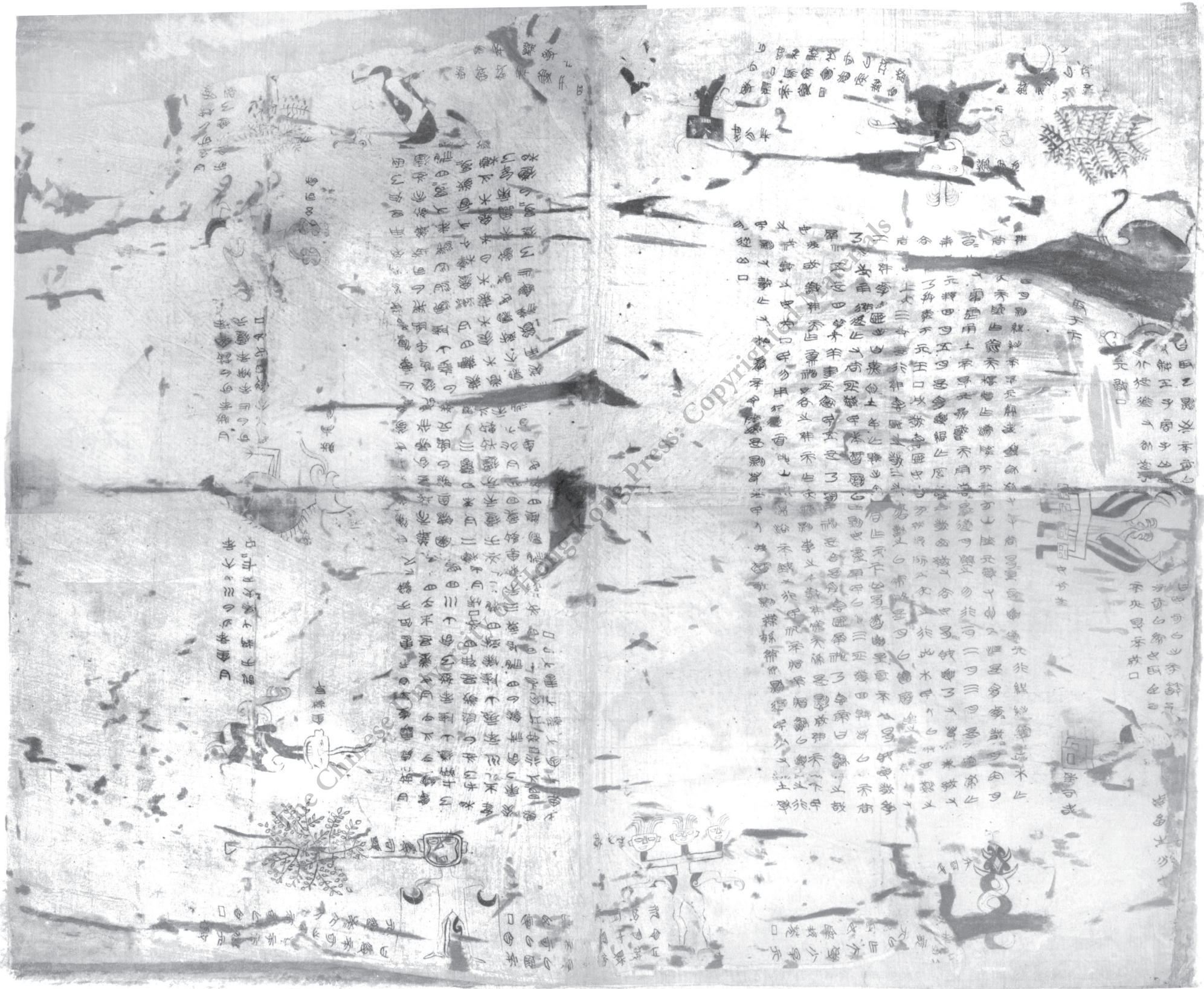


Fig. 2
Black and white plate of Zidanku Silk Manuscript 1, photograph provided courtesy of the National Museum of Asian Art in 2012 (enhanced by Wang Yueqian).

(2) Zidanku Silk Manuscript 2: *Wuxing ling* 五行令



W1.1 (191+67, 71+68, 72, no#, 70, 66a, 34, 66+69+65, 60+58+57+190)