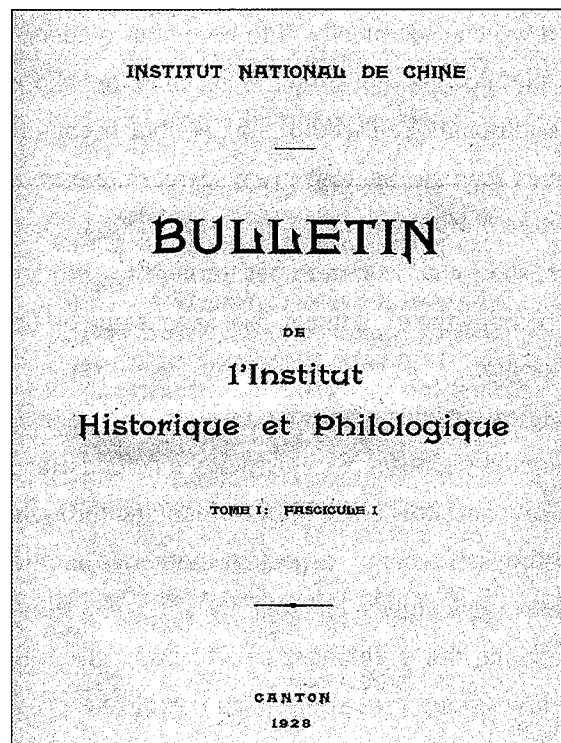


Readers Dis/Oriented in Historical Writings:  
Footnotes in the *BIHP*

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Once upon a winter's night, my colleagues and I sat in a banquet with visiting scholars from abroad. As the international issue of work-stress entered the conversation, insomnia and its cures quickly became the focus of discussion. Other than much-disputed sleeping pills, various remedies were proposed, ranging from acupuncture, herbal teas, and foot massage to prayers. In the midst of all the good advice, one of our colleagues proclaimed that whenever he suffered from sleeplessness he would read from the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, our most-revered *Shiyusuo jikan*.<sup>①</sup> Albeit a familiar voice, for a moment his words seemed to have come from above, "all it takes is several lines," he said, with a grin on his face.

Though intended as a joke, this is in fact a common comment, made among us and to foreign historians. To write academically is to bore your readers. No, of course not! It is only others' articles that do that, not mine! Who, then, are these "others"? Well, the old, the rigid, and the traditional! You would think so, but friends from other disciplines will soon clear the clouds for you. Sharing my research interests, a sociologist asks for my articles. Initially excited after we exchanged stories of what we had learned from archives and interviews, she found it hard to get through my works in the *Bulletin*. "It's the footnotes, I guess, perhaps the quotations. The layout maybe or the style?" She said perplexedly and perplexingly.

Seriously! Sociological articles also contain notes and quotes, not to mention the oft-contested English-tainted Chinese. Yet this neither defends the historian's craft, nor resolves her dilemma. How does this come about? Glancing through the *Bulletin* since its first issue in 1928, I feel myself a happy expectant mother at one time and a failing midwife at another. Footnotes grew slowly but steadily until they came to protrude into the articles. The joy in watching the triumphant delivery of a discipline is overwhelming. Yet, the fetus made a mysterious turn sometimes during the pregnancy, and the baby became a threat to the mother. So did its twin brother, quotation. However legitimate, its size is bound to weigh down the carrier, not by malnutrition but by distraction. Later come all the adopted sons: abstracts and keywords, both Chinese and English, and appendices and bibliographies. The mother is now so over-loaded that she has to apply for welfare to survive. Alas, it is precisely her current condition that qualifies her for academic funding and awards.

① The Pinyin system is used for transliteration in this essay except for those names and terms that originally appeared otherwise in the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* (hereafter cited as the *Bulletin*).

The first article with footnotes appears on the *Bulletin* 1:2(1930). It is an English work on phonetics by an exiled Russian anthropologist.<sup>2</sup> There are sixty-five notes in total, marked by star signs put in the bottom of each page with no serial numbers to connect them. In *Bulletin* 1:3 (1930) two Chinese articles carry footnotes. One is Chao Yuen-ren's translation of Bernhard Kalgren's English work on archaic Chinese.<sup>3</sup> The other is a postscript to this translation by a young linguist.<sup>4</sup> In addition to Kalgren's eighteen footnotes to the text, Chao, a U.S. trained linguist,<sup>5</sup> added thirteen of his own. Chao's notes sometimes confirm Kalgren's sources by offering further examples. More often, however, they question the author's statements by critiquing the evidence. The postscript contains thirty footnotes. Though mostly short, they argue both with the author and the translator. So the story repeats, linguists write footnotes persistently, anthropologists sometimes follow, so do archaeologists, and the historians persevere with no additional words other than their texts.

Not all historians were provincial, and no historian in the Institute's founding period was. Chen Yinke, leader of the History section and the most profuse writer for the *Bulletin* before 1949 was a pioneer himself.<sup>6</sup> A man with abundant cultural background, he went to Japan in his teens, and underwent years of academic training in Berlin.<sup>7</sup> Leopold von Ranke was there only eighty-years ago. A recent book credits Ranke for the genesis of modern footnotes.<sup>8</sup> Years later, Fu Ssu-nien, the founding father of the Institute, some-

<sup>2</sup> S.M. Shirokogoroff, "Phonetic Notes on a Lolo Dialect and the Consonant L," *Bulletin* 1:2(1930), pp. 183-225.

<sup>3</sup> Bernhard Kalgren, "Problems in Archaic Chinese," Chao Yuen-ren 趙元任 trans., "Shanggu zhongguoyin dangzhongde jige wenti" 上古中國音當中的幾個問題, *Bulletin* 1:3(1930), pp. 345-402.

<sup>4</sup> Wang Jing-ru 王靜如, "Postscript to Bernhard Kalgren's 'Problems in Archaic Chinese' and some questions on *dongzheng*" 跋高本漢的上古中國音當中的幾個問題並論冬蒸兩部, *Bulletin* 1:3(1930), pp. 403-417. Wang was at that time just out of the university and about to be sent abroad by the Institute to pursue higher education. For Wang's affiliation with the Institute and his later academic career, see Feng Zheng 馮蒸, "Professor Wang Jing-ru's Method of Scholarship: As Seen from his Teachings on Phonology," 大匠示人以規矩—從王靜如先生教我音韻學看王先生的治學方法, in *Along New Pathways of Research: Essays in Honor of the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Institute of History and Philology* 新學術之路—中央研究院歷史語言研究所七十週年紀念文集 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1998), pp. 565-584.

<sup>5</sup> Chao Yuen-ren 趙元任, "My Linguistic Autobiography" 我的語言自傳, *Bulletin* 43:3 (1971), pp. 303-318.

<sup>6</sup> Chen's name is transliterated as Tschen Yin-koh in early issues of the *Bulletin*. Chen's application of traditional literature to reconstruct social history inspired many followers. See Tu Cheng-sheng 杜正勝 "Research on Chinese Social History: from the Perspectives of Theories, Methods, Materials, and Subjects" 中國社會史研究的探索—特從理論、方法與資料、課題論, in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Historiography* (Taichung: National Zhongxin University, 1991), pp. 25-76.

<sup>7</sup> Chen Jo-shui 陳寅恪, "Ch'en Yin-kh'o before 1949: the Origins and a General Outline of his Scholarship" 一九四九年前的陳寅恪—學術淵源與治學大要, in *Along New Pathways of Research*, pp. 103-118.

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

times called the Chinese Ranke, also studied in Berlin.<sup>9</sup> But Chen never used footnotes in his articles while Fu wrote a total of eight for all his works in the *Bulletin*.

Opening a page of the *Bulletin* in this period, I find myself reading from the top to the bottom with no detour. Everything is here, quotations, interpretations, and conclusions. Analysis sometimes pleads absence when the paragraphs cited from classical literature are arranged as self-explanatory. Chronology implies development. Cause-and-effect means influence. Shared among authors and readers is not only concept, but also habit. Hardly anyone bothers to give publication data. Good memory stands for erudition.<sup>10</sup> Should the historian want to elucidate further, he uses “an,” long annotations either to decipher hidden significance or simply to decide discrepancies between different versions of documents. Whatever the purpose, “an” consists of the text proper, not an amputated footnote separated from the text with a solid dark line.<sup>11</sup>

Exceptions do exist. An article in 5:4 (1935), which bears “notes” in its title, boasts one hundred and forty-four footnotes, most of which give references to the “notes” compiled.<sup>12</sup> Another anomaly appears on 6:4 (1936) when a historian wanted to explain facts related to his sizable tables but found no space in the text to do it. Endnotes, following each table, were applied this time.<sup>13</sup> Footnotes and endnotes competed for preference since then, and the editorial board showed no interest in regulating the format. Neither notes nor consistent style seems to have occupied scholars’ minds. Chüan Han-sheng, celebrated for his works on China’s economic past, is perhaps the only historian who applies footnotes on a regular basis, even

<sup>9</sup> Whether Fu Ssu-nien really appreciated or was indeed influenced by his training in Berlin is arguable. A thorough examination of Fu discovers that he only mentioned Ranke three times in his life and possessed no works by Ranke in his personal library. See Wang Fan-sen, *Fu Ssu-nien: A Life in Chinese History and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). This point is also raised in a recent account of the founding of the Institute. See Tu Cheng-sheng, “Determined to Create from Nothing: Fu Ssu-nien’s Historiographical Revolution and the Establishment of the Institute of History and Philology,” *Along New Pathways of Research*, pp. 1-42.

<sup>10</sup> Sometimes writers in the pre-footnote tradition introduced a slight change of the texts to show that they quoted from memory, not from books. See Anthony Grafton, *The Footnotes: A Curious History*, p. 29. A colleague tells me that today some historians who possess rare documents may also introduce deliberate mistakes into their quotations so that whoever copies from their quotations instead of original materials will be easily detected.

<sup>11</sup> “An” is either for 按 or for 案. For a recent study on the “an” tradition, see Ho Dah-an, 何大安 “Symbols of Judgment: on the Philological Relations between ‘an’ and ‘an’ and the Formation of the ‘an’ Genre” 論斷符號：論「案」「按」的語詞關係及案類文體的篇章構成, in Hsiung Ping-chen 熊秉真 ed., *Let the Evidence Talk: Volume on Chinese History* 讓證據說話：中國篇 (Taipei: Maitien Publishing co., 2001), pp. 321-337.

<sup>12</sup> Ch’ en Chung-mien 岑仲勉, “Notes on the History of the Mongols,” 蒙古史札記, *Bulletin* 5:4(1935), pp. 461-496.

<sup>13</sup> Yu Shun 余遜, “Comparative Tables of the North-eastern Provinces in Han, Wei, Chin and Pei-ch’ ao” 漢魏晉南北朝東北諸郡沿革考, *Bulletin* 6:4(1936), pp. 453-485.

more obvious after his three-year study in Harvard.<sup>14</sup> For nearly three decades, historians carried on their own ways. Some used footnotes, others endnotes, some with serial numbers, others marks. Many avoided notes, however short. Little difference can be detected before and after 1949 when the Institute came to Taiwan with the Nationalist government, almost as a representative of the Academy. Not until the 1970s was the format unified, but only in articles published as appendices.

The pinnacle was in the 70s, but it started in the late 60s. The Institute planned for years to publish a gigantic work on ancient China.<sup>15</sup> The time paralleled the heated debate in Mainland China where historians struggled with a Marxist framework to periodize antiquity. Feudal society or not, the Shang, the Zhou, and the Qin-Han dynasties were torn apart by authors with different convictions but basically the same ideology.<sup>16</sup> In contrast to the situation across the strait, the Institute exemplified, intentionally or not, scientific and objective historical research at its most credible. The plan of the grand publication was finally realized in 1985. But articles collected for that purpose began to appear in the *Bulletin* in 1966. They were put in the appendix from 1968 on and their number continued to increase throughout the 1970s. With similar features, like siblings in a family, these articles are easy to identify: they all carry endnotes, and, for the first time, standard bibliographies.

“An” would not be enough this time. The program to portray ancient China was an ambitious one. It was interdisciplinary. Not only were archaeologists and anthropologists recruited to join historical writings, historians also pored over excavation reports and survey accounts. Memory does not guarantee erudition, and erudition changes its faces now. Notes are needed desperately, because the historians have so much more to tell. So much so that one narrative does not seem to suffice.

In the earlier appended articles, endnotes give references for cited materials of all kinds, provide the editor’s comments, and reveal arguments between authors and review-

<sup>14</sup> Chuan’s article on medieval Chinese economy includes two hundred and forty-seven footnotes. Although Chuan claims that he finished the manuscript in 1941 before he went to Harvard, several of the footnotes which direct the readers to forthcoming articles suggest that the author revised his footnotes, perhaps even added some, like many of us do today in the final stages before publication, while at Harvard. For this article, see Chuan Han-sheng 全漢昇, “Natural Economy in the Medieval Ages of China” 中古自然經濟, *Bulletin* 10 (1948), pp. 73-173. For his own reflections on his Harvard years, see Chuan Han-sheng, “A Look Back in Time” 回首來時路, in *Along New Pathways of Research*, pp. 487-494.

<sup>15</sup> The project is referred to as *Manuscripts on Ancient Chinese History* 中國上古史待定稿.

<sup>16</sup> The debates actually went on for over half a century, but two-thirds of the articles coming out of these debates appeared between the 1950s and the 1970s. Meanwhile, most of the articles that appeared in *Studies of History* 歷史研究, first issued since 1959, carried some footnotes. See Lin Ganquan 林甘泉, et al, *Fifty Years of Discussion on the Periodization of Ancient China* 中國古代史分期討論五十年 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1982).

ers. Since all such works contain notes, including those written by senior scholars who had never used one up until then, it gives the impression that the editorial board may have prepared some of the notes. They unify the format, invite verification, and buttress not only the authors' but also the editors' authority.

Endnotes continued to nourish these appendices well into the 1980s, with even more variety. They now included information the author considered useful, yet for some reason not appropriate to the text of the articles. Comparisons with other cultures seem to have inspired some historians. Sociological theories are considered useful conceptual frameworks. Both may have been put in the first paragraph in earlier articles, but they are now placed in the notes so that the readers will not be distracted from the central arguments! Perhaps. But could it also be done to preserve the historians' appearance of professionalism? The truth, only the truth, and nothing but the truth! Objective research tolerates no speculation, or amateurism. Do you have something to talk about that does not fit the confines of your rigorous and scientific argument? Put it in the notes!

But of course sometimes the detours are fascinating, to the extent that they lead to different scenery. Among the most eye-catching are Tu Cheng-sheng's three voluminous works of 1979 and 1980. Tu uses endnotes or footnotes of all the precedent types-and came up with more of his own. In his notes, which easily go over two hundred in number, he gives references to multidisciplinary sources, introduces theories from the social sciences, expresses gratitude to mentors and reviewers, compares feudal society across different cultures, and offers additional evidence. Most of all, he does textual research on subjects related to the article, thus formulating a second narrative with many short essays in the notes.

Tu is also the first historian to append an English abstract to the *Bulletin* articles, though not on a regular basis. His work of 1980 has five pages and a later one in 1993 has twelve pages. Some authors of the early 1990s use similar devices to summarize their academic findings, apparently with English readers in mind.<sup>17</sup> Chinese abstracts appeared around 1987, presumably to give readers a preview of the subject, but English ones did not become a standard feature until 1995. The "guidelines for submission" appeared at the back of the *Bulletin* in 1996, informing authors what they should have been doing. In accord with the rules of funding and awards set by the National Science

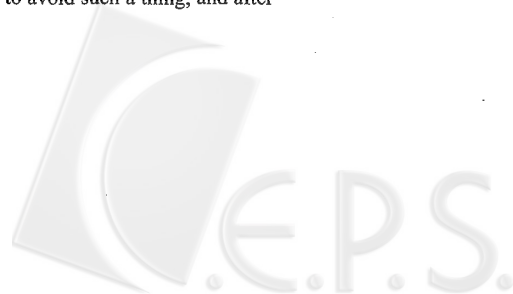
<sup>17</sup> For instance, Wang Ming-ke, Lu Chien-lung, and Song Kuang-yu write English abstracts to share their research. Like Tu, Wang also employs extensive footnotes to explain his theories and to argue for new conceptions. Despite the similarity in format, the two may have very different views about "historical truth".

Council, in 1997, keywords in both Chinese and English joined the party. We have arrived at the era when natural science is the norm and internationalization the goal.<sup>18</sup>

It's true! It's true! Thanks to the World Wide Web, computers epitomize both. Bibliography, however bulky, is no problem. Abstracts and keywords carry the *Bulletin* abroad even faster. MSWord furthers cut and paste, not to mention the database. Quotations, sometimes redundant, references, hence abundant. Relevant or not, courtesy citations protect one from offending any possible reviewers. The less senior you are, the more footnotes you write. A conspiracy of notes! We may poke fun at this tendency in our work every so often. But still, the memory of writing my first endnotes is touchingly vivid.

A sophomore's report was about finished, torso only, however, without limbs to orient the main body. Ballpoint pen, "Liberty" its name, took up the completion task by offering references and comments. All were put at the end, just for the sake of convenience. That was the time when copy meant manual labor. Trust me, the notes persuaded on my behalf, and the sources I provided. How can one depict the young spirit more than twenty years ago? Caution? Too weak! Delight? Inept! Awed by the form designed to convey the substance, with fear and trembling, an embryo imagined herself growing into a member of a discipline.

<sup>18</sup> One of the means, perhaps ends as well, of scientific and objective historical writing is to avoid personal flavor. "I" has long been out of the scene; "we" is hardly used either. Even more interesting is the case of a woman colleague of mine. She submitted her first article to the *Bulletin* in the early 1980s and was so worried that her work might reveal any femininity that she asked a senior scholar to check it first. She had been warned by her mentor to avoid such a thing, and after the said pre-submission review, she was confirmed to have already rid it of the flaw.



Appendix : examples of footnotes in the *Bulletin*殷代的農業與氣象

- (註一三〇) 胡厚宣，同上書，八九頁。
- (註一三一) 同上，八九頁。
- (註一三二) 陳夢家，同上書，五三三頁。
- (註一三三) 陳夢家，同上書，五二八頁。
- (註一三四) 李孝定，同上書，四五二一頁。
- (註一三五) 陳夢家，同上書，五二九頁。
- (註一三六) 殷虛書契後編上，二八頁，第六版上的卜辭說：「𠄎十宰彘五宰豕示三宰？八月。」可能為祭祀顯示之事。
- (註一三七) VIVI SYLWAN, "Silk from the Yin Dynasty" *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 9 (1937) pp. 119-126.
- (註一三八) 同註九一，七五頁，八七頁，八九至九〇頁。
- (註一三九) 李濟，西陰村史前的遺存（北平，清華大學，1927）二二至二三頁。
- (註一四〇) 見甲骨學商史論叢第一冊（成都，齊魯大學，1944）。
- (註一四一) 陳槃先生說：『案春秋之世，兵、農已分。江永（羣經補義。經解本卷二五七，葉六）、朱大韶（實事求是齋經說二司馬法非周制說。續經解本卷七四〇）二氏並有說，極詳核。然亦不無例外。盤考管子揆度：「今天下起兵加我，民奔其耒耜，出持戈於外」；又形勢解：「故萬民驅盡其力，而樂爲上用，入則務本疾作，以實倉廩；出則盡節死敵，以安社稷」；宣十五年左傳：「楚師將去宋……申叔時僕曰：築室反耕者，宋必聽命」（杜解：築室於宋，分兵歸田，示無去志）。是春秋時兵，農不分之例也。（秉權案：墨子耕柱篇：「今大國之攻小國也，攻者農夫不得耕，婦人不得織，以守爲事；攻人者亦農夫不得耕，婦人不得織，以攻爲事，」。似亦可爲兵農不分之一例）。然宣十二年左傳，隨武子曰：楚莊王「荆尸而舉，商農工賈不敗其業，而卒乘輯睦，事不奸矣」。是又謂楚兵、農已分。而隨武子以楚兵、農之分，爲楚莊善政而加以贊美，亦可知其時之晉，殆猶兵，農未分，故自度以爲弗如矣。此何也？意者亦因時、因國而有不同？故未可以一概論耶？至于殷商，兵、農是否合一，盤則未敢妄有所論列（說苑卷五貴德：「武王克殷，召太公而問曰：將奈其士眾何？……周公曰：使各居其宅，田其田，無變舊新，唯仁是親」。是謂殷紂之世，兵、農合一矣。然說苑此文，未詳所出。即使可信，然周不可以概殷，亦猶殷不可以概周）。但如以周禮遂人之說爲證，此則不無可商。檢張先生所引遂人此文，鄭注云：「遂之軍法，追胥起徒役，如六鄉」。此謂六遂之民皆如六鄉，須依軍制服兵役者也。而朱大韶之說異是。朱氏曰：「周官兵制，小司徒云：乃會萬民之卒伍而用之，五人爲伍，五伍爲兩，四兩爲卒，五卒爲旅，五旅爲師，五師爲軍，以起軍旅，以作田役；以比追胥，以令貢賦；乃均土地，以稽其人民而周知其數。上地家七

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Figure 1-1: The use of "An" in notes. From Zhang Binquan 張秉權 "Yindai de nongye yu qixiang" 殷代的農業與氣象, *Bulletin* 42:2(1971), p.332.

## 殷代的農業與氣象

人，可任也者家三人；中地家六人，可任也者二家五人；下地家五人，可任也者家二人。凡起徒役，毋過家一人，以其餘爲羨。唯田與追胥竭作。此以井牧之法定軍賦也。乃經土地而井牧其田野，九夫爲井，四井爲邑，四邑爲丘，四丘爲甸，四甸爲縣，四縣爲都，以任地事而令貢賦。此以井牧之法定都鄙之貢賦也。六軍之眾，出於六鄉。序官：鄉大夫，每鄉卿一人。六鄉之大夫即以六卿兼之，故凡軍旅田役，皆鄉官帥民而至。大司馬云：軍將皆命卿，命卿即六卿也。然則小司徒定其民，大司馬掌其政。夏官篇首言五兩卒旅師軍，與小司徒同。六鄉七萬五千人，故大司馬定軍額曰：萬有二千五百人爲軍。諸經皆言六師，明王畿雖萬乘，軍賦止於此數。其六遂及都鄙盡爲農，故鄉中但列出兵法，無田制。遂人但陳田制，無出兵法。兵自爲兵，農自爲農。謂兵、農爲一者，不察之論也。……」（詳同上引文）。如朱說，是遂人此文，不可以爲古代兵農合一之證也。案朱氏有據。鄭注未可從也。秉權案：尚書多方：「周公曰：王若曰……我惟大降爾四國民命，爾曷不忱裕之于爾多方，爾曷不來夾父我周王，享天之命？今爾尚宅爾宅，畋爾田。……王曰：嗚呼！猷，告爾有方多士，暨殷多士……爾乃自時洛邑，尚永力畋爾田，矢惟界矜爾」。似爲說苑所本，可作殷商時代兵農合一的一項證據。至於周代，按照傳統的說法，是兵農合一的。但清儒朱大韶等，則以爲六軍之眾，出於六鄉，其六遂及都鄙盡爲農，兵自爲兵，農自爲農。但是遂人：『以歲時稽其人民而授之田野，簡其兵器，教之稼穡』，『以令師田』，『凡事致野役，而師田作野民，帥而至』，遂師：『軍旅田獵平野民』等等都與軍旅田役有關，如果六遂及都鄙盡爲農，農自爲農，那末，這些經文又當作何解釋？而小司徒：『以其餘爲羨，唯田與追胥竭作』，也說正徒以外，還有『其餘』的『羨』，『羨』非正徒，仍是平民，而羨卒也要參加『田與追胥』的事情。大司徒：『大軍旅，大田役以旗致萬民而治其徒庶之政令』，大司馬：『中春教振旅，司馬以旗致民平列陳，如戰之陳……』等等。軍旅田役之事，都由平民參加，而朱氏自己也說：『故凡軍旅田役，皆鄉官帥民而至』。可見兵民未嘗劃分。陳槃先生又說：『卜辭記登某某方國人若干伐某，張先生以爲此所登之人即農民，未見旁證，未知然否』。秉權案：殷契粹編一二八七片：『癸巳卜，貞：令登眾人？』一〇八二片：『丁未卜，爭貞：勿令羣眾伐邑方？』；殷虛書契後編上，十六葉，一〇片：『貞：王勿令羣眾伐邑方？』；前編卷七，三二葉二片：『己酉卜，爭貞：登眾人乎从歷古王事？五月』；龜甲獸骨文字卷二，十一葉，十六片：『辛亥卜，爭貞：登眾人立大事于西爰？六月』；卷二，十八葉，二片：『貞：伐其喪人？』，殷契佚存五一九片：『貞：其喪眾？』，四八七片：『貞：我其喪眾人？』，眾人或稱眾，或稱人，是當時耕田的農民，卜辭辭例，已見本文，今從略。

Figure 1-2: The use of “An” in notes. From Zhang Binquan 張秉權 “Yindai de nongye yu qixiang” 殷代的農業與氣象, *Bulletin* 42:2(1971), p.333.

## 周代封建的建立

- 斷，不可能辟處渭水的豐邑，以濟寧州金石志載有豐白車父毀〔陳夢家，斷代(-)，168〕，定在濟寧附近，邢在河北元氏縣，1978年元氏縣西張村西周墓出土銅器有邢侯最可說明。見李學勤、唐云明，『元氏銅器與西周的邢國』，考古，1979(1)56-59。
154. 寶雞市博物館、潼渭區文化館，『寶雞竹園溝等地西周墓』，考古，1978(5)，295-296。寶雞市除竹園溝外，灤峪溝及茹家莊的陶器都有甘肅東部慶陽、平涼和莊浪的『安國式』文化的特色，也近於洮河流域和渭河上游的寺窪文化。
155. 小孟鼎，見方濬益，綴遺齋彝器考釋（臺北，臺聯國風出版社），3.27；又見大系，19；大系考釋，35-18。這次戰爭大概有兩度會戰，第一次『執鬲三人，獲鬴四千八百□二鬴，俘人萬三千八十一人，俘馬□□四，俘車十輛，俘牛三百五十五牛，羊廿八羊。』第二次『執鬲一人，鬴百卅七鬴，〔俘人□□□人〕，俘馬百四匹，俘車百□輛。』可見戰爭規模之大，戎人之抵抗也必極為壯烈。
156. 國語周語上，1/2a, 1/4a.。
157. 紀年，30。
158. 三代，17.19；9.48.2。
159. 陝西扶風莊白新出伯戎諸器，戎毀記『奔追禦戎于釐林，博戎敦。』戎方鼎二記『戎達虎臣禦淮戎。』〔文物，1976(6)，53.52〕唐蘭以為釐林即涇水以西的械林，戎敦即戎胡，淮戎不是淮夷。〔文物，1976(6)，38-39〕我們以為這批銅器的內容和著錄的衆毀、衆戎貞及師淮父諸器都有關係，新出的戎敦即著錄的敦侯，征伐對象在東南，不在西北。說詳杜正勝的『封建與宗法』下篇（亦將在本刊發表）。新出諸器的戎伯大約是穆共時代的人，故我們不認為戎族為患在西周中期就開始。至於晚期周戎的鬥爭，有人將分甲盤、虢季子白盤和不韋盤歸於宣王時代（吳其昌，曆朔，5/32-33），頗與竹書紀年的記載不符。紀年伐戎之役，夷王時代『獲馬千匹』，宣王時王師多敗績。宣王四年，使秦仲伐西戎，為戎所殺；王召秦仲子莊公，與兵七千人，伐戎，破之；三十一年王遣兵伐太原戎，不克；五年後，王伐條戎、奔戎，王師敗績；三十八年，晉人敗北戎于汾澗；次年，王伐申戎，破之。（紀年，31-32）故虢季子白及不韋之事功當從大系考釋隸於夷世。或以小雅六月坐實不韋毀的日期，其實不韋毀記領命出征在九月初吉戊申，與六月無涉。詩周多溢美之辭，如果六月、采芣、出車歌頌的功績皆記實，何以『獫狁孔熾，我是用急。』『侵鎡及方，至于涇陽。』（六月）有戎人逼近畿甸的焦慮急迫呢？小雅采芣：『曰歸！曰歸！歲亦莫止。靡室靡家，獫狁之故！不遑啓居，獫狁之故！』此亦因為『獫狁孔熾』也。故戎卒乃有『昔我往矣，楊柳依依，今我來思，雨雪霏霏』之歎。這是宣王時詩，與紀年不期而合。宣王對戎用兵非全然無功，分甲盤亦有『折首執訊』的誇耀，唯就歷史大勢來論，周人已露出疲態了。
160. 左傳僖二十八，16/6a。
161. 參見竊鼎、逋斂、犛貞、臥輝、衆戎貞、衆毀、衆白戎毀、競貞、競毀諸器。郭沫若疑衆伯戎即伯犀父，見大系考釋，66a。亦參見杜正勝，『封建與宗法』下篇關於衆戎氏族的討論。
162. 紀年，27。
163. 紀年，30。
164. 大系，92。
165. 錄遺，99。
166. 左傳僖二十四，15/28a。
167. 毛詩周頌執豳，19/149。
168. 史記漢興以來諸侯王年表，801。
169. 史記周本紀，127。
170. 左傳僖二年，12/5b。
171. 史記夏本紀，89。
172. 羅振玉，殷墟書契後編，下37.5。

Figure 2: New styles of footnotes for various purposes. Tu Cheng-sheng, "Zhou dai fengjian de jianli" 周代封建的建立, *Bulletin* 50:3(1979), p.540.

# 周秦城市的發展與特質

杜 正 勝

## 序言

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  - (二)廢廟、社壇與庫臺
- 貳 春秋城邑之拓殖
- 叁 從城到郭
  - (一)封疆、郭與郭
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## 肆 市場與作坊

- (一)達市、市吏與市稅
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## 序 言

概觀我國城市<sup>(1)</sup>發展的歷史，可以分為四個階段：一是祭、政與軍鎮三位一體的城邦，大約從西元前二千年到春秋中晚葉；二是統一帝國行政基礎的縣城，從戰國開始蘊育，秦漢成熟；三是坊制破壞、商業與行政並重的城市，唐宋之際至明清；最後是現代都市，城牆逐漸拆毀，沒有城牆的城市不斷形成，現在仍然處於這個階段中。

(1)「城市」是很含糊的名詞，用作歷史論文不易嚴格界定。唐代以前，城是城，市是市，意指截然不同；城指城牆周圍內的範圍，市不過佔城內的一小區而已。城市連言，凡城牆所包含的聚落都叫做「城市」，是宋朝以後的事。本文為行文方便，所謂「城市」即泛指城牆內的地區，沿用宋朝以來的通義；如果單言「城」或「市」，則嚴守古典的分別。至於現代這種沒有城牆的城市，固古代所未有，也非本文所指的「城市」。古典文獻所謂的「邑」也是一種聚落，甲骨文和金文皆作邑，从口，从人，口表城牆，就字形推測字義，人居牆下，有牆保護謂之「邑」。邑應是防護圍牆比較卑小簡陋的小城，據春秋傳說，邑的營建春秋書法用「築」字，不用「城」字，（左莊二十八）故知邑還够不上城。然而由於白話單字不詞，為行文之便有時連稱「城邑」，如果單說「城」或「邑」，也是依照古典分別義的。至於「都」，春秋以前係指有宗廟先君之木主的城，（左莊二十八）戰國時代則泛指大城，有的地方甚至只表示城，不必分其大小。所以「都城」不是國家首都，「都市」也與今日的義涵有別。先民造辭以表意，不同名詞代表不同的歷史內涵；但名詞不可能屢代創新，我們往往用舊名表新義，時間一久，層層相因，同一名詞却包含許多不同的歷史內涵。論史者要還各箇時代的本來面目，而使用的却是內涵叢脞的名詞，故每每有難言之苦，「城市」就是一箇典型的例子。所謂邑、城、市、都，皆是古代不同時期的產物，代表社會發展的不同階段，本文為避免混淆，參證古義和通行語詞，暫時劃分如上。

Figure 3: A second narrative develops in footnotes. Tu Cheng-sheng, "Zhou-Qin chengshi de fazhan yu tezhi" 周秦城市的發展與特質, *Bulletin* 51:4(1980), p.615.

北朝的資料完全沒有提及此人，姚薇元在《北朝胡姓考》裡根本就否定此人的存在（頁13-14）。然而，「十姓」起於道武帝的說法並未完全止息，尤其是 Jennifer Holmgren，她以胡三省對長孫氏的註解為底本，配合上其他一些材料，而推出一個新版的「十姓說」。簡單說來，Holmgren 接受長孫氏源自沙漠雄（什翼犍之兄）的說法外，還認為叔孫氏源自拓跋孤（什翼犍之弟）。至於其餘姓氏，Holmgren 認為應該源自拓跋力微或更晚。<sup>30</sup>

30 Jennifer Holmgren, *Annals of Tai*, pp.20-21, Holmgren 認為叔孫氏源自什翼犍的幼弟拓跋孤（她的證據之一是《魏書》卷二十九提到叔孫建的父親名「骨」，與「孤」音近，見 Jennifer Holmgren, 前引書，頁46）。問題是：如果叔孫氏果真源自拓跋孤，那麼，第一，根據其與什翼犍（即拓跋王室）同血緣的關係，他們應該也可以像長孫氏一樣、主持拓跋人傳統的四月西郊祭天大典，可是實際上，他們並不在「十族子弟七人」之列（詳見筆者，〈魏書「帝之十族子弟七人」試釋〉，頁2）。其次，也是更重要的，如果 Holmgren 的說法為真，那麼，拓跋孤的子孫應該都已列入叔孫氏的本傳中，可是實際上，拓跋孤的後代（包括其兒子拓跋斤）總共尚有二十一人完全列在《魏書》卷十四〈神元平文諸帝子孫列傳〉中。就算我們退一步接受 Holmgren 的另一說法，亦即拓跋斤實際上即是《魏書》卷一所言、在什翼犍建國三十四年（西元371年）謀反的長孫斤（Holmgren 對此另有一番解釋，見 Holmgren, 前引書，頁43-46），那麼，他的後代也應當列入長孫氏的本傳。此外，Holmgren 認為「拔拔氏」一名出現甚晚（頁115，她認為此名首見於《新唐書》），其實，在〈孝文弔比干文碑〉題名即有「符璽郎中臣河南郡拔拔臻」，可見北魏早有此氏（姚薇元，《北朝胡姓考》，頁12）。

此外，Holmgren 對拓跋氏的早期祖先有如下的意見：1、《魏書》第一卷前兩段的人物基本上都是虛構的，真正具有歷史真實性的人物要從拓跋推寅開始算起，而拓跋推寅與六代之後的拓跋鄰其實是同一人，也就是檀石槐鮮卑游牧聯盟裡的西部大人推寅（頁19）；2、推寅與鄰之間的六代拓跋君主，都是虛構的，其目的在配合《魏書》卷一一三裡提到的「七分國人」的七個氏族（頁20）。

北亞草原游牧民族早期歷史頗多為傳說時期，上述推測固可自成一說。只是還有下列問題仍須考慮：1、如果魚豢《魏書》中所提到的推演（其實在《三國志》的註裡是「日律推演」，不知是否該分為「日律」與「推演」二人，見《三國志》，30，頁838）的確是拓跋氏祖先的推寅，那麼，當時拓跋人的勢力已經不小，而且距離力微也不過才兩代，《魏書》中關於他與詰汾（力微之父）的事蹟不該那麼不清楚；其實如照《魏書》中所說的，「推寅」一辭本為鮮卑人美號，則鮮卑人取名為「推寅」者當不只一二人，這就像拓跋珪本名是「涉珪」（或「涉歸」），跟他同時的叔孫建本名也是「涉歸」（或「涉歸幡能健」），更早一些則有徒河涉歸，為慕容鮮卑與吐谷渾的祖先（《魏書》，101，頁2233）。此外，北魏時河東薛氏：「（薛謹）長子初古拔，一曰車輅拔，本名洪祚，世祖賜名」（《魏書》，42，頁942），

Figure 4: Long footnotes. Kang Le 康樂, "Xiaodao yu Beiwei zhengzhi" 孝道與北魏政治, *Bulletin* 64:1(1993), p.69.

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為「二繩四鉤」的宇宙圖式也許是一條線索，值得進一步探究。<sup>191</sup>

- 191 關於漢代的栴盤、日晷、規矩紋鏡（TLV紋鏡）、六博局盤等器物之間的關係，論者極多，今摘其要，並略加評述如下。第（一）、漢代日晷迄今發現三件。分別為端方、懷履光（W. White）、周進所藏。三者圖紋基本相同，李約瑟（Joseph Needham）推測說：「吾人可暫時假定這 TLV 記號的原來目的是一個實用的和天文的。這些記號之刻在鏡鑑上乃十分自然的。尤其那些上面有精巧的宇宙象徵。六博版可能是這些圖案的變化，或者是從此推演出來。既然和占卜有關，當然用日晷面作六博版乃極其自然之事，因為這面上表現了天象的形象。鏡面上的花紋是為裝飾用的」，我前有一舊文亦從此說。劉復則以為日晷圖紋是由二繩四鉤所構成，孫機亦以為「晷面上刻出的 TLV 紋，則是象徵天宇的記號」，「與測影的功能無關」，換言之，晷面上的圖紋是象徵性的，不是實用的（李約瑟：《中國之科學與文明》第五冊，台北，台灣商務印書館，1985，頁 213～頁 214，相關討論見頁 203～頁 214，李建民：〈漢代局戲的起源與演變〉，《大陸雜誌》77 卷 3 期，1988，頁 102～頁 108；劉復：〈西漢時代的日晷〉，頁 21～頁 22；孫機：《漢代物質文化資料圖說》，北京，文物出版社，1991，頁 290；郭寶鈞：〈古玉新詮〉，《史語所集刊》20 本下，1948，頁 27）。第（二）、規矩鏡的 TLV 圖紋，各家說法分歧，其中林巳奈夫以為是《淮南子·天文》的二繩四鉤之說，孫機亦有類似看法。李學勤則說：「如果把規矩紋的 T 看成連通的 T 形，即表示二繩，而 V 恰是把丑寅等鉤連起來，即表示四鉤。再如將 V 形用交叉直線連通，像石日晷上的樣子，即表示四維。所以，這種圖紋之作 TLV 形，絕不是偶然的。」另外，有人發現新莽時期四神規矩鏡的銘文有「刻婁（鑲）博局去不羊（祥），家常大富宜君王」之句，故主張將 TLV 鏡改稱「博局鏡」。按銘文所說，這種圖紋擁有「去不羊（祥）」之作用，故亦見於漢代厭勝錢之中（關於 TLV 紋鏡的各家解說，見孔祥星、劉一曼：《中國古代銅鏡》，北京，文物出版社，1988，頁 80～頁 83；孫機：《漢代物質文化資料圖說》，頁 270～頁 272；李學勤：〈論含山凌家灘玉龜、玉版〉，《中國文化》6 期，1992，頁 147；周錚：〈「規矩鏡」應改稱「博局鏡」〉，《考古》1987 年 12 期，頁 1116～頁 1118；西田守夫：〈「方格規矩鏡」の圖紋の系譜——刻婁博局去不羊の銘文をもつ鏡について〉，《東京國立博物館美術誌》No. 427，1986；李零：〈跋石板村式圖鏡〉，《文物天地》1992 年 1 期；徐力民：〈論宗教與我國古代的厭勝錢〉，《中原文物》，1988 年 3 期，頁 76）。第（三）、六博局紋上亦有 TLV 紋，勞幹以為源於古代亞字形的宮室建築，張光直的說法近之。而孫機主張其來自栴盤，Michael Loewe 亦有類似的說法（見勞幹：〈六博及博局的演變〉，《史語所集刊》35 本，1964，頁 25～頁 26；張光直：〈說殷代的「亞形」〉，收入氏著：《中國青銅時代》二集，北京，三聯書局，1990，頁 88～頁 94；孫機：《漢代物質文化資料圖說》，頁 394；Michael Loewe: *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1979, p.82)。事實上，六博局面的圖紋與前述日晷、規矩鏡都是一脈相承的，如李學勤所說「體現的中國遠古以來的宇宙觀念」，亦即二繩四鉤的宇宙圖式。這種圖式，在安徽含山凌家灘 M4 出土的帶四方八位的玉片亦可見，學者多以為與上述幾種圖式有關連（參見：陳

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Figure 5-1: Longer footnotes. Li Jianmin 李建民, "Mawangdui hanmu boshu 'yuzang maibaotu' jianzheng" 馬王堆漢墓帛書禹藏埋胞圖箋證, *Bulletin* 65:4(1994), p.780.

## (三)、數 字

「禹藏埋胞圖法」云：「視數多者埋胞」，埋胞圖的小圖的十二個方位，以兩個死位及數字標示。其中數字的部份，茲按月鈔列如下：

正月：20、30、50、60、70、80、90、100、110、120、〔死〕、〔死〕。  
 二月：20、30、〔死〕、40、30、40、50、60、70、80、90、〔死〕。  
 三月：20、30、40、50、〔死〕、20、30、40、50、60、70、〔死〕。  
 四月：20、30、40、50、60、70、〔死〕、20、30、40、50、〔死〕。  
 五月：20、30、40、50、60、70、80、90、〔死〕、20、30、〔死〕。  
 六月：20、30、40、50、60、70、80、90、100、110、〔死〕、〔死〕。  
 七月：20、30、40、50、60、70、80、90、100、110、〔死〕、〔死〕。  
 八月：20、30、40、50、60、70、80、90、〔死〕、20、30、〔死〕。  
 九月：20、30、40、50、〔死〕、30、40、50、60、70、80、〔死〕。  
 十月：20、30、40、50、60、70、〔死〕、20、30、40、50、〔死〕。  
 十一月：20、30、40、50、60、70、80、90、〔死〕、20、30、〔死〕。

久金、張敬國：〈含山出土玉片圖形試考〉，《文物》1989年4期；饒宗頤：〈未有文字以前表示「方位」與「數理關係」的玉版〉，《文物研究》1990年6輯；李學勤：〈論含山凌家灘玉龜、玉版等文〉。這些器物基本上呈現亞字形，Sarah Allen推測亞字形是殷人心目中宇宙中心之象徵，此說可與含山凌家灘玉版的可能的象徵意義合參（Sarah Allan: 〈亞形與殷人的宇宙觀〉，《中國文化》4期，1991，頁31～頁47；Sarah Allan: *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China*, N.Y., State University of New York, 1991, Chapter IV）。第（四）、栳（式）盤。漢代栳盤有幾種型式，其中安徽阜陽雙古堆M1出土漆木式（西漢初）之栳盤，地盤即呈現二繩四鉤之結構。Donald J. Harper認為栳盤中心的十字交叉的雙線可能與二繩（四維）的思維有關（參見：〈阜陽雙古堆西漢汝陰侯墓發掘簡報〉，《文物》1978年8期；殷滌非：〈西漢汝陰侯墓出土的占盤和天文儀器〉，《考古》1978年5期；嚴敦杰：〈式盤綜述〉，《考古學報》1985年4期；Donald J. Harper: "The Han Cosmic Board" *Early China* 4, 1978-9; 成家微郎：〈中國古代占星術和古星盤〉，《文博》1989年6期；Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe eds.: *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. I, N.Y., Cambridge University Press, 1986, p.678, p.724）。總結來說，上面這幾種器物上之圖案，關係是一脈的，即源於二繩四鉤的宇宙模式。其先後關係可能是栳→博局→TLV鏡，或者日晷→博局→TLV鏡。其間的源流變化，限於材料，目前僅是一種推測，有待日後證明。

Figure 5-2: Longer footnotes. Li Jianmin 李建民, "Mawangdui hanmu boshu 'yuzang maibaotu' jianzheng" 馬王堆漢墓帛書禹藏埋胞圖箋證, *Bulletin* 65:4(1994), p.781.

王 明 珂

鳳毛麟爪。<sup>11</sup>

西方社會人類學在族群理論研究上的成就，可以對中國的民族研究（包括民族史與民族誌）有什麼啓示與貢獻？相對的，中國豐富民族材料在驗證或補充

- 11 一九五四年史學家范文瀾發表題為〈自秦漢起中國成為統一國家的原因〉一文，引起學者們對民族的定義及形成問題的廣泛辯論。這場論戰的核心是：范依據斯大林所謂民族形成的四個要素：共同語言、地域、經濟生活及表現於共同文化上的共同心理素質，認為漢族已形成於秦漢時期。但正統論者依據斯大林的看法，民族是資本主義上昇時代的歷史產物，由此認為漢族不可能形成於秦漢時期。基於某些因素，這個討論很難得到有意義的結論。首先，參與討論者不但難以否定斯大林的民族形成四要素說，而且還得兼顧斯大林理論與馬克斯、恩格斯、列寧等人的民族理論之間的完整性與統一性，在此教條式的意識形態下，學術研究難有成果。其次，整個討論常繞著一些有關民族的名詞的俄、德、英文原文與中文譯名的關係上打轉。直到六十年代，民族一辭的譯名統一問題才被認真討論，但仍然沒有統一的結論。第三，斯大林的民族四要素說事實上是經不起民族誌研究考驗的（見本文第二節）。幾乎就在五十年代這個民族辯論開始時，全國性的民族調查與識別工作也同時展開（1953-56）。民族學者基於他們在田野調查中對民族的認識，應對這問題的探討有一定的貢獻。但是，基本上這是馬列理論家之間的辯論，民族學者難以置喙。我們從一九五七年歷史研究編輯部將論戰主要文章編成的《漢民族形成問題討論集》的內容來看，這只是人類社會經濟發展階段的討論，與民族學中的民族單位的界定幾乎無關。

雖然如此，民族學者也謹慎的發表一些意見；他們並非敢對斯大林的民族定義有所挑戰，而只是在馬列主義中尋求民族識別工作的理論基礎。或如謝劍所言，想在實際的民族識別工作中擺脫不必要的理論拘絆。譬如，曾參與民族識別工作的費孝通與黃淑娉等，對民族採較廣泛的定義，以擺脫馬列斯大林的民族理論之爭。同時他們也都注意到共同的語言、地域及經濟生活在民族的界定上非屬絕對必要，而皆強調斯大林理論中構成民族的第四項要素——表現在共同文化上的共同心理素質。不同的是黃淑娉強調“共同的文化特點”，認為文化是區別民族最重要的標誌（111-112）；費孝通則認識到這個要素的核心是“民族的共同心理素質”，而將之解釋為“同一民族的人感覺到大家是同屬一個人們共同體的自己人的這種心理”（173），因此“爲了要加強團結，一個民族總是要設法鞏固其共同心理。它總是要強調一些有別於其他民族的風俗習慣、生活方式上的特點，賦與強烈的感情，將它升華為代表這民族的標誌……”（174）。由此我們可以看出費孝通已在他長期的民族研究中體會出民族形成中主觀因素的重要性，並且將文化特徵當做主觀上劃分族群邊界的工具。這都與西方社會人類學中六十年代之後的族群理論發展不謀而合。這的確是在長期沉悶的馬列主義民族理論探討外的一個有活力的見解。

多年來以民族識別為核心的民族調查工作亦有許多缺陷，最明顯的是民族識別無法擺脫政治動機，因此在民族界定上難以避免“漢族中心主義”。譬如，無論是強調“尊重本民族的意願”，或是民族文化，民族識別的最終標準仍在“客觀的歷史分析”。

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Figure 6-1: More long footnotes. Wang Ming-ke, “Shemo shi minzu: yiqiangzu weli tantao yige minzuzhi yu minzushi yanjiushangde guanjian wenti” 什麼是民族？以羌族為例探討一個民族誌與民族史研究上的關鍵問題, *Bulletin* 65:4(1994), p.992.

什麼是民族：以羌族為例探討一個民族誌與民族史研究上的關鍵問題

這些理論上能有些什麼貢獻？這是本文將要探討的主題之一。我選擇羌族做為討論對象的原因是：首先，現今的羌族居住在四川西北茂汶一帶；川西北沿藏邊至滇北這一地區民族錯綜複雜，素有民族走廊之稱，豐富的民族誌材料包括語言、宗教、民族自稱、起源神話以及風俗習慣等等，適於驗證任何族群理論。其次，有關“羌”的歷史記載，自商代以來一直不斷的出現在中國文獻上。因此，羌族史的研究（無論是基於歷史，考古或民族誌材料）吸引了許多學者，其成果是建構出幾乎與中國歷史平行等長的羌族史；此一歷史文獻背景是在世界民族誌材料中所罕見的。最後，至少對緊鄰成都平原的茂汶羌族而言，“羌”不是一個自稱族號，而是漢人對他們的稱法；因此任何對羌族的民族範圍與族群認同的研究，都必須考慮它與鄰近的優勢民族以及國家（以某種程度來說，此優勢民族的意識形態的具體化身與利益的保護機構）之間的互動關係；這個情況也使羌族研究在族群理論上有特別的意義。

本文第一部份探討近年來社會人類學的族群研究的發展；第二部份探索民族誌中的茂汶羌族；第三部份將討論在歷史與考古研究中，學者們是如何定義羌族，以及這些定義是否恰當。在探討過程中，社會人類學的族群理論只提供研究的思路，主要的論證是依賴民族誌、考古與歷史材料。最後，我將探討民族史研究中的“民族”定義問題，並說明西方人類學中有關族群現象的探討對我們的歷史研究可能有的啟示，以及中國的民族史與民族誌材料，對社會人類學中關於族群理論的探討可能有的貢獻。

所謂歷史分析，事實上是根據漢人歷史學家所考證出的歷史，它經常與一群人自我界定的“歷史”缺乏交集，見本文的有關論述。有關參考文獻如下：范文瀾，〈自秦漢起中國成為統一國家的原因〉，《漢民族形成問題討論集》（北京：三聯書店，1957），5-13；牙含章，〈建國以來民族理論戰線的一場論戰〉，《民族研究》2（1979）：3-8；費孝通，〈關於我國民族的識別問題〉，《費孝通民族研究文集》（北京：民族出版社，1988），158-187，原載於《中國社會科學》1（1980）；王明甫，〈“民族”辨〉，《民族研究》6（1983）：1-23；黃淑嫻，〈民族識別及其理論意義〉，《中國社會科學》1（1989）：107-116。關於大陸五十年代以來的民族理論辯論及民族識別工作可參考：謝劍，〈試論中國大陸的民族識別工作及其問題〉，《香港中文大學文化研究所學報》21（1990）：313-28；June Teufel Dreyer, *China's Forty Millions* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976).

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Figure 6-2: More long footnotes. Wang Ming-ke, “Shemo shi minzu: yiqiangzu weli tantao yige minzuzhi yu minzushi yanjiushangde guanjian wenti” 什麼是民族？以羌族為例探討一個民族誌與民族史研究上的關鍵問題, *Bulletin* 65:4(1994), p.993.