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Ong Tee-Wah

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ONG TEE-WAH (翁世華)

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THE LATER COPYING OF SHANG AND CHOU BRONZES  
AND THE DETERMINATION OF THE STATUS  
OF VESSELS AND INSCRIPTIONS  
ATTRIBUTED TO THE SHANG OR CHOU

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Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Master  
of Arts to the University of Durham,  
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Ong Tee-wah.

University of Durham,

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The Later Copying of Shang and Chou Bronzes  
and the Determination of the Status of  
Vessels and Inscriptions Attributed  
to the Shang or Chou.

By Ong Tee-wah

Chapter One: Introduction

The Bronze Age in Chinese history is well-known and fully evidenced by the existence of thousands of its bronze artifacts. The elegance of these bronze artifacts not only reflects the art and technique in the manufacture of bronze utensils, but also conveys the information as to the life of the people in the remote past. Their inscriptions throw new light on the somewhat legendary history of pre-Ch'in China.<sup>(1)</sup> Moreover, owing to their long life and resistance to decay, they have preserved the original language and the way of writing of the ancient Chinese intact. This is unsurpassable by literary documents of any kind. Thus, Kuo Mo-jo compares the value of each long inscription on bronze vessel to a chapter in the Shu ching. He says that "the Shu ching which we now have has been forged by Chou and Ch'in writers. In the sections relating to the Chou Dynasty chapters such as Chin T'eng (金縢) and Hung fan (洪範) are unreliable and the number of chapters relating to this Dynasty that may be considered authentic is no more than fifteen or sixteen. Furthermore, even in these chapters many changes have been made during the processes of transcription and re-arrangement, so that their value as historical records is now

questionable. On the other hand, each character and each phrase in the inscriptions on bronze vessels are the original expressions of a few ancient people. They are therefore of much greater value than the records of the Shu ching." (2) Karlgren supports the view that many other inscriptions are extremely similar to chapters in the Shu ching and the Yi chou shu (逸周書). —a particularly good instance is the famous Mao kung ting (毛公鼎). (3) The arguments at first sight seem logical enough. But whether they would be passable or not depends very much on the authenticity of the existing bronze inscriptions themselves. Any sensible and serious student would have asked: is the bulk of inscriptions in the repositories, either of the Sung Catalogues, (4) the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues, or of the best and most experienced Chinese collectors, which Karlgren deems to be on the whole quite reliable, (5) really genuine?

In answering this question, let us first of all cite Kuo's own words: "Now the chief value of inscriptions on bronze vessels lies in the fact that they may be used in verifying the historical records but they can be of no value in this respect if their date and provenance are not known." (6) We are not concerned with the problem of date at this stage. The important point in this connection is the provenance which would speak for their genuineness. Kuo himself is fully aware that little is known of the provenance of the mass of the existing bronzes. Barnard goes even further in saying that "provenance details of

this kind simply do not exist in the majority of cases and very few vessels have even a vague account of their discovery." (7) Even if they do exist, they may well be fabricated or compiled by the forgers, so one can never place full reliance on them. Hence, the fundamental point d'appui of Kuo's studies of bronzes is liable to dispute (see below). And the majority of the existing bronzes fail to give an affirmative answer accordingly.

In the second place, it is remarkable that if the existing as well as the recently excavated bronzes are copious, the proportion of vessels which bear inscriptions is surprisingly small. This may be substantiated by several official finds made by scientific excavations both in the early 1930's and in the last few years. (8) Further evidence of this is the fact that out of the 4074 bronzes recorded in the four Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues i.e. the Hsi ch'ing ku chien (西清古鑑), Hsi ch'ing hsü chien chia pien (西清續鑑甲編), Ning shou chien ku (寧壽鑑古), and the Hsi ch'ing hsü chien yi pien (西清續鑑乙編), (9) there are only 1290 bronze vessels with inscriptions. This mirrors, on the one hand, the fact that non-inscribed bronzes greatly outnumber the inscribed ones, and on the other hand it provides the forgers with an immense quantity of "raw materials" for a prosperous career. In view of all this, one may rightfully suspect that most of the bronzes displayed in the show-rooms of Chinese antique-shops are to be questioned. Similarly, it follows as a matter of course that many treasures

in private collections, whose contents are believed to be largely from these antique-shops, are open to suspicion. (10)

In the first place, the most astonishing of all is the fact that amongst the numerous extant bronzes in the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues only slightly more than half may be considered genuine. (11) This implies that students who deal with the unattested bronzes are every now and then faced with the problem of forgery. The art of faking in China has a long history that can be dated back to the Ch'un-ch'iu period ( see next chapter ). This art has been regarded as a kind of hereditary "trade-secret" which is handed down from one generation to another exclusively within one family. Even when it reaches a stage where no one in the family is available to inherit the secret, they will readily see it become extinct rather than allow the art to be made public. For these reasons the actual techniques of forgery have seldom been divulged to outsiders, nor the forgers apprehended and penalized. In view of all this, the utmost caution is necessary when using any bronze inscription which is not fully attested. It might be wiser for the time being to follow the advice of Hsü Chung-shu ( 徐中舒 ) on bronzes in general: "We should err on the side of over-suspicion rather than of over-trustingness." (12)

Unfortunately, there have been not a few cases of scholars who, through being over-trusting about the authenticity of the bronze-texts they have used, have ( all in good faith ) made



available unreliable data that has been trustingly accepted and used by scholars in related fields who may not have been in a position to decide themselves on the reliability of their source materials.

We need mention only a few drastic instances. Firstly, Jung Keng's (容庚) Chin wen pien (金文編), (13) which was first published in 1925 long before he began to study the question of forgery, has been accepted as a standard work on bronze script ever since. In his remarkable dictionary, Jung Keng avails himself of 1534 bronze vessels from 14 albums of private collectors, and records 2306 different characters both decipherable and indecipherable with an addition of 8001 formal variants, amounting to 10307 graphs. He claims that in order to avoid the possibility of forged texts which might have slipped in among the genuine ones, he bases his book entirely on Wang Kuo-wei's (王國維) Kuo ch'ao chin wen chu lu piao (國朝金文著錄表), (14) which he believes to include mainly, though not entirely, genuine inscriptions. It is true that Wang had sorted out some faked and suspected bronzes while he was compiling his book. But the number of spurious texts in proportion to the authentic ones is incredibly small (see next chapter) and is far less than what we would expect to find in the private catalogues. It will not be amiss to warn that Wang's book should not be used as a guide, although the compiler primarily intends it to be used by students of bronzes to select

materials as Jung Keng did. Let us now turn to Jung Keng's Dictionary and see how much reliance we can really place on it. In the table of names of bronzes which are employed in the Chin wen pien ( 金文編采用彝器目錄 ) are bronzes such as Fu chi ting ( 父己鼎 ), Tsai shu ting ( 戈叔鼎 ), Li yu pi ting ( 鬲攸比鼎 ), Tseng po kuei ( 曾伯簋 ), Kuang tui ( 廣敦 ), X-t'ung tui ( 果同敦 ), Po ch'i fu fu ( 伯其父簋 ), Chui tui ( 追敦 ), Pi hsien tui ( 畢鮮敦 ), Keng wu an ( 庚午簋 ), Lu po ta fu tui ( 魯伯大父敦 ) etc which are declared faked by Hsü Chung-shu on the ground of his criteria of graphic peculiarities. (15) The famous Mao kung ting and the favourite and most highly-regarded Ch'üeh ts'ao ting No.2 ( 趙曹鼎二 ), which will soon be declared forged by the present writer ( for reasons see chapters 4 and 5 ), are also included. This is however a partial view of the whole picture. In other words many more faked inscriptions among Jung Keng's List of Sources can be distinguished should a scrutiny be made of his materials used. Hence, Jung Keng's Dictionary can no longer be regarded as a standard work on bronze script; nor can Takata Tadasuke's ( 高田忠周 ) Kochūhen ( 古籀篇 ) (16) be depended upon, particularly in the section on bronze script. The authenticity of Takata's sources of bronze inscriptions has come under severe criticism and lengthy discussion by H. Maspero, (17) and in addition to that we can notice quite a number of bronzes which are open to suspicion ( some of them will be shown to be fakes below ) and

which have been incorporated in Takata's admirable Dictionary. For the same reasons, the Ku chou hui pien ( 古籀彙編 ) by Hsü Wen-ching ( 徐文鏡 ) (18) is not reliable either. In short, as far as bronze script is concerned, we can trust none of these Dictionaries. Our immediate task will then be to compile a new dictionary of bronze script strictly on the basis of properly attested materials i.e. those being scientifically excavated.

Secondly, Kue Mo-jo's periodization and dating of Chou bronze vessels has been highly commended and regarded as one of the pioneer works in this particular field. Basing himself, among other things, upon the events and place-names and personal names occurring in the inscriptions, he has attributed a number of 323 bronzes in his excellent work Liang chou chin wen tz'u ta hsi t'u lu k'ao shih ( 两周金文辭大系圖錄考釋 ), to some specific King's reigns in the Western Chou and to various feudal courts in the Eastern Chou ( or the Ch'un-ch'iu ) and to certain independent states in the Warring States. His reasoning and argument, in the main, sound convincing and plausible, although the isolated mistake inevitably crops up, which he has corrected either in a later edition or in his recent works. However, they are at the most technical errors and are hence of secondary importance. What we are bound to point out with particular emphasis in this paper is that the very foundation on which he erects his theory is far from solid, with the result that he reaches an erroneous conclusion. This

use of unreliable materials seriously influences not only the interpretation of the history of the Chou Dynasty, but also the dating of Chou bronzes. So far there are disagreements in the reign-periods of the Chou Kings amongst sundry calendars and historical records. Take Kung Wang (恭王) alone as an example. The T'ai p'ing yü lan (太平御覽) (19) quotes the statement of the Ti wang shih chi (帝王世紀) (20) that this emperor reigned for twenty years. The T'ung ch'ien wai chi (通鑑外紀) (21) states that he reigned for ten years and again records the statement of Huangfu Mi (皇甫謐) (22) that he reigned for twenty-five years. According to the calculations of later works such as the Huang chi ching shih (皇極經世) (23) the reign of Kung wang was fixed as twelve years and this has been commonly accepted as final. However, Kuo states that "we have the cauldrons called Ch'üeh ts'ao ting (趙曹鼎) the second of which has an inscription which states that on the day jen wu in the fifth month of the fifteen year Kung Wang was in the Chou Hsin Kung and that the King had gone to the hunting-lodge to hunt. (佳十五年五月既生霸壬午韓王在周新宮王射于射廬) The title Kung Wang was not a posthumous one but one adopted during the lifetime of the emperor...now the inscription on the Ch'üeh ts'ao ting clearly states the date as that of the fifteen year of Kung Wang. Although this does not confirm either the statement that he reigned for twenty-five years or the one that he reigned for twenty years, it shows definitely

that the statements that his reign was ten years and twelve years were both incorrect."<sup>(24)</sup> The discovery of such an important document amongst thousands of extant inscriptions is indeed of great interest. It throws new light on the history of the Chou Dynasty, especially in regard to Kung Wang's reign. The confirmation to a certain extent of Kung Wang's reign years by the inscription on the Ch'ueh ts'ao ting has hitherto been accepted as conclusive and followed by many scholars such as Karlgren<sup>(25)</sup>, Ch'en Meng-chia (陳夢家)<sup>(26)</sup> and others in their writings on this subject. The fact that it bears the name of Kung Wang means that, if genuine, it would constitute a major chronological landmark or milestone for dating other bronzes. And indeed Kuo and his followers have availed themselves of the information contained in this inscription to date quite a number of bronzes. Being fascinated by the two essential characters 龍王 therein, none of these scholars deems it necessary to inquire into its provenance and authenticity. Unfortunately, after a close and careful scrutiny of the inscription, instead of saying anything in its favour, we are forced to proclaim it a forgery (see chapter 5 below). Such a verdict may seem at first sight surprising, since it may be argued that it has already passed the scrutiny of many experts and that its reliability is out of question. However, fact is the only final court of appeal. When we have acquired sufficient evidence we are rightly in the position to

give our judgement irrespective of all potential experts' opinion. It must be emphasized that all statements and theories which are based on the inscription on the Ch'üeh ts'ao ting No.2 should be viewed as groundless and thus be discarded in their entirety.

Thirdly, Karlgren first launched his comprehensive studies of Chinese bronzes in 1929 in the form of review articles of W.P. Yett's "The Eumorfopoulos Collection. Catalogue of Chinese and Korean Bronzes, Sculpture, Jades, Jewellery and Miscellaneous Objects" and since then he has published series of articles dealing with typology, décor, motif of decoration, script etc in this field. (27) The effort he has made and the fruits yielded from his studies are both praiseworthy and admirable. Presumably Karlgren's significant and greatest contribution to the studies of bronzes has been the stylistic grouping in term of period i.e. his famous four styles of décor on bronze artifacts namely Yin, Yin-Chou, Middle Chou and Huai. (28) His theory and laws established therein appear to be corroborated and adequately documented, though some resultant errors embodied in his remarks on stylistic development and in the definition of Huai style bronzes are observable and debatable. (29) However, the very basis or the point d'appui of his typological studies are to be questioned. The most fatal defect of the outcome of Karlgren's studies is revealed by Barnard when he says: "The majority of vessels he employed lack acceptable testimony

and their authenticity is, in the final analysis, merely an expression of subjective opinion of several Chinese scholars." (30) The number of vessels Karlgren employed in his studies is indeed immense; so that the possibility of using forged materials is likewise great and easily perceptible. We are thus authorized to pronounce that Karlgren's theories are unacceptable so far as type and décor of Chinese bronzes is concerned. Again in his eminent studies of Chinese and Japanese scripts and phonetics, (31) he employs 461 bronze inscriptions from 20 private albums whose authenticity is based largely upon experts' opinion. This depicts at the best an obscure picture of Chou script. And so does Sueji Umehara's (梅京未治) Studies of Warring States Style Bronzes ( 戦國式銅器の研究 ) (32) which contains not only unreliable bronzes, but at the same time also numerous Eastern Chou bronzes. Ch'en Meng-chia is justified in refuting Umehara's error in treating the sites of Hsincheng ( 新鄭 ) and Liyüch'un ( 李峪村 ) as being Warring States sites. (33) In addition to this the bulk of vessels which Umehara applies in his studies of Chinese bronzes are from somewhat second-hand Japanese private collections which lack acceptable provenance and are more likely to prove to be forgeries. Hence we can hardly place much reliance upon him.

Lastly, during 1959-1962 W.A.C.H. Dobson published his twin grammar of archaic Chinese, (34) of which the Early Archaic Chinese

deals with the language of documents and inscriptions of ancient China in the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C. His cardinal sources consist of six chapters from the Shu ching and fourteen bronze inscriptions of alleged Western Chou date. As to the reliability of his sources, he believes that "though the text of the 'charge' (命) has been exposed to the hazards of copying and transmission, the text of the inscriptions, being cast in bronze, has remained inviolate."<sup>(35)</sup> No fault can be found with such a remark, for bronzes indeed last longer than any other writing materials. However, he has not taken the question of genuineness of his bronze texts into consideration. Of his fourteen inscriptions, at least two of the longest i.e. the Mao kung ting and the Ta yü ting (大盂鼎) are to be declared to be forged by Barnard<sup>(36)</sup>, and we have every reason to believe, from Dobson's Preface, that Barnard has written and told him so. With regard to the rest of his bronze inscriptions, their provenance as well as their present whereabouts are mostly unknown. Can we then accept such an Early Archaic Chinese as representative of that of Western Chou? The answer is of course negative.

The field of Chinese bronzes has been profoundly explored since the turn of this century. Scholars, in both East and West, interested in this field have done a great deal towards deciphering somewhat enigmatical archaic graphs, interpreting difficult phraseology, obtaining historical data, and establish-



ing laws for the evolution of vessel types and décor and so forth. Unfortunately, seldom is attention given to the study of forgery and only occasionally do writers take the question of authenticity of bronze sources into account. This state of affairs has long been what Barnard has pointed out in his above quoted article: "the study of forgery in this field has barely been commenced and...both Chinese and Western scholars who have given any thought to the subject have done little more than scratch the surface of the problem." The attitude of most scholars hitherto towards the study of ancient Chinese bronzes as such has been like building one's house on sand: when the water advances to challenge the solidity of its foundation, the structure collapses at once. And not only the structure itself, but, equally or more important, all theories of art-historians, linguists and historians in general that are based on such unsupported findings.

Today the situation is radically changed by the fact that, on the one hand, hundreds of bronze artifacts are being brought to light by scientific excavations. Almost every month sees accounts and illustrations of new, fine objects being published in various archaeological periodicals in China, for details of which see The Archaeological Finds of New China (新中國的考古收穫), Peking, 1962. Although we have at present only a few datable and standard examples pertaining to some specific reigns of Western Chou Kings, during the long line

of rulers of this period many must have been made which still remain buried in the earth awaiting excavation in future. This is testified to by the fact that in the Anyang find the corpus of the inscribed bone and shell texts are mostly records of divination of the Royal household. On the other hand, thanks to the "Nationalization" of these "National Treasures", neither the fabrication of bronze vessels nor the forgery of inscriptions occurs in China at the present day. This is partly due to the termination of demand by private collectors, especially from abroad as a result of the ban on the export of antiquities from China, and partly to the cessation of the manufacture of pseudo-antiquities in China. Thus a growing body of reliable material is now available for research, which means that there is less and less excuse for falling back on unattested materials as one is still obliged to do in the case of literary texts extant only in very late recensions.

Few scholars, as Jung Keng did, <sup>(37)</sup> and Barnard now does, classify the materials into primary( i.e. properly attested ) and secondary( i.e. unattested ) groups as a prelude to serious study; nor have they employed known forgeries to act as a form of control. <sup>(38)</sup> This is an inherently and logically erroneous method of approach for reasons already adduced above. Once again it should be emphasized that the immediate and most urgent step which students in this field should take would be twofold:

In the first place, to avoid the inadvertent use of forgeries, we should restrict ourselves exclusively to fully attested materials( i.e. scientifically excavated objects ). From this we should compile a corpus of photographs of all available rubbings of fully-attested inscriptions and on the basis of this corpus compile a new bronze script dictionary and concordance embodying reproductions of every individual character made from direct photographs of rubbings.

In the second place, to use this corpus and dictionary as a control in the systematic examination of existing unattested materials, an examination which will take into account fully attested epigraphic materials other than bronze, with a view to classifying the latter under three heads, namely:

- (1) Obvious forgeries;
- (2) Inscriptions which exhibit no obvious signs of forgery, i.e. their script, language and contents are in agreement with the attested materials;
- (3) Doubtful inscriptions, i.e. those not clearly belonging to the preceding two categories.

This classification owes something to Barnard, though with important differences. Barnard<sup>(39)</sup> says: "My investigations on forgery of inscribed bronzes have been conducted on the basis of four major disciplines: properly attested inscribed objects have been studied apart from the general corpus of inscriptions; inscriptions already proved( by other scholars )

to be spurious have been examined as a group;...." This does not correspond to our category one, which refers to forgeries determined on the basis of comparison with fully attested materials, though Barnard's "spurious" inscriptions may well prove to fall into this category. "...unattested or unreliably attested inscriptions form a third group;...." This corresponds to our categories (2) and (3), Barnard's fourth group consists of inscriptions other than bronze.

This study deals mainly with bronzes of our categories (1), (2) and (3). Fully attested materials are also employed as a means of control for examining bronzes concerned. It is our aim, on the one hand, to give an historical account of the manufacture or copying of archaic style inscribed bronzes by founders or forgers of later date, and on the other hand to examine the existing criteria and establish some new criteria for determining the status of inscribed bronzes published in numerous Catalogues now extant and obtainable. It attempts, not to scrutinize one by one every single vessel in the mass of catalogues, but to demonstrate that, basing ourselves on certain effective criteria, the singling out of forgeries of bronzes is quite feasible.

Notes: Chapter One

1. See Sueji Umehara( 梅原未治 ) Chung kuo ch'ing t'ung ch'i shih tai k'ao( 中國青銅器時代考). Translated into Chinese by Hu Hou-hsuan( 胡厚宣 ), Shanghai, 1936. This article 支那の青銅時代に就いて first appeared in the Shirin( 史林), Vol.19, No.3, 1934, pp.519-533; Vol.20, Nos.2,4, 1935, pp.341-, 651-; and was later included in the Shina kodō seikwa, Vol.7; Kuo Mo-jo Ch'ing t'ung shih tai( 青銅時代), 1954, especially on pp.297-308; William Watson China Before the Han Dynasty, London, 1961; Cheng Tek'un, Archaeology in China: Shang China, Vol.2, Ch.10, 1960; and Chou China, Vol.3, Ch.11, Cambridge, 1963; see also Kuo Pao-chün( 郭家鈞 ) Chung kuo ch'ing t'ung ch'i shih tai( 中國青銅器時代 ), Peking, 1963.
2. Kuo Mo-jo Liang chou chin wen tz'u ta hsi( 兩周金文辭大系), Tokyo, 1931; T'u lu k'ao shih( 圖錄考釋), 1934; Liang chou chin wen tz'u ta hsi t'u lu k'ao shih( 兩周金文辭大系圖錄考釋 ), Peking, 1957. In the Preface of this book Kuo refers to the famous 500-character Mao kung ting, whose authenticity was first challenged by Chang Chih-tung ( 張之洞 ) in his Collection of Letters on Bronze and Stone ( 廣雅堂論金石札 ), Ch.3, p.2., and then by Barnard in "Forgery in Archaic Inscribed Bronzes of China" which appears as a preliminary notice of publication in Foot-note No.7 to his article "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze

- of King Mu of Chou." MS, Vol.19, 1960, pp.67-113.
3. Bernhard Karlgren "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes." BMFEA Vol.8, 1936, p.13; see also Note 2 above.
  4. Lü Ta-lin( 呂大臨 ) K'ao ku t'u( 考古圖 ); Wang Fu and others( 王黼 等 ) Hsüan ho po ku t'u lu( 宣和博古圖錄 ), completed about A.D. 1125, 30 pen, Pref. 1528; 18 pen, Pref. 1752; Hsieh's Litai ; Wang's Hsiao t'ang etc.
  5. Karlgren op. cit. p.14.
  6. Kuo Mo-jo op.cit. The English translation of the Preface of Kuo's book is by J.C. Ferguson.
  7. Noel Barnard "Some Remarks on the Authenticity of a Western Chou style Inscribed Bronze." MS, Vol.18, 1959, pp.213-244.
  8. In 1923, an aggregation of over one hundred bronzes was unearthed in the backyard of Li K'un-shan( 李崑山 ) house situated in Hsincheng( 新鄭 ) county, Honan Province. A total of 93 bronzes from this find were published in the Hsin cheng ku ch'i t'u lu( 新鄭古器圖錄 ) by Kuan Pai-i( 關百益 ) in 1929, of which only two bronzes bear inscriptions.



















The official excavation in Anyang conducted by Tung Tso-pin( 董作賓 ) between 1929-1933, also confirmed this proportion. See An yang fa chüeh pao kao( 安陽發掘報告 ), Academia Sinica, Peking, 1929-1933.



In 1956-7, excavations were conducted by the Yellow River Reservoir Archaeological Team on a cemetery belonging

to the nobles of the feudal state of Kuo( 虢 ) at Shang ts'un ling( 上村嶺 ) near the new city of San Men Gorge ( 三門峽市 ), Honan Province. A total of 181 bronzes were unearthed in this find, of which only 14 are inscribed. See The Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica, The Cemetery of the State of Kuo At Shang ts'un ling( 上村嶺虢國墓地 ). 黃河水庫考古報告之三 ), Peking, 1959.

9. Liang Shih-cheng and others( 梁詩正 等 ), Hsi ch'ing ku chien( 西清左鑑 ), Peking, 1749; Hsi ch'ing hsü chien chia pien( 西清續鑑甲編 ), Commercial Press ed., Shanghai, 1911; Ning shou chien ku( 寧壽鑑古 ), Peking, 1913; Hsi ch'ing hsü chien yi pien( 西清續鑑乙編 ), Chung hua Press ed., Shanghai, 1931.
10. T'an Tan-chiung( 譚旦岡 ) says: "Since scholars usually obtained their bronzes either by buying them from curio dealers or by borrowing rubbings of such vessels, not only the [ reports of the ] places of excavation were often erroneous, but even the authenticity and period of production were confused."( Shang chou t'ung ch'i 商周銅器 , Chung hua ts'ung shu series, with an English abstract, Taipei, 1960, p.5., English translation p.4. )
11. In Jung Keng's "A Classified List of Authentic and Forged, Lost and Extant Bronzes,"( 西清金文真偽存佚表 ) YJCS Vol.5, 1929, he detailed 329 forged, 190 suspected and 657 genuine inscribed bronzes amongst the 1176 vessels in the

four Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues.

12. Hsü Chung-shu( 徐中舒 ) "Lun ku t'ung ch'i chih chien pieh"  
( 論古銅器之鑑別 ), K'ao ku she k'an( 考古社刊 ),  
Vol.4, 1936, pp.229-247.
13. Jung Keng, Chin wen pien( 金文編 ), Ch'angsha, 1939.
14. Wang Kuo-wei( 王國維 ), Kuo ch'ao chin wen chu lu piao( 國  
朝金文著錄表 ), 1914; Fu yi( 補遺 ) by Pao Ting( 包鼎 ),  
1931; Chiao chi( 校記 ) by Lo Fu-yi( 羅福頤 ), 1933.
15. In his article "Lun ku t'ung ch'i chih chien pieh"( see  
Note 12 above ), Hsü Chung-shu has singled out two  
most frequent graphs, of which one is . He notices that  
the usual form of  has two "ear-handles" in the shape  
of  or , but never , in the upper part, and two  
legs( one is concealed and thus invisible ):  or   
, , but never ,  or  in the lower part of  
the graph is the most reliable criterion of genuineness. If  
we accept this criterion as documented, then the Fu chi ting  
( 父己  ), in which the character  was written as   
and , and the Tsai shu ting( 戔叔  ), in which the  
same character was executed as , will certainly be  
faked.

Another familiar graph which Hsü notices is , whose  
lower element is usually in the form of , said to re-  
semble the foot and tail of an insect. In almost every case  
the direction of the tail runs counter to that of the legs.



But in bronzes like Li yu pi ting (商攸比鼎: 攸), Tseng po fu (曾伯簋: 攸), Kuang tui (廣敦: 攸), X-t'ung tui (某同敦: 攸), Po ch'i fu fu (伯其父簋: 攸), Chui tui (追敦: 攸), Pi hsien tui (畢鮮敦: 攸), Keng wu an (庚午簋: 攸), Lu po ta fu tui (魯伯大父敦: 攸) etc, under the form of the elements 攸 (均) are all against this principle. Accordingly he proclaims them faked.

16. Takata Tadasuke (高田忠周), Ku chou p'ien (古籀篇), 100 chapters, Tokyo, 1918; Ku chou hsü p'ien pu (古籀續篇補), 10 chapters; Hsüeh ku fa fan (學古發凡), 8 chapters, Tokyo, 1925.
17. H. Maspero's review article appeared in the Journal Asiatique, 1927, pp.129-142.
18. Hsü Wen-ching (徐文鏡), Ku chou hui pien (古籀彙編), Commercial Press ed., Shanghai, 1934.
19. Li Fang and others (李昉等), T'ai p'ing yü lan (太平御覽), 1000 chapters, completed in 983, reduced reprint in four volumes (1959) of Commercial Press photolithographic reprint of Sung edition (1935).
20. Ti wang shih chi (帝王世紀), quoted by T'ai p'ing yü lan Ch.85.
21. Liu Shu (劉恕), T'ung chien wai chi (通鑑外紀), Pref. by Ssu-ma Kuang (司馬光).
22. Wang-fu Mi (皇甫湜), Ti wang shih chi nien li (帝王世紀年曆).

23. Shao Yung (邵雍), Huang chi ching shih (皇極經世), incorporated in the Shao tzü ch'üan shu (邵子全書), Ming edition.
24. Kuo Mo-jo, op.cit., p.3; see also Kuo's "Mao kung t'ing chih nien tai" (毛公鼎之時代) in the Chin wen ts'ung k'ao (金文叢考), p.148, and his Ch'ing t'ung shih tai (青銅時代), p.302.
25. Karlgren, op.cit.
26. Ch'en Meng-chia "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai, VI." (西周銅器斷代(六)), K'ao ku hsueh pao, Vol.14, 1956.
27. For Karlgren's two continuous review articles on works on bronzes see BSOAS, Vol.V-VI, 1929-1930; for his important works on bronzes down to the year 1956, see E. Glahn's "A List of Works by Bernhard Karlgren," BMFEA, Vol.28, 1956; and for his works from 1957 on, see BMFEA, Vol.29-; the latter portion of his works are of less importance.
28. In Karlgren's article "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes," he classes all pre-Han Chinese bronzes into four groups: Yin, Yin-Chou, Middle Chou and Huai in chronological order; later in 1937 in his subsequent article entitled "New Studies on Chinese Bronzes," (BMFEA, Vol.9, 1937), he revised this classification into three major groups in term of periods, namely: (1) Archaic period, which comprises Yin and Yin-Chou as subdivisions of this long period; (2) Middle Chou period; (3) Huai period.

29. See Ch'en Meng-chia "Shou hsien ts'ai mu t'ung ch'i" (壽縣  
 蔡墓銅器), K'ao ku hsieh pao, Vol.12, No.2, 1956,  
 pp.95-124.
30. See Barnard op.cit., Note 8.
31. Karlgren "Grammata Serica" BMFEA, Vol.12, 1940; the same  
 article appeared anew in 1957 in a revised form entitled  
 "Grammata Serica Recensa," BMFEA, Vol.29, 1957 with the  
 461 bronze inscriptions unchanged.
32. Sueji Umehara "Etude des Bronzes des Royaumes Combattants,"  
 (戰國式銅器の研究), Mémoires de Tōhō bunka Gakuin,  
Kyōto Kenkyūsho (東方文化學院京都研究所研究報告第七冊),  
 Kyōto, 1936.
33. See Ch'en Meng-chia ibid., and our Note 29 above.
34. W.A.C.H. Dobson Late Archaic Chinese, Toronto, 1959; Early  
 Archaic Chinese, Toronto, 1962.
35. See Dobson Early Archaic Chinese, Int., p.XV.
36. See Note 2 above.
37. See Note 11 above.
38. See Barnard op.cit. Footnote 10.
39. See Barnard ibid.

## Chapter Two: The Fabrication of Bronze Artifacts in Imitation of Earlier Ones.

2.1. The widespread existence of later imitations of early bronzes is a cause for great concern among art-historians, epigraphers, archaeologists and scholars in related fields, since imitations ( including forgeries ) are not by any means always easy to detect.

Imitations of earlier bronzes may be considered under five heads:

- (1) Vessels which are clearly marked with date-mark as being of later manufacture;
- (2) Vessels without a date-mark, but containing internal evidence of later manufacture in the form of style of script, personal names, place-names etc;
- (3) Vessels made by imperial command during the Sung and Yuan dynasties but lacking internal evidence of date of manufacture;
- (4) Vessels which have been altered by the addition of an inscription purporting to be of later date, by erasure of inscriptional evidence of their actual date, by the addition of an artificial patina, by transforming a vessel into a different type of vessel etc;
- (5) Vessels which were possibly made with intent to deceive.

It may be convenient at this point to set out in tabular form some general features of these five classes of vessels,

though imitations will be treated chronologically in what follows.

Class	Date of manufacture or alteration ( Class 4 )	Evidence	Possible intent to deceive?	Problem for scholars?
1	Ming(Hsüante)	Internal	No	No
2	Han	Internal	No	No
3	Sung, Yüan and partly Ming	Literary	No	Yes
4	All periods?	Internal and Literary	Yes	Yes
5	All periods?	Internal and Literary	Yes	Yes

As will be shown below, certain imitations( Classes 1 and 2 ) present little or no difficulty, whereas Classes 3 to 5 all include doubtful vessels and/or inscriptions.

The vessels in Class 3 present a particularly difficult problem for the following reasons: (a) We have only literary evidence for their existence; (b) though apparently manufactured in large numbers, few vessels attributed to the Sung and Yüan dynasties appear in the existing Catalogues, which suggests that many Sung and Yüan vessels have subsequently been wrongly attributed to early times. From this point of view vessels in this Class belong with Classes 4 and 5: they all present a problem

to the scholar.

From the point of view of the reason for their manufacture, however, they belong with Classes 1 and 2. That is to say they were manufactured purely as replicas which at the time of manufacture would have been recognised as such. The probability is that subsequently, however, many of them have been passed off as originals, not as replicas, and have found their way into collections and catalogues under false colours, either by accident or design. This raises the whole question of how far we are justified in labelling such a bronze as "a forgery". The most we can say is that here is a case of wrong attribution.

Even if a bronze replica can be shown to be of a later period, it still has a value as an example of workmanship of the period in which it was made. This would apply as much to an undated Sung replica as to a dated( and highly prized ) Hsüante replica.

Before we begin our chronological consideration of imitated bronzes, let us consider first the reasons for the imitation and fabrication of bronze vessels, and secondly the technical details of the production of artificial patination and corrosive effects.

2.2. The causes, motives or purposes of imitation and fabrication of bronze vessels are many. The following three are probably the most significant:

Firstly, imitation which is motivated by the "revival of

antiquity." (復古思想). We have evidence for at least an expressed desire to imitate or revive antiquity in many pre-Han texts. For example,

The Master said, "Chou could survey the two preceding dynasties. How great a wealth of culture. And we follow upon Chou." Foot-note: "i.e. we in Lu have all three dynasties, Hsia, Yin and Chou to look upon and imitate." (1)

In the Sung Dynasty, the emperors and civil servants and scholars began attentively to collect ancient bronzes of Shang, Chou and Han, first as a hobby and later as a scholarly status symbol. This was inspired by the fact that numerous bronze vessels were being brought to light. By comparison with these newly-appeared bronzes, the pictures of ritual vessels drawn by Nieh Ch'ung-yi ( 鼎崇義 ) in his San li t'u ( 三禮圖 ) appeared to be erroneous. Being resentful with the apparent corruption of the types of ritual utensils, the Emperor Hui-tsung ( 徽宗 ) ordered that the ceremonial vessels in both urban and rural temples be replaced with new ones so as to conform to the presumed correct types and shapes of those of Shang and Chou as represented by the newly available vessels. The somewhat conjectural descriptions of ancient bronzes by the scholars of Han and T'ang were then amended in the light of this new evidence, so that people in later generations could have an accurate picture of the vessels of Shang and Chou as mentioned in the Six Classics ( 六經 ). (2) All this denotes that the very idea of imitating

ancient bronzes is motivated or inspired by the "révival of antiquity."<sup>(3)</sup>

Secondly, imitation for the purpose of practical use. In some cases, open or official casting of bronze utensils was purely intended to copy the fine ancient designs, adornments and types. The craftsmen strived, not to suppress the truth of what they were, but to please the would-be purchasers' eyes and on the whole to serve the purposes of daily use. Examples are the bronzes manufactured by the decree of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung of Ming(明宣宗).

Thirdly, imitation with the motives of deceit or simulation, and of making a profit. The Shih chi states that in ancient times after Huang-ti(黃帝) had mined the copper ore from Shou-shan(首山) and cast a ting-cauldron in Ching-shan(荆山), a dragon came down hanging down its beard to greet Huang-ti.<sup>(4)</sup> In the Shuo wen Hsü Shen, says, "In the past, the Emperor Yu(禹) preferred the metal of the Nine States for the casting of the ting-cauldron at the foot of Ching-shan; whereby people who explored deeply into the woods and swamps would no longer encounter demons, noxious exhalations or spirits whatsoever."<sup>(5)</sup> It is clear from these passages that at least in the Han Dynasty that ancient ting-cauldrons possessed supernatural powers. Hence, bronze vessels were cherished as the greatest treasures of which a state or noble family could boast. Indeed, they had long been regarded as a token of Heaven's mandate, a



symbol of imperial power, which was given from Heaven, and consequently became the symbol of kingship.<sup>(6)</sup> S.W. Bushell says that the tradition is kept up to the late Ch'ing Dynasty, and that eighteen large tripods shaped in the same lines ( as Chou ting ) still stood on the sides of the open court of the principal palace at Peking, in token of the eighteen provinces into which China Proper of the Ch'ing was divided. ( See Chinese Art, Vol.1, p.71.) The usurper of a throne could not feel that he had fully succeeded unless he had possessed himself of the bronze sacral vessels of his predecessor. For instance, after Ch'in had conquered Chou, the latter's nine ting-cauldrons were to be moved to the House of Ch'in. Unfortunately they were ~~are~~ dropped into the River Ssu(泗水) near the City of P'eng ch'eng(彭城). While returning to the Capital and passing through P'eng ch'eng, the Emperor Shih-huang of Ch'in fasted and offered sacrifices in order to recover the cauldrons of Chou from the River Ssu. For this purpose he ordered one thousand men to dive into the water to find the cauldrons; but all these efforts were ultimately in vain.<sup>(7)</sup> ( See our Plate One below ) The disappearance of the Chou cauldrons also annoyed many Han rulers. In spite of the fact that they had actually overrun the country, they nevertheless felt their victory would not be complete until they secured the Chou cauldrons. They resorted to their ministers, to necromancers and Taoist priests. The stronger their desire of acquiring the vessels, the cleverer and more sophisticated the

( Cont. on p.32 )

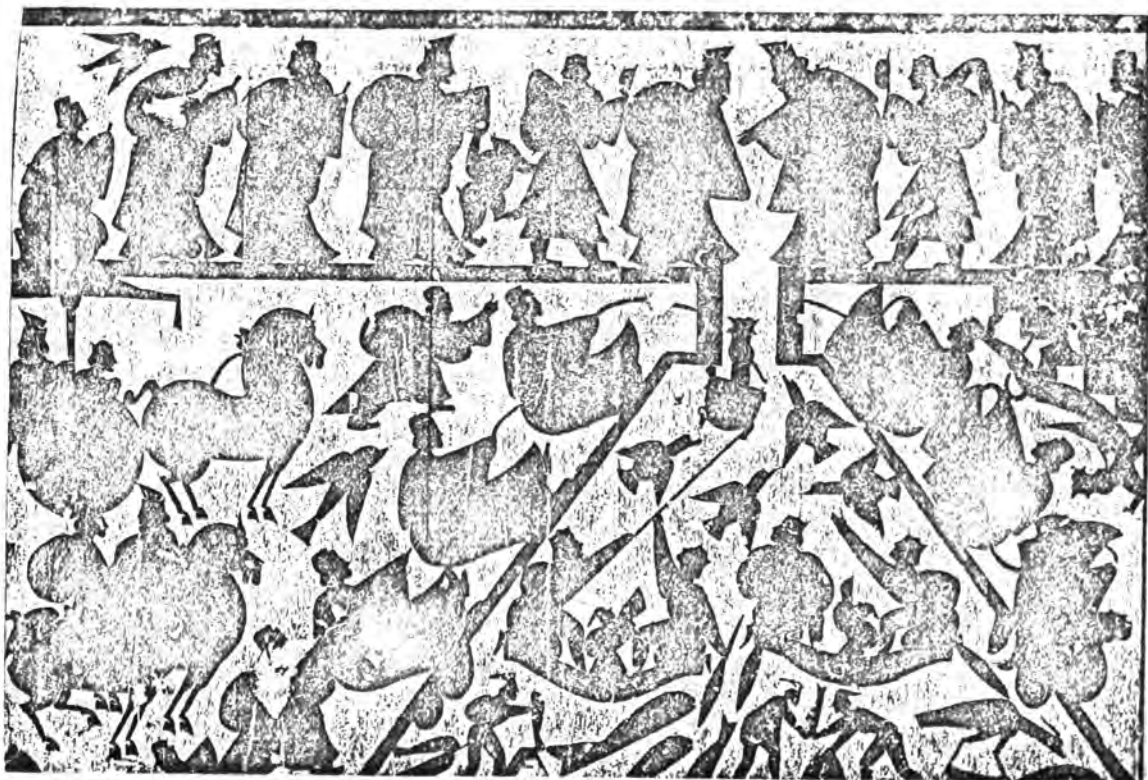


Plate One The discovery of the bronze cauldron in the River Ssu( 泗水 ). Han Dynasty bas relief.

—Reproduced from the Chinese Art, Vol.1, Fig.15.

It may be of interest to quote Bushell's interpretation of the scene depicted here, though we shall first give a fuller translation of the Shui ching( 水經 ) passage which he quotes in support of his interpretation.

"In the 42nd year of King Hsien of Chou( 周顯王 , 368-321 B.C.) the nine cauldrons were lost in the deep part of River Ssu. In the time of Ch'in Shih-huang the cauldrons were seen in this River. Shih-huang, who considered that he combined in himself the virtues of the three preceding dynasties, was overjoyed, and

sent several thousand men to dive into the river in search of them, but they were not found. It was a case of what is called 'the cauldrons remaining hidden.' (i.e. because he did not deserve them.) It is elsewhere said that ropes were attached to them to move them, but before they could be got out of the water, a dragon gnawed through the ropes. Hence, the saying: 'Don't congratulate yourself too soon, or your cauldron-ropes will be snapped.' This is probably only an account given by Meng Lang (孟浪)."

( Li Tao-yüan 麗道元 Shui ching chu 水经注, SPTK, Vol.17, p.346.)

Bushell says: "We see here the commissioners with their attendants assembled on the bank above, looking at the tripod as it is being pulled up out of the river with the help of men with poles in two boats, while a dragon's head emerging from the tripod has bitten the rope in two, making the haulers fall backwards in two lines along the parapet. There is a companion dragon in the background on the right, a prancing bear and birds flying fill in the intervals, and fishermen are seen catching fish with basket traps in the water below---natural accessories of the scene unconnected with the story." ( Chinese Art, Vol.1, pp.40-41.)

frauds of the Taoist priests and of the necromancers became. As a result the incident of the forgery of the sacrificial vessel by Hsin-yüan P'ing( 新垣平 ) inevitably occurred( see below ). This is an example of one of the temptations for forging bronzes.

In the second place, the ancient monarchs tended to have a fancy for antiquities, which included ancient bronzes. When their rulers commanded them to collect antiquities, ministers responded by making every effort in search of bronzes. As a matter of course, those who failed to fulfil their mission ~~and~~ turned to <sup>the</sup> last resort---faking. This exhibits another motive for the ~~fake~~ imitation of bronzes. In the Sung Dynasty, since the Emperor Hui-tsung( 徽宗 ) was fond of antiquities, the gentry and noble families who were known to be in possession of ancient Chinese bronzes ~~or~~ never dared to keep them any longer. Instead, they were consequently forced to present their best holdings to the Royal Household. This also encouraged those who wished to curry favour to hunt down ancient bronzes irrespective of how expensive they might be---sometimes a single bronze cost a thousand strings of cash( 千緡 ). The prospect of turning up a piece of such value led people to search every corner of the mountains and streams, to open every promising grave, especially Royal tombs, for bronzes. (8) Then again there were ardent bronze-hunters who, instead of undertaking excavations, would approach the forgers. The increasing demand led to more and more fakes being fabricated.

In the third place, the example set by the emperors encouraged the gentry, scholars, antiquarians, archaeologists and the like to start collections of their own. Since the turn of this century Chinese bronzes have become widely and greatly appreciated and admired by scholars both of the East ( including Japan ) and of the West. They are recognised as belonging to the finest productions of the human race, and thus command very high prices on the world market. Private collectors and Museums in the United States are known to have paid sixty thousand dollars and more for really fine specimens. (9) As the demand became even greater because of keen competition among the buyers, prices of bronze artifacts continued to soar. In one instance the repair of a hole in the Gh'en ch'en yu ( 臣辰 卣 ) which was in the Shan Chai ( 善齋 ) collection and published in the Li ch'i lu ( 禮器錄 ), Ch. 3, p. 37, cost the owner one thousand dollars. (10) We can well imagine what sort of a price an object of this kind would have commanded on the market. In short, the world-wide demand for ancient Chinese bronzes gave rise, on the one hand, to an increase in vessel prices, and directly encouraged the practice of faking on the other. As a matter of fact many highly-skilled forgers were known to have sprung up in this period, which can be regarded as their Golden Age. Ch'en Chieh-ch'i ( 陳介祺 ) was justified in saying that in his time it was the potential benefit to the able and skilful craftsman that helped produce a large body of talented

forgers. (110) Truly there were some e.g. Chang T'ai-en (張泰恩), who will be dealt with in the following chapter, who acquired considerable wealth in the course of their fraudulent careers.

2.3. Naturally, little is known of the practices and activities of the forgers concerned, for the very reason that forgery is an inherently illegal practice and that forgers have been extremely prudent in their activities. Only sporadically did scholars or archaeologists come across counterfeits and in several isolated cases where a few Chinese connoisseurs focused their interest on studying the problem of counterfeiting.

As it is logical to assume that the methods and techniques of both imitation and original manufacture of bronzes are largely the same with the exception of some specialized techniques for creating artificial patinas and corrosive effects, the question of metallurgy and bronze-casting will not be dealt with because the technological aspect is not within the scope of this study. In fact, the present writer will not attempt to treat exhaustively even these specialized techniques, since, being himself neither a chemist nor a counterfeiter, he can have no first-hand knowledge of the processes involved. What he would attempt to do is to give a brief account of these processes insofar as they have been described in such sources as are available.

The study of forgery was presumably first initiated in the Sung Dynasty (960-1297). Since it was yet in its infancy, little

had been done as a contribution to this subject. Scholars like Li Hsin-ch'uan( 李心傳 ), who took account of this subject had done little more than scratch the surface of the problem. (12) Chao Hsi-ku( 趙希鵠 ), a member of the Imperial family and a famous connoisseur at that time, went further to touch the problem of producing a spurious patina on the superficies of newly cast bronzes. He writes,

"The method of faking archaic bronzes is achieved by an application of quicksilver and powdered tin—the chemical mixture now used to coat mirrors. This is first applied uniformly on to the surface of the new bronze vessel, afterwards a mixture of strong acetic acid and finely powdered sand is applied evenly by brush; it is left until the surface colour is like that of dried tea, then it is immediately immersed in fresh water and thoroughly soaked. It thereby becomes permanently the colour of dried tea; if it is left until it turns into a lacquer-like colour and immediately immersed in fresh water and soaked, it thereby becomes permanently the colour of lacquer. If the soaking is delayed the colour will change. If it is not immersed in water it will then turn into a pure kingfisher-green colour. In each of these ~~three~~ three cases the vessel is rubbed with a new cloth to give it lustre. Its bronze malodour is covered by the quicksilver and never appears." (13)

The Ming(1368-1644) scholars had made an even bigger step forwards. Besides works on technology with special reference to metallurgy and casting, (14) more works on forgery appeared. In his book entitled Ke ku yao lun( 格古要論 ), Ts'ao Ming-chung

(曹明仲) devoted one chapter to the discussion of the "Faking of Ancient Bronzes" (偽古銅). He followed Chao's foot-steps concerning the question of composing false patinas on the surface of new bronzes. It is, he said, achieved by coating the mixture of strong acetic acid (醋酸) and corundum powder (剛砂粉) on to the surface of the newly cast bronze vessel. It is left until it changes to the colour of dried tea or of lacquer or to green, then it is immersed in fresh water and thoroughly soaked. Thereafter the vessel is taken out and fumigated in the smoke of glutinous rice straw and then brushed with a palm-leaf brush. Finally it is rubbed with new cloth to add lustre. The forging of cinnabar-like spots (朱砂斑) on the surface of the vessel can be achieved by applying a mixture of lacquer and the powdered cinnabar. Ts'ao's study is apparently influenced by Chao with only a little alteration in the process of execution which suggests that there had been different approaches to the practice of faking.

In any event, it is clear that some methods of counterfeiting were widely used, with improved techniques and skills being developed in the course of time. In describing the practices of Ming forgers, Kao Lien (高濂) stated that in Ming times the faked casting of ting-cauldrons, yi-caskets, hu-pots, ku-wine goblets, tsun-wine beakers and flower-vases etc from Shantung, Shensi, Honan, Chinling (金陵 i.e. Nanking) were all patterned upon antique bronzes and even measurements were not neglected.



Their décor, ornamentation and inscriptions were made entirely from mouldings taken from ancient vessels, and constituted quite reasonable imitations. The method of faking is: after the casting is completed, the vessel is scraped and polished so as to produce gloss and cleanness. If there are cracks or imperfection in the vessel, they will be removed by scraping with a knife. Then it is soaked in a liquid containing Ching-hua (or Ching flower 井花), clay and alumina. After soaking for a time, it is taken out and baked; again soaked and again baked. This should be done consecutively three times, and is termed "Making the Foot-colour" (i.e. the ground colour.) Wait until the vessel is dry and then a solution of sal ammoniac (硝砂), blue-vitriol (膽礬), gypsum (寒水石), borax (硼砂) and Chin su fan (or Golden-thread alumina 金絲礬), which are all in the form of powder, in green brine (青鹽水) is applied by a clean brush two or three times and after one or two days is washed away; again dried and again washed. The effect is entirely subjected to the adjustment of the surface colour and to the technique of washing which may have to be done from three to five times before it is settled. Next a pit is dug in the earth, red-hot charcoal is heaped up in it and strong acetic acid is sprinkled on to it; the bronze vessel is placed inside and still more acetic acid is poured over it, then it is completely covered with soil and left buried for three days. When taken out and examined it will be found to have grown the colours of

archaic patina spots; wax is rubbed over them. If the colour is needed to be darkened, it is smoked over burning bamboo leaves. There are two ways, by heat or by cold, in which other colour details are added to the surface colour. In both ways pure frankincense(明乳香) whose extremely astringent taste is exhausted by chewing in the mouth and which is compounded with melted white wax, is employed. For blue-green colour, azurite(石膏) is put in the wax; for green, Szu chih lu( or X-green 四支綠 ) is used; for red, cinnabar(硃砂) is used. More wax is used in the heat method; for the cold method equal quantities of frankincense and wax are used; with these blended as required they make the added colour details. For coloured protrusions from the surface they make small mounds of salt, metal fillings and cinnabar. The mercury colour is made by an application of mercury, cinnabar, and tin on to the sides and edges of the vessels; when covered with wax the colour is hidden and dulled a little in order to dupe the collector. When rubbed in the hands a stench arises, which can not be got rid of even by washing. Sometimes after this process is completed the vessel is showered with nitrates and buried in the earth for a year or two; hence, it seems to acquire archaic characteristics.

With the exception of vessels maintaining the original colour of the metal, the vessels of the Hsuante reign-period contained a class with an imitation of ancient patina. They were not like the forged products of Honan, Chinling, Kansu and such

places made by baking and burying. The imitation of the archaic green colours on the Hsüan bronzes was achieved by obtaining from the Royal stores broken and incomplete ancient vessels. They selected those with the blue-green and jade-green colourings and pounded them into a powder and dissolving this in quicksilver, threw it into the molten bronze and melted it together. When the vessel was completed, they next applied the colours of green patina and red cinnabar using a mixture of quicksilver and finest sand blended with the colours, dabbing this on to the vessel body and allowing it to soak in. The vessel was then roasted and cooled alternately over a fierce fire up to five times and thus the green patina colour entered deeply into the metal. Then the vessel was boiled thoroughly in molten white wax, brushed with a coir palm-leaf brush, rubbed with cotten cloth, then the green and red colourings stood out inside and outside, and even when scraped with a knife they did not break away. Another use of damaged archaic vessels<sup>is</sup> by means of fusion; of which there are cold and hot methods. With the cold method of fusing bronze, the ancient colour does not change; but with the hot soldering the fused area is a little darker by comparison with other parts of the vessel. If lead has been used for repairs in conjunction with cold fusing, wax is used to fill up the décor, and inside the vessel, yellow mountain clay is applied thickly to cover up the joins, appearing

as the earth naturally found on excavated articles. (15)

The Ch'ing forgers did little more than pursue the trail of the Ming forgers, whereas the modern forgers even perfected the technique of producing spurious patinas and verdigris by scientific and chemical approaches. This is done by an application of a mixture of powdered gypsum, fifteen parts of blood-stone(血玉髓) and an appropriate quantity of alcohol on to the surface of a new vessel. After it has been left for approximately twenty-four hours, the dried powder on the vessel is rubbed off. Next a solution of four parts of ammonium chloride, one part of cream of tartar(重酒石酸鉀) and twenty parts of vinegar, is first warmed up and subsequently applied to the surface of the bronze. When it is dried its external aspect looks as if it is a real newly unearthed archaic bronze. This method is far more advanced than those collected by Chao Hsi-ku and Kao Lien mentioned above; which also indicates that the forger's craftsmanship has kept pace with the progress made in casting techniques. (16)

The foregoing remarks refer only to methods and techniques of patina and verdigris production. Nevertheless, these techniques are extremely important to the art of faking ancient bronzes, because whether a vessel is archaic or otherwise would be judged by the nature of patina and verdigris embodied. In other words, its genuineness or otherwise is determined by the nature of patina and corrosion it carries. A really well-faked patina is indeed

confusing and indistinguishable from the genuine article. Sometimes even the most experienced can not give us the answer as to whether a bronze is authentic or otherwise.

2.4.1. I now wish to turn to an investigation of the actual practice of forgery and the activities of forgers in historical sequence.

In dealing with the forgery of bronzes of the Shang and Chou periods (1765-771 B.C.) we are at a great disadvantage in not possessing adequate data (often, indeed, no data at all) relating to commercial activities, standard of connoisseurship and so on, which could be important factors in the motivation of forgery. Let us first summarise what we do know. One fact that might appear at first sight to argue in favour of the possibility of forgery was the comparative rarity of bronze. We must remember first that the evidence currently available suggests that the Chinese "bronze" age was actually a chalcolithic age: the use of bronze was restricted almost entirely to ceremonial and table vessels and weapons; (16.a) secondly, the constituent metals would have had to be imported from such places as Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kiangsi and Ssuch'uan Provinces. This leads naturally to the presumption that bronze vessels were expensive, and this, coupled with the fact that forgers in general tend to concentrate their efforts on imitating valuable objects, might lead us to expect that there would have scope for the forger even at this early date. The main objection to this, of course, is that forgery of this kind presupposes the existence of collectors

willing to pay high prices. We have no evidence for or against the existence of collectors of bronze at this time, but there seems little likelihood of such a demand having existed in view of the status and function of ceremonial vessels. A vessel was commissioned for the use of one single family, whose name or crest would always be inscribed on the vessel, and it was intended that "our descendants shall treasure and use it for ever." In view of what we know of Chinese attitudes to the ancestor-family relationship, the possession or use of a vessel belonging to another family during a period when such vessels were still in active use would quite possibly have been regarded as pointless or even disloyal to one's own ancestors. Even more important, to allow such a vessel to pass out of the possession of the family would probably be considered an impious act. These two tendencies would reinforce one another to reduce the passing of vessels into other hands, including those of collectors( if such existed ), and would make forgery pointless.

These arguments would not, of course, apply during a later period, when the regular use of vessels made in this period fell into desuetude or when the ~~own~~ descendants became extinct. Then the vessels might well pass into other hands and give rise to the practice of collecting, especially after the regular founding of a particular vessel-type had ceased and so cause it to become a rarity.

2.4.2. The subjugation of other states during the Ch'unch'iu

and Chankue periods undoubtedly involved the destruction of ancestral temples and the seizure of sacrificial vessels, for these were symbols of authority over the state. (17) For the sake of co-existence amongst other powerful nations, or of saving themselves from extinction, the less powerful nations were often coerced into buying off their suzerains with precious vessels; sometimes they were compelled to do so as ransom for a hostage. (18) Nevertheless, there were those who treasured their national or privately-owned vessels so dearly that it gave rise to ruses to avoid parting with them in this way, this, so far as we can tell from the evidence available, being the very motive from which forgery of ancient bronzes begins. (19) There is evidence for this in the story of the attempt by the ruler of Lu to foist a forged ting-cauldron on the ruler of Ch'i in the time of Duke Hsi of Lu (658-626 B.C.) in an attempt to preserve the original, which Ch'i was demanding with armed force. (19.a) This story is also interesting in that it includes a connoisseur (19.b) who was able to detect a forged bronze and whose opinion was clearly acceptable to the rulers of states.

2.4.3. Ch'in Shih-huang (秦始皇), having overcome the Six States and unified China into a political whole, melted down all the weapons and metal objects to cast twelve giant statues. (20) It is from then onwards that the industry of bronze casting and other branches of metallurgy became official or government-controlled, and that no private founder was allowed to carry on

the trade in the country. This accorded with the fact that despite the tremendous efforts he had made, Ch'in Shih-huang still failed to recover the missing Chou ting from the River Ssu as stated above. We therefore have every reason to infer that this was mainly due to the discontinuation of faking; otherwise someone might have forged a Chou ting to ease His Majesty's anxiety, particularly in view of his well-known gullibility at the hands of magicians.

2.4.4. During Han times (206 B.C.--220 A.D.) bronzes were often found here and there in the mountains and in the rivers. Among these finds were both apparently genuine and obviously spurious artifacts. The genuine ones were doubtless of Shang or Chou origin; whereas the questionable ones were contemporary fabrications. (21) In this connection, a conspiracy was disclosed and the plotter was arrested and sentenced to death. The plot began with the announcement made by Hsin-yüan P'ing (新垣平) that the Chou ting-cauldrons were said to have been lost in the River Ssu, and that the Yellow River had overflowed and run into the River Ssu. Upon observing the sky in the Northeast, he noted that there were certain emanations right over Fenyin (汾陰) which indicated the presence of precious vessels. He predicted that this must be the place where the cauldrons would be found, and that when such an omen appeared, unless something was done in response, nothing would ever come of it. Taking Hsin-yüan P'ing at his word, the Emperor sent envoys to build a



temple at Benyin which overlooked the Yellow River to the South, and offered sacrifices in the hope that the Chou ting-cauldrons would be brought to light. At that juncture someone sent a letter revealing to the Emperor that all the emanations and supernatural occurrences described by Hsin-yüan P'ing were frauds. Hsin-yüan P'ing was handed to the law-courts for trial and was executed along with three sets of relatives. (22) This incident occurred in the reign of Han Wen-ti (漢文帝, 179-157 B.C.), and the execution of his victim was the consequence of failure to ~~have~~ recover the Chou ting-cauldrons from the river, over which the Emperor was infuriated. This case differs from that of Ch'in Shih-huang only in that the latter did not execute the man who was responsible for it. However, about forty years later, in the 1st year of the Yüan-ting (元鼎, 116 B.C.) in Han Wu-ti's reign, a ting-cauldron was discovered from the River Ssu. (23) This find is of great importance; for it resulted in the alteration of the reign-period from Yüan-shou (元狩) to Yüan-ting (元鼎). It is a pity that Hsin-yüan P'ing had long been dead and that misfortune should have befallen him before he could witness his conspiracy succeeding.

But what about the veritable facts of this case? In other words, does the prophecy of Hsin-yüan P'ing really come true in view of the fact that a cauldron was found later in the Emperor Wu's reign? Or would it be that, as a professional necromancer, Hsin-yüan P'ing had the cauldron made either by himself

or by professional forgers, and sunk it into the River Ssu in the hope that it might be found and so verify his prediction? Wei-Chu-hsien's (衛聚賢) interpretation of this matter provides us with a reasonably acceptable answer. He writes,

"Evidently this is the fabrication of Hsin-yüan P'ing: firstly, the question whether or not the Chou ting-cauldrons were lost in the River Ssu is yet undecided. Even if they were and even if the Yellow River did overflow and run into the River Ssu, the River Ssu is a thousand li away from Fenyin and the cauldron is such a ponderous object that how can it possibly have gone upstream to Fenyin? Secondly, even if there were some other cauldrons [in the river] <sup>at Fenyin</sup>, how could he possibly have noticed them? Thirdly, in the 4th year of Yüan-ting reign-period (113 B.C.), in the 6th month, a ting-cauldron was found beside Hou T'u Temple. Why should the 'Emperor send a special envoy to examine the event. After inquiring into the matter, the discovery of a ting-cauldron was confirmed to involve no deceit'?( see also Note 21 ) It is obvious that the authorities had been deceived by the discovery made at the outset of the Yüan-ting reign-period and that they must have been extremely cautious at the second find. For these reasons we are convinced that Hsin-yüan P'ing forged ancient objects for the purpose of winning the authorities' favour and trust."(24)

The fact that mention of the deceit involved in the discovery made in the Emperor Wu's reign was excluded both from Ssu-ma Ch'ien's and Pan Ku's treatises was presumably in order to save the Emperor's face. Nevertheless, the ~~true~~ true facts of this case are implied in Han shu and we have every reason to believe

them. Pan Ku writes,

"To the discovery of a precious cauldron in Fenyin, the Emperor Wu paid a compliment. He ordered that it should go on show in the ancestral temples and then be kept safe in the Kan ch'uan Palace( 甘泉宮 ). Upon the occasion of the Emperor's birthday, the subjects all said, 'Congratulation to Your Majesty on your recovering the Chou ting-cauldron,' except Lu Ch'iu Shou Wang( 廬丘壽王 ) who disagreed and alone said, 'No, it is not the Chou ting-cauldron.' The Emperor was indignant at hearing this, [ Lu Ch'iu Shou Wang ] replied, 'The virtue of Chou originated from Hou chi( 后稷 ), which had been brought to its perfection by Wen( 文 ) and Wu( 武 ). For this Heaven above recompensed Chou with the cauldrons which are, therefore, named Chou ting. Now, in the case of the present Han Dynasty, from the time when Kao Tsu( 高祖 ) succeeded Chou, down to ~~you~~ Your Majesty, the nation and your virtue are more prosperous than ever, whence come both heavenly grace and auspicious signs. In bygone times, Ch'in Shih-huang wished to recover the Chou ting-cauldrons at P'eng ch'eng without success. God blesses <sup>those</sup> who have virtue, therefore this precious cauldron has spontaneously emerged. This is what Heaven has granted Han; hence it is Han's treasure and not by any means Chou's treasure.' His Majesty said, 'Excellent.' And so all present shouted, 'Long live Your Majesty.' That day Shou Wang was awarded ten catties of gold, but ~~later~~ was later executed after being involved in a crime." (25)

Obviously Emperor Wu and his subjects were all taken in except Lu Ch'iu Shou Wang, who was able to distinguish between the undoubted Han fabrication from the alleged Chou ting-cauldron.

Shou Wang, possessing great eloquence and later proving himself to be a considerable connoisseur, managed to clear up the case neatly without any side-effects which might impair the prestige of the Emperor. But this case brought the counterfeiting of bronzes into the open. Later the Emperor Wu ordered the erection of the T'ai Ch'ou Temple (泰畤) in Kanch'uan and the Hou T'u Temple (后土) in Fenyin for the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth respectively. (26) Sacrifices were offered regularly through the years, during which time officially cast ceremonial vessels were employed. Apart from this, ~~some~~ ting-cauldrons were also made by the Emperors and the officials or noble families. What is astonishing is that some of the cauldrons were intentionally made for sinking in rivers. (27)

The scientifically excavated bronzes include very few inscribed vessels which can be attributed to the Han Dynasty. But the existing Catalogues contain some 749 inscribed bronzes attributed to the Han. (28) In the Po ku t'u, for example, eighteen alleged Han ting-cauldrons are incorporated. Of these five bear inscriptions ranging from two to fifty-eight characters. Leaving aside the thirteen non-inscribed bronzes, these five inscribed ones are beyond doubt of Han or later date; because the graphs are executed in the style of hsiao chuan with a partial resemblance to li shu and k'ai shu. For this reason they can not by any means be earlier than Han. The authenticity of these vessels is unknown, yet at least one of them is to be questioned. For

instance, in Chapter 5 of the Po ku t'u ( it can also be seen in the Li tai, 18:201 or 18:216.), the lid-text of the Han fen yin kung ting ( 漢沔陰宮鼎 , Figure 1 ) reads, “ 沔陰共官銅

鼎蓋壺枚重三斤八兩。”

The fourteen-character text runs in one column which may be translated "The lid of the bronze ting-cauldron supplied for the use of the Officials in Fenyin; (29) 20 pieces, weight 3 catties and 8 ounces."

The vessel-text of this inscription ( Figure 2 ) comprises 37 characters running in four columns, which may be translated "The bronze ting-cauldron supplied for the use of the Officials in Fenyin; 20 pieces; capacity 1 tou ( 斗 ); weight 10 catties. The bronze ting-cauldron of Fenyin kung; one [object] ; contains 1 tou; weight 10 catties. The one-tou-ting-cauldron of P'ing yang; weight 10 catties; No.23."



Figure 1 The lid-text of the inscription on the Han fen yin kung ting ( 漢沔陰宮鼎 ).

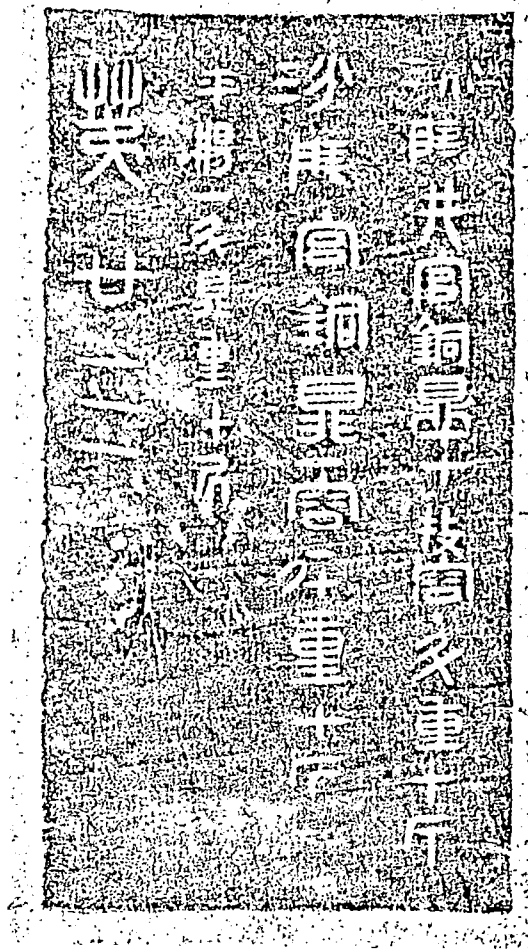


Figure 2 The vessel-text of the inscription on the  
Han fen yin kung ting (漢汾陰宮鼎).

This vessel( and hence its inscription ) has been consistently attributed to the Han Dynasty by most cataloguers on the basis of its shape, ornamentation and the style and contents of its inscription. But the inscription includes a number of features which quickly arouse suspicion. Let us examine some of these in detail.

As far as the content is concerned, there are noticeable

discrepancies both between the lid-text and the vessel-text, and within the vessel-text itself. For instance, as to the number of cauldrons made and supplied for the use of the officials in Fenyin, the lid-text( Fig. 1; also the first column of the vessel-text i.e. Fig. 2.) records twenty pieces; whereas the vessel-text records no fewer than twenty-three( see the last column of Fig. 2, it reads "The twenty-third." or "No. 23." 第廿三 ) pieces. Wang Fu(王黼) and Hsieh Shang-kung(薛尚功) argue that the figure "20" indicates the number of cauldrons supplied for the use of the officials, while "No.23" denotes its order within the total number of cauldrons in Fenyin.<sup>(30)</sup> This explanation is groundless. The place name Fenyin occurs three times in the text, which strongly suggests that the cauldron belongs to Fenyin. However, it is inconceivable that another place name i.e. P'ingyang 平陽 ( Fig. 2:3/1-2 ) should crop up in this context. Wang and Hsieh also argue for P'ingyang here being the place in which the cauldron was cast. This again is unlikely, for the sentence does not even hint at such a probability. On the other hand, it runs more or less parallel to the preceding three sentences.

As regards the script, it is rather a jumble of hsiao chuan, li shu, and k'ai shu. In addition to this, it is written in a most indifferent and inconsistent style, with a considerable number of mistakes. Although the exact shape and likeness of the script might have been corrupted by hand-drawing or copying in

the course of transmission, we have reproduced here ( i.e. Figures 1 and 2 ) rubbings from the Ming reproduction of the Yuan edition of the Pe ku t'u. In spite of the fact that the rubbings, especially of the lid-text, have been slightly worn, they faithfully maintain the original version of the inscription. The graphic discrepancies of the text which can be observed are as follows:

(1) The character " 汾 " has been executed in three variants: " 三少 " ( Fig. 1:1/1 ); " 三ハ " ( Fig. 2:1/1 ) and " 三カ " ( Fig. 2:2/1 ), except the pu shou ( 部首 ) "water" is commonly in the li shu style: " 三 ".

(2) The character " 陰 " has also been written in three variants: " 月三 " ( Fig. 1:1/2 ); " 月三 " ( Fig. 2:1/2 ) and " 月毛 " ( Fig. 2:2/2 ). All these variants are further corrupted. For instance, the ancient forms of the pu shou " 阜 " are: " 阜, 阜, 阜, 阜, 阜, 阜, 阜 " etc, (31) but never " 月, 月 " as appearing on this questionable cauldron. The ancient form of the element " 会 " varies very greatly so that a standard form is hard to derive from them. But the fact that it occurs in three distinct shapes i.e. 三, 三, and 毛 in three parallel sentences suggests that these sentences were not written by one and the same hand.

(3) The character " 共 " appears in two interesting forms: " 共 " ( Fig. 1:1/3 ) and " 共 " ( Fig. 2:1/3 ). The former is undoubtedly erroneous and the latter a k'ai shu of not earlier than Later Han time. (32) The graph " 共 " does not occur in the bone



script, nor has it been found so far in attested bronze script. Unattested forms such as "𠄎, 𠄎" have been incorporated in the Chin wen pien(3:8). The Sao Yeh Shan Fang(掃葉山房) edition of the Cheng ts'ao li chuan szu t'1 tzu tien(正草隸篆四体字典) has added another form: "𠄎"(子集下:5). Its hsiao chuan style "𠄎" ku wen "𠄎, 𠄎", chou wen "𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎" etc can be found in the Ku lin(14:1138-1140). Further variants are included in the Ko chūhen: "𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎"(57:27-28; also pu yi 6:14) etc. However, in no case have we found it to have occurred in this shape: "𠄎". It is an obvious corruption arising from "K'aishu-ization" of the graph.

(4) The character "銅" occurs in three different shapes: "銅"(Fig.1:1/5); "銅"(Fig.2:1/5) and "銅"(Fig.2:2/4). The phonetic "同" is in three different styles and the pu shou "金" in two. The character or element "金" has never been found in the bone script. All the 33 variants of the character "金", together with its 41 forms when used as an element, collected in the Chin wen pien( 14:1-4 ), appear in these forms: "金, 金, 金, 金, 金, 金, 金, 金" etc. These have been verified by fully attested inscription such as the Tso chung (柞鐘). (33) We may add also its hsiao chuan form: "金" and li shu form: "金", but none has been found to have appeared in the shapes of those of the inscription in question: "金, 金", with/exception of a tiger-tally said to have been found by peasants in a Han Tomb in Inner Mongolia in 1955, (34)

though the circumstances of its removal are not well-attested. The form "全" does occur in Han strips. (35)

(5) The character "鼎" also appears in three distinct forms: "鼎" (Two occurrences: Fig. 1:1/6 and Fig. 2:1/6); "鼎" (Fig. 2:2/5) and "鼎" (Fig. 2:3/5), whose various structures and styles suggest that <sup>they</sup> were not written by one and the same hand.

(6) The character "枚" occurs in two extremely interesting forms: "枚" (Fig. 1:1/9) and "枚" (Fig. 2:1/8). The former is evidently a k'ai shu form while the latter is a poor standardization of the archaic style. This graph appears in the Li tai (18:216) as "枚", and in another edition of the Li tai (18:201), it has two yet different shapes: "枚" and "枚", the latter of which is identical with the chih meaning "branch".

(7) The graph "斗" appears in two forms: "斗" (Two occurrences: Fig. 2:1/11 and 3/4) and "斗" (Fig. 2:2/9). They accord with those of the two editions of the Li tai; however, they they were apparently not written by one scribe. The latter form agrees with that used on Han strips. (36)

(8) The graph "重" appears in three forms: "重" (Two occurrences: Fig. 1:1/10 and Fig. 2:1/12); "重" (Fig. 2:2/10) and "重" (Fig. 2:3/6). They do not resemble the hsiao chuan style: "重", nor the ku chou (古籀) style: "重, 重" (See Ku lin 35:3668-3669), but the k'ai shu style. The last two of its variants are most probably, in view of the structure of the

k'ai shu, copyist's errors. It is even worse in the two editions of the Li tai: "隹, 隹, 隹, 重, 重, 重", where every single occurrence has an unusual form. These again are probably errors by the cataloguers or copyists concerned.

(9) The graph "斤" also appears in three different styles: "斤" ( Fig. 2:1/14 ); "斤" ( Fig. 2:2/12 ) and "斤" ( Fig. 2:3/8 ), of which the first two pertain to the bronze script but the last to the hsiao chuan with a slight variation, the hsiao chuan being "斤" ( See Ku lin 59:6371-6372 ).

(10) The character "平" is apparently written in the li shu style: "平" ( Fig. 2:3/1 ).

(11) The pu shou "阜" of the graph "𠂔" has been erroneously written as "月" for the same reason as in (2) above.

On the basis of the above observation, we are inclined to consider this Han fen yin kung ting a fake. The exact date in which the fake was made is difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, the admixture of hsiao chuan, li shu, and k'ai shu in the inscription implies that the cauldron was forged sometime after Later Han, using Han and pre-Han models for imitation. On the other hand, it could not be later than Sung for it has been recorded in the Sung catalogues. The fact that the inscription comprises roughly three different styles of writing might perhaps suggest that it was written by three individual scribes. This is unlikely, however, since it is a repeated, short and simple inscription. There is great probability that the inscription

in question was plagiarized from some officially cast bronzes of the Han Dynasty, which were then lost.

The attribution of this ting-cauldron to the Han Dynasty by the Sung cataloguers, Wang and Hsieh, is based on the following criteria:

- (a) Vessel shape and ornamentation;
- (b) Such features of the contents of the inscription as place-names, weights, measures etc;
- (c) The fact that the style of the script is merely different from that of pre-Han vessels.

The criteria we have just applied refer to:

- (i) Relation to other known forms of the script;
- (ii) Consistency of script within one inscription;
- (iii) Consistency of contents.

One conclusion to be drawn from this is that the criteria applied by Sung and Ch'ing cataloguers ( and even some of their modern counterparts ) are of themselves insufficient to reveal the presence of the forger's hand, but need to be supplemented by additional criteria. ( This subject will be dealt with more fully in the chapters that follow.) In fact it would not be too much to say that all vessels attributed to the Han Dynasty should be re-examined in the light of this.

We can thus state that in the Han Dynasty, it was the faking by the necromancers that paved the way for the official imitation of archaic sacrificial bronzes, and that, in turn, these

provided the forgers of later dates with a sufficient number of ideal models for counterfeiting.

2.4.5. Although little is known of the forgery of bronzes in the Sui Dynasty (隋, 581-617), one case of imitating porcelains is on record. Ho Ch'ou (何稠), army officer, civil engineer and Director of the Public Works Department, having comprehensively examined most of the ancient Albums and gained a wide knowledge of antiquities, fabricated the finest green porcelains which were "no different from the genuine ones."<sup>(37)</sup> An imperial instruction he received from the Emperor Yang (楊帝) of Sui reads,

"Now the Nation is stable and enjoying tranquility. I have succeeded to the Imperial task; yet some of the ceremonial dresses and utensils, the institutions of propriety and music are still lacking or incomplete. You may consult books and Albums and therefrom construct the most suitable and acceptable carriages, costumes and [ceremonial banners. Having made these,] you should send them to Chiang-tu (江都)."<sup>(38)</sup>

Upon receiving such an order Ho Ch'ou would have had no choice but to copy what was available either from the Albums or from existing objects. In view of the fact that some "100,000 men were employed" and "100,000,000 gold and silver spent" on this project,<sup>(39)</sup> the quantity and range of the things he made must have been considerable. It is therefore quite likely that the

"the ceremonial dresses and utensils" would have included sacrificial vessels. If Ho Ch'ou was as successful in imitating ancient bronzes as he was in imitating porcelains, we have in this period another possible source of copies to confuse later collectors and cataloguers. (40)

2.4.6. In the T'ang Dynasty ( 618-906 ), government foundries were built to produce bronze vessels. For instance, one of the most famous foundries, T'ien pao chü ( 天寶局 ) was established during the T'ien-pao reign-period ( 742-756 ) of Hsüan-tsung's ( 玄宗 ) reign in Koujung county ( 句容縣 ) of Kiangsu Province. Most of their products are marked with the signatures of the superintendents. (41) The figures and stripes on the vessels are delicately and finely designed; and in the majority of cases, the vessel bodies are crowded with adornments. Innovations have been made upon these vessels with regard to décor, vessel type, design and epigraphic style etc. On the whole, as far as motif is concerned, unlike the real archaic bronzes, they are far from naive. (42) Although no evidence of private forgery of bronzes is available for this period, there is evidence for counterfeiting iron ang-basins ( 盞 ). Making a fatally careless mistake, the faker had the text "cast in the year in which the Duke Huan of Ch'i presided over the conference in K'ueich'iu." ( 齊桓公會於葵丘歲鑄 ) included on the basin in the hope that it might help add a thousand years to the vessel's antiquity. Unfortunately for him the fraud was eventually discovered. This

was chiefly due to the contradiction in terms contained in the text, which was pointed out by the Advisory Officer Liu Shui(劉水) at a party. Not only was his argument plausible, but also proved to be convincing. He said, "When I was young I specialized in Ch'iu-ming's(邱明) works( i.e. the Tso chuan ); the Marquis of Ch'i called Hsiao-po(齊侯小白) posthumous appellation was Huan Kung(桓公). Among the nine conferences summoned by [ the Marquis of Ch'i ] in his capacity as hegemon, the 8th convention held in K'ueich'iu...did in fact take place before he died. It is completely out of the question that he should have addressed himself by his posthumous appellation. This is a modern fabrication." P'ei Hsiu(裴休) suddenly realising that he had been deceived, at once ordered the basin to be smashed, after which he raised his cup and drained it cheerfully to show there ~~is~~ was no ill-feeling. (43) If an iron vessel could be forged, there is no reason why bronze vessels should have evaded the forgers, though there is no documentary evidence for this.

2.4.7. The scope of fabrication of antiques in the Sung Dynasty( 960-1279 ) was comparatively wider. Apart from metal objects, the faking of stone-drums is also on record. (44) Officially imitated bronze vessels in this period mostly bore inscriptions of considerable length, which were composed by the Imperial Secretary Ti Ju-wen( 晁汝文 ). In his book of selected works entitled Chung hui chi( 忠惠集 ), (45) seventeen chapters of such texts---either on Hsi-basin( 洗 ), fu-dishes, kuei-containers,

tsun-wine-beakers, yi-caskets etc—are incorporated. Another two, one on a ting and one on a kuei are to be seen in the Chou shia (摺史). (46) In addition to this, some Ch'ing and contemporary catalogues include a substantial number of them: the Chia wu niu ting (甲午牛鼎), Cheng ho hsing ting (政齋木銅鼎), Cheng ho hsü (政齋木盃), Ch'in ch'ung tou (欽崇豆), T'ien szu hsü (天賜盃), Chia li tsun (嘉禮尊) in the Sung cheng ho li ch'i wen tzu k'ao (宋政和禮器文字考) (47); the last vessel has been erroneously attributed to the Chankue by Juan Yuan (Chi ku chai 5:4); the Chia wu kuei (甲午簋) in the Chi ku chai (7:14-15; the vessel has been wrongly dated Chou in this Catalogue); (48) the Hsüan ho tsun (宣龔尊) in the Ku kung (故宮); (49) the Ti tso fu (帝作簋) in the Chin so (50); the T'ien szu kuei (天賜簋) in the Hsiao chiao (13:98; this vessel has been wrongly attributed to the Chou by Juan Yuan in Chi ku chai 7:15 and to the Ch'in and Han by Weng Ta-nien 翁大年. See Hsiao chiao 13:98); another Chia li tsun (嘉禮尊) has been wrongly attributed to the Shang and Chou by Chang T'ing-chi (張廷濟) (51); the Chia li hsi tsun (嘉禮犧尊) in the Ku chien (9:27; erroneously dated Chou in this work) and the T'ung kuan hu (童貫壺) in the T'iao hsü (2:46) (52) etc are all specimens of governmental imitations. The texts on these vessels normally contain such phrases as "the Emperor made" (帝作), "the Emperor initiated the auspicious rites (or wedding ceremony)" (帝肇嘉禮), "the Emperor began to cast Sung vessels" (帝肇作宋器) etc, that is, about half of them include some clear statement



of being manufactured by the order of the Emperor Hui-tsung of Sung( 宋徽宗 ) during the Cheng-ho reign-period( 政和, 1111-1118 ). But much to our surprise some of the compilers of the above-mentioned Catalogues have attributed them to as early a date as Chou or Ch'in; others, the Inspector of Schools and archaeologist Ch'en Yao-t'ien( 程瑤田 ) for instance, insisted that some of them should be attributed to the Nan Ch'ao Sung Dynasty( 南朝宋, 420-479 )<sup>(53)</sup>; and even more surprising is the attribution to Shang by the Sung scholar Hsieh Chi-hsüan( 薛季宣 ) of the Cheng-ho imitated tou-stemmed-platter( 豆 ), which was found in the 27th year of Shao-hsing( 紹興, 1157 ). He says, "The script thereon is archaic( 古文 ), which shows that the vessel is of Shang date; for T'ang( 湯 ) having chastised the Hsia and received the mandate of Heaven, inaugurated rites and cast sacramental vessels. This is where the tou in question comes from."<sup>(54)</sup> Such a statement mirrors the truth that, on the one hand, some Sung scholars were unable even to discern Sung fabrications; and on the other hand, that a handful of later scholars have misapprehended the Sung products as being of an earlier date. Had it not been for the efforts made by Wang Shih-han( 汪師韓 ) in determining the Chia wu niu ting ( 甲午牛鼎 ) as a Sung specimen<sup>(55)</sup> and by Sun Yi-jang( 孫詒讓 ) in judging dozens of Cheng-ho ritual vessel inscriptions<sup>(56)</sup>, enigma would have densely beset this group of bronzes. But inspite of this, it does not necessarily mean that the field

has already been cleared.

Ti Ju-wen, who wrote texts for the Sung officially imitated vessels, cast such vessels as ting, hu, cheng etc for his own use too. Most of his bronzes are inscribed with texts reading, for instance, "Kung Hsün-fu( 公<sup>賢</sup>父, a fancy name of Ti's ) being State Governor, ordered Hao( 浩 ), the craft<sup>s</sup>man to smelt copper to cast ting-cauldrons which are to be placed in the monastery;....may it be used and preserved for ever unweariedly" (57).

The rulers of Sung not only took a special interest in antiquities, but also followed the custom of the Shang and Chou Kings in bestowing bronze vessels on their favourite subjects in connection with investiture for meritorious performances. For instance, the Emperor Kao-tsung of Southern Sung( 南宋高宗, 1127-1162 ) bestowed on his Prime Minister Ch'in K'uai( 秦檜 ) two sacrificial vessels; the inscription on one of which, a ting-cauldron, reads,

"In the year Ping-yin( 丙寅 i.e. the 16th year of the Shao-hsing reign-period 绍兴 ---1146 ), in the 3rd month, on the day chi-ch'ou( 己丑 ), the Prime Minister Ch'in K'uai having great virtue which is equal to heaven and earth, had bestowed upon him this sacrificial ting-cauldron to be used in his home temple on occasions of periodic sacrifices; may his sons and grans<sup>a</sup>ons for ever treasure it."(58)

There are further instances where officials having been

brevetted had bronze vessels cast by themselves in commemoration of the event: in the 1st year of Ching-ting(景定, 1260) during the reign of the Emperor Li-tsung(理宗) of the Southern Sung, Chia Szu-tao(賈似道), the Deputy Prime Minister returned triumphantly from a battle in the Yangtze area. Together with his followers on that expedition, Chia was commended for merit, and in commemoration of this he had vessels cast. Liao Ying-chung(廖瑩中), an intimate friend and assistant to Chia had bestowed on him a hundred ounces of gold, on top of promotion in rank, in honour of his services in the military expedition. With this money he cast yi-boats, p'an-trays, tsun-beakers etc as wine vessels which bear hsiao chuan style inscriptions written by the official historian Yang Tung(楊棟).<sup>(59)</sup> This is a sheer repetition of the convention of "had bestowed on him X p'eng of cowries, and hence made this honourable yi-vessel"(賜貝×朋, 用乍博彝) practised among the Shang and Chou Kings and their subjects.

Besides sacrificial vessels, in the reign of Sung T'ai-tsu(宋太祖, 960-976) abd of Sung Jen-tsung(宋仁宗, 1023-1063), chung-bells were also cast in a modified form.<sup>(60)</sup> The imitations of Han and T'ang mirrors by private founders were also plentiful. Hundreds of their products are included in the Hsiao chiao (Ch.17) and the Shan chai(Ching lu: Ch.4).

As to the localities in which the government-controlled imitations were made, there were Kou Jung County Bronze Foundry

(句容縣鑄銅局) founded in the T'ang era, which was situated in Kiangsu Province; and the foundry in T'aichou(台州) in Chekiang Province. As for Sung forgers, Chiang Niang-tzu(姜娘子) and Wang Chi(王吉) are probably the best known. Ts'ao Ming-chung(曹明仲) writes,

"Chiang Niang-tzu, a native of Hangchow of Yüan Dynasty [sic!], and Wang Chi from P'ing chiang lu(平江路, now Wu hsien in Kiangsu Province 江蘇吳縣), both gained fame in casting bronze vessels, but with rough and coarse décor. Chiang's products were better than Wang's; but neither deserved a good price."(61)

Actually, Chiang Niang-tzu and Wang Chi are Southern Sung forgers. Evidence can be found in the Sung work, Chien yen yi lai ch'ao yeh tsa chi(建炎以來朝野雜記) and also in the Ming work Ch'ang wu chih(長物志). (62) But the same error is duplicated by Ming scholars: Lü Chen(呂震) in his Hsüan te ting yi p'u(宣德鼎彝譜); Kao Lien(高濂) in his Tsun sheng pa chien(遵生八牋); Tung Ch'i-ch'ang(董其昌) in his Yün hsüan ch'ing pi lu(筠軒清閔錄) and also by the modern scholars Jung Keng and Chang Wei-ch'ih in their recently published joint work entitled Yinchou ch'ing t'ung ch'i t'ung lun(殷周青銅器通論). Two of Chiang Niang-tzu's products i.e. the two Sung chiang niang tzu chih te t'an lu(宋姜娘子至德壇爐) are included in the Hsiao chiao(13:99).

The fact that only a few fakers of Sung date are known to

us does not necessarily indicate that the question of forgery is a trivial one.

2.4.8. Since the Sung period, imitations and fakes of bronzes have been even more copious. Scholars who are conscious of the situation give little credit to the bulk of the extant bronzes. (63) The Yüan (1280-1368) succeeded politically in overthrowing the Sung, yet failed to do so culturally. In point of fact many Sung institutions remained intact. In other words, the Mongol rulers were readily inclined to accept the legacies of the Sung and also adopt the ways in which worship was conducted and sacrifices offered by their predecessors. Thus, the Emperor Ch'en<sup>g</sup>-tsung (成宗, 1295-1307) ordered that temples throughout the country should be repaired and renovated, and that a foundry, which was called Ch'u La Chü (出蜡局), be established to produce sacramental vessels for imperial use. (64) This covered a fairly broad area such as Ch'üfu (曲阜) and Chiyang (濟陽) in Shantung, Wuhsien (吳縣), Chiangning (江寧), Koujung (句容) in Kiangsu, Ch'ihhsien (溟縣), Ts'aihsien (蔡縣) in Honan, Hsinch'ang (新昌) in Chekiang, Weihsien (魏縣), K'aifeng (開封), Tingshsien (定縣) in Hopei and Yungming (永明) in Hunan and so forth, where the urban and suburban temples were all equipped with sacrificial vessels. (65) Apart from government imitations, there were also private manufactures bearing the maker's names and the date-marks such as Tate (大德, 1297-1307), T'ien-li (天曆, 1328-1330) etc. Examples are the

Yüan ta te kuei(元大德簋), Yüan t'ien li fu(元天歷簋) in the Chin shih so(Chin so); the Yüan hang chou lu chung(元杭州路鐘), Yüan ch'ang lu ju hsüeh kuei(元長蘆儒學簋), Yüan wu chiang chou hsüeh chi ch'i(元吳江州學祭器), Yüan ta te yüan nien kuei(元大德元年簋), Yüan shan ku shu yüan t'ang ch'i(元山谷書院銅器) and the Yüan fu li chüeh(元甫里爵) in the Hsiao chiao(13:102-104). A private foundry called Chung Chia(鍾家) is found in the inscription on the Yüan ch'ang lu ju hsüeh kuei just mentioned above. However, it is very interesting to note that despite the enormous quantity of ceremonial vessels being made in this period, not many of them can be seen nowadays. This state of affairs most probably means that the bulk of them have been dispersed among the public and have eventually found their way into many private and public collections, henceforth being treated and prized as specimens of Shang and Chou art.

2.4.9. The imitations and forgery of bronzes in the Ming Dynasty(1369-1660) was presumably the largest undertaking of its kind both in scope and quantity up to that time. Apart from (a) the mass-production of imitations by government( always clearly marked as imitations—see below ), (b) bronzes were also made for private individuals( marked with the customer's names ) and, of course, there were (c) the usual forgeries. (66) In addition to these classes of vessels, we may also distinguish (d) vessels originally belonging to classes (a) and (b) but

altered by the removal( sometimes detected ) of marks identifying them as being of Ming manufacture, in order to pass them off as ancient vessels and thereby enhance their market-value( see below ). Forgeries abounded in the midst of existing bronzes and overshadowed the fine genuine ones by a proportion of nine to one. (67) Owing to the extremely high price that a real fine Hsüan bronze would bring, the forgers went even so far as to divide an authentic vessel into two halves and from these produced two semi-genuine objects. (68)

On the 1st of the third month, in the 3rd year of Hsüante reign-period( 1428 ), the Emperor Hsüan-tsung of Ming issued an order to the Minister of Public Works Lü Chen( 呂震 ) which runs "Now, there is an emissary named La Chia Man Ai( 刺迦滿齋 ) from Hsienlokuo( 暹羅國 i.e. Siam ), who had offered, as tribute, foreign copper of splendid quality. I think the best use of it would be to cast bronze vessels for use in suburban temples( 郊祀 ), Royal ancestral temples and the inner court..... The various vessels may be cast in imitation of the [ pictures in the ] Po ku and K'ao ku Catalogues, or in imitation of the shapes of porcelains such as Ch'ai( 柴 ), Ju( 汝 ), Kuan( 官 ), Ke( 哥 ) Chün( 均 ), Ting( 定 ) etc in the Imperial Repository or in the patterns of any other utensils with a beautiful design ...." This was followed by a similar decree issued on the 20th of the eleventh month summoning Lü to cast faithful copies of supplementary vessels such as fu( 簠 ), kuei( 簋 ), hu( 壺 ),

tsun(尊), tsu(俎), tsou(卣) etc in imitation of ancient objects. (69) According to Lü Chen's Hsuan te ting yi p'u(宣德鼎彝譜) and Hsuan te yi ch'i t'u p'u(宣德彝器圖譜), Lü T'ang(呂棠) Hsuan te yi ch'i p'u(宣德彝器譜) and Shao Ming-sheng's(邵茗生) Hsuan lu hui shih(宣爐彙擇), the number of bronzes then cast totalled some 3365 articles or more, specimens of which can be seen in Plate Two. We shall give now a list of the models used for casting ting-cauldrons. A list for other vessel-types would be very similar, and we here restrict ourselves to this one vessel-type for the sake of simplicity:

(A) Bronze vessels:

1. The K'uei lung kao tsu ting of Shang(商夔龍高足鼎);
2. The Hsiang hsing ting(象形鼎), Fu chi ting(父己鼎), Chao fu fang ting(召父方鼎), Fu yi ting(父乙鼎) etc of Shang;
3. The Ta shu ting(大叔鼎), Yi ting(益鼎) etc of Chou;
4. The Ch'ih k'ou lien chu p'an erh ting(侈口連珠蟠耳鼎) of Han;
5. The Hsiang fu fang yi (象簋方彝) of Han;
6. The Chung Yu's(鍾繇) Wu shu ting(五熟鼎) of San Kuo Wei(三國魏);
7. The Liu he fu fu yi(六合蒲蔽彝) of Chin(晉);
8. The products of T'ien Pao Chü of T'ang(唐天寶局);



9. The Products of Chiang Niang-tzu( 姜娘子 ) of the Sung;
10. The lacquered Ta po yü( 填漆大鉢盃 ) of the Sung;
11. The Imperial Fei feng erh p'an ch'iu ta yi( 飛鳳耳蟠乳大彝 ) of the Yüan Dynasty.

(B) Illustrations of bronzes in the following Catalogues:

1. Sung hsiang fu li ch'i t'u( 宋祥符禮器圖 );
2. Chou i hou t'ien pa kua t'u( 周易後天八卦圖 );
3. Sung hsüan ho po ku t'u( 宋宣和博古圖 );
4. Hsüan chi t'u( 璇璣圖 );
5. Yüan feng li ch'i t'u( 元豐禮器圖 );
6. Shao hsing chien ku t'u( 紹興鑒古圖 );
7. K'ao ku t'u( 考古圖 ).

(C) Sung porcelains:

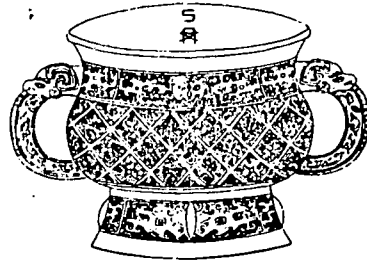
1. Ting ware( 定瓷 );
2. Kuan ware( 官窯 );
3. Chün ware( 均窯 );
4. Ke ware( 哥窯 );
5. Tung ch'ing( 東青瓷 ) Ware.

Inscribed vessels attributed to the Hsüante period by Shao Ming-sheng( ibid. ) bear two types of inscriptions:

- (1) Inscriptions of from one to six<sup>-teen</sup> characters including 宣 or 宣德 written in hsiao chuan, li shu, or k'ai shu either horizontally or vertically. Examples are illustrated in Figures 3:(a) to (n), 4:(a) to (f) and (h),

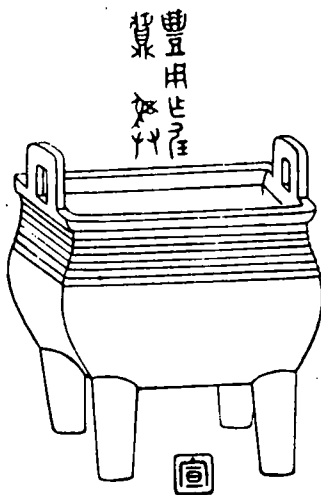


(a)



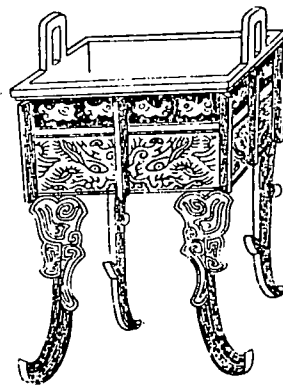
宣德

(b)



(c)

宣德  
王  
景  
所



(d)

Plate Two Specimens of imitated bronze vessels cast in the Hsüante reign-period of the Ming Dynasty.

—Selected from the Hsüan te yi ch'i t'u p'u (宣德彝器圖譜), Vol.1.

Imitated bronze ritual vessels cast by the decree of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung of Ming (明宣宗皇帝). The inscriptions

on them were partly copied from those recorded in the Sung Catalogues, and partly from those contained in the Shuo wen chieh tzu ( 說文解字 ). Some of the vessels bore, besides the imitated inscriptions, also characters such as "Hsüan" ( 宣 ) or "Hsüante" ( 宣德 ), as in (b) and (c), marking the identities of the vessels. But once these marks have been chiselled or scraped away it will be difficult to distinguish whether they are of Chou or Ming dates.

Fig. 5:(a), Fig. 6:(a) to (c) and (f).

(2) Inscriptions not containing<sup>in</sup> these characters but attributed to Hsüante date:

- (a) Of these there is one for whose attribution there is some evidence viz, " 工部官臣吳邦佐造 " ( Fig. 6:(g)) reading "Made by Wu Pang-tso, an official in the Ministry of Works." This name occurs elsewhere ( Fig. 4:(d) and (h) in conjunction with " 宣德 ". The style of script is also identical with that of Fig. 6:(f), which contains the characters " 宣德 ".
- (b) The vessel bearing the inscription in Fig.6:(c) also bears the marks " 工 " and " 內用 " ( see Fig. 6:(d) and (e) ).
- (c) The remaining two inscriptions( Fig. 4:(g) and Fig. 5:(b) ) are attributed without any evidence being offered and no further comment will be made by us on them.

All these inscriptions, whatever their style, appear either

in rilievo, or in seal-impressed rilievo( 陰印陽文 ), but never in intaglio, which is overwhelmingly common in the Shang and Chou inscriptions; inscriptions in intaglio purporting to be of Hsiante date are to be regarded as forgeries. (70) Moreover, the script of the Hsüan bronzes is normally not in the style of those of Shang or Chou. Hence, the bronzes that bear archaic style inscriptions purporting to be of Hsiante date are also to be regarded with suspicion from the outset. However, most of these Hsiante imitations are now lost, leaving behind only clumsy drawings of vessels and rubbings and hand-copies of a very small percentage of the inscriptions. What is surprising is that there should have been a wholesale disappearance where "not one in a hundred [ Hsüan bronzes ] survives; except the damaged ones." (71) The better interpretation of this state of affairs could only be that the bulk of fine Hsüan bronzes have found their way into many private collections. Here again, our conviction of the authenticity of some ancient Chinese bronzes is undermined; especially when we realise that forgeries have been made on the basis of the official imitations.

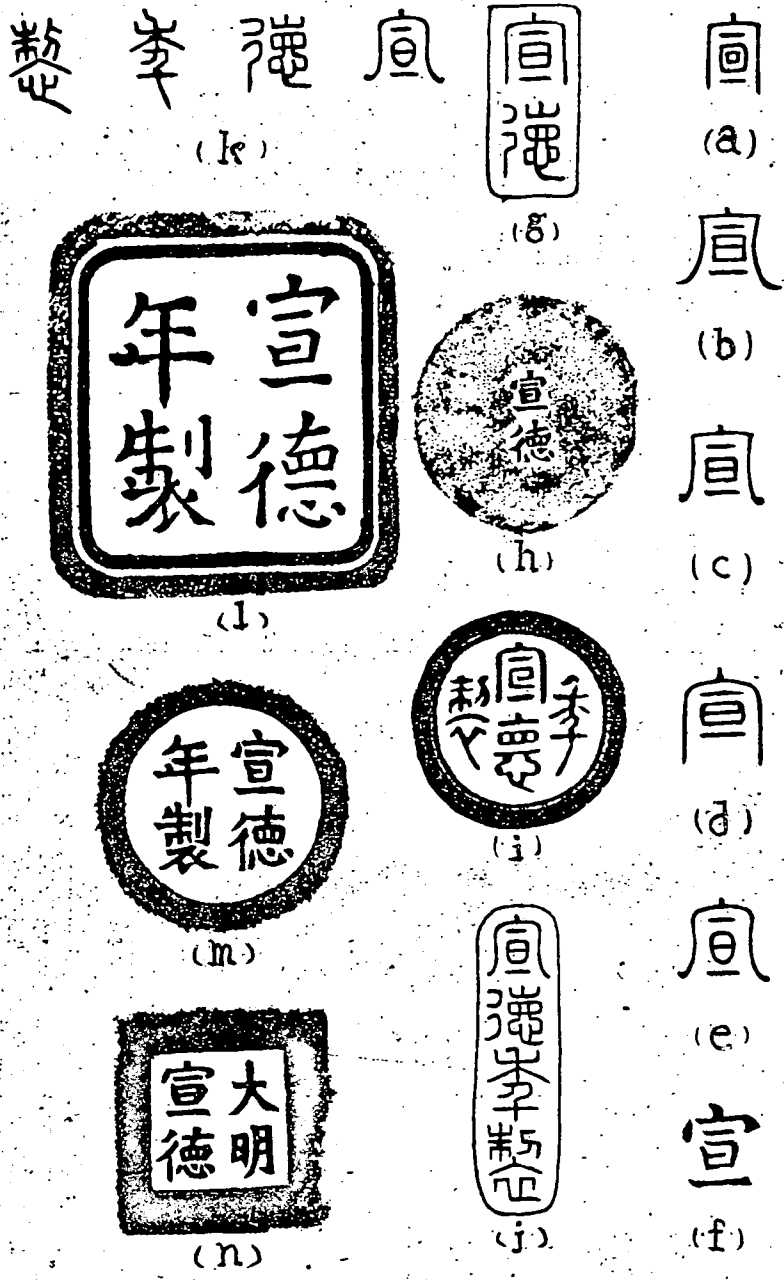


Figure 3 Inscriptions on the imitated bronze vessels cast in the Hsüante reign-period of the Ming Dynasty ( 1426-1435 ).

—Reproduced from the Hsuan lu hui shih (宣爐彙釋), Ch. 4.

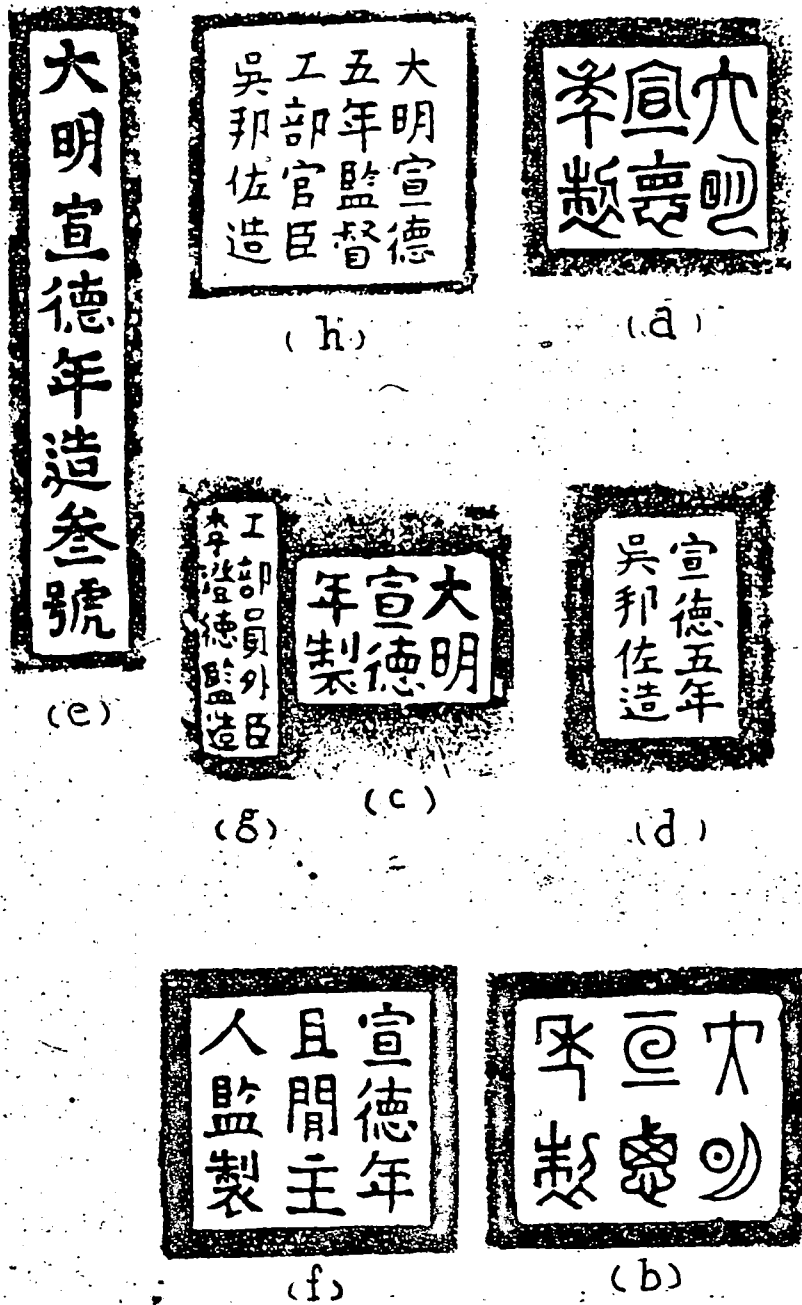
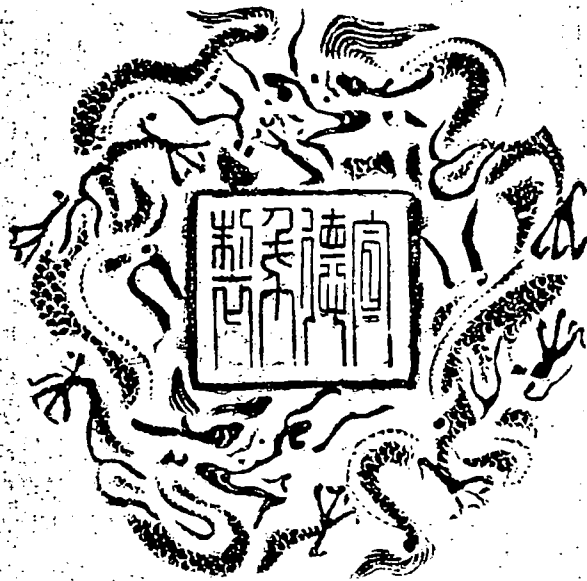


Figure 4 Inscriptions on the imitated bronze vessels cast in the Hsüente reign-period of the Ming Dynasty.

—Reproduced from op.cit.



(a)



(b)

Figure 5 Inscriptions on the imitated bronze vessels cast in the Hsüante reign-period of the Ming Dynasty.

—Reproduced from op.cit.

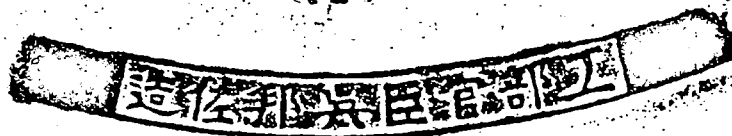
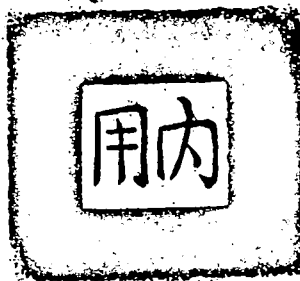
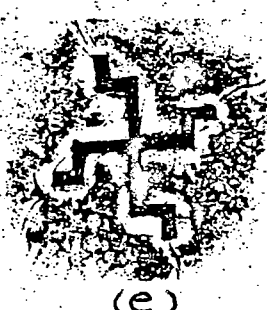
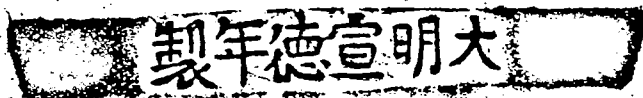
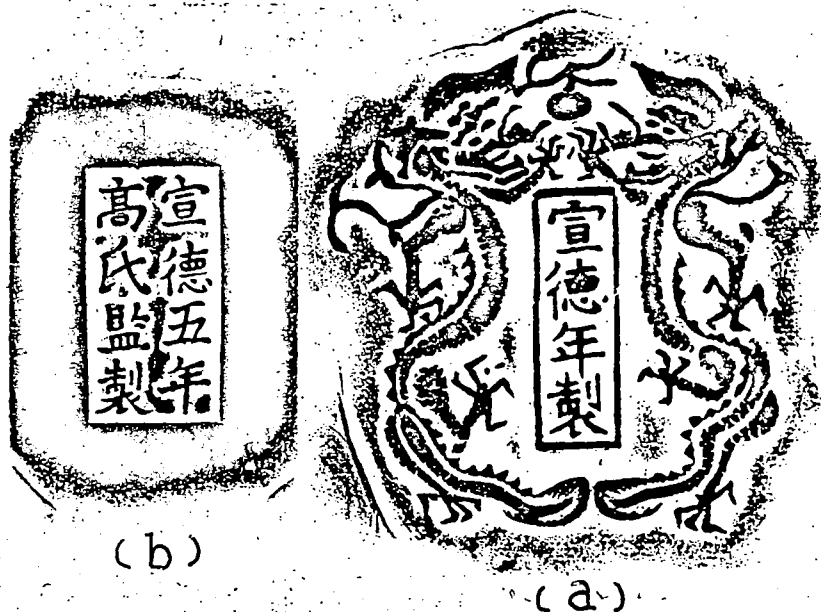


Figure 6 Inscriptions on the imitated bronze vessels cast in the Hsüante reign-period of the Ming Dynasty.

—Reproduced from op.cit.



Among the best-known and most active Ming imitators and forgers are the following: (72)

(1) Ch'in-Shu-lü (琴書侶):

The three characters ch'in shu lü appearing in seal-impressed rilievo, are a fancy name of Wu Pang-tso (吳邦佐), the Government Bronze Superintendent during the Hsiante reign-period. They are cast on the bases of the bronzes manufactured privately by him. Apart from bronzes cast under his superintendence bearing inscriptions shown in Fig. 4:(d), (h) and Fig. 6:(g), Wu has also imitated a number of artifacts which are remarkably homogeneous to the real Hsüan bronzes, particularly in graphic style, vessel-type and patina. With high quality, they are almost as valuable as the Hsüan objects among the imitated vessels. The character "lü" on this group of bronzes is invariably shaped "ㄥ"; those that are executed as "ㄥ" or "ㄥ", on sale in the antique shops are believed to be faked. This would imply the existence of imitations of imitations made for the antique trade.

(2) Kao Shih (高氏):

The identity of this imitator is unknown. It is probable that he was one of the assistant-superintendents to Wu Pang-tso. The bronzes which he imitates bear inscriptions reading "Manufactured in the 5th year of Hsiante reign-period under the superintendence of Kao Shih." (宣德五年高氏監製).

(3) Ch'ieh Hsien Chu Jen (且閑主人):

The owner of this fancy name has not yet been identified. But from what is implied in the inscription it is certain that he was one of the Government Superintendents of Bronze-casting. The text, reading "Manufactured in the Hsüante reign-period under the superintendence of Ch'ieh Hsien Chu Jen," (宣德五年且閑主人監製), is cast in rilievo (see Fig. 4:(f)).

(4) Hsüeh-tao (學道):

The two characters hsüeh tao are the tzu or hao of this imitator, whose family name is unknown. Shao Ming-sheng<sup>(73)</sup> considered him to have been active during the early part of the Chia-ch'ing reign-period (嘉靖, 1522-1566); whereas Mao Hsiang (冒襄)<sup>(74)</sup> held the opinion that he lived and practised in the later part of that period. His products, together with those of Shih Chia (施家, see below), are better known as the "Northern castings" (北鑄), which are characterized by their conversion of actual Hsüan bronzes into novel forms by cutting up and recombining by fusing (see 2.4.9, above).

(5) Shih Chia (施家):

Shih Chia (The Chia, of course, is not a part of the name), whose works also known as "Northern castings", lived in the period of Wang-li (萬曆) and T'ien-ch'i (天啟) (1573-1627). The metal used in his products is said by Shao Ming-sheng to be of poor quality, and accordingly his products are said to be inferior to those of Hsüeh-tao.

(6) Kan Wen-t'ang (甘文堂):

A native of Chinling(金陵), Kan Wen-t'ang lived in the late Wan-li ~~we~~ period(1573-1620). He specialized in melting copper by means of a blast-furnace(鼓鑄), and his works were well-known as "Southern castings"(南鑄).

(7) Ts'ai Chia(蔡家):

A contemporary of Kan Wen-t'ang, Ts'ai Chia was a native of Soochow. His products are better in quality than those of Kan's, and are known as "Su castings"(蘇鑄).

(8) Hsü Shou-su(徐守素):

A native of Wuchung(吳中, now Wuhsien in the Province of Kiangsu 江蘇吳縣), Hsü forged outstanding ku(觚), tsun(尊), chih(卣) and gilded statues of the Goddess of Mercy(金觀音) etc, which are said to be as costly as fine Hsüan bronzes. His products, which are superb in quality and material, are praised as the best of all forgeries at that time.

(9) Chou Wen-fu(周文甫 alias 周文富)(75):

Also a native of Wuchung, Chou lived in the late Wan-li period. His products are mostly duplicated from the Hsüan bronzes and are of magnificent quality, particularly in patina.

(10) T'ang Tzu-hsiang(湯子祥):

T'ang Tzu-hsiang, who lived in the late Ming Dynasty, specialized in faking by means of fusing and repairing damaged vessels.

The above are professional imitators or forgers known to us to be of Ming date. As there was no censorship then imposed,

nor was there any penalty enforced for forgery of bronzes, imitators and forgers worked in complete liberty and security. The question which remains unanswered is this: what is the actual productivity of these imitators and counterfeiters? It is unlikely that we shall ever be in a position to answer this question.

A few words may be added at this juncture to the artistic and technical aspects of the Ming imitations and forgeries. As to the products of the private and secret forgers, nothing more is known to us than what we have just remarked above, but we are in a position to judge the imitated Hsüan bronze artifacts. These attain admirably high artistic and technical achievements: elegant symbolism with archaic taste and feeling; beautifully decorated and well designed. Perhaps their most outstanding feature is the patinas. In Hsüan lu hui shih over 50 categories of patina are recorded, each with a specific denomination. Mao Hsiang asserts that the supremacy of Hsüan bronze accomplishment lies in its patinas, which go right into the metal and which "glow with a fantastic lustre of their own, like the tender skin of a fair lady that every man would like to caress." (76) The method of faking ancient blue-green colour is achieved by the following process: select broken or inferior archaic objects, preferably those of a turquoise (翠碧) colour, of the Three Dynasties, and pound them into powder which is then mixed with mercury and other chemicals in the molten bronze. After

the vessel is cast, blue-green colouring and cinnabar are applied to its surface; again a solution of corundum and mercury is applied to the body of the vessels. Thereafter the vessel is baked consecutively up to five times over a fierce fire, until the blue-green colouring takes effect and infiltrates deeply into the body of the vessel. Again it is coated by pouring on white wax and then cleaned out by heating. Finally it is brushed with a palm-leaf brush and rubbed with clean cloth; whereupon the internal and external patinas and cinnabar mounds emerge. They are firmly attached to the surface of the vessels and so are not easy to scraped off. Some really fine specimens resemble the objects of the Three Dynasties, Han and Wei dates to the extent that they are almost indistinguishable. (77)

Further to what has been stated above, there was a copious imitator called Ch'ang Fang (常芳), the Prince of Lu (潞王) who lived in the late Ming. During the Ch'ung-chen reign-period (崇禎, 1626-1644) he ordered thousands of vessels to be cast in imitation of the patterns published in the Po ku t'u to be preserved and buried in the earth. (78) Although "thousands" sounds exaggerated, we have every reason to believe that his products are indeed plentiful, to judge from the statements made in the inscription on the Lu kuo ting (潞國鼎), "In the 8th year of the Ch'ung-chen reign-period (1635) of the Great Ming Dynasty, the 19th vessel manufactured by Ching Yi Chu Jen (a fancy name of the "King") of Lu kuo" (大明崇禎捌年潞國製

拾玖器敬一主人)( See Ch'eng ch'iu kuan p.78 ), and on the Lu kuo ku( 潞國觚 ) "In the 9th year of the Ch'ung-chen reign-period( 1636 ) of the Great Ming Dynasty, the 41st vessel manufactured by Ching Yi Chu Jen of Lu kuo"( 大明崇禎玖年潞國製第肆拾壹器敬一主人 ) ( See Hai wai: t'u 81; shih 12; it is known as Ching yi ku 敬一觚 in this work.)

2.4.10. The imitations and forgeries of bronze vessels in the Ch'ing Dynasty( 1644-1911 ) became more prevalent for the reason that the craftsmen had more and better <sup>to</sup> prototypes to imitate: in addition to the archetypes of the Sung Catalogues K'ao ku t'u , Po ku t'u and Li tai etc, there are innumerable models obtainable from the Hsüan repository. Let us commence with imitators who were in existence during the periods of Yung-cheng and Ch'ien-lung( 雍正乾隆 , 1723-1795 ) and who worked largely after the Hsüan bronzes of Ming. Their skill is far from being of a high standard and their products poor in contrast with those of Ming imitators. According to the Hsüan lu hui shih, the following artisans are known to us:

(1) Pa Ke( 巴格 also known as Pa Shih 巴氏 );

Little is known of this imitator's identity; except that his products bear the inscription reading "Patterned after Hsüan bronzes by Pa Shih of the Great Ch'ing Dynasty"( 大清巴氏仿宣 ) and "Patterned after Hsüan bronzes by Pa Ke of the Great Ch'ing Dynasty"( 大清巴格仿宣 ). The script appears in seal-impressed rilievo, in a dynamic k'ai shu style.

(2) Tui T'ung Lu (對銅鑪):

There are bronzes that carry the inscription "Tui t'ung lu" (對銅鑪). They must have been made by a craftsman whose identity is purposely concealed.

(3) Su Chou Tsao (蘇州造):

After the Ch'ien-lung period, especially from Tao-kuang to Kuang-hsi (道光至光緒, 1821-1908), there appeared imitated bronzes with inscriptions reading "Su chou tsao" (蘇州造). These characters merely mark the place in which the articles were manufactured. The use of the word tsao implies that they were manufactured by a firm or group of people, not necessarily by an individual. It is quite reasonable to assume some connection between the makers of the Su Chou Tsao vessels and Ts'ai Chia (蔡家, see above).

Wei Chai-hsien (衛聚賢) declares, in his Chung kuo k'ao ku hsueh shih (中國考古學史), p.120, that during the periods of T'ung-chih and Kuang-hsi (同治光緒間, 1862-1908) the most eminent connoisseur of bronze and detector of forgeries Ch'en Chieh-ch'i (陳介祺) recruited skilled forgers such as Hsü Chih-ch'üan (魯芝泉), T'ien Yu-fan (田雨颯), Wang Hsi-ch'üan (王西泉), Ho K'un-yü (何昆玉) and Ho Yüan-yü (何瑗玉) etc in his workshop to produce the famous Mao kung ting, Ta yü ting and other faked archaic vessels. This is well testified by the statement made by Wang Kuo-wei in his "Mao kung ting, k'ao shih" (毛公鼎銘考釋) (79) that the Mao kung ting, Ta yü ting

and K'e ting (克鼎) came to light only after the periods of Tao-kuang and Hsien-feng (道光咸豐, 1821-1861), and that they were first found in the collection of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i. The likely coincidence of the arrival of these vessels with the mass recruitment of forgers by Ch'en Chieh-ch'i tallies very well with Wei's declaration above. This also give added support to Chang Chih-tung's (張之洞) (80) declaration of the forgery of Mao kung ting and Ta yü ting (see also below).

Imitations and counterfeits such as those bearing the inscriptions "Tui tung lu" (對銅鑪), "Su cheu tsao" (蘇州造) etc are discernible and easily detected, and so give rise to little danger of confusion; whereas undetected fakes such as those which bear no such marks or which have been made in imitation of archaic models do pose a serious problem to students of ancient Chinese bronzes. As regards the latter category of offakes, we surmised in the preceding paragraphs that they might have slipped into many private and official collections and thereby have become incorporated among ancient objects which were published in the catalogues of these collections and have ever since been treated as genuine. Our presumption may be substantiated by the following data:

First, the collection of ancient Chinese bronzes in the Ch'ing Imperial repository is partly based on the gradual accumulation of remains from the late Yuan and Ming Dynasties and partly on contemporaneous contributions (see T'ung lun, Ch.9).



However, it is very surprising that in no circumstances have we found any ceremonial vessels attributed to T'ang or later being included in the four Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues which were compiled over a period of 182 years( 1749-1931 ). The upshot of this strange situation has been Jung Keng's discovery that nearly half of the Imperial Ch'ing collection consist of faked or suspected vessels( see Ch.1, Note 11 above ). This substantial proportion of questionable materials in the Imperial Ch'ing collection would thus nicely fill in the gap between the T'ang( 705 ) and 1930s, which is left blank in the Imperial Catalogues. In other words, the logical conclusion is that the faked ancient bronzes of this lengthy twelve centuries must have to a considerable extent gone into the Imperial Ch'ing repository. (81)

Secondly, Jung Keng, who was one of the government-appointed connoisseurs to the Department of Antiquities in the Palace Museum and who in this capacity had the opportunity of handling more than three thousand archaic bronzes and on the strength of this claimed to be able to distinguish between faked and genuine objects in respect of vessel types, décor and inscription, has himself included forged vessels such as ling kuei( 令簋 ), X-chung ting( 兪 中鼎 ) etc in his Pao yün. Therefore, as his experience increased in the course of time and practical work on the problem of forgery, he subsequently published his monumental work T'ung k'ao in 1941 and his joint work( with Chang Wei-ch'ih ) T'ung lun in 1958, which nevertheless include faked vessels such

as Mao kung ting, Ta yü ting, Ch'üeh ts'ao ting, Ch'e ma lieh wen fang k'ou hu (車馬獵紋方口壺) and Ch'i hou ting (齊侯鼎) and so on. It was not until after his T'ung lun had gone to press that he realised that the last two vessels above mentioned were faked. The admission of his misapprehension was later made in a slip of Corrigenda et Addenda loosely inserted in his T'ung lun. Incidents of this kind strongly suggest that the really fine counterfeits can deceive even well-versed experts and thereby find their way into their collections and come to be used as research materials.

Thirdly, Jüan Yüan (阮元), who had taken part in the compilation<sup>of</sup> Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues, published his Chi ku chai in the 9th year of Chia-ch'ing reign-period (嘉慶, 1804) which contains fifty-four forged vessels of dates prior to Ch'ien-lung ( see T'ung k'ao, Ch.12 ).

Fourthly, Wu Yün (吳雲) who was an intimate friend of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i and used to discuss the problem of forgery with Ch'en published his Liang lei hsuan in the 11th year of the T'ung-chih reign-period (同治, 1873), which includes fakes such as Ts'e ts'e fu yi ting (册册父乙鼎, 3:8), Keng wu fu yi ting (庚午父乙鼎, 1:3), Yü ku (魚角瓜, 2:8), Keng chih (庚解, 2:15), Man chung yi (曼仲彝, 3:18), Ch'i hou p'an (齊侯盤, 8:4) etc.

Fifthly, among the bronzes published in Tuan Fang's two albums: T'ao chai and T'ao hsü are 46 articles declared faked

by Lo Chen-yü (羅振玉). (82) Furthermore, Jung Keng has added the following six to their accounts: Ch'u kung chia chung (楚公家鐘), Tso yi (作彝), Tan tzu hu (單子壺), Li yi (霽彝), Po li (伯鬲), Kuei fu p'an (歸父盤). (83)

Lastly, Wang Kuo-wei's Kuo ch'ae chin wen chu lu piao, which covers almost all Ch'ing private Catalogues, writes, "Many private Catalogues frequently include authentic and forged vessels.....for instance, approximately 80 to 90 per cent of the contents of the ancient weapons in T'ao chai are faked," (see the Preface of this work).

The mysterious disappearance of most of T'ang and post-T'ang vessels from the records and the reassessment of apparently genuine vessels as forgeries, while in themselves not constituting solid proof of forgery, do lay all known unattested vessels and all catalogue illustrations open to grave suspicion. We shall endeavour to demonstrate in the chapters that follow that some at least of these suspicions are in fact well-founded.

2.4.11. After the Republic was established (1912- ), the forgery of ancient bronzes thrived for three marked reasons: (1) Scholars who, as part of the Ch'ing revival of studies, pursued studies in the fields of art, antiquities, archaeology and palaeography as their counterparts pursuing "Han hsüeh" did in Han times, took a special interest in ancient bronzes and their epigraphy. Most of them tended to build a collection of their own and so set out to hunt for bronzes, with the inevitable result

that forgers attempted to cater for their needs; (2) influenced by the opening of the late Ch'ing Imperial Palace to the public after part of it had been converted into the National Museum, there was a mushroom growth of provincial, county, district and city museums, the majority of which included departments of antiquities. All these developing museums launched a nation-wide campaign to search for archaic objects; (3) the influx of scholars, collectors, representatives of private and government museums or galleries both from Japan and the West looking for Chinese relics formed a welcome and gratifying stimulus to the forgers, and accordingly opened a prosperous world market for their products. The main trend in counterfeiting in this period was the forgery of inscriptions on existing or authentic bronzes, which will be dealt with in the following chapters. We now revert to our task of giving an account of active imitators and forgers known to us to date:

(A) Imitations by unknown imitators marked with an inscription:

(1) Tung yang tsao (東洋造):

The maker of bronzes which bear the trade mark "Made by Tung Yang" is unknown. Vessels produced by Tung Yang deviate from traditional types and are also poor in quality.

(2) Ta mo ch'ang tsao (打磨廠造):

Bronzes with the inscription "Made by Ta Mo Factory" are said by Shao Ming-sheng to be inferior in respect both of type

and of inscription.

(3) Tung ta shih(東大市):

The fine bronzes marked with the characters "Tung ta shih" are characterized by imitated ancient patinas which will withstand the application of a moderate degree of heating. An antique dealer is quoted by Shao as saying that they could fade only by the application of very strong heat, and Shao satisfied himself of this by experiment. (84)

(4) Chin yü ch'ih yi te ch'eng tsao(金魚池義德成造):

Located in the south side of I-hsi Road(逸西路), east of Chin Yü Ch'ih(金魚池), an area in Peking, Yi Te Ch'eng(義德成) was a foundry which specialized in casting bronze objects in imitation of the Hsuan bronzes of the Ming Dynasty. The proprietor of this establishment was formerly employed in the Ch'ing Imperial foundry and after its closure he ran his own workshop. His products flooded the antique shops in Peking for his firm was the only one of its kind that produced fine censers. At the end of his foundry were stacks of clay moulds, large and small, for ting-cauldrons, yi-caskets and li-cauldrons etc embodying decorations such as t'ao t'ieh(饕餮), k'uei lung(夔龍) and yün lei wen(雲雷紋) and so forth. One of the craftsmen employed there disclosed to Shao that vessels cast in fine copper alloys were of proper weight; whereas many vessels manufactured by them had stones or lead included to bring them up to the proper weight. These articles were termed "Hsiao-pa'rh".

of  
(小板鬼) (85) and were the poorest quality.

(5) Yin chu chü tsao (印鑄局造):

YinChu Chü originally was a seal manufacturing bureau in the Ch'ing Dynasty. It also turned to casting bronze vessels in later times. In some cases its materials came from the remnants of seals from the Ch'ien-lung reign-period onwards. Some of the bronzes which bear the inscription "Yin chu chü tsao" (印鑄局造) are explicitly intended to be replicas of Hsüan originals.

(B) Forgers:

(1) Chou Mei-ku (周梅谷):

A native of Soochow and probably an ex-craftsman of the "Su chou tsao" group mentioned above, Chou forged remarkably fine vessels which have almost deceived experts of Jung Keng's standing. One of his masterpieces, the Ch'e ma liehwen fang k'ou hu (車馬獵紋方口壺), which was only recently shown by Jung Keng to be faked, has found its way into the collection of the Chicago National Gallery of Arts in the United States. (86)

Apart from Soochow, which has been one of the hereditary cradles of forgers, places like Shensi, Shantung, Shanghai etc have also produced many forgers and imitators; especially in Weihsien (濰縣) in Shantung, the home town of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i, where were forged such excellent bronzes as K'ung ping (孔鼎), Ch'en hou ting (陳侯鼎), Ni pe li (卽始帝), Ta feng kuei (大豐簋), Shih sung kuei (史頌簋), Ch'i lu X shang p'an (取盧子商盤) etc from models in Ch'en's collection. During the

Japanese occupation the bronze-repairers in Peking were badly hit by lack of orders. In order to earn a livelihood they turned to fabricating large quantities of ancient bronzes for sale. Their products were relatively good as regards vessel type and ornamentation, but not as regards corrosive effects and patinas. (87)

Forged ancient Chinese bronzes stemming from this period have an immensely wide circulation; besides those which found their way into private collections and public museums in China, a considerable quantity have also found their way abroad. Of the former a large number have been recorded in Liu T'i-chih's Shan chai and Tsou Shou-ch'i's Meng p'o shih (88) etc. As far as the latter are concerned very little effort has been made to enquire into their authenticity.

We have seen, then, that bronzes have been imitated( innocently ) and forged for at least two and a half millennia. (89) Existing bronzes certainly include many made at various periods in imitation of ancient vessels. The principal danger arising out of this is that imitated or forged vessels will be used as raw materials by the art-historians. In Chapters 4 and 5 we shall see that this has in fact been done, with serious consequences, in the case of forged inscriptions.

Notes: Chapter Two

1. A. Waley, The Analects of Confucius, p.97.
2. See Chou shih: "Hui tsung huang ti szu yuan ch'iu fang tse t'ai miao ming t'ang li ch'i k'uan chih"(稽史:徽宗皇帝祀  
園正方澤太廟明堂祀器款識), Ch.3.
3. See Jung Keng and Chang Wei-ch'ih(張維持), Yin chou ch'ing t'ung ch'i t'ung lun(殷周青銅器通論), Ch.9.
4. Takigawa Kametarō(瀧川龜太郎), Shih chi hui chu k'ao cheng(史記會注考證), Vol.2, Ch.12, p.26 and Vol.4, Ch.28, p.66.
5. Hsü Shen, Shuo wen chieh tzu(說文解字), Ch.15.
6. Tso chuan: Duke Hsüan, 3rd year(左傳:宣公三年), Legge p.293.
7. See Shih chi: "Ch'in shih huang pen chi"(史記:秦始皇本  
紀), Vol.1, Ch.6, p.41.
8. See Shih lin pi shu lu hua(石林燕語錄註), Ch.3.
9. See W. Van Honsden, Ancient Chinese Bronzes of the Shang and Chou Dynasties, Tokyo, 1952.
10. See T'ung lun, Ch.9.
11. See Ch'en Chieh-ch'i(陳介祺), Fu chai ch'ih tu(簞齋尺  
牘), Vol.9, p.40.
12. Li Hsin-ch'uan(李心傳), Chien yen yi lai ch'ao yeh tsa chi(建炎以來朝野雜記) devotes only a small proportion of its contents to the imitation of bronzes, the account being inadequate.



13. Chao Hsi-ku(趙希鵠), Tung t'ien ch'ing lu chi: "Ku chung ting yi ch'i pien"(洞天清祿集:古鐘鼎彝器辨). The English translation is Barnard's; see his Bronze Casting and Bronze Alloys in Ancient China.
14. Sung Ying-hsing(宋應星), T'ien kung k'ai wu(天工開物), 1637.
15. Kao Lien(高濂), Tsun sheng pa chien: "Lun hsin chu wei tsao"(遵生八牋:論新鑄偽造), Ch.14, p.28; Hsiang Tzu-ching(項子京), Hsüan lu po lun(宣爐博論); English translations of relevant passages largely follow Barnard's, see op. cit., pp.204-212.
16. See T'ung lun, p.136.
- 16.a. See Ch'en Meng-chia, "T'ung ch'i fa chan te li shih kai yao' t'ao lun"("銅器發展的歷史概要"討論), Wen ts'an Vol.7, 1953, p.127; and also Ch'en's Yin Hsü pu tz'u tsung shu(殷墟卜辭綜述), p.542. Kuo Pao-chün(郭寶鈞) in his Chung kuo ch'ing t'ung ch'i shih tai(中國青銅器時代), pp.5-23, argues in favour of the universal use of bronze agricultural tools in the Bronze Age. However, his theory is based, not on the distribution and quantity of excavated artifacts, but mainly on speculation about the system of ownership of agricultural tools at this period.
17. See Metzu: "Fei kung B"(墨子:非攻下) and also Mencius: "Liang hui wang B"(孟子:梁惠王下).
18. Abundant instances can be found in Tso chuan: "Ch'eng kung

10th yr"( 成公十年 ); "Hsiang kung 25th yr"( 襄公二十五年);

"Chao kung 16th yr"( 昭公十六年 ).

19. See also Pao K'ang( 鮑康 ) Pao yi yuan shou cha( 鮑臆園手  
札 ), p.4, in which he states, "However, upon carefully con-  
sidering this, there were already faked ting-cauldrons in  
the Warring States, which were almost indistinguishable in  
those times. How much more so will be the fakes of several  
thousand years later?"

19.a Han fei tzu: "Shuo lin"( see Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien 陳啟天 :,  
Han fei tzu chiao shih 韓非子校釋 , T'aipei, 1958, p.650)

"Ch'i attacked Lu, demanding the Ch'an-ting-cauldron. Lu sent  
a forgery of it. The people of Ch'i said, 'It is a forgery.'  
The people of Lu said, 'It is genuine.' Ch'i said, 'Send for  
Le-cheng Tzu-ch'un; I shall take his word for it.' The ruler  
of Lu sent for Le-cheng Tzu-ch'un. Le-cheng Tzu-ch'un said,  
'Why not send the genuine one?' The ruler said, 'I can't  
bear to part with it.' [ Le-cheng Tzu-ch'un ] replied, 'And  
I can't bear to part with my reputation for reliability.'"

cf. Hsin hsü: "Chieh chih"( 新序: 節士 , SPTK 1/019 ): "Ch'i  
attacked Lu to get the Ts'en-ting-cauldron. The ruler of Lu  
sent the Ts'en-ting-cauldron( Lü shih ch'un ch'iu: "Shen chi"  
says "a different ting-cauldron." ). The Marquis of Ch'i did  
not accept it as genuine but returned it, regarding it as a  
forgery. He sent an emissary to tell the ruler of Lu that Liu-  
hsia Hui( 柳下惠 ) considered it to be genuine and that he

therefore begged the ruler of Lu to accept it and to consult Liu-hsia Hui about it. [ When questioned by the ruler of Lu, ] Liu-hsia Hui replied, 'The reason why Your Majesty wishes to have it accepted as the Ts'en-ting-cauldron is in order to save your country. But I have a country of my own here [ to think of ] ( i.e. his reputation as a reliable connoisseur ). It is too much to ask of me that my country should be destroyed to save yours.' Thereupon the ruler of Lu sent the real Ts'en-ting-cauldron. Truly it may be said that Liu-hsia Hui was true to his trust. He not only preserved his own country intact but also that of the ruler of Lu."

19.b His identity is in doubt. The Han fei tzu: "Shuo lin B" version of the story refers to him as Le-cheng Tzu-ch'un (樂正子春). The Hsin Hsü: "Chieh shih" and Lü shih ch'un ch'iu: "Shen chi" versions identifying him as Liu-hsia Hui (柳下惠) and Liu-hsia Chi (柳下季) respectively. The consensus of opinion is that his surname was Chan (展), his ming was Hui (獲), his tzu was Ch'in (禽), later changed to Chi (季), and his posthumous appellation was Hui (惠).

20. Shih chi: "Ch'in shih huang pen chi" (史記秦始皇本紀), Ch.6, p.28 ( Vol.1 ) says, " [ Ch'in Shih-huang ] collected all weapons and gathered them together in Hsienyang (咸陽). He then melted them and cast sets of bells and twelve statues, each of which weighed one thousand shih (石). They were

housed in the Palace." Han shu ( 27 下上 , p.25b ) says these statues were made to portray twelve giants who appeared in Lin-t'ao ( 臨洮 ) in the 26th year of Ch'in-shih-huang-ti. Apart from Szu-ma Ch'ien's figure of 1,000 shih ( 石 ) as the weight of each statue, two other figures were given by Shih chi commentators, viz, 340,000 catties and 240,000 catties. Passages are also quoted by the commentators describing the fate of these statues.

21. Hsü Shen Shuo wen chieh tzu, Ch.15, says, "In some counties and states, bronze vessels are often found in the mountains and in the rivers. The inscriptions thereon are in archaic script of earlier generations, and are similar to one and another." Pan Ku Han shu: "Wu ti pen chi", Ch.6, states, "In the 6th month, a ting-cauldron was found beside the Soil God's Temple ( 后土祠 )"; Han shu: "Chiao shih chih", Ch.5, says, "That summer, in the 6th month, Wu Chin ( 巫錦 ) of Fenyin offered on behalf of his fellow countrymen sacrifice to Wei Ch'ü ( 魏睢 ) beside the Soil God's Temple. Something hook-shaped was seen in the ground. When dug up, a ting-cauldron, of strangely larger size than many other ting, was brought to light. It was beautifully ornamented, but had no inscription on it. The discoverers being astounded [ by the sight of it ] informed the officials who made a report to the Governor Sheng ( 勝 ) of Hotung ( 河東 ). Sheng then reported to the Emperor, who sent a special envoy to

inquire into the event. After questioning Wu Chin about the matter, the discovery of the ting-cauldron was confirmed not to be fraudulent. Then the cauldron was received in a special ceremony and afterwards it was transferred to Kanch'üan(甘泉). "Han shu: "Chiao shih chih B"(漢書:郊祀志下), Ch.5, says, "At that time a ting-cauldron was found in Meiyang(美陽) and later presented to the Royal Household."

22. See Shih chi: "Feng shan shu", Ch.28. English translation largely follows B. Watson Records of the Grand Historian of China, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Vol.2, p.36, New York and London, 1961. See also Han shu: "Chiao shih chi A", Ch.5.

23. A series of discoveries were being made during this period. Han shu: "Wu ti pen chi", Ch.6, states, "In the 1st year of T'uan-ting(元鼎, 116 B.C.) Ying Chao(應劭) says, 'The reign-title was altered as a consequence of the discovery of a ting-cauldron.' In summer, in the fifth month, a general amnesty was declared throughout the country; on the 5th [of the same month], a ting-cauldron was found in the River Fen(汾水)."

24. Wei-Chü-hsien Chung kuo k'ao ku hsüeh shih, pp.117-118.

25. Han shu: "Lu ch'iu shou wang lieh chuan"(漢書:廬丘壽王列傳), Ch.64.

26. Han shu: "Chiao shih chih", Ch.5.

27. See Yu Li(虞荔) Ting Lu(鼎錄), Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng chien pien(叢書集成簡編), No.477, T'aipei, 1966.

28. See Jung Keng Ch'in han chin wen lu (秦漢金文錄), Pref. pp.1-2. In the Han chin wen lu of this work, a total of 687 inscribed bronzes are recorded. Of these some 100 objects ( or 16% including those in the fu lu 附錄) are marked as "suspected" or "forged" by Jung Keng.
29. The interpretation of "共官" as "supplied for the use of the officials" is parallel to that of the Li chi: "Wang chih" (礼记:王制); "天子百里之内以共官,千里之内以為御" ( 3:4-5 ).
30. See Po ku t'u( 5:29-30 ); Li tai( 18:201 or 18:216 ).
31. See Ku lin( 60:6474-6523 ).
32. The standard character or the k'ai shu is said to have emerged in the Later Han time. Exant rubbings indicate an early use of the k'ai shu style in this time period. The Japanese scholar, Nakamura Fusetsu( 中村不折 ) has in his possession a porcelain jar dated the second year of Yung-shou( 永寿 ) in the Han Dynasty( 156 A.D.), inscribed largely in k'ai shu style with a few li shu strokes retained. This explicitly marks the transitional period of the k'ai shu from the li shu and when the k'ai shu calligrapher Chung Yu( 鍾繇, 151-230 ) appeared, the transition was completed. See also Wang Fang-yü's( 王方字 ) Introduction to Chinese Cursive Script( 行草讀本), The Institute of Far Eastern Languages, Yale University, 1958; Introduction, pp.XI-XII.
33. See Fu feng ch'i chia ts'un ch'ing t'un ch'i ch'un( 扶風齊

- 家村青銅器群), Pls. 4, 24-27.
34. Li Yi-yu's (李逸友) "Nei meng ku t'u mo t'e ch'i ch'u t'u ti Han tai t'ung ch'i" (內蒙古土默特旗出土的漢代銅器), K'ao ku t'ung hsün (考古通訊), Vol.2, 1956, pp.60-61 and Pl.15; Ching Yi's (靜宜) "Tui 'Nei meng ku t'u mo t'e ch'i ch'u t'u ti Han tai t'ung ch'i' yi wen ti shang chüeh" (對'內蒙古土默特旗出土的漢代銅器'一文的商榷), op.cit., No.4, p.75; Ma Heng's (馬衡) "Pei wei hu fu pa" (北魏虎符跋), op.cit., p.76 and also the editorial Note on the same page.
35. See Chü yen han chien chia pien (居延漢簡甲編), Peking, 1959, Nos. 1562, 1580, 1862, 1919A, 1961 etc; see also Ed Chavannes Documents Chinois Découverts Par Aurel Stein, Nos. 624, 732, 735, 736, 737 etc. (Oxford, 1913)
36. See Chavannes's op.cit., Nos. 262, 311 etc; H. Maspero's Les Documents Chinois de la Troisieme Expedition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale, London, 1953; No.69; Chü yen han chien chia pien, Nos. 872, 959, etc; and see also M. Loewe's "The Measurement of grain during the Han Period", T'ung Pao, Vol.49, 1961, pp.64-95, especially Pl.1.
37. Sui shu, Ch.68, p.9B.
38. Sui shu, Ch.68, p.10B.
39. op.cit. p.11A.
40. op.cit., pp.9-12.
41. See Ts'ao Ming-chung (曹明仲) Ke ku yao lun: "Hsin t'ung

ch'1" (格古要論: 新銅器), Ch.6.

42. See Tsun sheng pa chien: "Hsin chiu t'ung ch'i pien cheng"  
(遵生八牋: 新舊銅器辨正), Ch.14.
43. See Ch'üeh shih (闕史: 裴丞相古器知不足齋叢書), Ch.1, pp.  
17B-18B, Shanghai, 1921.
44. See Yeh Ch'ang-ch'ih (葉昌熾) Yü shih (語石); Ssu-ma Ch'ih  
t'iao (司馬池條) Chin shih hsüeh tsa (金石學叢), Ch.2;  
and see also Chu Chien-hsin (朱劍心) Chin shih hsüeh (金石  
學).
45. Ti Ju-wen (翟汝文) Chung hui chi (忠惠集).
46. Chou shih: "Chi fang tse li ch'i k'uan chih" (籀史: 祭方澤  
禮器竅識).
47. Sun Yi-jang (孫詒讓) Sung cheng ho li ch'i wen tzu k'ao  
(宗政和禮器文字考).
48. Jüan Yüan (阮元) Chi ku chai chung ting yi ch'i k'uan chih  
fa t'ieh (積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識法帖), Ch.7, pp.14-15  
(1804).
49. Ku kung pe wu yuan (Palace Museum, 故宮博物院編), Ku  
kung (故宮), No.45, (Vol.40), Peking, 1924.
50. Feng Yün-p'eng (馮雲鵬) and Feng Yün-wan (馮雲鶴),  
Chin shih so: "Chin so" (金石索),
51. Liu T'i-chih (劉體智), Hsiao chiao ching ko chin shih wen  
tzu (小校經閣金石文字), 18 Vols., 1935. (See 13:97)
52. Liu T'i-chih T'ao chai chi chin<sup>hsü</sup> lu (陶齋吉金續錄).
53. See Ch'en Yao-t'ien (程瑶田), T'ung yi lu (通藝錄).



54. Hsieh Chi-hsüan(薛季宣), Lang yü chi( "Te Ch'in ch'ung tou chi"(浪谿集:得欽崇豆記), Ch.32, p.6.
55. See Wang Shih-han(汪師韓), Han men chui hsüeh(韓門綴學), Ch.5, p.9.
56. See Sun Yi-jiang's ibid.
57. See Lu Yu(陸友), Yen pei tsa chih(研北雜志), Ssu k'u ch'üan shu: "Tzu pu tsa chia lei"(四庫全書:子部雜家類),
58. See Hsü Po's(徐燔) Hsü shih pi ching: "Hsing ting"(徐氏筆精:銅鼎), Ch.7, p.17.
59. See Chih ya t'ang tsa ch'ao(志雅堂雜鈔) in the Hsüeh hai lei pien(學海類編:集餘四), Pt.1, pp.23-24.
60. See Sung shih; "Yüeh chih"(宋史:樂志), Ch.126, pp.1-2.
61. See Ke ku yao lun: "Hsin t'ung ch'i"(格古要論:新銅器), Ch.6.
62. Li Hsin-ch'uan(李心傳), Chien yen yi lai ch'ao yeh tsa chi(建炎以來朝野雜記) states, "The ancient bronze vessels of the Southern Sung Dynasty, especially those cast by Chiang Niang-tzu and Wang Chi are famous." Wen Chen-heng(文震亨) Ch'ang wu chih(長物志) says, "As to censers, only the bigger Hsüan ones can really be put to practical use. Chiang's products of Sung time are just passable." This argument has been strongly urged by the modern archaeologist Shao Ming-sheng(邵茗生), whose discussions appear in his treatises, Hsüan lu hui shih and Pa hsüan te yi ch'i t'u p'u(跋宣德彝器圖譜); in the latter he writes,

"Chiang was a man of early Southern Sung; Ts'ao Chao's statement in his Ke ku yao lun to the effect that Chiang and Wang were both of Yuan date is erroneous. Some time ago when I was at Fu Yüan-shu's (傅沅叔) home in Chiangan (江安), I saw a square censer crowded with yün-lai-wen (雲雷紋) designs. The inscription thereon reads, 'Cast by Chiang Shih for use on the Chihite Altar in the 2nd year of Shao-hsing (1132), under the superintendence of the Minister, Su Han-ch'ên of Ta Ning Ch'ang.' (紹興二年大寧殿臣蘇汗臣監督姜氏鑄至德壇用), a total of twenty characters in hsiao chuan. The type and décor of the vessel are excellent. Wang Yü-yang (王漁洋), in his Ch'i i lu (居易錄) identifies Chiang as Chiang Niang-tzu. Hence Chiang was no doubt a man of the Southern Sung Dynasty. It is difficult why to understand why this Album attributed Chiang to the Yuan Dynasty. Is this not just hearsay taken from Ts'ao chao's statement?"

63. Yeh Te-hui (葉德輝) Shan chü wen lu: "Ta sung ch'i he hsiung wen chung ting yi ch'i wen tzu shu" (山居文錄: 答松崎鶴雄問鐘鼎彝器文字書), Pt.2, (as quoted by Sun Tien-ch'i 孫殿起 in Liu li ch'ang hsiao chih 琉璃廠小志, Peking, 1962) says, "This is why I have always suspected that since Sung Dynasty the chung-bell and ting-cauldron are mostly faked.... In the present age scholars like Chang Chih-hsiang (張之襄), Chang Chih-tung (張之洞) and Li Wen-t'ien

(李文田) have no faith in them either. Chih-hsiang, who was well acquainted with P'an Wen-ch'in (潘文勤: 祖蔭) and had made several comments on P'an's collections, accepted only half of them as genuine, which he told me personally."

64. See Yüan shih: "Chi szu chih" (元史: 祭祀志), Ch.77, pp. 16B-19.
65. See T'ung k'ao, Ch.11; and also T'ung lun, Ch.9.
66. Szu k'u ch'uan shu tsung mu t'i yao: "Hsüan te ting yi p'u" (四庫全書總目提要: 宣德鼎彝譜) says, "The Hsüan bronzes have already been faked a great deal in the Ming period. This book distinguishes brilliantly [ between the faked and genuine ] and therefore will be of great help for determining [ the authenticity of ] bronzes."
67. See Hsiang Yüan-pien (項元汴), Hsüan lu po lun (宣爐博論).
68. See Chang Ch'ao (張朝), Hsüan lu ke chu hsiao yin (宣爐歌 [註4.31]).
69. Lü Chen Hsüan te ting yi p'u, as quoted by Shao Ming-sheng in his Hsüan lu hui shih (1:1). In regard to the reason for casting this profusion of bronzes and the official who was responsible for this project, the Szu k'u ch'uan shu tsung mu t'i yao (3:2397) gives yet a different account, "At first the Emperor Hsüan-tsung [ of Ming ] considered that the shapes of the ritual vessels for the suburban temples did not tally with those of the ancient ones. He ordered

Wu Chung(吳中), the Minister of Public Works to cast them anew in imitation of the illustrations published in the Pe ku t'u, and of the actual shapes of porcelains such as the Ts'ai, Ju, Kuan, Ke, Chün and Ting wares collected in the Imperial Repository." Again, as to Lü Chen's official post, we find that he never held the post of Minister of Public Works, though he was Minister of Rites, Junior Tutor to the Heir-Apparent(太子少師), Junior Guardian of the Heir-Apparent(太子少保) etc( See his biography in the Ming shih, Ch.151, pp.7-9.)

70. See Hsüan lu hui shih.

71. Mr. Shen(沈氏) Hsüan lu hsiao chih(宣爐小志) says, "This is how the bronzes made in the Hsüante reign-period became famous. Nevertheless, not one in a hundred survives; except for the damaged ones."

72. See Hsüan lu hui shih, Ch.8.

73. See ibid.

74. See Hsüan lu ke chu(宣爐歌注).

75. See Ch'in Tung-t'ien(秦東田), Hsüan lu shuo(宣爐說).

76. See Hsüan lu ke chu.

77. See Hsüan lu pe lun.

78. See Wang Shih-chen(王士禎), Ch'ih pei ou t'an(池北偶談).

79. This article is included in Wang's Kuan t'ang ku chin wen k'ao shih(觀堂古金文考釋).

80. See Chang Chih-tung(張之洞), Kuang ya t'ang lun chih shih tsa(廣雅堂論金石札), Ch.3, p.2.
81. Of the 1176 inscribed vessels recorded in the four Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues only 52 are attributed to the Han Dynasty (however, 9 of them have been re-dated to the Chou by Jung Keng in his "List"); only 1 is dated to the Wu tai Chou(五代周, 951-960). It is interesting indeed that Jung Keng ("List" p.873) has only sorted out four Sung chung-bells from thousands of alleged Shang and Chou vessels. They are the Sung huang chung(宋黃鐘, known as Chou mu chung"周牧鐘" in the Ku chien 36:1), Sung ying chung(宋應鐘, known as Chou ying chung"周應鐘" in the Ku chien 36:36), Sung jui chung(宋莖鐘, known as Chou mu chung 1"周牧鐘一" in the Hsü yi 17:17) and the Sung yi tse chung(宋夷則鐘, known as Chou mu chung 2"周牧鐘二" in the Hsü yi 17:18.)
82. See Yün eh'uang man kao: "T'ao chai chi chin lu hsü lu pa" (雲窓漫稿:陶齋吉金錄續錄跋).
83. See T'ung k'ao, Ch.12.
84. See Hsüan lu hui shih, Ch.8.
85. A similar expression, 小板子, is defined by Mathews(2605.102) as "the lighter bamboo for punishing offenders." The meaning of 小板鬼, in the light of this, may be "lighter metal".
86. See the Corrigenda et Addenda attached to T'ung lun and

also Pl. 106, p.205.

87. See T'ung k'ao, Ch.12 and T'ung lun, Ch.9.
88. Liu T'i-chih's Shan chai contains a total of 532 objects, of which 102 are either faked or suspected of being faked; Tseu Shou-ch'i's Meng p'ò shih and Chou Ch'ing-yün's (周慶雲) collection comprise fakes amounting to half of their total contents( see T'ung k'ao, Ch.12 ).
89. The view, which was generally held at the 13th International Congress on the History of Art, Stockholm, 1933, that the copying of ancient Chinese bronzes started during the Sung Dynasty\*, is unfounded.

\* See "The Exhibition of Early Chinese Bronzes" BMFEA, Vol.6, 1934, pp.81-131, especially p.85.

## Chapter Three: Fraudulently Incised Inscriptions On Bronzes.

### 3.1. Introductory Remarks on the Terms Denoting "Inscription":

The terms in current use( since The Fourth of May Movement ) to denote inscriptions are ming wen( 銘文 ), chin wen( 金文 ) ( note that this term is also used in the sense of "bronze script" ), chung ting wen( 鐘鼎文 ) and yi ming( 彝銘 ). These all mean the same thing.

The earlier term, in use at least from the Han until the early Republic, was k'uan chih( 款識 ). This was a general term equivalent to those given above, and although attempts have been made<sup>(1)</sup> to give a different meaning to the two parts of the word, in actual practice such a distinction has not been made. K'uan chih refers to writing as opposed to other forms of ornamentation.<sup>(2)</sup>

3.2. This chapter attempts to deal mainly with fraudulently incised inscriptions on bronze vessels. The problem of forged inscriptions on archaic-style artifacts must not be neglected by the serious student of ancient Chinese bronzes; for in the first place fraudulently incised texts are plentiful,<sup>(3)</sup> and in the second place, by virtue of the inscriptions the status of a vessel may be precisely determined( save of course in the case of non-inscribed objects ). In his letter to P'an Tsu-yin( 潘祖

蔭), which has been preserved by Chou Chin( 周進 ), Ch'en Chieh-ch'i( 陳介祺 ) writes, " [ Those who ] collect ancient vessels should equip themselves with some insight into archaic script and of the way in which the ancient Chinese wrote them. Only with this knowledge can one discriminate the genuine from the forged."<sup>(4)</sup> Although this is largely related to the question of inscriptions, it can be applied to test the vessel as well. Three kinds of forged inscriptions may be observed:

(1) Forged inscriptions later engraved on authentic vessels: having difficulty in selling a genuine artifact because of its being non-inscribed, or with intent to demand a higher price for an inscribed bronze, forgers, or antique-dealers themselves, incise texts on the surfaces or the interior walls of the vessels. Genuine bronzes with later additional texts can very easily deceive collectors and scholars unversed in Chinese epigraphy; especially if the inscriptions are lengthy and beautifully and skilfully executed, they are capable of deceiving even great collectors and experts. Shang Ch'eng-tso( 商承祚 ) rightly states that "the difficulty in detecting forged [ inscriptions ] lies, not in detecting bad incisions, but in detecting good ones that can betray the genuine texts." ( See "Wei tzu yen chiu", p.291. )

(2) Forged inscriptions later added to imitated or forged vessels: for similar reasons to those mentioned above, forgers or antique-dealers engrave inscriptions on fabricated bronzes.



This type of vessel has also been easily passed off, because their attractiveness increases once a lengthy or beautifully executed text has been added.

(3) Forged inscriptions inscribed during the process of fabrication of the vessels: inscriptions in this category resembling those of (2) above, in nature, yet differing from them in the time at which they are inscribed on the vessels. This also means that they contain both cast and engraved texts. In point of fact once a vessel has been shown to be a forgery, its text is, of course, also a forgery regardless of when the text has been added.

The forged texts in categories (2) and (3) are less likely to mislead than those in category (1), because they are doubly counterfeited, which naturally provides more clues for detection; whereas those in category (1) easily dupe collectors with no knowledge of bronze script, and the best specimens can deceive even specialists.

### 3.3. Methods of Producing Inscriptions:

Inscriptions on bronze may be divided into three categories according to the process by which they are produced: cast, incised and incrustated. They can be divided into four categories according to their physical appearance: namely, Yin wen (陰文, or intaglio characters), Yang wen (陽文, or rilievo characters), Yin yin yang wen (陰印陽文, or seal-impressed rilievo characters) and Hsiang ch'ien wen (鑲嵌文, or inlaid characters).

The Shang and Western Chou bronze texts are mostly cast. From the Ch'un-ch'iu onwards the incised and inlaid inscriptions appeared. This, of course, did not mark the disappearance of the cast inscriptions from then on. Cast characters are characterized by their rather corpulent and fleshy strokes with reasonable depth; carved characters have slimmer strokes whose grooves are comparatively shallower; and inlaid characters appear flush with the surface of the vessel. Barnard states that occasionally forged specimens of inlay inscriptions may be found---one such example in a genuine ke-dagger-axe was noted by Max Loehr ( personal communication to him from Loehr ) where the surface of the inlay appears rounded and rough owing to the difficulty of filing it smooth<sup>(5)</sup>. This seems probable, but it should be remembered that the rounded, rough and projecting appearance of the inlay inscriptions can also be due to the abrasive or corrosive effects of moist earth. It can not therefore be used alone as an effective criterion for the determination of genuineness or otherwise of inlaid inscriptions. Authentic specimens of cast inscriptions are illustrated in Figures 7, 8, 9; of carved inscriptions in Figure 10; and of inlaid inscriptions in Figure 11 and Plate Three. The methods and processes for producing various kinds of inscription are as follows:

3.3.1. Yin wen or Intaglio Characters: yin wen is the type of characters whose strokes are grooves engraved below the metal surface. The depth of the grooves varies according

ing to the breadth of the strokes and to the size of the graph. In general, the bigger the size and the fatter the strokes of the characters, the deeper is the groove. In most cases the grooves of the cast characters are deeper than those of the incised characters. Intaglio characters can be produced either by casting or by engraving. In the case of incision the characters are executed some time after the vessel has been cast. The work is done entirely on the metal surface and has nothing to do with the model or mould. In the case of casting, on the other hand, the characters are executed before the vessel is cast. The work involves mainly the model, the core or the mould, and does not involve the resultant vessel, except for finishing where necessary. We can, of course, have no detailed knowledge of the actual technique used by early engravers in wielding their tools.

The casting of intaglio inscriptions involves the process of bronze casting in general. Two theories on the method of bronze casting have been put forward: the cire-perdue or lost-wax process, and sectional mould assemblies or direct casting. In the light of the discovery of clay piece-mould fragments and of fragments of clay models at Anyang, direct casting is proved to have been in use in the Shang era.<sup>(6)</sup> As a result of this discovery, cire-perdue method is considered to be a later development or an imported technique. Barnard says, "As regards.... the universal use of sectional mould assemblies in all casting in bronze, lead, iron etc in pre-Han China and the lack of

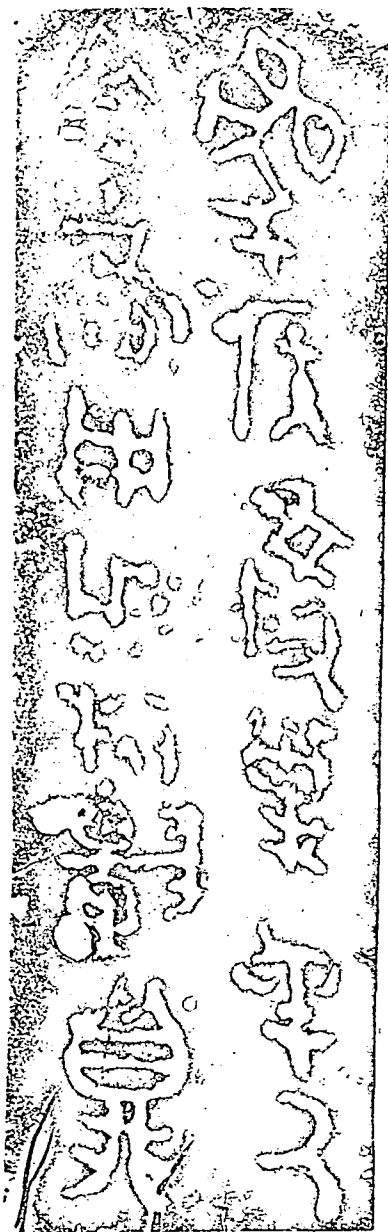
( cont. on p.118 )

安陽後岡圓坑墓中出土銅鼎銘文拓片(原大)



Figure 7. Authentic cast inscription on the Hsiu ssu tzu ting-cauldron( 戊嗣子鼎 ) of the Late Shang Dynasty; excavated at Houkang, Anyang( 安陽后岡 ) in May, 1959.

—Reproduced from Hsüeh pao, Vol.27, 1960, Pl.II



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Figure 8. Authentic east inscription on the Ts'ai hou ting (秦侯鼎) of Early Western Chou; excavated at Changchiap'ao, Ch'angan, Shensi (陝西長安張家坡) in 1965 by the Institution of Archaeological Research, Academy of Sciences, Peking.

—Reproduced from K'ao ku, Vol.9, 1965, p.448.



图一 提梁卣蓋內銘文



图二 方彝蓋內銘文



图三 方彝口沿銘文



图四 卣內底銘文

Figure 9. Authentic cast inscriptions on the Shih hu yu-pail (師彝卣) and the Mei hsi yi-vessel (每彝) of Western Chou; excavated at P'ang-chiakou, North of Loyang (洛陽市北窰龐家沟) in 1963/4 by the Committee for the Preservation of Antiquities of Loyang (洛陽文物保管委員會).

---Reproduced from Wen wu, Vol.9, 1964, p.5-5.



Figure 10. Authentic engraved inscriptions on the Ch'u wang t'an kan ting-cauldron (楚王鬲志鼎) of the Chankuo period; excavated at Chuchia-chi, Shouhsien, Anhui (安徽壽縣朱家集).

—Reproduced from Ch'u wen wu chan lan t'u lu (楚文物展覽圖錄), Peking, 1954, p.1.

一、楚王會舌鼎甲 (約原器三分之一)

戰國 安徽省壽縣朱家集出土 安徽博物館蕪湖分館藏

(一) 全形

銘文：(甲) 器口之一 (乙) 器口之二 (丙) 蓋外緣 (丁) 蓋內

(甲) 楚王會舌戰隻兵銅正月吉日室鑄喬鼎以共哉棠



(乙) 工師紹全佐陳共為之



(丙) 楚王會舌戰隻兵銅正月吉日室鑄喬鼎之蓋



以共哉棠



(丁) 工師紹全佐陳共為之



集 脰



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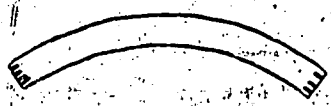


Figure 11. Hand-copy of authentic inlaid inscriptions on the 0 chün ch'i chieh-charge (鄂君啟節) of the Chankuo period; excavated at Shouhsien, Anhui (安徽壽縣) in 1957.

—Reproduced from K'ao ku, Vol.4, 1958, pp. 442-447, Pl.8.  
-116-



Plate Three. Photographic copies of authentic inlaid inscriptions on the 0 chün ch'í-chieh (鄂君啟節) of the Chankuo period; excavated at Shouhsien, Anhui (安徽壽縣) in 1957.

—Reproduced from Wen ts'an, Vol.4, 1958.

any evidence of cire-perdue casting in the same period, I should make it quite clear that a number of recent Chinese and Japanese investigations have tended towards somewhat similar conclusion."

(7) But he contradicts himself by producing two plates( Plates Forty-eight and Forty-nine ) of objects from an excavation in Yunnan<sup>(8)</sup> which we reproduce here in our Plates Four and Five respectively, and saying( in the caption to his Plate Forty-eight ) that "the drum is cast by piece-moulds and the figurines probably by cire-perdue. These are the nearest examples of what is possibly cire-perdue casting yet uncovered from a pre-Han site." In fact he goes even further in contradicting himself when he says that "direct inspection of these skilfully executed objects might possibly determine the method of manufacture conclusively. However, the general impression is decidedly that of cire-perdue .....that they can be neither piece-mould nor sand-mould casting, I believe, is certain."( See Bronze Casting p.304.) In spite of this firm conviction, Barnard nonetheless goes further in trying to deny the origin and early appearance of cire-perdue casting in pre-Han China. In doing so, he traces the early origin of the cire-perdue method and the route by which the technique in question was supposed to have been introduced into China. He says, "It seems fairly certain that the native art [ i.e. the Yunnan bronze casting ] of these southern people, differing in several essentials from that of Shang, Chou, and Han must have had quite different origins....Further

research upon these materials will probably show more precisely the southern or south-western origin of cire-perdue casting methods and their entry into China probably from India with the passage of Buddhism."( op.cit., pp.304-305.) Such an argument seems plausible at first sight, but in view of the fact that Buddhism had not been introduced into, or officially recognised in China until the Later Han Dynasty, Barnard's statements are to be questioned. Han shu states that in the 2nd century B.C. Chang Ch'ien(張騫), the celebrated envoy of the Emperor Wu brought back reports of India and of Buddhism, but it was not until 61 A.D. that Buddhism was officially recognised in China. In this year the Emperor Ming Ti, after dreaming of a golden figure of supernatural proportions with a shining halo round its head, sent Ts'ai Yin(蔡愔) and Ch'in Ching(秦景) to India, who returned with two Indian monks—Sho Mo T'eng(攝摩騰) and Chu Pa Lan(竺法蘭)<sup>(9)</sup>—bringing sacred books on white horses. A long succession of Indian missionaries followed in their foot-steps<sup>(10)</sup>. The fact that cire-perdue casting existed in pre-Han China long before the introduction of Buddhism into China invalidates Barnard's argument that the lost-wax casting method was introduced into China probably from India.

I have made it clear in Chapter 2 that this study does not attempt to deal in great/<sup>detail</sup> with technical problems of bronze casting, I therefore shall not go any further into these questions. Nevertheless, one fact tending to speak against the

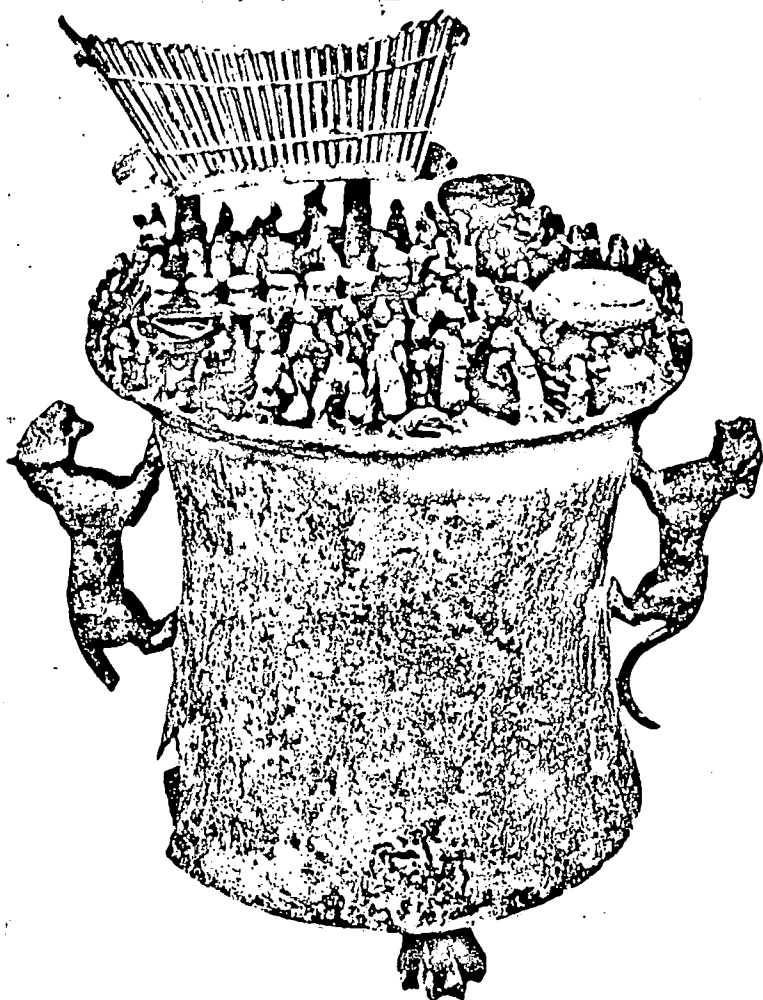


Plate Four. "Bronze drum-like stand and figures from Yün-nan; the drum is cast by piece-mould and the figures probably by cire-perdue. These are the nearest examples of what is possibly cire-perdue casting yet uncovered from a pre-Han site. The introduction of the technique would thus appear to have been from the south, no doubt, from India." (Barnard's Bronze Casting, the caption to Plate Forty-eight.)

---Reproduced from Yün nan chin ning shih  
chai shan ku mu ch'ün fa chüeh pao kao  
(雲南晉寧石寨山古墓群發掘報告),  
Wen wu Press, 2 Vols., 1959.

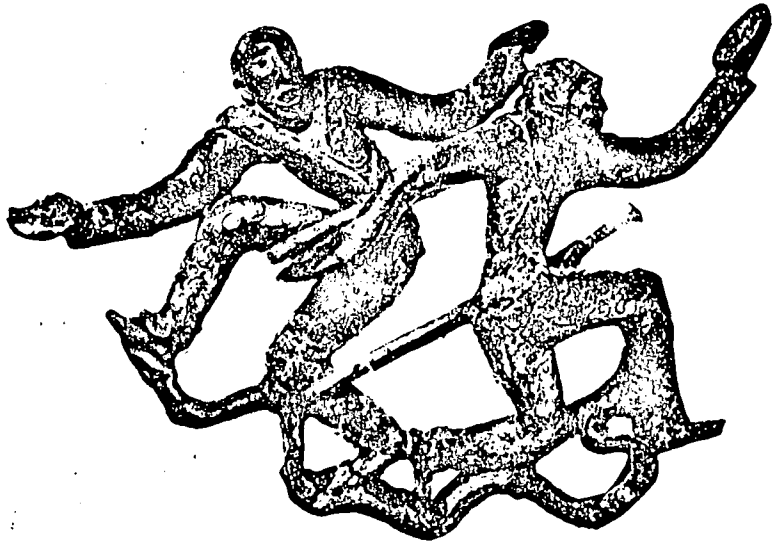
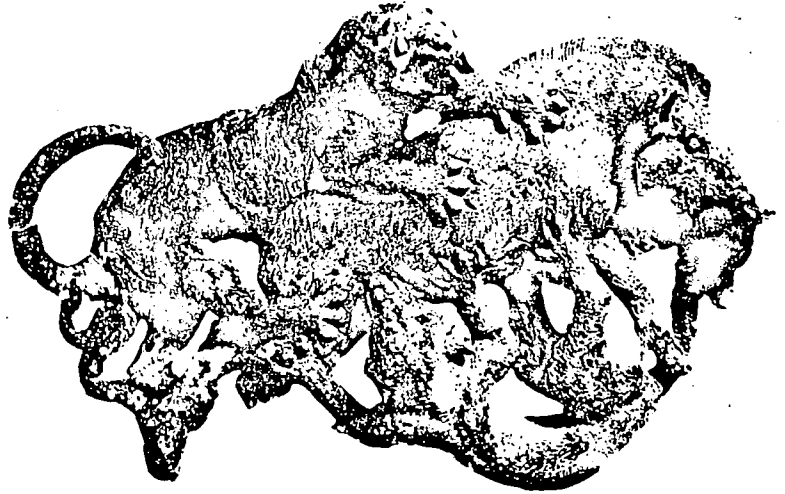


Plate Five. Bronze figures from Yünnen. They are obviously cast by cire-perdue method, but Barnard doubts it simply because of his preference for the piece-mould process. ( See also Plate Four above.)

—Reproduced from ibid.

existence of direct casting is that among the vast numbers of existing and excavated bronzes hardly can we find any, not even identical vessels bearing the same inscription, which are cast from one and the same mould or mould-components. Upon this question Jung Keng says, "If they first carved out a wooden mould, then one mould could be used in the manufacture of several vessels. Of all the archaic vessels and inscriptions that I have seen there are none that have come from the same mould."<sup>(11)</sup> Although Jung Keng has made this observation with particular reference to inscriptions, it could as well be applied to the casting of vessels, because the casting of inscriptions and of vessels, especially the décor and ornamentation, involve the same technical problems. This view is also shared by Barnard. He says, "We do not possess any scientifically excavated inscription mould, but this need not deter us from reconstructing the methods employed, for they must obviously have been closely related to those used in producing the décor of the vessel surface." ( op. cit., p.159 ) Thus, Barnard's statement that sectional mould assemblies were universally used in all casting in bronze, lead, iron etc in pre-Han China is again doubtful. On the other hand, the lack of evidence of cire-perdue casting in the pre-Han period does not necessarily preclude its existence in that period. ( In fact we have authentic examples illustrated in Plates Four and Five. ) It should be understood that the wax model, after the clay mould has been made from it, is melted and drained

away by heat. So the outer clay mould is smashed and removed before the resultant vessel can be taken out. This is why there is hardly any evidence or vestige of cire-perdue casting left to the present day. Bushell states that "Chinese bronzes have always, as far back as we have any record, been executed by cire-perdue process, and finished, when necessary, with the hammer, burin and chisel. The largest pieces have been produced by this method."<sup>(12)</sup> Now the outcome of Jung Keng's observation that none of the vessels and inscriptions he had seen comes from the same mould may be due to the practice of lost-wax casting. In short, the evidence to date points to the probability of the coexistence of cire-perdue and piece-mould casting in pre-Han China, though W. Watson has suggested the probable possibility of an even earlier existence of the cire-perdue process. In the Section "Bronze Casting", China before the Han Dynasty, he says, "In spite of this evidence for direct casting it is difficult to believe that even in the earlier Hsiao T'un period the Chinese should have been ignorant of another way of casting bronze—the cire-perdue method.....Nevertheless, a close examination of the Shang bronze vessels with the more elaborate ornament leaves little doubts that the wax method was employed to produce them. ....The crispness of the relief ornament on bronze vessels of the earlier Shang period suggests that wax was used even before the development of elaborate bronze ornament at Hsiao T'un."

( pp.80-81.)



We now revert to the question of casting inscription texts. In line with his view on bronze casting in general, Barnard suggests four methods by which direct casting of inscription texts on bronze vessels can be achieved. Of the methods proposed, all are theoretically feasible but need some qualification. He describes:

"(1) The core, being a whittled-down solid cast taken from the outer piece-mould assembly, could prior to the even scraping away of the ultimate vessel wall thickness have the text of the inscription written on by brush in mirror-reversed characters reading from left to right; during the whittling-down process these characters would be left standing in relief."<sup>(13)</sup>

Such a method seems to us to be logical yet not practical, because during the whittling-down process of the clay core a twofold task—the accurately even scraping away of the ultimate vessel wall thickness before the text is written on it, and the even compensating whittling-down of the bare area of the core after the text is written down—have to be taken into consideration. Moreover, the writing by brush of mirror-reversed characters directly on the core is by no means an easy or ordinary task. To achieve a better effect some process of stamping or duplicating must have been performed on the core. Barnard himself likewise acknowledges that this method is feasible, but "may be discarded from further consideration."<sup>(op. cit., p.160.)</sup>

"(2) On the whittled-down core, rilievo mirror-reversed

characters could be produced by writing with an 'ink' of clay and by repeating the process stroke over stroke, the rilievo strokes would gradually reach the desired height." (op. cit., p.159.)

This method was suggested by Juan Yuan (阮元)<sup>(14)</sup>, but "view<sup>ed</sup> in the light of actual examples and the ancient bronze casting in general," Barnard doubts that it was ever employed. (op. cit., p.160.) Barnard in this respect appears to be over-suspicious. In point of fact this is an easier and simpler method than the others that he has so far suggested. It can be done efficiently in a way similar to that in which big relief-character sign-boards for Chinese commercial firms are produced: in most cases, a rough draft is prepared in advance by a good calligrapher. It is then stamped or duplicated on to the surfaces of pillars or of the blank space above gateways. Cement is applied to the characters, stroke over stroke, until the rilievo strokes reach the required height (The present writer has personally witnessed this process.) The application of clay on to the core to form the rilievo mirror-reversed characters would be very much the same and highly possible. On this process, Juan Yuan's further suggestion is well worth considering. He says, "Characters were engraved into a wooden model in intaglio; with application of clay, rilievo characters result. Later when bronze was cast from it, intaglio characters were obtained."<sup>(15)</sup> We find this quite feasible, but this process could in our view be alternatively executed in the following way: the wooden model with normal

intaglio characters carved in it is strongly stamped or impressed on the clay core some time before it solidifies. Mirror-reversed rilievo characters result from this. In cases where the clay core is round in shape, it can be rolled firmly over the wooden model to achieve a similar result. See, for instance, Figure 12. Assuming that the vessel wall in the illustration be the wooden model with the engraved characters appearing in normal intaglio, the rilievo mirror-reversed character in the core is the consequence of an impression on the wooden model. Another method can also be employed to achieve this result: the grooves of the character-strokes on the wooden model are coated with oil to prevent stickiness. Clay is then applied to fill into the grooves. After the grooves have been completely filled, the wooden model is stamped on the clay core so that the sticky clay-characters may adhere fast to it. When the clay-characters are dried and become hard, the core may be used to cast intaglio characters on the inner wall of the vessel.

In addition to these, Barnard has suggested further alternative methods by which intaglio characters may be cast. Theoretically, they are plausible even though the procedures are rather complex. They are as follow:

- "(3) A clay impression was made from the outer-mould sections enclosing the inner area to receive the inscription texts; this impression was made evenly to form the ultimate vessel wall thickness. When dried and baked the text was written on the inner surface in ink and

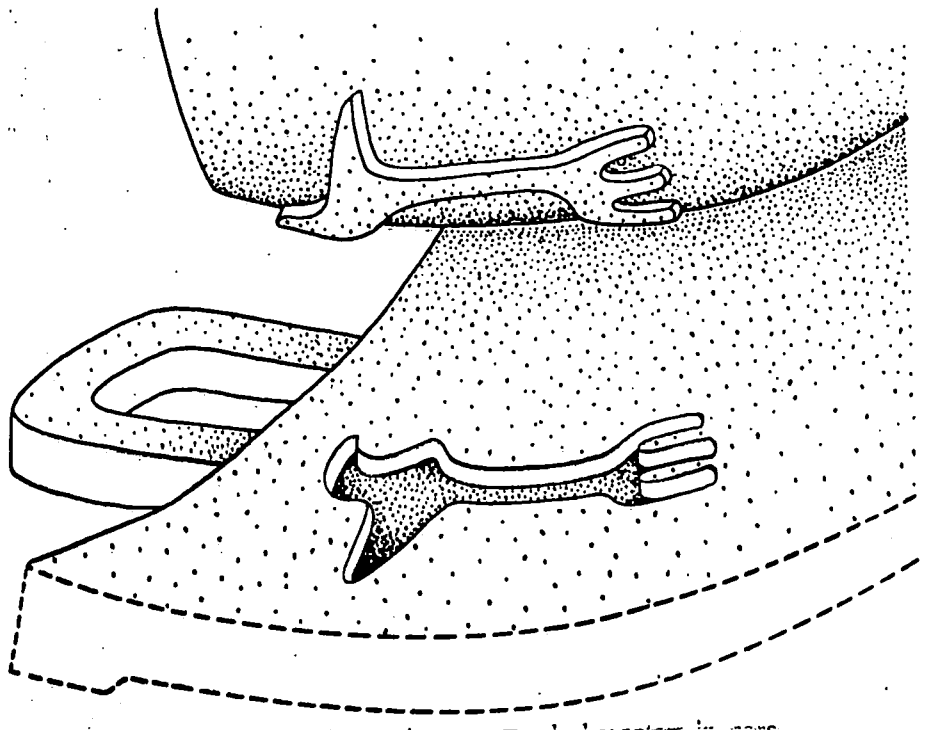


Figure 12. "Rilievo mirror-reversed character in core, cast as intaglio normal character." (Bronze Casting, p.158, Figure 50.) Assuming that the vessel wall be the wooden model with engraved characters appearing in normal intaglio, the rilievo mirror-reversed characters in the core being the result of an impression on the wooden model.

the strokes incised to the required groove depth; upon completion the section was reinserted into place in the sectional mould assembly and a clay core cast. When dismantled, the characters resulted in rilievo script and were reversed mirror-fashion; the remaining core surface was scraped down to the ultimate wall thickness.

- (4) Alternatively, a negative clay cast of the inscription text was made from a positive engraved mould( as in the preceding case ) and was inserted into<sup>a</sup> prepared depression made to the required depth in the whittled-down clay core."( Op. cit., pp.159-160; the illustrating Figure is reproduced here in Figure 13.)

The casting of intaglio characters by means of the cire-perdue process is by far the best and simplest approach. A model is sculptured or made of a mixture of beeswax and shellac. Similar to the way in which decorative details are added to the wax model, the text is engraved in the surface, base, or inner vessel wall with burin or other delicate sculptural instruments. Upon completion the graph appears in normal intaglio. A very fine clay mixed with cowdung is put on with a brush so as to fill in the grooves of the character-strokes. It is left for an hour or so and, when it has dried, fine clay is put on over again. Then the mixture of coarse clay and sand is patted on it to form the thick outer layer of the mould. The thickness of this joint layer varies according to the size of the mould with capacity to hold the weight of the poured-in liquid bronze. C.H. Gale suggests that sand may be rammed firmly round the completed mould in a

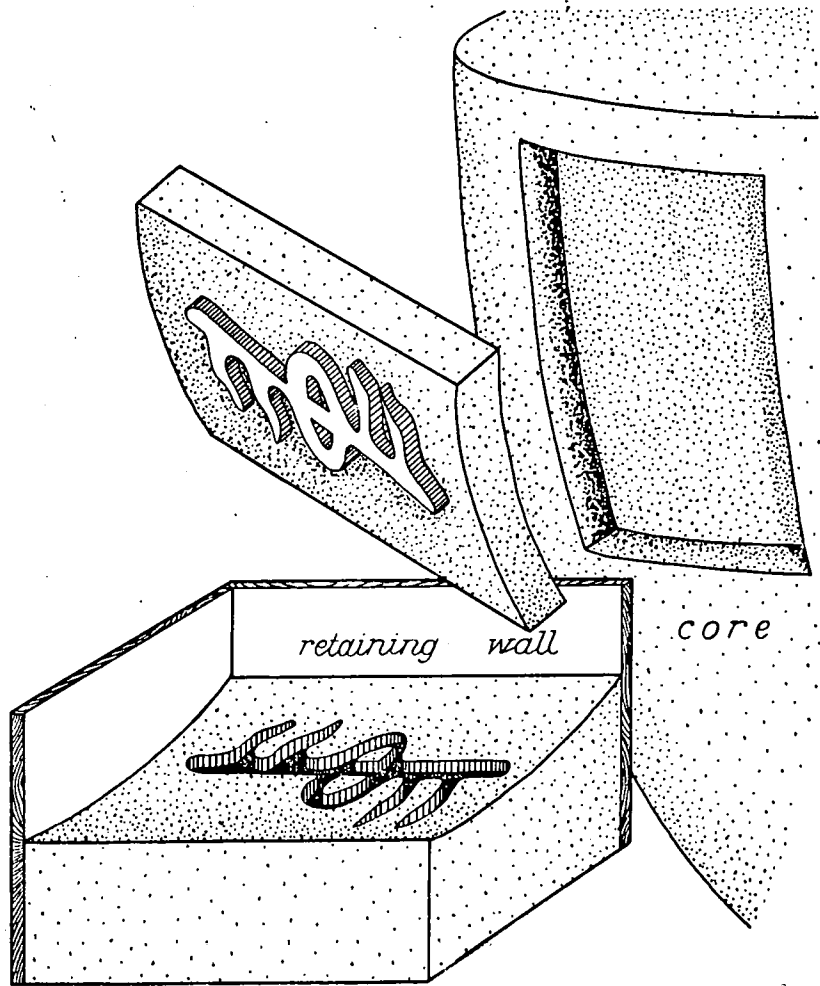


Figure 13. Sectional method of producing inscription mould-piece.

—After Barnard's Bronze Casting, Fig. 51.

pit in the floor. (16) The idea is to help resist the pressure of the molten bronze so that the mould may not be cracked. The mould has been made with several pouring inlet channels( tuyères ) on the top and one outlet for draining the molten wax at the bottom. The whole thing is then put in the sun to dry for several hours. When the casting is about to begin, a fire has been built in the fire-box under the mould inside the kiln. The entire mould is baked hard until the wax between the mould and the core melts and oozes out of the outlet at the bottom. It is kept hot at a temperature that will permit it to receive the molten bronze smoothly. Meanwhile the hole through which the wax drained out, as well as any cracks which may have appeared, are plugged up by patting on moist clay. The mould is then taken to the pouring-floor, where it is firmly rested on or lowered into a pit in the floor. In the former case, a scaffolding has been made built around the mould, so that the founders may more easily reach the pouring inlet channels( tuyeres ); whereas in the latter case, sand is rammed into the space between the mould and the pit walls. Molten bronze is ladled from the crucible and poured through the inlet channels into the mould. Alternatively, the crucibles full of molten bronze are lifted out of the hearths with tongs, and carried to the mould. The founders then pour the liquid bronze from the crucibles into the spouts of the mould. After the casting is completed, the metal and clay are left to cool. Thereafter the mould is broken off with hammers;

whereupon the newly cast bronze emerges in the precise shape of what was previously engraved in the wax model, the inscription texts appearing in normal intaglio on the surface of the vessel.

(17) Illustration of the preparation of the wax model and for the casting of a Buddhist figure by the cire-perdue process can be seen in Plate Six and Figure 14 respectively.

3.3.2. Yang wen or Rilievo Characters: yang wen is the type of character whose strokes stand in relief on the surface or base of the vessel, but seldom inside the belly. The height of the protrusion ranges approximately from 0.05 to 0.3 cm. Barnard notes that "rilievo characters occasionally appear but all such attested bronze examples excavated to date belong to the Shang period." (18) It is also true that we have barely seen any rilievo texts of Chou date. But they are predominantly plentiful among the imitated bronzes cast in the Hsiante reign-period of the Ming Dynasty. See, for instance, Figure 3:(a) to (h), (j) and (k); Figure 6:(a) above.

As regards the construction of rilievo characters, it can only be achieved by means of casting, as incision can not, of course, produce relief character above the vessel surface. It should not be taken, in this context, that we mean that incisive execution is impossible in the post-casting stage, for in fact, the casting of rilievo characters concerns not the bodies of the bronzes, but chiefly the models and the outer moulds. To achieve this two methods can be employed:





Plate Six. "Preparation of the wax model and the casting of pots and pans. The two scenes are from iron foundries, but are representative of identical procedures in the casting of bronzes; the artisan (upper right) is engraving designs in the wax coating covering a bell core; below, another man is at work touching up the décor of the outer mould-sections." (Bronze Casting, pp.102-3.) The

incision of the intaglio characters in the wax model is exactly parallel to the engraving of the designs.

—Selected from T'ien kung k'ai wu (天工開物).

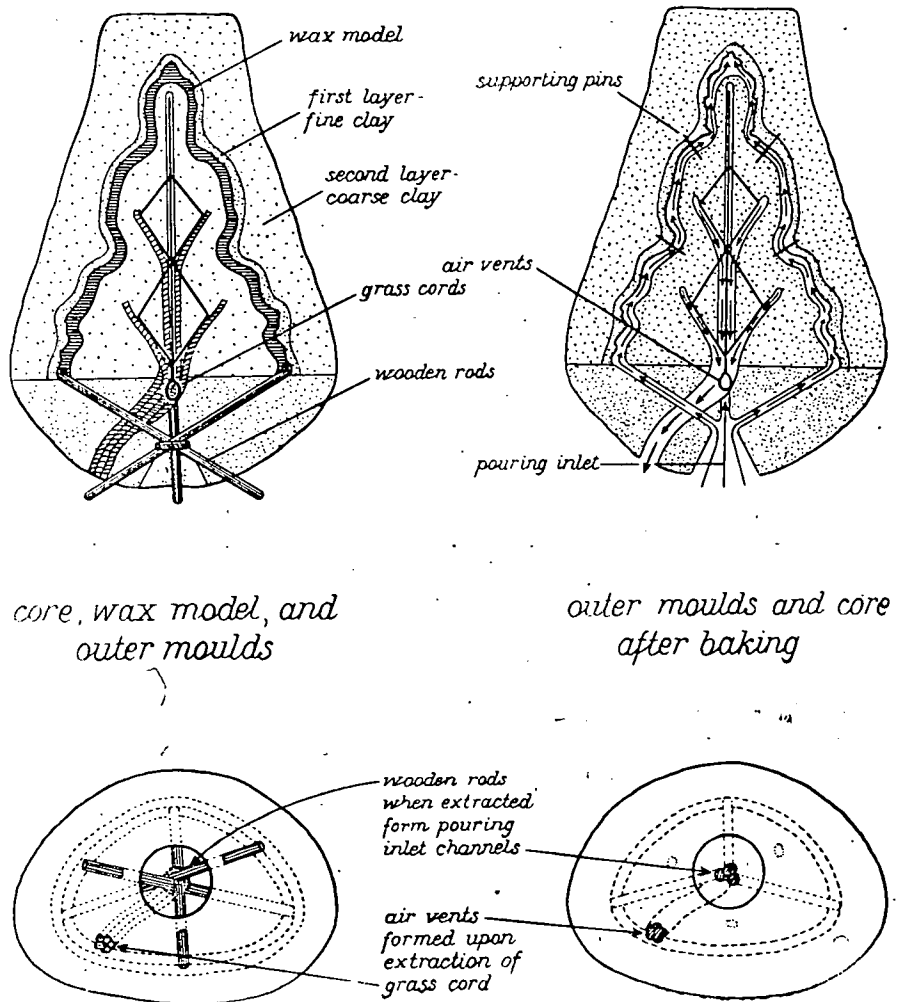


Figure 14. The casting of a Buddhist figure by means of the cire-perdue process.

—Reproduced from Barna rd's Bronze Casting,

pp.106-7; after Wen T'ing-k'uan (温廷宽)

"Chi chung yu kuan chin shu kung yi ti ch'uan t'ung chi shu" (幾種有關金屬工藝的傳統技術),

Wen wu, Vol.4, 1958.

(1) Similar to the ways in which the clay core is made to cast the intaglio characters delineated in 3.3.1:(1), (2) above, the surface or the base of the model, being either made of clay, a mixture of clay and sand, or of stone or wood, could prior to the even scraping away of the ultimate vessel surface have the text of the inscription written on by brush in normal characters reading from right to left; during the whittling-down process these characters would be left standing in relief. Thus, after the outer piece-mould assemblies have been taken from it, mirror-reversed intaglio characters would result. When cast in bronze, rilievo characters would then appear in normal fashion.

(2) This method was suggested by Juan Yuan. He said, "Characters were engraved into the [ outer ] mould in intaglio and when cast in bronze, rilievo script was obtained."<sup>(19)</sup> For illustration see Plate Six( upper right, below ) where artisans can be seen engraving the décor as well as the character text, if any, in the outer mould-pieces.

Rilievo characters can also be achieved by means of the cire-perdue process. The work is done at the time when the wax model is being prepared. The method largely corresponds to (1) just described above. See Plate Six, for instance, where in the upper right an artisan is engraving designs and décor. A rilievo inscription text can be incised exactly in the same way. When cast in bronze, duplication of what was carved in the wax model would result.

### 3.3.3. Yin yin yang wen or the Seal-impressed Rilievo

Characters: this indicates the type of inscriptions in which the spaces between and surrounding the character strokes are depressed ( in the same way as intaglio characters ) into the surfaces or bases of vessels, so that the characters stand in relief but are at the same time flush with the surface or base of the vessel. They differ from the characters on a seal in that the seal-characters appear in mirror-reversed fashion, while the seal-impressed rilievo characters are normal in their physical appearance. When stamped on paper in ink, mirror-reversed text results. In general, they are often encircled by a round, square or oval border. Depressions within these borders make it possible for the texts to stand out vividly. Barnard states that "in bronze these [ i.e. seal-impressed inscriptions ] are comparatively rare."<sup>(20)</sup> This would be justifiable if it referred only to the bronzes of pre-Ming date. In fact seal-impressed rilievo inscriptions abound in both official and private imitated bronzes cast in the Hsüante reign-period of the Ming Dynasty. Examples of these inscriptions can be seen in Figure 3:(i), (l), (m) and (n); Figure 4:(a) to (g) and Figure 6:(b) to (g).

Seal-impressed rilievo characters may be manufactured by means of casting as well as engraving. As regards the carving process, seal-impressed rilievo characters are executed after the vessel has been cast. But the parts that are to be scraped away are not those of the strokes of the graphs, but those of

the bare area between the border and the strokes. The depth of the depression which is to be whittled down depends on the size of the graph: the larger the characters the deeper the grooves. As for the pattern of the surrounding border, whether it be round, square or oval is up to the artisan or the owner of the vessel to decide. The method of casting seal-impressed rilievo characters is largely identical to that by which rilievo characters are cast as described in 3.3.2.(1), (2) above.

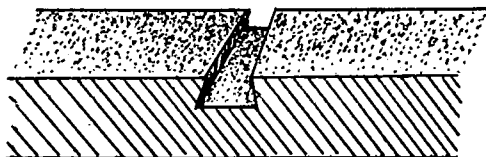
In addition to the methods of casting and engraving, seal-impressed rilievo characters can also be achieved by means of stamping or impressing, which is parallel to that of stamping a manufacturer's name on a metal object. The method is to prepare in advance a square, oblong or round steel die with a mirror-reversed intaglio inscription text. It is stamped hard with a hammer on the surface or base as soon as the vessel is cast and is still red-hot and not completely solidified. Such a method is particularly suitable to be applied to a shorter text, such as the one-, two- or three-character patterns of Hsuan bronze inscriptions. It is inapplicable to long inscription texts. Furthermore, this method could not have been used before the discovery of iron and the making of steel, and there is no evidence of a Shang or Chou bronze embodying a seal-impressed rilievo character text.

3.3.4. Hsiang ch'ien wen or inlaid-characters: the type of inscriptions that are incrustated with silver or gold into the

surface of a bronze vessel. Apart from examples that are inlaid with gold given in Figure 11 and Plate Three above, there are better specimens inlaid with both gold and silver which were excavated in 1965. In the find made in Wang Shan(望山), adjacent to Chinan(紀南) in Chiangling County(江陵縣) in Hupei, three graves of the State of Ch'u have been discovered. Among many other valuable antiquities unearthed, are a gold-inlaid bronze hook, a gold- and silver-inlaid bronze chariot ornament and a gold- and silver-inlaid bronze beaker. (21) Bushell has given another interesting example for Chinese nielle work. He states that "incrustation properly so called, that is to say, the application of the ductile metals on space scooped out and roughened by the graving tool on the surface of the bronze which is about to be incrustated, also goes back to a distant date, as we have already seen in the description of the sacrificial laver of the seventh century B.C. illustrated in Figure 49." ( Chinese Art, Vol. 1, p. 105; the figure is reproduced here in our Plate Seven.) As we shall see later ( 3.4.1. below ), the inscription on this p'an-bowl, known as Chin hou p'an(晉侯盤) is a fraudulently incised text, though the vessel itself has been examined and considered by P'an Tsu-yin(潘祖蔭) as genuine. More examples of bronze objects inlaid with gold, silver, turquoise, malachite and other precious or semiprecious stones can be seen in W.C. White's Tombs of Old Loyang, (22) and in J.G. Anderson's paper entitled "The Goldsmith in Ancient China." (23) In the latter

Anderson revised his formerly held view that the earliest Chinese bronzes inlaid with silver and gold date back only to the Han Dynasty. Basing himself on the inlaid materials collected in White's book, and on the materials furnished to him from the Swedish and other Western collections, he dates this Chinese inlaid technique back to the pre-Huai period( see op. cit., pp.4-10), and further back still is the gilding which he attributes to Yin time( see op. cit., p.7.)

Two stages are involved in the task of inlaying metal: initially, intaglio character bases are prepared; and then the incrustation of gold or silver or both follows. This can be achieved by pouring the molten precious metal or inserting the gold or silver thread into the hollow bases. Both engraving and casting methods may be applied to make the sunken bases, and incision is applied after the casting is finished. The patterns of the grooves engraved in the surfaces of the bronzes differ from those of the ordinary intaglio characters. Conversely, they are narrow on the top edge and broad in the bed at the bottom:



the idea being to hold firmly the incrustated metal. The casting of character grooves may be done by means of piece-mould assembling

( i.e. direct casting ) or cire-perdue process. Let us begin with direct casting: since incrustation is chiefly intended to serve a decorative purpose, the best position for the inlays is

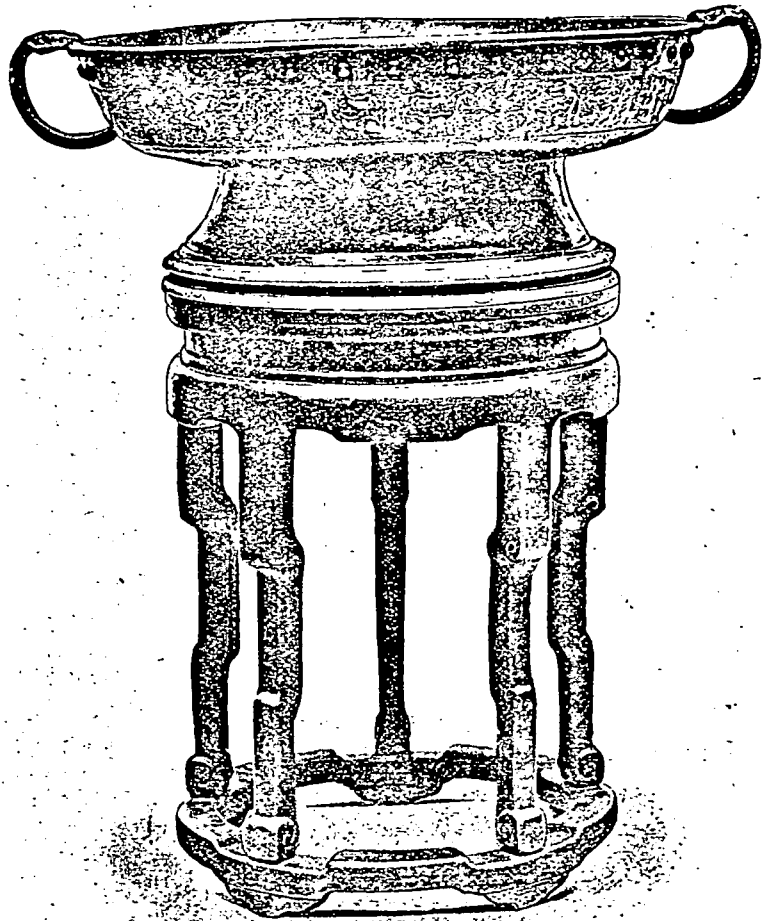


Plate Seven. The Chin hou p'ien (晉侯盤) or Bushell bowl of the Chou Dynasty. Sacrificial bowl inlaid with gold and silver but with a later, fraudulently incised inscription of 549 characters. H. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  in., W. 2 ft. 9 ins.

---Reproduced from Chinese Art, Figure 49.

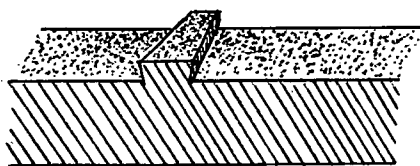
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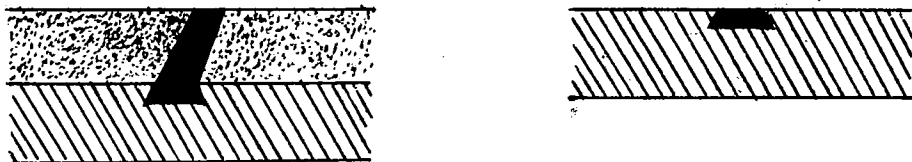
somewhere on the external surface of the vessel where it is conspicuous enough to attract attention. For this reason it is completely irrelevant to the clay core. Owing to the fact that the character grooves are undercut, they can not be carved directly in the model, because, if so, the model would be interlocked fast with outer mould-piece and impossible to dismantle. The task must, therefore, be performed on the outer mould. The procedure is as follows:

The outer mould-piece, on which the text is to stand, being taken from the model, could have a thin layer of fine clay laid on it. The rough draft of the text is then stamped or duplicated in mirror-reversed fashion on the surface of this clay. Afterwards the bare area of this layer of clay is whittled away except that the characters are left to stand in relief. The wedge-like strokes are wide on top and narrow at the bottom:



when cast in bronze, undercut intaglio characters result in a normal appearance. The procedure involved in preparing the character grooves by means of the cire-perdue process is rather simpler. The method corresponds largely to that of carving designs and decor in the wax model, provided that the carved-in hollows be undercut. When cast in bronze an exact copy results. By whatever means the character grooves having been prepared, molten silver or gold is then poured into the depressions. When fully filled it is

hammered or pressed flush with the surface. Alternatively, fine gold or silver threads may be inserted into the grooves and hammered flat to achieve the following appearance:



#### 3.4. Inscriptions which are fraudulently incised in excavated or existing non-inscribed bronzes:

During the late Ch'ing and early Republic, instead of faking whole bronze objects, forgers centred their attention and efforts on providing fabricated texts for attested as well as unattested bronzes for the following reasons:

(1) There was a revival of interest and activity in the study of early Chinese texts in the Ch'ing period (this has been dealt with at some length by, for example, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (梁啟超) in his Ch'ing tai hsueh shu kai lun (24)). This revival included palaeography and epigraphy, with extensive attention being paid to the bronze script, and the reconstruction of the early forms and development of Chinese characters in the light of metal epigraphy. (25) It is with this in mind that the scholars, gentry and collectors set out to look for inscribed bronzes. For example, during the reign of Tao-kuang (1821-1850), when he was holding a government post in the Province of Shensi, Liu Yen-t'ing (劉燕庭 -- 臺海) launched a campaign for the large-

scale purchase of inscribed bronzes, in which non-inscribed articles were rejected. (26) He therefore took rubbings of the inscriptions on the bronzes he had bought and published them in his Ch'ang an huo ku pien (長安獲古編). From then onwards forgers like the Su brothers (蘇氏兄弟) and Chang Erh-ming (張=銘) etc (see below) began to realize that inscribed bronzes were far more valuable than non-inscribed ones (see ibid. and also "Chien. pieh", pp.230-231.) This realization inspired artisans to turn their attention to fraudulently incising texts on non-inscribed bronzes.

(2) Since the discovery of oracle bones at Anyang in 1899, the shell-and-bone script has attracted the attention of many palaeographers. From then onwards officially controlled excavations (by Academia Sinica headed by Li Chi (李濟) and Tung Tso-pin (董作賓) commencing in 1929) as well as private excavations have been made in an attempt to bring more inscribed bones and shells to light. At one time large numbers of farmers were employed by antiquarians to dig up and search every tomb throughout Anyang for bones <sup>and</sup> shells. Among the tens of thousands of oracle bones and shells unearthed, were numerous bronze artifacts. However, the antique dealers found it difficult to pass them off because most of these bronzes were non-inscribed. Accordingly, they resorted to, or worked in co-operation with the forgers to provide them with lengthy inscriptions. (27)

3.4.1. For the above reasons, some engravers or artisans

focused their efforts on engraving inscription texts on excavated as well as existing non-inscribed bronzes. For instance, in the Ch'ien-lung period there appeared a p'an-bowl designated as Chin hou p'an (晉侯盤, see Plate Seven above) (28) embodying an inscription of 549 graphs. Bushell, upon discovering this longest inscription text in all the extant specimens, and having compared the document therein to those of the Shu ching, asserted that "it might be filled in from the contemporary annals of the period which have come down to our times." He supplies a provisional English translation with the warning that "the inscription has not been found in any of the Chinese catalogues, and the decipherment which follows must consequently be accepted with caution." (29) His acceptance of the forged text is unfortunate but quite understandable.

Quite clearly, as will be shown below, the text is compiled in a mixture of the literary styles of the Shu ching and the Tso chuan and its script is clearly in imitation of that of San shih p'an (散氏盤), of Hsieh's Li tai and of the stone-drum script (石鼓文). It is so poorly engraved that a few years later (in 1801) it was first declared faked by the archaeologist Fang Hao (馮浩), subsequently followed by Hiu Shu-yü (鈕樹玉), Jung Keng and Shang Ch'ang-tso. (30) The bowl first belonged to Yi Wang (怡王, lineal descendant of a son of the K'ang-hsi Emperor at Peking) and then passed into the possession of an English collector in 1870. It was subsequently displayed in the Victoria

and Albert Museum in London. (31) The bowl itself had been declared genuine and considered to be of Chou date by P'an Tsu-yin when it was still in Peking. Shang not only advocates the view that the vessel itself is of Chou origin, but also notices a few cases where some characters have been wrongly executed, e.g. the graphs "tan" (誕) has been corrupted into "shih" (適), "yüan" (遠) into "tsao" (造), "yüeh" (越) into "chao" (趙), "wei" (威) into "ch'eng" (成) etc. (for the inscription text see Figures 15 to 23.)

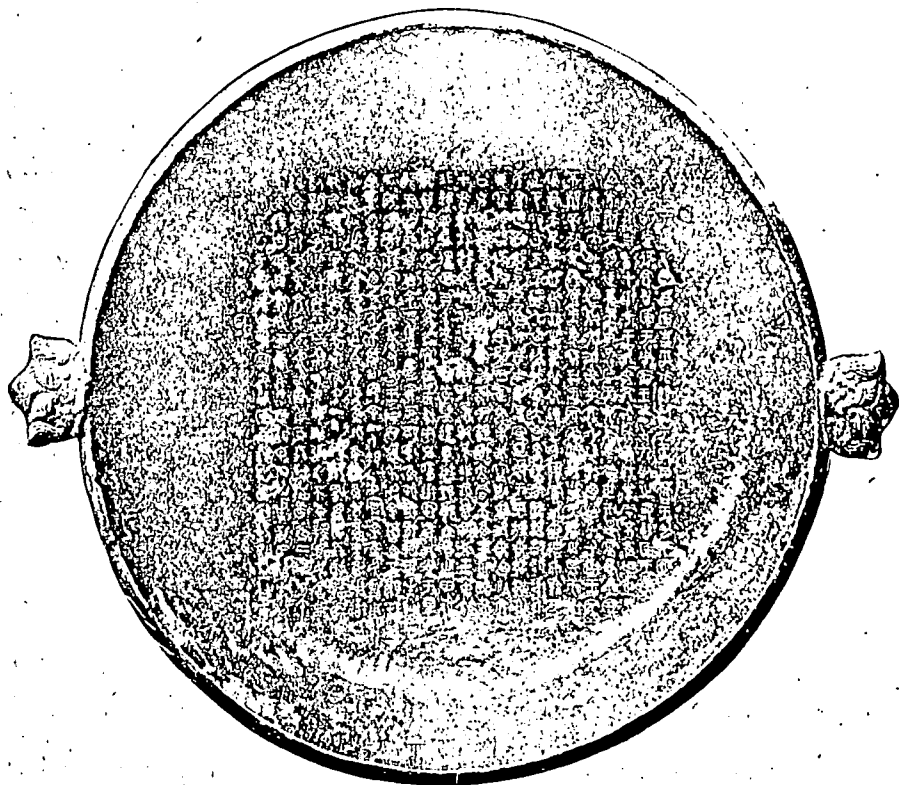


Figure 15. Fraudulently incised inscription on the Chin hou p'an-bowl (晉侯盤) of the Chou.

—Reproduced from Chinese Art, Fig. 50.



(1)

Figure 16. Rubbing of the fraudulently engraved inscription text on the Chin hou p'an-bowl of the Chou. The rubbing had been taken directly from the

p'an before it came to England. It has been cut and rearranged into the present series of separate copies by Shang Ch'eng-tso presumably for the convenience of photographing and printing. In many cases, discontinuities and displacements of sentences and paragraphs occur. For the integral version of the text Figure 15 should be consulted.

—Reproduced from Chin ling hsüeh pao, Vol.3, No.2, 1933, pp.243-294.



(2)

Figure 17. Rubbing of the fraudulently engraved inscription text on the Chin hou p'ian-bowl of the Chou.

—Reproduced from loc. cit.



(三)



(3)

Figure 18: Rubbing of the fraudulently engraved inscription text on the Chin hou p'an-bowl of the Chou;

—Reproduced from loc. cit.



Figure 19. Rubbing of the fraudulently engraved inscription text on the Chin hou p'an-bowl of the Chou.

—Reproduced from loc. cit.



(5)

Figure 20. Rubbing of the fraudulently engraved inscription text on the Chin hou p'an-bowl of the Chou.

—Reproduced from loc. cit.



(6)

Figure 21. Rubbing of the fraudulently engraved inscription text on the Chin hou p'an-bowl of the Chou.

—Reproduce from loc. cit.



(7)

Figure 22. Rubbing of the fraudulently engraved inscription text on the Chin hou p'ian-bowl of the Chou.

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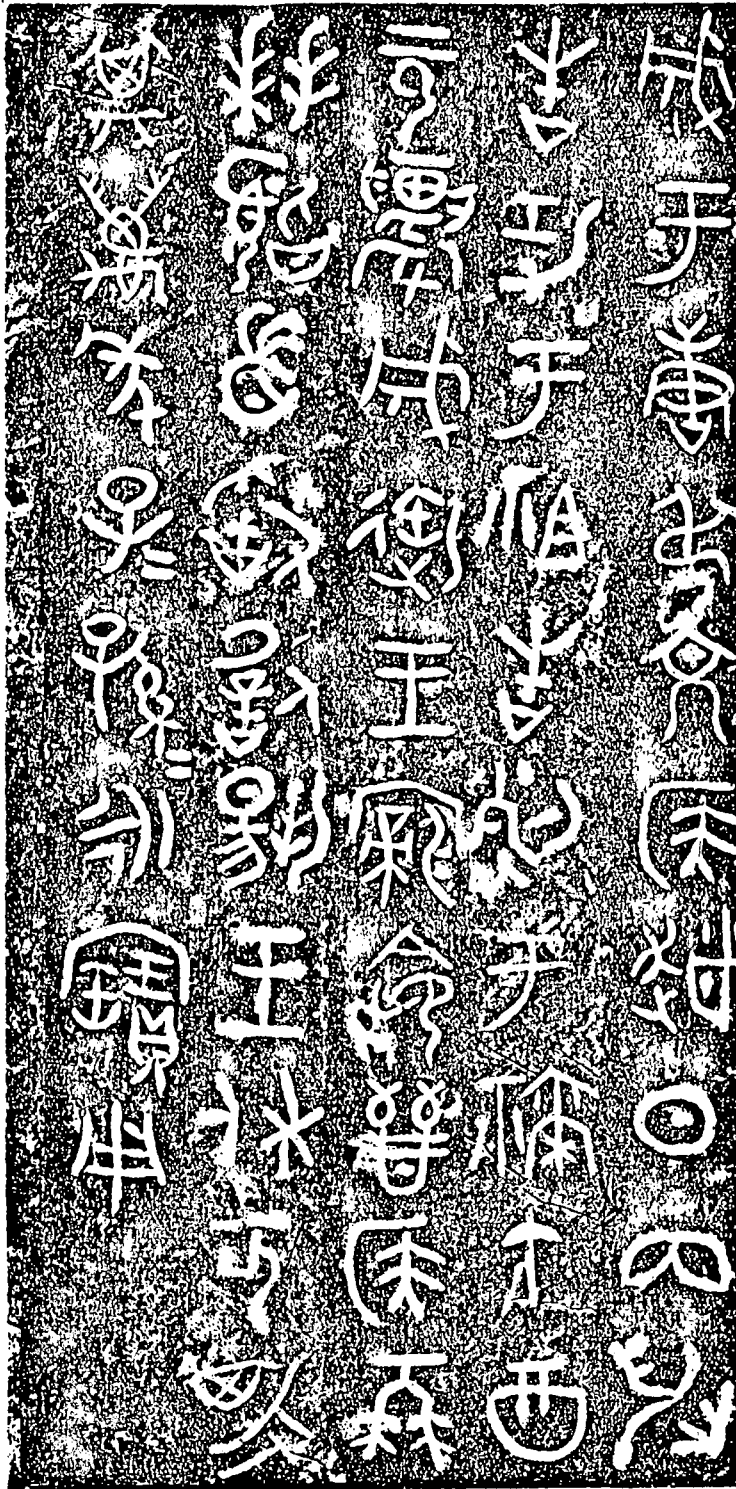


Figure 23. Rubbing of the fraudulently engraved inscription text on the Chin hou p'an-bowl of the Chou.  
 —Reproduced from loc. cit.

Other fine examples of fraudulently engraved inscriptions are the Kung fa hsü chung ( Figure 24 ) (32) and the Kung fa hsü ting ( Figure 25 ) (33). Kuo Mo-jo published his Yin chow ch'ing t'ung ch'i ming wen yen chiu in 1930, Chapter 5 ( pp.87-112 ) of which is devoted to the study of the authenticity and the date of the Kung fa hsü chung. Having made a comparative study of the inscriptions on the chung and on the ting, he first suspected that both inscriptions might be forged. But at length he was convinced, for five reasons, that the inscription on the chung was genuine, whereas that on the ting was forged, with only the change of the graphs "chung" ( 鐘 ) into "ting" ( 丁 ). He said, "All this conclusively proves that the inscription on the ting is fraudulently incised. With this in mind it becomes more apparent that each character therein looks eccentric and striking to the eyes. On the other hand, the inscription on the chung turns out to be more beautiful and attractive. It would be absolutely impossible for the people of the present day to imitate it." This incident implies once again that some really fine forged inscriptions have deceived even experts of Kuo's standing. Later, Jung Keng in his T'ung k'ae furnishes further stylistic and typological evidence which demonstrates that the type of the chung, which is apparently of Ch'un-ch'ia date, does not tally with that of the ting, which is typical of Shang or early Chou dates. In the 53rd year of the Ch'ien-lung reign-period ( 1788 ), while tilling the land, a farmer of Yichingmen, Ch'ang-

公伐邠鐘



Figure 24. Fine example of fraudulently engraved inscription on the genuine Kung fa hsü chung-bell (公伐邠鐘). The inscription text with the phrase "pao chung" (precious bell) (i.e. 3/3-4) so inscribed in this kou ti type bell (勾鐃) is alien to this type of vessel. It is extremely difficult to detect the forged nature of an inscription of this high technical quality solely on the strength of epigraphical or textual criteria.

—Reproduced from Ming wen yen chiu, p.88. It is also included in: Chou ts'un ( 1:49 ); Chui yi chai ( 2:10 ); Chi wen ( 2: 11 ).



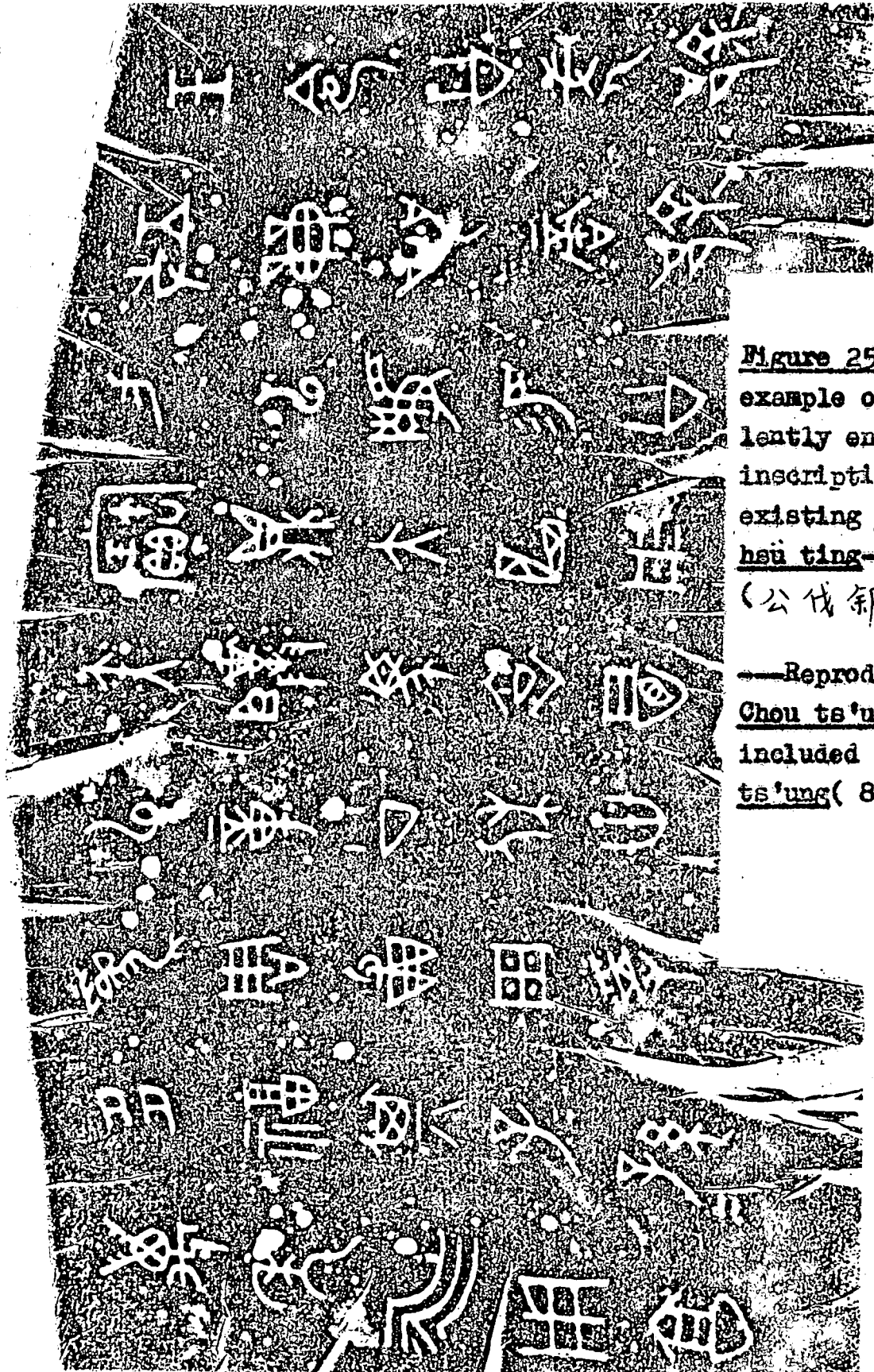


Figure 25. Fine example of fraudulently engraved inscription on the existing Kung fa hsü ting-cauldron (公伐郟鼎).

—Reproduced from Chou ts'un( 2:30 ), included in Yi ts'ung( 8:30 ).

shu County, in Kiangsu( 江蘇常熟翼京門 ), unearthed a number of kou-ti-bells( 句鑼 ) including the Ku feng kou ti( 姑馮句鑼 ). Some of these bells are non-inscribed and the chung in question is obviously one that has been taken from these kou-ti-bells and inscribed with additional text. Normally, the mouth of the kou-ti-bell faces upward, whereas the mouth of this chung runs counter to it, i.e. facing downward. So the inscription on the Chung looks upside-down if it is put back in its original position. Wu Ta-ch'eng( 吳大澂 ) also noticed that 'the inscription on the ting is not cast, but supplementarily engraved.' That both the inscriptions on the Chung and the Ting are fraudulently incised is without doubt." ( See T'ung k'ao, p.211.) In 1954, in the Preface of the reprint of Ming wen yen chiu, Kuo confessed that "these are the fruits of my early research in bronze inscriptions. There are certain interesting ideas as well as some hypotheses. Yet, there are some immature or almost erroneous theories.....For instance, the Chapter which deals with the determination and the commentary on the inscription on the Kung fa hsü chung has been omitted on the ground that the inscription thereon has been declared to be fraudulently engraved."

3.4.2. The task of faking an inscription on bronze is twofold: the composition of the text and the incision of the epigraphy in the metal. In many cases the whole work is performed by the artisan, while there are instances where forged inscription are the joint work of engravers and antiquarians or scholars.

### 3.4.2.1. The Composition of Texts: inscription texts may

be composed in the following ways:

(1) By the Assembling of Texts: the method of assembling a text being to extract sentences from a comparatively longer text or to place two or three different inscription texts side-by-side and then extract sentences or passages from them, ending, where necessary, with some new addition. Texts composed in such a way, however good the craftsmanship may be, dupe no serious student of epigraphy, for no sense can be made of them. See, for instance, Figures 26 and 27, in which the inscription on the X-chi ting-cauldron( 奕薰鼎 ) has been compiled by extracting sentences from the inscription text on the Wu hui ting-cauldron( 無彘鼎 ) (34). The fraud becomes more conspicuous if we tabulate the two texts side by side:

#### X-chi ting( Figure 26 )

1. 佳王二月既望初吉辰戌干
2. 王各于周"享"(?)
3. 奕[烝之誤]于圖室
4. 嗣征[嗣徒之誤]奕薰入門  
立中廷
5. 王乎史習冊令[令之誤]奕薰曰
6. 官嗣紅[嗣之誤]左
7. 王遑佩弗卞

#### Wu hui ting( Figure 27 )

佳九月既望甲戌  
王各于"用窮"[周廟之誤]  
灰[烝之誤]于圖室  
嗣征[嗣徒之誤]南仲右無  
重入門立中廷  
王乎史習冊令無彘[無誤作非]曰  
官嗣紅  
王遑佩弗卞

8. 易女解絲[縵]之誤旂用吏

易女玄衣並中戈瑀戠綢繹形於  
攸勒絲旂

9. 董拜稽首對揚王休用  
卣傳鼎永寶

無東敵對揚天子玉頸魯休  
用卣傳鼎用享

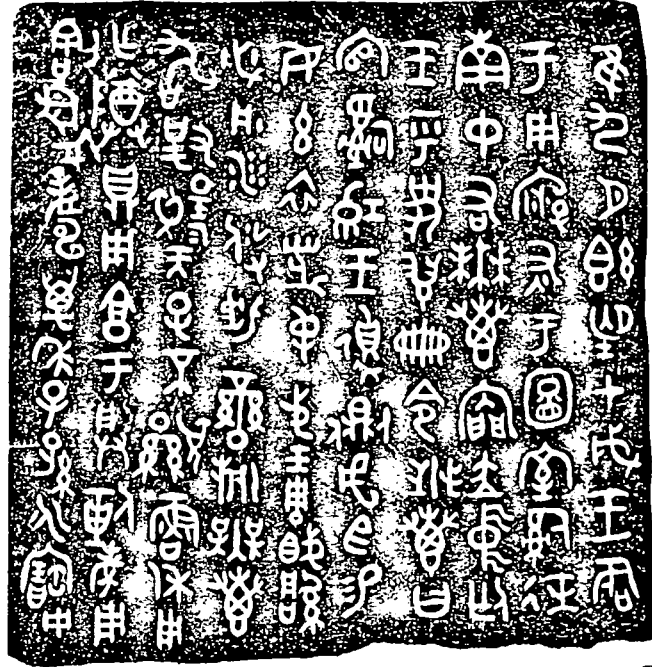
第 三 銘



Figure 26. Fraudulently incised inscription on the X-chi ting (夬董鼎), whose text is an extract from the inscription text on the unattested Wu hui ting (無東鼎).

—Reproduced from Chin ling hsueh pao, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 250.

鼎銘 在腹內近口處直下



惟九月既望甲戌王格于周廟丞于圖室司徒南仲右無專入門立中廷王呼史習冊命無專曰官司紅王頤側弗作錫女元衣帶束戈珣戟縞繹彤天篋勒鑿斨無專敢對揚天子丕顯魯休作尊鼎用享于朕列考用旬眉壽萬年子孫永寶用

鼎在焦山銘九古字僧行載焦山志云鼎傳于吾鄉魏氏亦宜相嚴嵩當國以不得此鼎將罪之嵩敗魏氏恐子孫終不保遂焦山鵬于癸酉冬自焦山曾見此鼎閣然渾古今曲阜張潤浦明府自京江取得拓本見貽即摹刻之

Figure 27. Unattested inscription on the Wu hui ting-cauldron (無惠鼎) which has been used by forger to forge another inscription text.

—Reproduced from Chinese Art, Figure 48, which is a reproduction of that in the Chin so by Bushell.

1. The compiler of the inscription text on the X-chi ting not only did a lazy and easy job, but did it rather stupidly. The expression for the date can be copied from hundreds of samples, but in no circumstance in a properly attested text does the third quarter of the month, "chi wang" ( 既望 ), occur immediately followed by the first quarter, "ch'u chi" ( 初吉 ). This is the most serious mistake made by the forger.

2. The sentence is evidently a copy of that of the text on the Wu hui ting with the term "周字" (?) in the place of "用窮" ( an error for 周廟 ).

3. This is an exact copy of the text-sample.

4. Duplication with the omission of the three characters "右魚車" and the replacement of the name "Nan Chung" ( 南仲 ) by "X-chi" ( 奕薰 ).

5. A clear imitation with differences in the names of the officials mentioned i.e. Shih Sheng ( 史省 ) versus Shih Hsi ( 史習 ) and of the owners of the vessels i.e. X-chi ( 奕薰 ) versus Wu-hui ( 無車 ).

6-7. Facsimile with a minute variation in the elements of the characters "tso" ( 左 ) and "hung" ( 系 ).

8. A very brief extract from the sample with an additional phrase "for your use." ( 用更 ).

9. Imitation with a slight variation in phraseology.

Another example of a poor compilation, that of the text on the Shih kuan fu fu- square dish ( 師權父簋 ) is illustrated in

Figure 28, where textual sources are derived from the text on the Shu to fu tui-container(叔父敦), illustrated in Figure 29, and the Chui tui-container(追敦), illustrated in Figure 30. The text is an arbitrary jumble of irrelevant sentences which makes no sense at all. A tabulation of the component parts of the text will reveal clearly what a clumsy task the forger concerned has performed, even though the craftsmanship is good:

Shih kuan fu fu(Fig.28),Shu to fu tui(Fig.29),Chui tui(Fig.30)

1. 師 <small>權</small> 父入	師 <small>權</small> 父孫=叔	追 <small>虞</small> 夙夕郵卒死事天
2. 丁 <small>宮</small> 令=天子	父 <small>卡</small> 孟姜	子多易追休追敦對天
3. 覲揚 <small>卡</small> 寶	博 <small>設</small> 其萬年	子覲揚用 <small>卡</small> 朕皇祖
4. 簋用享其	子=孫=永寶用	考博 <small>設</small> 用享孝于前
5. 萬年永寶		文人用 <small>禩</small> 凶眉壽永
		令 <small>畀</small> 臣天子令終追
		<u>其萬年</u> 子=孫=永寶用

It is obvious from the chart that the forger concerned has not only gathered his textual materials from the texts on the Shu to fu tui and the Chui tui, but has also imitated the style of script of the model texts. We shall take them in the sequence of columns:

1. The owner's name Shih Kuan Fu is evidently derived



Figure 28. Fraudulently incised inscription on the Shih kuan fu fu-square dish (師權父簋) whose text is a jumble of irrelevant sentences compiled from various text-samples.

—Reproduced from Chin ling hsüeh pao, Vol.3, No.2, p.251.





Figure 29. Existing unattested inscription text on the Shu to fu tui-container( 叔父敦 ), also known as Shih kuan fu tui( 師釶父敦 ), which has been used by the forger of the text on the Shih kuan fu fu( 師釶父簋 ) as a textual model.

—Reproduced from Yi ts'ung( 3:62 ). It is also included in: Chün ku( 2/3:22-23 ); K'o chai( 8:15-16 ); Huai ni( Ch.2 ); Chou ts'un( 3:62 ); Hsiao chiao( 8:19 ).



Figure 30. Allegedly forged inscription text on the Chui tui-container( 追敦 ) which has been used by the forger of the fraudulently incised inscription text on the Shih kuan fu fu( 師權父簋 ) as a textual model.

—Reproduced from Chou ts'un( 3:35 ).

( directly or indirectly ) from the text on the Shu to fu tui. Characters such as " 入 , 了 , 宮 , 令 , " can be copied from hundreds of existing inscription texts. As the text stands, the phrase " 令天子 " can only be understood as "to order the Son of Heaven to...." The subject of the verb can only be "Shih Kuan Fu", who would of course be a subordinate of the Son of Heaven. In the light of what is known of ruler-subject relationships in the Chou Dynasty, such a command would be unthinkable. The fact that the composer of the text allowed such a juxtaposition to occur, does suggest that he copied fragments without being fully aware of what they meant.

2-3. This clause is certainly copied from the text on the Chui tui so far as the wording and the style of script are concerned.

4. The phrase "for offering"( 用享 ) is an exact duplication of the text on the Chui tui in respect of the style of script.

4-5. The clause "may he for a myriad years everlastingly treasure it," is extracted from both textual models, but does not make sense, because Shih Kuan Fu could not wish himself to live for a myriad years and for ever treasure the vessel: this can only be done by one's sons and grandsons.

A further good example of the assembling of inscription text is the Chia yi-vessel( 夾彝 ) appearing in Asiatic Art in private Collections of Holland and Belgium, edited by H.F.E. Visser and published in 1948. The fact that the inscription is

a forgery escaped Prof. Karlgren's notice, but was detected by Barnard. He has declared it faked by pointing out certain inconsistencies in the text, and by producing sources such as ins.T. 285.1, T.104.4, T.104.2, T.64.3, T.68.1, T.60.4 from which the text was compiled. (35)

A fraudulently incised inscription text composed in a similar way is the inscription on the X-yi (吳彝, see Ching wu 2: 41 ). Of its 38 characters in six columns, the first half is derived from the inscription text on the X-tui (吳敦, see Li tai 14:141 ) and the second half from the inscription on the La kung tui (刺公敦, see Li tai 13:136-7 ) (36).

(2) By extracting a passage from a longer text: the inscription text may be derived from a longer text by cutting the latter into two or more divisions and then engraving them separately on different vessels. Inscription texts "composed" in this way always fail to give a complete meaning: the absence of a subject or the lack of an appropriate ending is usual. As a matter of fact, the complete version of an inscription text on a set of bells—pien chung (編鐘)—is disposed in this way. If the inscription texts on a set of bells is arranged in the right order, a complete text will result. But, apart from sets of bells, we can not accept Jung Keng's statement that "to comprehend certain inscription texts one should link two texts together and expunge certain words before one can make out their complete senses." (37) By "certain words" he means textual overlaps at the

beginning or end. For instance, there exists an inscription text on the Chi Chiang ting ( 妣 鬯 鼎 ) (38), illustrated in Figure 31, which reads,

1. 妣 鬯 鼎 用 禘 ( 祭 )

2. 用 嘗 ( 嘗 ) 用 孝 用 享

3. 用 鬯 壽 無

4. 疆 其 萬 年

5. 子 = 孫 = 永 寶 用

1. "...the vessel of [ the King's ] consort Chiang, for sacrifice in the winter,

2. for sacrifice in the autumn, for practicing filial piety and making offerings,

3. for praying for long life,

4. for ten thousand years may [ her ]

5. sons and grandsons forever treasure and use it."

The text begins very abruptly and has neither the maker's name nor the verb 乍, which suggests that something is missing in the preceding portion of the text. In this connection, Wang Kuo-wei has put forward a very interesting view. In a note on this Chi Chiang ting-cauldron he writes, "Among all the bronze vessels, only the inscriptions on a group of pian chung-bells can be incorporated into an integral whole, and this never occurs at all in other types of vessels. Yet the inscription on the recently found bronze Ch'in kung tui ( 秦 公 敦 ) is divided [ into two parts which are ] separately engraved in the vessel and the

彝器中作編鐘之銘合數鐘而成篇他器絕無如是者惟近出之秦公敦其銘  
 分刻於器蓋合三始成一篇此鼎銘辭僅存後半蓋其前半當在蓋上與秦公  
 敦同字曰未克有第器也乙丑六月涵甬王國作趙記



Figure 31. Portions of inscription texts combined and fraudulently engraved in the Chi Chiang ting-cauldron( 姬昌鼎 ).

—Reproduced from Ch'eng ch'iu kuan( 1:8 ).  
 It is also included in: Cheng sung( 3:20-21 ); Chou ts'un( 2:36 ); San tai( 4:9 ).

lid. Thus the two component sections should be combined to form a complete text. As to the inscription on this ting-cauldron, only the second half remains. The reason for this is because its first half must have been on the lid as in the case of the Ch'in kung tui. I have never seen a third vessel of its kind."<sup>(39)</sup> We may leave aside for the time being the question of genuineness of the text on the Ch'in kung tui. Wang's argument fails here because of the type of vessel involved.

The cauldron, illustrated in Plate Eight, has two handles ( erh 耳 ) which stand upright on the rim, and which are characteristic of Shang and early Western Chou ( or "Archaic Period" ) bronzes in the view both of Kuo Mo-jo and of Karlgren<sup>(40)</sup>. Neither properly attested nor unattested cauldrons of this type have a lid, since the putting on of a lid is entirely out of the question. Lids can only be fitted in the types of ting-cauldrons which have handles ( or "bent ears" as Karlgren termed them ) attached to the exterior surface below the rim, horizontally at first and then vertically. Both Kuo and Karlgren ascribed this characteristic to a later date than the former pattern. An authentic example is the ting-cauldron of the State of Ch'u, the Ch'u wang t'an kan ting No. 1 ( 楚王鬻志鼎甲 ) as illustrated in Plate Nine. Hence, Wang's argument that the first half of the inscription on the Chi Chiang ting must have been on the lid is erroneous. Yet Lo Chen-yü supports this view with only a slight modification. He says, "[ The Chi Chiang ting ] is in the collection

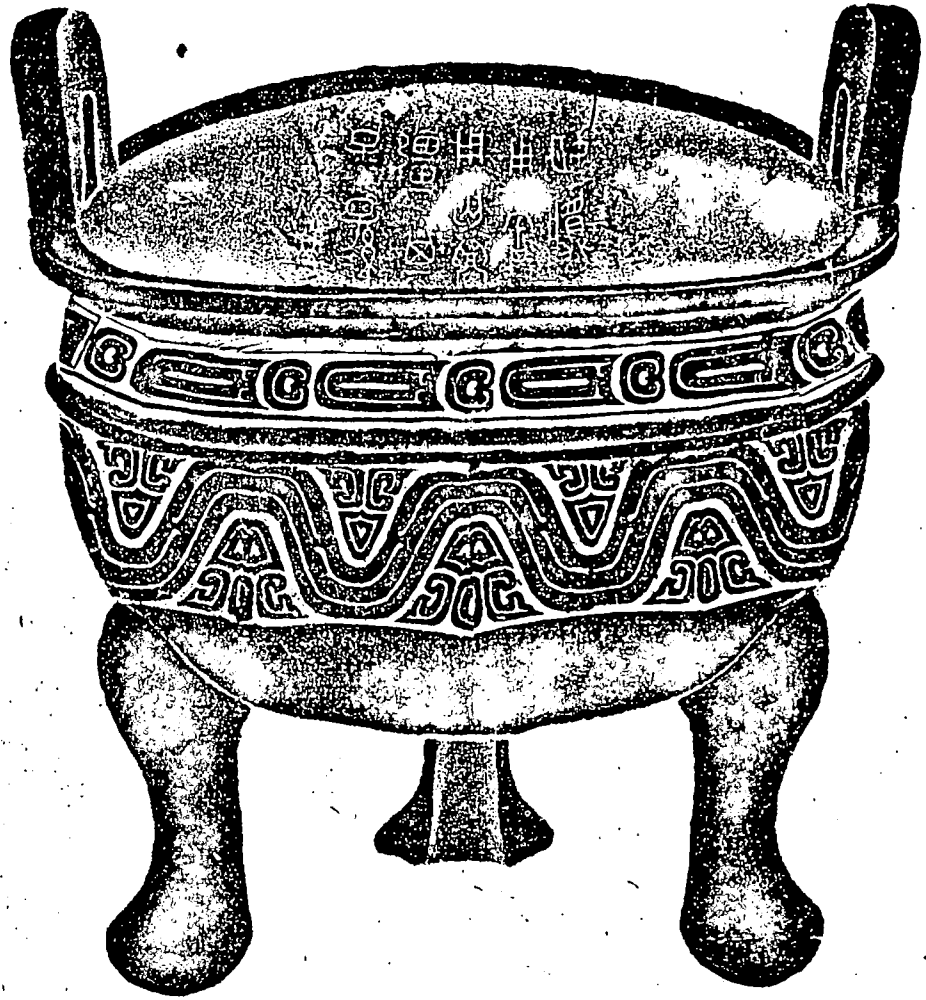


Plate Eight. The Chi Chiang ting-cauldron ( 姬 昌 鼎 )  
 with portions of inscription texts com-  
 bined and fraudulently engraved on the  
 interior vessel wall below the rim.

—Reproduced from the Ch'eng ch'iu kuan

( 1:8 )



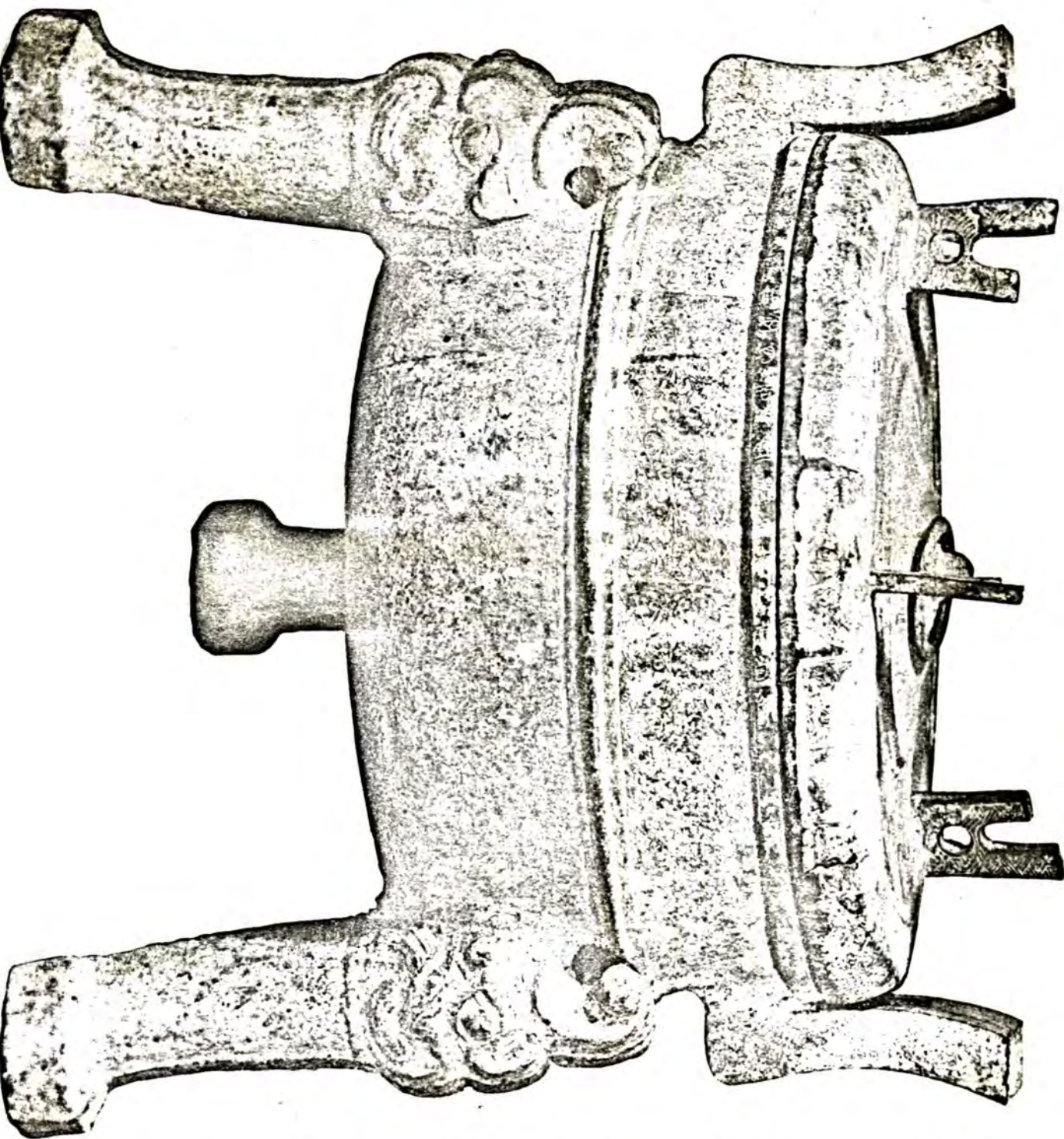


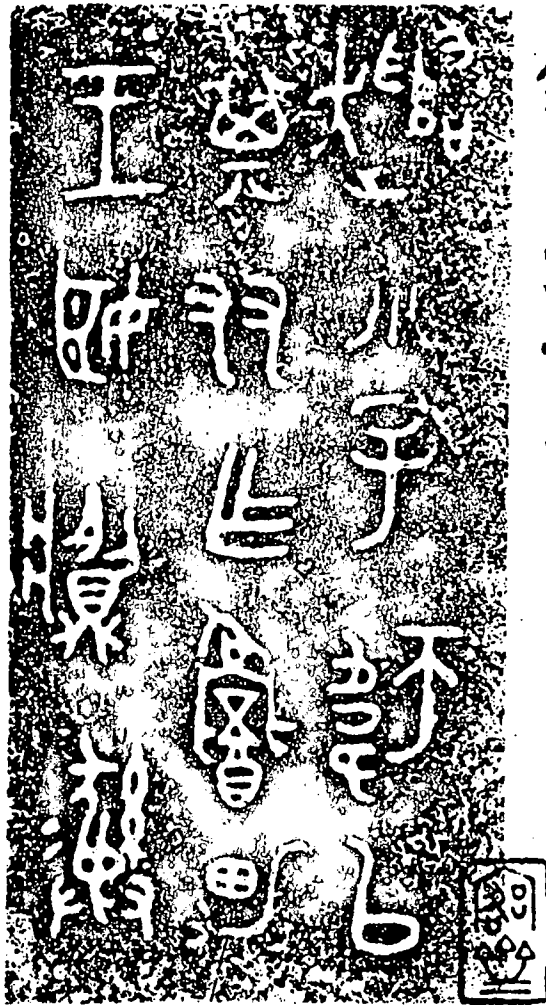
Plate Nine. The authentic Ch'u wang t'an kan ting No. 1 (楚王鬻志鼎甲) of the Chankuo period. It is characterised by its "bent ears" and suspensible lid.

—Reproduced from Ch'u wen wu chan lan t'u lu (楚文物展覽圖錄), Peking, 1954, p. 1

of Ch'eng ch'iu kuan ( 澂秋館 ) of Ch'en ( i.e. Ch'en Pao-shen 陳寶琛 ). Only the second half of its inscription remains. This is due to the fact that an inscription text is divided into two portions and separately incised in two vessels as in the case of a set of p'ien-chung-bells. This is the only bronze [ of its kind ] I have seen so far." ( See Cheng sung 3:21 ) Jung Keng has followed Wang and Lo's interpretation without questioning it and concludes that "there exists only one case where an inscription has an incomplete sense."<sup>(40a)</sup> However, our supposition that the inscription in dispute was extracted from a longer text is documented by the inscription on the Ch'ien hsiao tzu tsa tui-cauldron ( 趙小子鞞敦 )<sup>(41)</sup> illustrated in Figure 32, which reads,

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| 1. 趙小子鞞以 | 1. "Ch'ien Hsiao Tzu Tsa, on behalf of  |
| 2. 其友乍魯男 | 2. his friend made the Prince X-nan's   |
| 3. 王姬嬖彝  | 3. consort Chiang's <u>yi</u> -vessel." |

The text of this inscription is fairly lucid and it reads very smoothly indeed; except that it seems to end rather suddenly in a way that suggests that something is missing. The existence of the inscription on the Chi Chiang ting confirms such a supposition. Lo Chen-yü and Jung Keng have asserted that they are homogeneous with the p'ien chung-bells. Thus each of them bear a portion of the inscription text. Let us reunite the



遣小子鞞啟

張氏清儀閣藏器

遣小子鞞  
其友作名男  
王姬鬯彝

Figure 32. Portions of inscriptions texts combined and fraudulently engraved on the Ch'ien hsiao tzu tsa tui-container( 趙小子鞞敦 ).

—Reproduced from K'o chai( 12:4 ). It is also included in: Chi ku chai( 6:8-9 ); Chün ku( 2/2:7 ); Ch'i ku shih( 16:25-6 ); Chin so( 1:48 ); Ts'ung ku( 5:14 ); Ch'ing yi ko( 1:40 ); Chou ts'un( 3:87 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:85 ); Chi wen( 3:37 ); San tai( 7:28 ).

component sections of this text and consider the result:

Ch'ien hsiao tzu tsa tui

- ( 趙小子執敦 , Fig. 32 ): 1. 趙小子執以  
2. 其友下壽  
3. 王姬鬯彝

Chi Chiang ting ( 姬鬯彝  
鼎 , Fig. 31 ):

4. 姬鬯彝用彝  
5. 用嘗用孝用享  
6. 用卣鬯壽無  
7. 彊其萬年  
8. 子 = 孫 = 永寶用

These two inscription texts fit together very well, except for the repetition of "Chi Chiang yi" ( 姬鬯彝 ) in lines 3-4. As far as bronze inscriptions are concerned, the repetition of either a monosyllabic or of a polysyllabic word is symbolized, as a rule, by a double-dash mark "=": A=B= can stand either for AABB or ABAB. An example of the former is 子=孫= for 子子孫孫, and of the latter 夷=伯= for 夷伯, 夷伯. A longer example of the latter is 卽=井=白=氏= for 卽井白氏, 卽井白氏. A repeated phrase is always abbreviated in this way in properly attested inscriptions. (42) Accordingly, if the two partial inscriptions be treated as if they were of the pien chung-bell type, the recurrence of the three characters " 姬鬯彝 " should be represented by " 姬 = 鬯 = 彝 = ". However, no such repetition mark

can be found in any of these inscriptions. The fact that it is not so represented throws serious doubt on the possibility of combining the two texts in this way. In fact, no repetition of "女臣 鼎彝" is necessary in this particular context. All this proves very convincingly that they are not originally genuine portions of an integral inscription, but that they have been extracted from some other text. Having done so, the forger supplies a vessel-name for the second half of the text, but in the wrong place.

In addition to this, the vessels on which these partial inscriptions are inscribed belong to two distinct types: ting-cauldron and tui-bowl-like container. This is again contrary to the principle of the sets of pien chung-bells, whose members all belong to the same type of vessel. We may conclude, then, that the inscriptions on the Chi Chiang ting and the Ch'ien hsiao tzu tsa tui are fraudulently incised.

(3) By the copying of an inscription text from another vessel: textual models for copying are plentiful and are of two kinds: inscriptions on actual vessels, and reproductions in catalogues and private rubbings. Shang Ch'eng-tso notes that those that are imitated from the Sung Catalogues, for instance the Li tai, are characterized by having a rather sharp point at the tip of the character strokes<sup>(43)</sup>. In imitating a text, the size of character is always decided by the width of the surface in which the text is to be incised. Sometimes the prospective texts

have to be increased or reduced in size. This being the case, there have been texts on ting-cauldrons which have been copied and eventually engraved on a kuei ( or tui )-container; or texts on yu-pails being imitated and incised on a p'an-laver, and vice versa. In doing so, the forgers need only alter the vessel-names into a suitable one in the text concerned. See, for instance, Figures 24 and 25 above, where the two inscription texts are identical except for the vessel-names "precious bell" on the chung and the "precious cauldron" on the ting. In Figures 33 and 34, where the inscription on the Ch'ing ting-cauldron ( 𠄎𠄎𠄎 ) is copied from the inscription text on the Ch'ing tso fu yi ting ( 𠄎作父乙𠄎 , see Hsiao chiao 2:77 ) and fraudulently incised on a magnified scale on the tripod. The forger's craftsmanship is inferior to that of the text used as a model. Inscriptions copied from one text and fraudulently incised on a reduced scale on another vessel are illustrated in Figures 35 to 38. The inscription on the Shih ch'ien p'an-laver ( 邾遺盤 ), as illustrated in Figure 36, being modelled on the text on the Shih ch'ien kuei ( 邾遺毀 ), as illustrated in Figure 35, has been reduced in size in order to fit the rather small p'an-laver. Its workmanship is poor and Shang notes that the graph "kuei" ( 毀 ) has intentionally been either left blank or removed later, since its occurrence here would not agree with the type of vessel ( p'an-laver ) on which it has been incised<sup>(44)</sup>. The inscription on the X-li mu chung-bell ( 女里母鐘 ), as illustrated in Figure

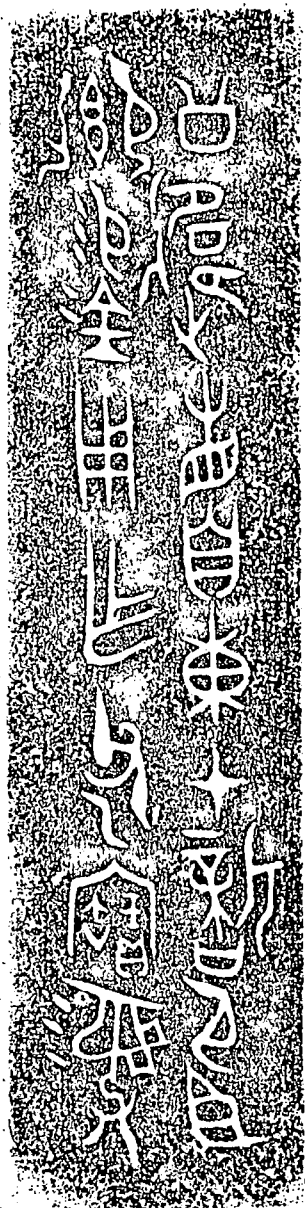


Figure 33. The existing inscription on the Ch'ing tso fu yi ting-cauldren( 𠄎作又乙鼎 ) which has been used as a model for faking another inscription text on a ting-cauldron.

—Reproduced from Hsiao chiao( 2: 77 ). It is also included in: K'uei chai( 6:4. It is known as Kung wei hsiang ting 公違相鼎 in this work; ) Ch'eng ch'iu kuan( p. 15 ); Chou ts'un( pu yi:3 ).

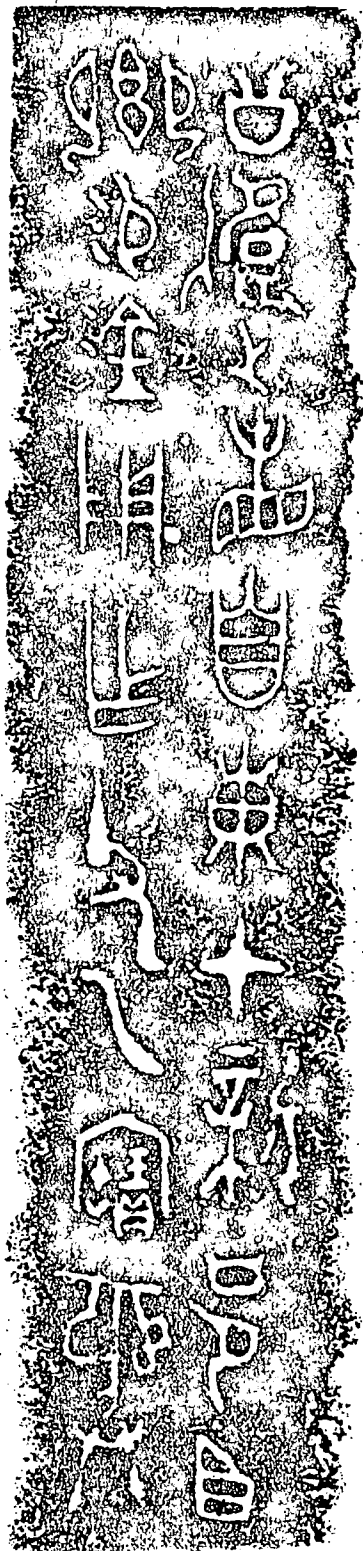


Figure 34. The fraudulently incised inscription text on the Ch'ing ting-cauldron( 𠄎𠄎 ). Copied from the text on the Ch'ing kuei( 𠄎𠄎 ), or Ching tso fu yi ting.

—Reproduced from Chin ling hsüeh pao, Vol.3, No.2, p.253.





Figure 35. The existing inscription on the Shih ch'ien kuei-container( 部遣設 ) which has been used as a model for faking another inscription text on a p'an-laver.

—Reproduced from op. cit., p.254. This inscription is also included in: Ch'iku chai( 6:6-7 ); Chün ku( 2/3:28-29 ); Hsü chia( 12:37-38 ); K'o chai( 9:2 ); Chin so( 1:47 ); Ts'ung ku( 11:26-7 ); Hsiao chiao( 8:20-21 ); San tai( 8:20-1)



Figure 36. The fraudulently incised inscription text on the Shih ch'ien p'an-laver ( 邠遣盤 ) copied from the text on the Shih ch'ien kuei-container ( 邠遣設 ).

—Reproduced from Hsiao chiao ( 9:75 ). This inscription is also included in Chou ts'un ( 4:10 ).



Figure 37. The fraudulently incised inscription text on the X-li mu chung-bell ( 攷 裡母鐘 ), a reduced and abbreviated version of the text on the X-li mu kuei-container ( 攷 裡母設 ).

( 1:9 )

—Reproduced from ibid. This inscription is also included in: Shan chai ( Yüeh ch'i 7 ); Chou ts'un ( in the Yi ts'ung: pu yi 20:1 ); Hsiao chiao ( 1:9 ).

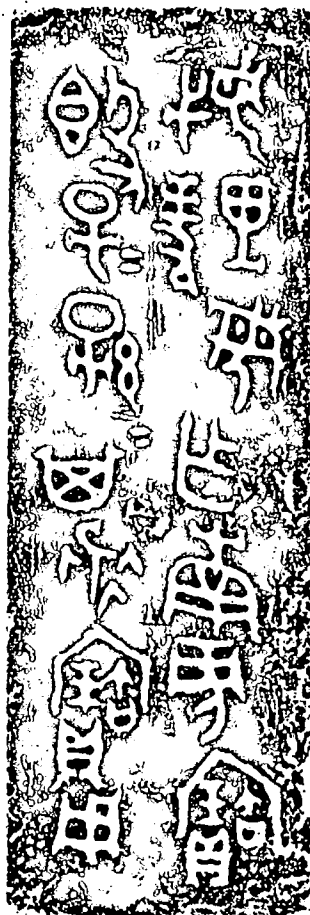


Figure 38. The unattested inscription on the X-li mu kuei-container( 汝理母設 ) which has been used as a model for faking another inscription text on a chung-bell.

(7:96)

—Reproduced from ibid. This inscription, also known as Nan p'ang tui( 南旁敦 ) is included in: Chün ku( 2/2:28 ); K'o chai( 8:7); Fu chai( 3:25 ); Ch'i ku shih( 3:14 ); Ts'ung ku( 11:29 ); Shan chai( Li ch'i 7:62 ); Chou ts'un( 3:80 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:96 ).

37, is greatly reduced and abbreviated from the text on the X-li mu kuei-container ( 故 理 母 段 , also known as Nan p'ang tui 南 旁 敦 ), as illustrated in Figure 38, because of the rather narrower space available.

There have been forgers who through ignorance or carelessness have copied inscription texts from one type of vessel and engraved them on another type of vessel without even changing the vessel-names so as to suit the vessel on which the pseudo-inscription is made. An example is the text on the Shu pin fu p'u-stemmed bowl ( 叔 賓 父 鋪 , see Shan ch'ai, li ch'i lu 8:19 ) which contains the character "hsü"-oval dish ( 盪 ), because the textual model originally belonged to the hsü-oval dish. There are also cases where inscription texts on vessels of an early date have been copied on to vessels of a later date, and vice versa. There appears in the Shan ch'ai ( li ch'i lu: 8:35 ) an i-boat ( 匱 ) type vessel bearing a typical Shang inscription: a hieroglyph of a man holding a ladle in line with two graphs "Fu Kuei" ( 父 癸 ). It is designated "Chih Shao hsing fu kuei i" ( 執 勺 形 父 癸 匱 ) in this Catalogue. However, the inscription is not appropriate to the vessel because this type of vessel—i-boat ( 匱 )—is attributable to the Middle Chou or later. The forger has betrayed himself by wrongly choosing his textual model ( see T'ung lun, Ch.9.) A further example is illustrated in Figures 39 and 40, where the inscription, "Elephant shape, Tsu Hsin" ( 象 形 且 辛 ) on the kuei-container, also known as Hsiang tsu hsin

yi ( 象且辛彝 ), is a direct copy from the text on the Hsiang hsing tsu hsin ting ( 象形且辛鼎 ).



Figure 39. The fraudulently incised inscription on the Hsiang hsing tsu hsin kuei-container ( 象形且辛毀 ) copied from the text on the Hsiang hsing tsu hsin ting-tripod ( 象形且辛鼎 ).

—Reproduced from Chin ling hsueh pao Vol.3, No.2, p.262. This inscription is also included in: Cheng sung ( 4:30 ); Shan chai ( Li ch'i 7:17 ); Hsiao chiao ( 7:9 ).

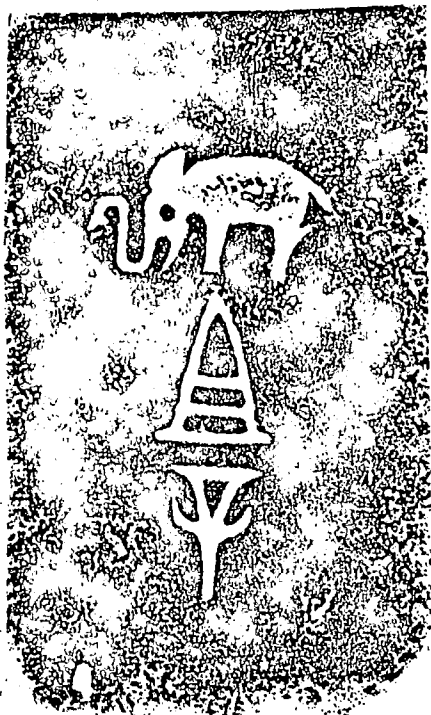


Figure 40. The existing inscription text on the Hsiang hsing tsu hsin ting-tripod ( 象形且辛鼎 ) which has been used as a model for faking another inscription on a kuei-container.

—Reproduced from ibid. It is also included in: K'o chai ( 3:3 ); Shan chai ( Li ch'i 1:16 ); Hsiao chiao ( 2:12 ); San tai ( 2:17 ).

(4) By the fabrication of a completely new inscription text: since the copying of inscription texts directly from existing models is bound to arouse the suspicion of experts, however skilful the craftsmanship may be, and since the copying of old texts makes no new contribution from a documentary point of view, forgers with some knowledge of early literary texts, or with the collaboration and help of scholars, occasionally fabricate completely new inscription texts. Textual models and sources for this purpose are available in such works as Shu ching, Shih ching, Tso chuan, Yi cheu shu etc. Good examples are the texts on the Chin hou p'an ( or Bushell Bowl ) mentioned above and on the Kuo chi tzu po p'an ( 鞞季子白盤 )<sup>(45)</sup>, which was declared a forgery by H. Maspero<sup>(46)</sup> but defended by Karlgren as genuine<sup>(47)</sup>. In footnote 9 to his article "Some Remarks on the Authenticity...." Barnard says, "It was with considerable interest that I discovered this inscription [ i.e. the Kuo chi tzu po p'an ] is now regarded by several eminent authorities in Japan ( as a result of their recent visit to China ) as a fake—the inscription is not cast; it is engraved into the base of the p'an-vessel! This observation was made to me during the course of conversation ( June, 1958 ) by Prof. Kaizuka Shigeki who personally examined the vessel; others have hinted similar doubts. The vessel itself, however, is regarded as genuine, while the inscription is merely a late 18th or early 19th century addition." The texts on these two p'an-vessels are unprecedentedly rich in

content as well as historical significance should they be genuine. They are undeniably composed by, or with the collaboration of scholars who are familiar with bronze literature. However, as far as authenticity is concerned, they are undoubtedly forged, as has already been shown in the case of the former and as will be shown in the next Chapter in the case of the latter.

#### 3.4.2.2. The Methods and Techniques of Incising Inscriptions:

Technically, false inscriptions can be added to the bronzes by the following methods:

(1). As already stated in 3.3.1. above, inscriptions may be engraved in bronze with sculptural instruments such as burin, knife, chisel, hammer etc. The work, which does not necessarily involve the founders, takes place after the bronze has been cast. The forgers work on the surface of the vessel in just the same way as seal-engravers. Inscriptions made by this process often contain vestiges of mistaken cuts, which eventually constitute clues to their having been forged, as was noted by Ts'ao Ming-chung (曹明仲) in Ke ku yao lun: "ku t'ung lun" and by Ch'en Chieh-ch'i in Fu chai th'ah tu, Vol.4. Nevertheless, a fairly large proportion of forged specimens have been engraved in such a way, and this may, in certain cases, serve as a subsidiary criterion for detecting forgery ( see Ch.4 below ).

(2) Inscriptions may also be added to bronzes by abrasion: since the engraving of inscriptions may leave unsightly traces on the bodies of the vessels that will arouse suspicion, some

forgers have resorted to a chemical approach, viz. the application of nitric acid or other abrasive chemicals to produce an etched intaglio inscription. The stages are as follows. First of all a mixture of two parts of potassium chloride and twenty parts of water is prepared, and then this mixture is poured into a solution of ten parts of nitric acid and seventy parts of water (This resultant solution may be diluted by adding 100 to 200 parts of water for etching smaller and slimmer characters). The solution is applied by brush to the appropriate location on the body of the vessel, using normal calligraphic brush-strokes. After the chemical change has taken place, the corrosion is rubbed and brushed away. The abrasive mixture is applied to the surface of the bronze over and over again, until the grooves of the character-strokes reach the required depth. Inscriptions made by this process give the impression of being cast, and of course leaves no tell-tale incision marks on the vessel. Really fine examples of etched inscriptions are indistinguishable from cast ones. For instance, the inscription on the Shih ma hsiao shu fu-square dish (師麻孝叔簋, see Shan chai: li ch'i lu 8:6), which is copied from the text on the fu-square dish in the San tai (10:13) <sup>(48)</sup>, and the inscription on the Shen pi fu tou-stemmed bowl (申比父豆, see Shan chai: li ch'i lu 8:17) etc are fine examples of this <sup>(49)</sup>. However, poorly etched inscriptions crop up occasionally. This is probably due to careless over-application of the abrasive chemicals, resulting in strokes which



are excessively thick and lacking in vigour. Examples are illustrated in Figures 41 to 44, where the etched inscription on a kuei-container( Figure 41 ) is forged after the text on another kuei( 鄭義美父毀 ), as illustrated in Figure 42; and the inscription on a ting-cauldron( Figure 43 ) after the text on the Yü ting-tripod( 竅鼎 ), as illustrated in Figure 44.

(3) The welding of an inscribed bronze-piece into a non-inscribed vessel: the forgers cut out the inscribed bronze-piece either from a broken vessel or from an inferior or less attractive vessel and then weld it into a forged or existing non-inscribed bronze. Vessels with inscribed bronze-pieces so welded in have sometimes deceived collectors eagerly searching for inscribed objects. Jung Keng has noted that the inscription which had originally been on the base of the Lu yü-pail( 采卣 ) was cut out and then welded into the base of the Lu tsun-beaker( 采尊, see Shan chai: li ch'i lu 3:91 ). Since insufficient attention was given to the work, the characters "kan"( 敢 ) and "yi"( 彝 ) were damaged in the course of the welding. Other examples are inscriptions on the Hsien kuei-container( 獻毀, see Meng wei 1:25 ) and on the Mu tsun-beaker( 母尊, see Sung Hsi p.58 ), both being welded insets from inscribed vessels (50).

Alternatively, broken pieces of genuine ancient bronzes are collected and engraved with inscriptions and ultimately soldered into non-inscribed bronzes. On one occasion Shang Oh'eng-tso paid a visit to the Tsun Ku Chai( 尊古齋 ), an antique shop in



Figure 41. The forged inscription on the Cheng yi Chiang fu Kuei-container (鄭義羌父簋), etched in imitation of the inscription text on another Cheng yi Chiang fu Kuei ( Fig. 42 ).

—Reproduced from Hsiao chiao( 9:29 ).

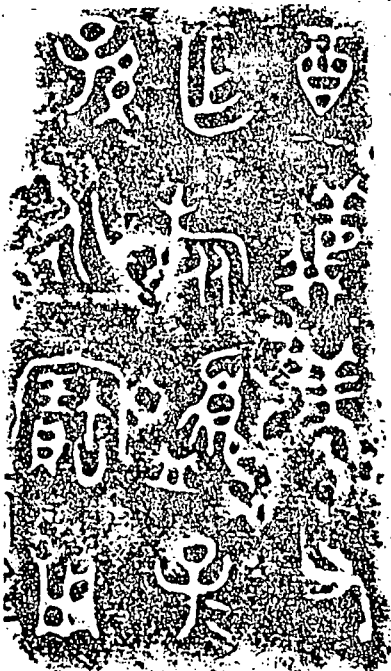


Figure 42. The existing inscription text on the Cheng yi Chiang fu Kuei-container( 鄭義羌父簋 ) which has been used as a model for faking other inscriptions: Cheng yi Chiang fu Kuei ( Fig. 41 ); Cheng yi po hsü( 鄭義伯盨 , see Wu ying tien, p.81 ); Cheng yi Chiang fu p'an( 鄭義羌父盤 , see Chou ts'un 4:14 )

—Reproduced from Hsiao chiao( 9:29 ).

It is also included in: Chün ku( 2/1: 12 ); Yün ch'ing kuan( 3:15 ); K'o chai( 15:20 ); Ch'i ku shih( 17:31 ); Chou ts'un( 3:161 ); Chui yi chai(9:16



Figure 43. The forged inscription on the Yü ting-tripod(竅鼎), also known as Shih yung fu ting (師雉父鼎), etched in imitation of the inscription text on another Yü ting( Fig. 44 ).

—Reproduced from Hsiao chiao ( 3:6 ). This forged inscription is also included in: Shan chai( li ch'1 lu 1:76 ).



Figure 44. The existing inscription text on the Yü ting-tripod(竅鼎), also known as Shih yung fu ting( 師雉父鼎 ), which has been used as a model for faking another inscription( Fig. 43 ).

—Reproduced from K'o chai( 6:11 ) It is also included in: Meng wei( hsü:6 ); Chou ts'un( 2:31 ) San tai( 4:13 ); Hsiao chiao ( 3:6 ); Chi wen( 1:29 ); Ta hsi( t'u 7; lu 31 ).

the Liuich'ang(琉璃廠) in Peking. At the back of the shop he saw a broken piece of fang ting-square tripod with an inscription of 51 characters lying on the table. The inscription was poorly engraved and its text unintelligible. He yielded to curiosity and asked the proprietor Huang Chün(黃濬) where this genuine piece with a forged inscription had come from. Huang replied, "It was incised by Wang Hai(王海). He owed me over two hundred dollars, and being unable to repay me he offered me this piece of junk instead. I refused it at first but then on a second thoughts I decided to keep it to use as a model."<sup>(51)</sup>

### 3.5. The addition of more characters to a shorter inscription on attested as well as unattested bronzes:

As stated above, with the growing interest in bronze script on the part of Chinese collectors and palaeographers, inscribed objects came to be more highly prized than non-inscribed ones. The situation therefore tended to be that the longer the inscription text the higher the commercial value of the vessel would be. This gave antique dealers and forgers a hint that additional characters meant increased profits. Pao K'ang remarks, "As far as sacrificial vessels are concerned, inscriptions that are fraudulently incised will contain more characters; whereas about half of those that contain only a few or several dozen graphs are nevertheless genuine."<sup>(52)</sup> Although this is not exactly the case, Pao was already aware of the fact that false inscriptions had been added to originally ones. We have a very interesting

instance in the Yin fu ting tsun-beaker ( 尹父丁尊 , see Ch'eng ch'iu kuan, p.28 ) as illustrated in Plate Ten, which originally contained only three characters reading "Yin fu ting" ( 尹父丁 , see Figure 45 ) and marking the name of the owner of the tsun-beaker, <sup>has later</sup> had added to it two fraudulently engraved emblematic characters ( see Figure 46 ). More interesting is the fact that the combined version of this inscription has further been used as a model to produce yet another longer false inscription ( see Figure 47 ). In his paper specially devoted to the studies of forged inscriptions on ancient Chinese bronzes, Shang Ch'eng-tso has noted that the five characters on the right hand side ( i.e. Fig.47:1-2/155 ) are genuine, while the six on the left ( i.e. 3-5/6-11 ) are forged (53). This observation presumably refers to the inscription text published in the Ch'eng ch'iu kuan ( p.28 ), i.e. our Figure 46. However, both Ch'en Pao-shen ( 陳寶琛 ), the compiler of the Ch'eng ch'iu kuan and Shang Ch'eng-tso have been deceived. The exclusion of the two emblematic characters from the original inscription by Lo Chen-yü in his San tai (11:8 ) tells the truth of the whole story. See Figure 45, where, for instance, the fingers of the man-like clan-name still remain on the right hand side of the rubbing.

It should not be left unmentioned, in this connection, that a well-known inscription on the Sui ch'i ch'i ting-tripod ( 遂啟 謀鼎 , see K'ei chai 6:13 ) which originally had nine characters as illustrated in Figure 48, later had added to it 124 fraudulent-ly

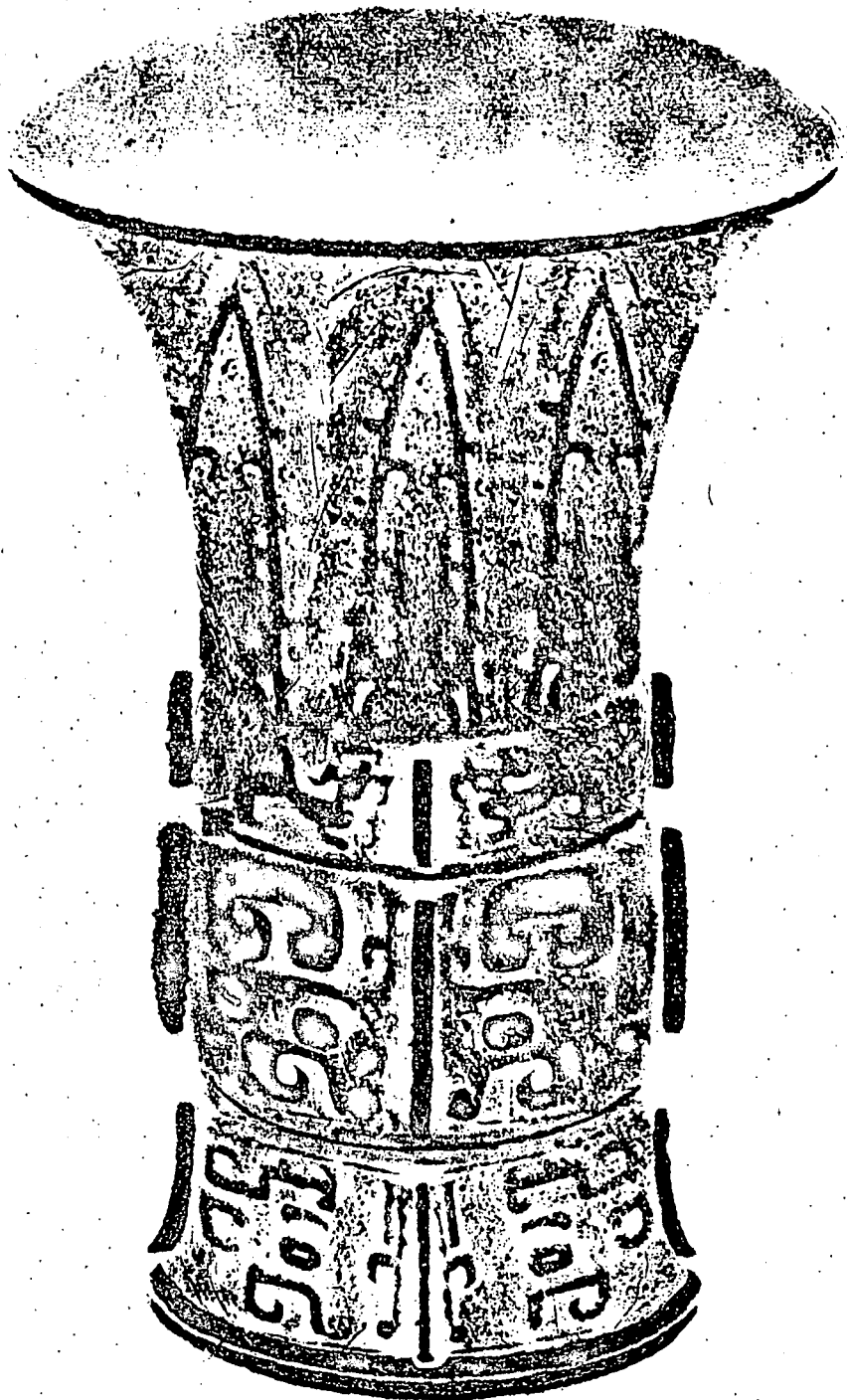


Plate Ten. The existing Yin fu ting tsun-wine-beaker (尹父丁尊) of the Shang, which originally carried an inscription of three characters had later added to it eight fraudulently engraved characters( see Figures 45 to 47 ).  
 —Reproduced from Ch'eng ch'iu kuan( p.28 ).



Figure 45. The existing inscription on the Yin fu ting tsun-wine-beaker( 尹父丁尊 ) which has later been fraudulently incised with additional characters( see Figures 46 and 47 below ).

—Reproduced from San tai(11:8 ).

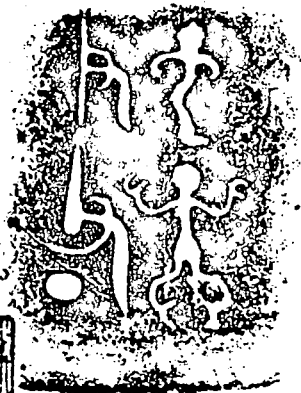


Figure 46. Fraudulently engraved characters( 1/1-2 ) added to the original inscription( Fig.45:1-3 ) on the Yin fu ting tsun-wine-beaker( see Plate Ten ).

—Reproduced from Ch'eng ch'iu kuan( p.28 ).

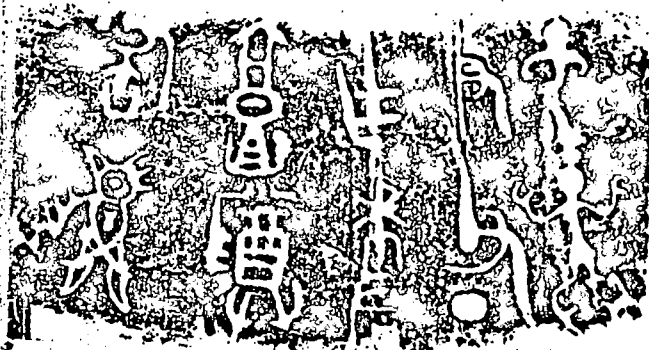
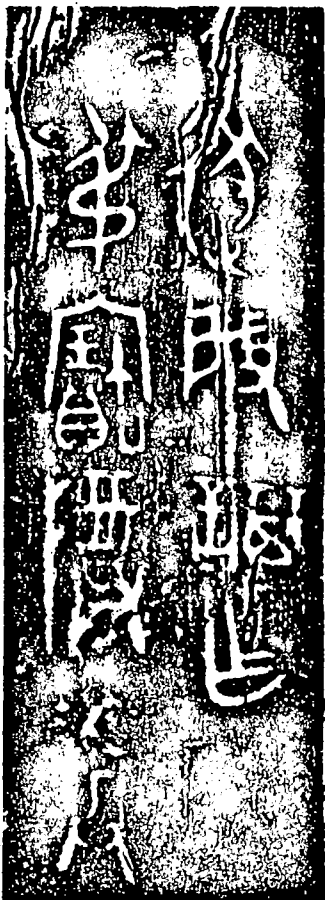


Figure 47. The fraudulently engraved inscription on the Yin fu ting tsun-wine-beaker( see Plate Ten ).

—Reproduced from Chin ling hsäeh pao, Vol.3, No.2, p.268. It is also included in the Ching wa( 1:45).

叔  
寶  
尊  
彝

遠  
肇  
謀  
作  
廟



遂  
肇  
謀  
鼎

Figure 48. The existing inscription text on the Sui ch'i ch'i ting-cauldron(遂啟謀鼎) which has later had added to it 124 fraudulently incised characters( see Figure 49 below ).

—Reproduced from the K'o chai( 6:13 ). This inscription is also included in: Chün ku( 2/1:32 ); Chou ts'un( 2:58 ); Chui yi chai( 4:15 ).



(縮小四分之一)

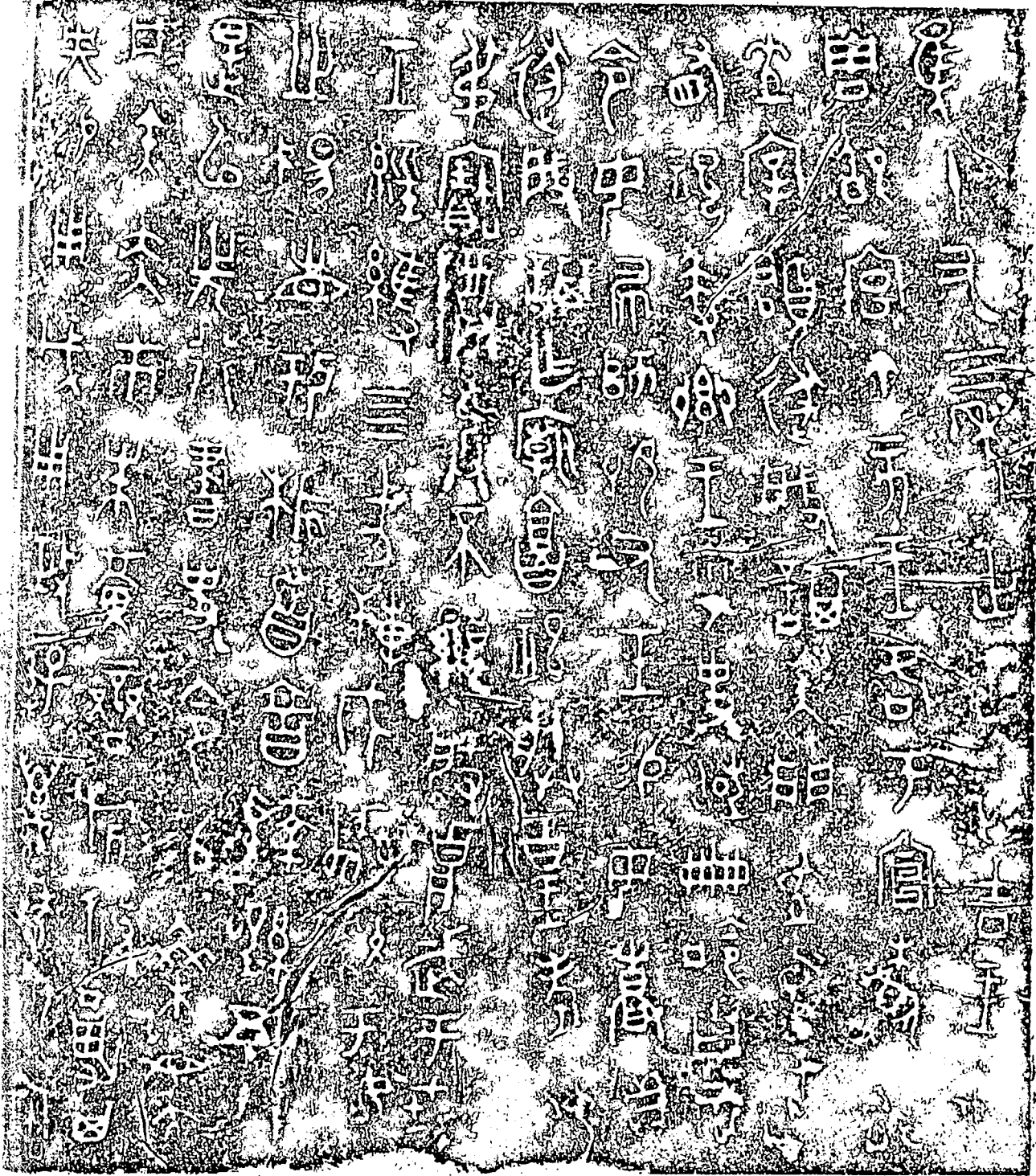


Figure 49. An extended version of the inscription on

the Sui ch'i ch'i ting-cauldron( 遂啟謀鼎 ):  
124 fraudulently engraved characters have been  
added to the original inscription text of nine  
characters( i.e. 6/1-5; 7/1-4 ).

—Reproduced from Chin ling hsüeh pao, Vol.3,  
No.2, p.265.

engraved graphs. The new version of the combined inscription text, which is illustrated in Figure 49, has been included in the Ching wu ( 1:32 ). The Sui ch'i ch'i ting was unearthed in the later part of the Tao-kuang reign-period ( 1821-1850 ) in the Province of Shensi. It was seen at that time to have a broken leg and an inscription of nine characters running in two columns which reads, "Sui Ch'i-ch'i made Miao Shu's ( or the uncle Miao's ) precious and honourable yi-vessel." ( 遂啟謀作廟叔寶樽彝 , see Figure 48 ).<sup>(54)</sup> Unfortunately, the vessel passed through the hands of the forger Su Chao-nien ( 蘇兆年 ), who, with the collaboration of Chang Erh-ming ( 張二銘 ), apart from mending the broken leg engraved an additional 124 graphs on to the original inscription. Later, in the fifth month of the 24th year of Tao-kuang ( 1844 ), the vessel was sold to Yeh Chih-hsien ( 葉志詵 一東鄉 ) at a price of three hundred pieces of gold, for he considered the vessel to be of the reign of Hsüan Wang of Chou ( 周宣王 ). Being overjoyed at what he had procured, Yeh made a commentary and composed a poem on the lengthy text and the vessel. He subsequently went so far as to call upon his friends, more than 30 of them, to contribute poems and essays on the finding of the Sui ch'i ch'i ting-tripod. Together with a drawing of the vessel and a rubbing of the inscription thereon he published a book entitled "Sui ting t'u t'i yung" ( 遂鼎圖題詠 , also known as Chou sui ting t'u k'uan chih 周遂鼎圖款識 ). But before long Pao K'ang and Ch'en Chieh-ch'i

both discerned the fraudulence of the additional graphs. This was also admitted by the forgers concerned—Su Chao-nien and Chang Erh-ming—because Pao had been acquainted with them. All this was soon made known to the owner—Yeh Chih-hsien. In his indignation Yeh, not being prepared to confess his misrepresentation of the controversial vessel, sent the ting-cauldron to the Chin Shan Temple (金山寺) of Chenchiang (鎮江) in Kiangsu (55).

The forgers Su and Chang proved themselves to be imprudent, for the addition of false characters to an inscription which has been published in several catalogues is bound to be detected. Apart from the original nine characters, the bulk of the inscription is rather clumsy in execution and its text does not make sense. The textual sources are clearly the texts on the Kuo chi tzu po p'an, the Pe chün fu ting (伯願父鼎) and other texts. The result is a farrago of irrelevant phrases and sentences. If we compare it with its original version as illustrated in Figure 48, the picture becomes much clearer: the latter will fit very well into the upper half (i.e. Fig. 49:6/1-5 and 7/1-4) of the 6th and 7th columns of the former. (Note that Figure 49 has been reduced by a quarter of its original scale.)

### 3.6. Identification of Forgers:

Fraudulently engraved inscription texts abound in numerous existing catalogues as well as books published to date by contemporary scholars. We need only open albums such as Ching wu,

Chi ku chai, Ch'ang an, Chün ku, K'o chai, Ch'eng ch'iu kuan,  
Chou ts'un, Chin shih so, Ch'i ku shih, San tai, Meng p'o shih,  
Shan chai, Hsiao chiao etc to find forged and suspect inscript-  
ion texts on every hand.

In view of the abundance of questionable inscriptions, it follows as a matter of course that there have been a considerable number of forgers. However, as already stated above, the practice of faking was carried out secretly, and since forgers very seldom came into direct contact with their customers but supplied them through antique-dealers, their identities were rarely revealed, and hence little is known of them. Nor have there been cases of forgers of bronzes being brought before the courts on charges of forgery, and even during the period when there was a great world-wide demand for Chinese antiquities, forgers still managed to conduct their secret trade in complete security. On the other hand, the antique-dealers, who had to deal directly with customers, did occasionally get into trouble. One particular instance was in 1936, when Chang Hsi-yüan (張熙園), the proprietor of the antique shop Ching Ku She (經古舍) in Nanking, counterfeited a "Wei Shan Yao" Tablet (謂山窰碑) which he presented to the Central Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities (中央古物保管委員會) who paid him a reward of sixty dollars. Soon afterwards the plot was divulged in a newspaper article and Chang was arrested on 6th April. Two days later Chang was brought to trial at the Local Police Court in

Chiangning(江寧). He was found not guilty and discharged on the ground that the authorities of the C.C.P.A. had been careless in examining the object<sup>(56)</sup>.

In addition to the forgers described in Ch.2 above, of whom those who were employed by Ch'en Chieh-ch'i could also engrave bronze script, we shall list further engravers mentioned in the Fu chai ch'ih tu, "Wei tzu yen chiu", "Wei tzu yen chiu pu p'ien"<sup>(57)</sup>, Pao yi yuan shou cha, T'ung k'ao, T'ung lun, and Kuan ku ko ts'ung kao.

### 3.6.1. Engravers of Shensi:

(1). Chang Erh-ming(張二銘): this forger was known to Shang Ch'eng-tso only by surname and nickname, i.e. Feng Yen Chang(鳳眼張). It was Jung Keng who identified him with Chang Erh-ming<sup>(58)</sup>. Chang was a contemporary of the Su brothers and was probably active in the reign of Tao-kuang(1821-1850) when leading collectors and scholars such as Ch'en Chieh-ch'i, Yeh Chih-hsien, Liu Yien-t'ing(劉燕庭—嘉海), P'an Tsu-yin, Wu Yun(吳雲), Weng Yun-p'eng(馮雲鵬), Feng Yun-wan(馮雲煥), Chu Shan-ch'i(朱善祈) etc launched big campaigns to buy inscribed bronzes. One of his representative works is the addition of inscription texts to the famous Sui ch'i ch'i ting mentioned above. Pao K'ang and Ch'en Chieh-ch'i both confirmed that this fraudulent text was engraved by a joint effort of Chang and the Su brothers<sup>(59)</sup>. Shang notes that the inscription text on the Chü pe shu kuei(虞伯震毀) is another specimen of Chang's

work, which is characterized by the consistent peculiarity of the graph "kuei"(白圭)(60). The text of this fraudulently engraved inscription is largely copied from the text on the Cheng po shu fu(曾伯冢簋)(61). Kuo states that this vessel was destroyed by fire(62).

(2)-(3). The Su brothers—Su Yi-nien(蘇億年) and Su Chao-nien(蘇兆年); Yi-nien and Chao-nien were also known as 蘇六 and 蘇七 respectively. Not only were they contemporaries of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i but were also frequent suppliers of Ch'en's. From Ch'en's selected letters, i.e. Fu Chai ch'ih tu, addressed to his scholarly friends, we learn that collectors like Yeh Chih-hsien, Wu Ta-ch'eng(吳大澂), Chu Shan-ch'i etc were regular customers of the Su's. As far as experience in handling and determining the status of bronzes and inscriptions are concerned, Ch'en was far in advance of all the rest, and was in fact commended and admired by many Chinese scholars such as Hsü Chung-shu, Shang Ch'eng-tse, Jung Keng etc for this reason. Therefore most of the better products of the Su brothers found their way into Ch'en's collection; whereas the poorer ones were often supplied to Yeh Chih-hsien and Wu Ta-ch'eng. The elder Su( Yi-nien ) was a better craftsman than his younger brother Chao-nien. According to Shang Ch'eng-tse one of the Su's was still alive in the early 1930's, but whether or not he still practised his trade then is unknown(63).

The kind of inscriptions that are fraudulently engraved by

forgers of Shensi are exhibited in the Ts'en fei kuei (岑妃設, see Liang lei hsüan 6:19), Ch'i li (齊厲, see Liang lei hsüan 7:19) (64) and in the X-chung (虜鐘), Shu kuei chung (叔媿鐘), Fan chung wu sheng ting (番仲吳生鼎) included in the Ching wu (shang:5,8,40 respectively) (65).

### 3.6.2. Engravers of Tsinan (濟南) in Shantung:

(1). Hu Ma-tzu (胡麻子): this forger is known by his family name plus the nickname Ma-tzu, because he had a pock-marked face. Nothing is yet known of his work.

(2). Hu Shih-ch'ang (胡在昌): the son of Hu Ma-tzu. His work is said by Shang to have been better than his father's and he was also able to produce false patinas.

(3). Hu Shih-k'uan (胡在寬): another son of Hu Ma-tzu. His work (in the estimation of Shang) was comparable to that of his brother Shih-ch'ang. Knowing little palaeography, he was limited to copying from extant inscription texts. He was also able to produce patinas.

### 3.6.3. Engravers of Weihsien (濰縣) in Shantung:

Weihsien was the home town of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i. Once Ch'en began sending agents to buy up large quantities of bronzes throughout the County and recruiting artisans to repair and fabricate bronzes, more forgers emerged in his County.

(1). Fan Shou-hsüan (范寿軒): Fan is said by Shang to have engraved reasonably good inscriptions, but no representative work can so far be attributed to him.



(2). Chan Shu-t'ang( 展書堂 ): as an engraver Chan is known only by name, the quality and type of his work being unknown.

(3). Chao Yun-chung( 趙允中 ): fancy name "Chih Chai"( 執齋 ). Chan made rubbings of his own works, usually marked with seal-impressions reading, "Rubbed personally by Chih Chai."( 執齋手拓 ). He had a handful of learned friends and was capable of engraving good inscriptions.

(4). Wang Chin-ch'en( 王善臣 ): besides producing excellent forged inscriptions, Wang also faked bronze objects and made mirror moulds. Shang Ch'eng-tso remarks that Wang was inclined to engrave inscriptions with long, slender character-strokes( illustrated in Figure 50 ). Comparison of these with the textual model on the Wang tzu shen chan-cup( 王子申盞 ), which is illustrated in Figure 51, suggests that the forged inscription text must have been made by tracing over the textual model. Thus the slinness of the character-strokes does not necessarily represent an individual feature of Wang's work. Kue Mo-jo notes that the fu-square dish with its inscription fraudulently incised by Wang had managed to find its way into Lo Chen-yü's collection, and that the forged text had been copied from the model with the omission of four characters "chan yü.....wu.....chih" ( 盞盞 ..... 無 ..... 之 , i.e. 2/1-2; 3/1...6 respectively in Figure 51 ) (66).

(5). Wang Hai( 王海 ): son of Wang Chin-ch'en, Wang Hai's



Figure 50. The fraudulently engraved inscription text on the Wang tzu shen fu-square dish ( 王子申簋 ) attributable to the forger Wang Chin-ch'en's ( 王蓋臣 ). It managed to find its way into Lo Chen-yü's collection.

—Reproduced from Meng wei ( hsü 12 ). This forged inscription is also included in: Chou ts'un ( 3:144 ); Hsiao chiao ( 9:6 ); San tai ( 10:8 ).



Figure 51. The existing inscription text on the Wang tzu shen chan-cup( 王子申盞 ) which has been used as a model by the forger Wang Chin-ch'ên to forge a similar inscription text on a fu-square dish.

—Reproduced from San tai( 18:12 ).

This inscription is also included in: Chi ku chai( 7:26 ); Liang lei hsüan( 8:1 ); Ch'i ku shih( 18:23-4 ); Chou ts'un( 3:169 ); K'o chai( 17:19 ); Chui yi chai( 28:3 ); Hsiao chiao( 9:99 ); Chi wen( 4:32 ¶ ); Ta hsi( t'u 159; lu 182; shih 167 ).

work is said by Shang to be superior to that of his father. Shang personally examined two articles forged by Wang Hai: an inscribed bronze brush and the inscribed broken bronze-piece already mentioned above. On one occasion, Chang Heng(張恒, fancy name Yüeh-yen 月岩, nickname Ta-p'ao 大炮), an antique-dealer, said to Shang, "The characters [ on the bronze brush ] were written by myself, but were engraved by Wang Hai. A couple of years ago I bought a bronze brush which<sup>I</sup> had difficulty in disposing of on account of the fact that it bore no inscription. Later I selected four ancient graphs arbitrarily from a catalogue and made minor modifications. I sent for Wang Hai and he engraved them for me. I sold it immediately at a price of over one hundred dollars. To the best of my memory the rough draft which I made at that time is still in existence. I will show you it when I find it later."(67)

(6)-(7). Li Yü-pin(李玉彬) and Li Yü-t'ang(李玉堂); known as Li Wu(李五) and Li Liu(李六). Li Yü-t'ang also called Jui-wen(瑞文) is said to have produced better inscriptions than his brother.

(8). Hu Yen-chen(胡延貞): this forger, the standard of whose work is unknown, was also peck-marked, and was called "The Hu Ma-tzu of Weihsien"(淮縣胡麻子) in contradistinction to "The Hu Ma-tzu of Tsinan"( see above ).

(9). P'an Ch'eng-lin(潘承霖): being bound apprentice to Hu Yen-chen, P'an's workmanship is said by Shang to have been

below the average.

(10). Li Mao-hsiu(李懋修): capable of engraving inscriptions as well as casting bronze vessels Li's products were regarded by Shang as better than those of Wang Hai. He had the assistance of a competent wife.

#### 3.6.4. Engravers of Soochow:

Soochow has long been one of the cradles of forgery, particularly of bronzes. However, the engravers working there were seldom known to outsiders. Ku Hsiang-chou(顧湘舟) was the only one whose name is known to us so far. Nothing is yet known of the quality and type of his work.

#### 3.6.5. Engravers of Heng Shui Hsien(衡水縣) in Hopei:

(1). Chang T'ai-en(張泰恩): a native of Heng Shui County, nicknamed Ku-t'ung Chang(古銅張), he was a well-known versatile figure in bronze-dealing circles. His abilities included engraving inscriptions, casting bronze vessels, creating faked patinas and repairing defects in bronzes. He became fairly wealthy at a time when there was a great overseas demand for ancient Chinese bronzes.

(2). Chang Chi-ch'ing(張濟卿): nephew and apprentice of Chang T'ai-en, Chang Chi-ch'ing repaired defective bronzes and produced pseudo-inscriptions. Shang Ch'eng-tse paid a visit to his workshop, where both forged and genuine bronzes were on sale. The prices were surprisingly high, though his charges for mending bronzes were relatively moderate in order to compete with

his uncle. Therefore many second class antique shops approached him for repairs.

(3)-(5). Chang Shu-lin(張樹麟), Kung Mao-lin(貢茂林) and Yang Te-shan(楊德山): all these three engravers were bound apprentices to Chang T'ai-en. As far as skill and craftsmanship were concerned, Shang Ch'eng-tso graded them in this sequence of merit: Yang's being the best, Kung's second and Chang's third<sup>(68)</sup>.

(6)-(7). Chao T'ung-jen(趙同仁) and Li Chan-ch'i(李占岐): these two engravers were also natives of Heng Shui County, but nothing is known of their work.

All these seven engravers from Heng Shui Hsien lived and practised in Peking at a time when the bronze business was flourishing, and profited not a little from it.

The foregoing engravers number twenty-four altogether. There must have been more whose names are not yet known to us. Many of these engravers were professional forgers; others were semi-professional; yet others engraved imitated inscriptions purely for amusements. Although the engravers in the last category did not intend to deceive, once their status of their imitations had been concealed or lost, their products could of course be passed off as genuine.

The figure of twenty-four does not necessarily represent all the forgers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, during their life-time careers, they must have

produced a great many forged inscription texts. If we compute at the rate of an average of 10 inscriptions per head, there will be two hundred and forty forged inscriptions in existence. In point of fact an average of 10 inscriptions per head is far below the feasible output of inscriptions by engraving or etching. If we reckon it at the rate of 50 inscriptions per head, the figure will be 1200, which is a very alarming amount. This is a measure of the urgency of the task of determining the status of existing inscription texts. And not until the status of thousands of inscription texts has been determined will it be possible to utilise their contents as raw materials for historical or philological research.

1. The Sung palaeographer Hsieh Shang-kung( 薛尚功 ) in his Li tai chung ting yi ch'i k'uan chih fa t'ieh( 歷代鐘鼎彝器款識法帖 )( A Collection of Inscriptions on Bells, Cauldrons and Ritual Vessels of Successive Dynasties ), makes no distinction, either in his preface or in the arrangement of his material, between K'uan and Chih. On the other hand his contemporary Wang Fu( 王黼 ), also a palaeographer, does make such a distinction. Wang says, "The k'uan is on the exterior and the chih in the interior [ of the vessel ] . The Hsia bronzes have k'uan but no chih; while the Shang bronzes have chih but no k'uan." ( See Po ku t'u 博古圖 ). Wang has separated k'uan from chih to indicate two distinct things. His ambiguous statement can be explained in two ways: first, that he considers k'uan and chih both to have meant "inscription", except that k'uan appears on the surface and chih on the interior wall of the vessel; secondly, he seems to imply, if we get him right, that k'uan denotes the decoration and chih the inscription on the vessel.

Chao Hsi-ku( 趙希鵠 ) states that "k'uan is ornamentation in relief. Such décor appears externally on ancient bronzes in rilievo; while chih, [ the inscription ] embodied inside the vessel, appears in intaglio. The Hsia and Chou bronzes have both décor and inscription; the Shang bronzes, on the



other hand, mostly have inscriptions but no décor." ( See Tung t'ien ch'ing lu chi, p.16.)

Chang Shih-nan(張世南) holds yet another view, namely that in k'uan the intaglio character is engraved, though he does not specify what chih means. ( See Yu huan chi wen 游宦紀聞 ).

The Ming scholar Fang Yi-chih(方以智) says, "K'uan, the intaglio character, is executed inwardly, concavely; chih, the relieve character, protrudes convexly." ( See T'ung ya 通雅 ).

2. For instance, Ssu-ma Ch'ien says, "A cauldron which is of surprisingly bigger size than many other cauldrons has been found in Fenyin loaded with décor but without k'uan chih." ( See Shih chi: "Feng ch'an shu" 史記: 封禪書 ). Similarly Pan Ku says, "A cauldron recovered at Meiyang has been presented [to the Court] . Now, since this cauldron is rather small and provided with k'uan chih, it will not be suitable to have it proffered and kept in the ancestral temple." ( See Han shu: "Chiao szu chih" 漢書: 郊祀志 ). Wei Chao annotates that k'uan means to engrave and Yen Shih-ku comments that chih is "to record." ( See Han shu chu 漢書注 ). Here again k'uan chih is used and commented upon in the sense of something which has been engraved and kept as a record, i.e. an inscription. The reason why the cauldron which had been recovered at Meiyang was not suitable to be placed in the

ancestral temple may have been that the inscription carried certain specific messages which were inconsistent with its use in a temple.

3. Shang Ch'eng-tse says, "The rubbings of forged inscriptions recorded in this study are but one in a thousand. They serve only as examples for reference." ( See "Wei tzu yen chiu", p. 293.)
4. Quoted by Shang Ch'eng-tse, "Wei tzu yen chiu", pp.291-292.
5. See Bronze Casting, pp.157-158.
6. See Li chi(李濟) "Min kuo shih pa nien ch'iu chi fa chüeh yin ch'ü chih ching kuo chi ch'i chung yao fa hsien"(民國十八年秋李發掘殷墟之經過及其重要發現), An yang fa chüeh pao kao, Vol.2, 1930, pp.219-252, especially on pp.240-241; Shih Chang-ju(石璋如) "Ti ch'i tz'u yin ch'u fa chüeh: E-ch'ü kung tso pao kao"(第七次殷墟發掘: E區工作報告), op. cit., Vol.4, pp.709-728, especially on pp.725-726; O. Karlbeck "Anyang Moulds", BMFEA, Vol.7, 1935, pp.39-60. Examples of piece-moulds and models can also be seen in Pls. Thirteen, Fourteen and Fifteen in Barnard's Bronze Casting, as supplied by Shih Chang-ju and selected from the Yeh chung p'ien yü(葉中允明); see also W. Watson's China before the Han Dynasty, London, 1961, p.79.
7. See Bronze Casting, Pref., p.x.
8. See Report: Yun nan chih ning shih chai shan ku mu ch'ün fa chüeh pao kao(雲南晉寧石寨山古墓群發掘報告), Wen wu

ch'u pan she( 文物出版社 ), 2 Vols., 1959.

9. E. Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China( Leiden, Brill, 1959, p.22,) offers reconstructed forms of these names as "Kāśyapa Mātanga" and "Dharmaratna" respectively.
10. See Han shu: "Chang ch'ien chuan"( 漢書:張蹇傳); Hou han shu: "Ming ti-chi"( 後漢書:明帝紀); Chiang Wei-ch'iao's( 蔣維喬 ) Chung kuo fo chiao shih( 中國佛教史 ); and Lo Haiang-lin's( 羅香林 ) Chung kuo t'ung shih( 中國通史 ).
11. See T'ung k'ao, p.158. Translation follows( with slight correction ) that of Barnard, Bronze Casting, p.161.
12. See Chinese Art, p.73.
13. Bronze Casting, p.159.
14. See Yen ching shih chi: "San shih tui ming t'o pen pa"( 衍經室集:散氏敦銘拓本跋:三集卷三, pp.603-4, Vol.589 of 叢書集成簡編.
15. See Juan's ibid., as quoted by Jung Keng, T'ung k'ao, p.158; translation follows that of Barnard, Bronze Casting, p.161.
16. See The Foundry, Feb., 1924, p.156.
17. See C.H. Gale, "Artistic Bronze Cast in Italian Foundry," The Foundry, Feb., 1924, p.156; O. Karlbeck "Anyang Moulds", BMFEA, Vol.7, 1935, pp.41-42; Pat Dwyer "Casting Artistic Bronzes," The Foundry, Dec., 1947, pp.97-99; A.B. Griswold "Bronze-casting in Siam", Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Vol.46, 1952-4.
18. See Bronze Casting, p.159.

19. As quoted by Jung Keng, T'ung k'ao, p.158; requoted and translated into English by Barnard, Bronze Casting, p.161.
20. See Bronze Casting, p.158.
21. See Hu pei sheng wen hua chü wen wä kung tso tui (湖北省文化局文物工作隊), "Hu pei chiang ling san tso ch'u mu ch'u t'u ta p'i chung yao wen wu" (湖北江陵三座楚墓出土大批重要文物), Wen wu, Vol.5, 1966, pp.33-39.
22. Tombs of Old Loyang, Shanghai, 1934, e.g. articles Nos.031, 052, 121,131, 136, 145a,b,c, 252,262.
23. See BMFEA, Vol.7, 1935, pp.1-38.
24. See "清代學術概論", Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1921; translated into English with Introduction and Notes entitled Intellectual trends in the Ch'ing Period, by Immanuel C.H. Hsu, Harvard University Press, 1959.
25. Liang says, "The rise of interest in bronze inscriptions caused a revolution in traditional linguistics. Whereas before that time men had exalted the Explanation of Script (說文), as if it had been one of the Six Classics and ranked [ its author ] Hsu Shen (許慎) with Confucius, they now cited ancient script and big-seal writing to criticize him endlessly, and the mostly outstanding of these [ attacks ] were Chuang Shu-tsu's (莊述祖, 1750-1816) Shuo wen ku chou shu cheng (說文古籀疏證) [ A commentary on the ancient and big-seal scripts in the Explanation of Script, 1 Ch. ] and Sun Yi-jiang's (孫詒讓, 1848-1908) Ku chou shu

- cheng ( 古箒疏證 ) [ Commentary on the ancient and big-seal scripts ] ". ( See Liang Ch'i-ch'ao op. cit., pp.94-96; English translation follows that of Hsu in his Bibliography, pp.XXXI( Sec.16 ) to XXXIV( top ).
26. See Pao yi yuan shou cha in the P'ang hsi chai ts'ung shu ( 滂喜齋叢書 ), p.3; and also "Wei tzu yen chiu", p.246.
27. See op. cit., p.270; see also Shang's "Pu p'ien", K'ao ku she k'ian, Vol.5, 1936, p.298.
28. or "Bushell Bowl"( Victoria and Albert Museum, No.174-1899 ). In his letter dated 30th June, 1967, to the present writer, Mr. B.W. Robinson, the Keeper of the Dept. of Metalwork, writes, "The Bushell Bowl was formerly the subject of much controversy and is now generally regarded as a fake. It is still in the Museum but we keep it in one of our basement stores."
29. See Chinese Art, Vol.1, pp.84-87.
30. See Feng Hao ( 馮浩 ), Meng t'ing chü shih wen kao: "Ku li pien"( 孟亭居士文稿: 古器辨 ), Ch.1, p.4, 1801 edition; Niu Shu-yü ( 鈕樹玉 ), Fei shih hsien sheng wen chi: "P'an ming pa"( 匪石先生文集: 盤銘跋 ), Vol.2, p.9; Jung Keng, "Chin hou p'ing jung p'an pien wei"( 晉侯平戎盤辨偽 ), K'ao ku she she k'ian ( 考古社社刊 ), Vol.6, 1937, pp.145-151; and also his P'ung k'ao, Ch.12; Shang Ch'eng-tso, "Ku tai yi ch'i wei tzu yen chiu"( 古代彝器偽字研究 ), Chin ling hsueh pao, Vol.3, No.2, 1933, pp.243-294.

31. See S.W. Bushell, Chinese Art, 2 Vols. Victoria and Albert Museum Art Handbook, London, 1904; translated into Chinese: entitled Chung kuo mei shu (中國美術) by Tai Yu (戴嶽) in the Shih chieh ts'ung shu (世界叢書) series, Commercial Press.
32. "公伐郟鐘", see Chou ts'un (1:49); King wen yen chiu, p.88.
33. "公伐郟鼎", See Chou ts'un (2:30)
34. For the Wu hui ting (無惠鼎) see Chi ku chai (4:28); Shün ku (3/2:8); Ch'i ku shih (2:10); K'o chai (4:22); Chou ts'un (2:23); San tai (4:34); Hsiao chiao (3:27); Ta hsi (t'u 2; lu 143; shih 151). Kuo Mo-jo, in his Chin wen ts'ung k'ao (pp.226-7), reads the graph "惠" as "hui" (惠); whereas many scholars such as Feng Yün-p'eng (馮雲朋), Feng Yün-wan (馮雲鵬), in their Chin shih so, Bushell, in his Chinese Art, etc all read it as "chuan" (專). Kuo's reading is followed here.
35. See "Some Remarks on the Authenticity...", MS, Vol.18, 1959, pp.213-244.
36. See T'ung lun, Ch.9.
37. See T'ung k'ao, p.97.
38. See Ch'en Pao-shen (陳寶琛), Ch'eng ch'iu kuan chi chin t'u (徵秋館志金匱), Ch.1, p.8, 1927. In this Catalogue the name of this vessel is wrongly written Cheng ting (女正<sup>鼎</sup>), and "鉞<sup>鼎</sup>" in the Table of Contents. It can also be found

in: Cheng sung( 3:20-21 ); Chou ts'un( 2:30 ); Hsiao chiao  
( 3:2 ).

39. See Ch'eng ch'iu kuan Vol.1, p.8, reproduced in Figure 31  
in this paper.

40. See Ta hsi: "T'u shuo"( 大系圖說 ), pp.1-7; "Yin and Chou  
in Chinese Bronzes" and "New Studies on Chinese Bronzes".

40.a. See T'ung k'ao, Ch.5, P.97; See also 3:4.2.1.(2) above.

41. See K'o chai( 12:4 ), in which the character "𠄎" is read  
"𠄎" by Wu Ta-ch'eng( 吳大澂 ); Chün ku( 2/2:7 ); Chi ku  
chai( 6:4 ), in these two catalogues the above-mentioned  
character is read "招" and the graph "𠄎" as "𠄎"; Ts'  
ung ku( 5:14; 12:17-18 ); Ch'ing yi ko( 1:40 ); Chou ts'un  
( 3:87 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:85 ); Chi wen( 3:37 ); Chin so( 1:  
48 ); Ch'i ku shih( 16:25-26 ).

42. See Kuo Mo-jo, "Chang fu he ming shih wen"( 長白盃銘釋文 ),  
Wen wu, Vol.2, 1955; Li Ya-nung( 李亞農 ), "Chang fu he  
ming shih wen chu chieh"( 長白盃銘釋文注解 ), Hsueh pao, Vol.  
9, 1955, pp.177-181; Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i  
tuan tai, No.5", Hsueh pao, Vol.13, 1956, pp.121-126; Noel  
Barnard, "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of the Reign  
of King Mu of Chou", MS, Vol.19, 1960, pp.67-113.

43. See "Wei tzu yen chiu", pp.247-249.

44. See op. cit., pp.253-254.

45. See Chün ku( 3/2:37 ); Ts'ung ku t'ang( 10:31 ); Ch'i ku  
shih( 8:15 ); K'o chai( 16:9 ); Chou ts'un( 4:3 ); Chui yi  
chai( 7:15 ); Hsiao chiao( 9:83 ); Ta hsi( t'u 152; lu 88;

shih 103 ); San tai( 17:19 ).

46. See Journal Asiatique, Vol.210, 1927, pp.129-142.
47. See "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes", BMFEA, Vol.8, pp.11-14.
48. A ting-cauldron with the same inscription can also be seen in the Chou ts'un in Yi ts'ung( 9:50 ).
49. See T'ung lun, Ch.9.
50. See ibid.
51. See "Wei tzu yen chiu", p.270.
52. See Pao yi yüan shou cha, p.3.
53. See "Wei tzu yen chiu", p.268.
54. The character "ch'i"( 𠄎 ) is erroneously read "chao"( 肇 ) by Wu Ta-ch'eng in his K'o chai.
55. See Pao yi yüan shou cha, p.3; Pao K'ang's "Pa sui ch'i ch'i ting t'o"( 跋遂啟謀鼎拓 ) in the Kuan ku ko ts'ung kao ( 觀古閣叢稿 ), Ch.3, pt.1:24, 1873; Chün ku( 2/1:32 ); "Wei tzu yen chiu", p.264.
56. See Chung kuo k'ao ku hsüeh shih, p.121.
57. Shang Ch'eng-tso, "Ku tai yi ch'i wei tzu yen chiu pu p'ien"( 古代彝器偽字研究補篇 ), a sequel to his "Wei tzu yen chiu", K'ao ku she she k'an, Vol.5, 1936, pp.297-306.
58. See Kuan ku ko ts'ung kao hsü( 觀古閣叢稿續 ), p.23, quoted by Jung Keng, T'ung k'ao, p.209; see also Pao yi yüan shou cha.
59. See Pao yi yüan shou cha, p.3; "Pa sui ch'i ch'i ting t'o" in



- the Kuan ku ke ts'ung kao, Vol.3, pt.1, p.24; T'ung k'ao, p.209; Chün ku( 2/1:32 ).
60. See "Wei tzu yen chiu", pp.264-267.
61. See Chi ku chai( 7:7 ); Chün ku( 3/2:11-12 ); Ch'i ku shih ( 5:26; 17:25 ); Chou ts'un( 3:119-120 ); Chui yi chai( 8:14, 20 ); K'o chai( 15:2 ); Ts'ung ku t'ang( 2:19 ); Hsiao chiao ( 9:22-23 ); San tai( 10:26 ); Ta hsi t'u 132; lu 207; shih 186 ).
62. See the footnote in the Table of Contents, Ta hsi t'u lu k'ao shih, p.14.
63. See Fu chai ch'ih tu, Vol.6, p.45; Vol.9, pp.40, 59-61; as quoted by Shang Ch'eng-tso, "Wei tzu yen chiu", pp.264-268.
64. See op. cit., Vol.11, p.28.
65. See T'ung k'ao, p.210.
66. See Ta hsi( shih 167 ).
67. See "Wei tzu yen chiu", pp.269-270.
68. See "Wei tzu yen chiu pu p'ien".

## Chapter Four: Existing Criteria for the Determination of the Status of Bronzes and of Inscriptions.

The collecting of bronzes for amusement and appreciation, the publishing of drawings of vessels and of hand-copies and rubbings of inscriptions, together with "Bronze and stone epigraphy" (金石學) (1) commenced in the Sung Dynasty (2). As already stated in the preceding Chapters, it owes a great deal to the fact that the Sung Emperors took a keen interest in antiquities. According to Jung Keng's "Sung tai chi chin shu chi shu p'ing" (宋代志在書籍述評) (2.a) there appeared almost at once more than twenty important treatises and albums devoted to this subject. The generally held view at that time, partly from the aesthetic and partly from the epigraphical point of view, was that these artifacts, whether excavated or simply "appearing", were for the most part treasures of the Three Dynasties. Seldom did scholars question the status of these treasures. A handful of art connoisseurs did occasionally make judgments and evaluations of the quality, patina, age etc of artifacts. Although some of them did actually touch upon the problem of authenticity of bronzes, their judgments were those of the dilettante rather than of the serious investigator. And certainly none of them applied their criteria to the testing of bronzes en masse.

The Yuan Dynasty, being dominated by the Mongols, produced less scholars in this field; and less still were collectors and connoisseurs of bronzes. In the Ming Dynasty, a fashionable taste for antiquities revived. The large-scale imitation of archaic-style bronzes in the Hsüante reign-period gave rise to a profuse production of bronze utensils in imitation of archaic models by private as well as secret enterprises. Connoisseurs were well aware of this, of course, yet their methods of determination were no advance on those of their predecessors<sup>s</sup>.

During the Ch'ing period, the collecting and study of bronzes rose to a peak soon after the publication of the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues by command of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung in 1749. The great demand for ancient artifacts from the growing number of eager collectors and scholars was met from a variety of sources: accidental discoveries by peasants while tilling the land, unlawful excavations or grave-robbing, and supplies from antique-dealers—a large proportion of these being faked. The last category of artifacts appeared in such abundance that cautious collectors were forced to pay greater attention to the treasures they intended to purchase. Unfortunately little was done systematically or efficiently on the study of forgery and even the most eminent expert in the subject, Ch'en Chieh-ch'i, did no more than discuss problems regarding the determination of the status of bronzes in his correspondence with friends and relatives. Barnard remarks, "Yet, if some cognisance is made of

the earlier studies on the question of forgery, it will be found that the methods of determination which have been established are rather primitive ones and seldom have scholars applied them to more than a very small percentage of available inscribed bronzes..... The fact is, however, that the very basis of investigation done over the 900 years of Chin shih hsüeh (金石學) is largely what may be described as dilettantism."(3)

In the present century a greater number of connoisseurs and judges of bronze artifacts have emerged. Their methods have been more scientific than those of most of their predecessors. Yet few have worked as painstakingly and comprehensively as Jung Keng did in sorting out the treasures in the Imperial Ch'ing repository. However, Jung's efforts were largely confined to the Four Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues, and neither Jung nor others seem to have had the intention of inquiring into the contents of scores of private catalogues. Recently, Barnard has for the last eight years embarked on the study of forgery. Substantial attention has been paid both to scrutinizing and evaluating inscriptions and to the application of scientific methods( the chemical analysis of bronze alloy proportions etc ) in the hope that important criteria for the detection of forgery may be developed. Nevertheless this avenue of research is yet in its infancy, and a comprehensive investigation into fully-attested materials has to be undertaken before a better control may be expected. Although some of Barnard's hypotheses seem to be well-founded,

others are apparently invalid( see below ).

We shall now set out to examine the existing criteria established by connoisseurs of bronzes from Sung time to the present century insofar as available sources permit.

#### 4.1. The pre-Sung connoisseurs and detectors:

An account of connoisseurs and detectors of Chinese bronzes would be incomplete without mentioning the "internationally" famous detector Le-cheng Tzu-ch'un( 樂正子春 , or Liu Hsia Hui 柳下惠 , also known as Liu Hsia Chi 柳下季 ) of the Ch'un-ch'iu<sup>(4)</sup>, the eloquent and successful connoisseur Lu Ch'iu Shou Wang( 廬丘壽王 ) of the Han<sup>(5)</sup> and the learned scholar-connoisseur Liu Shui( 劉媿 ) of the T'ang<sup>(6)</sup>, though the pseudo-antique detected by the last was an iron vessel. The criteria which Le-cheng Tzu-ch'un( or Liu Hsia Hui ) applied to detect a forgery of the Ch'en ting-cauldron are unknown, yet he undoubtedly enjoyed a reputation as a most reliable and reputable connoisseur at the feudal courts of his time, since rulers of states were quite prepared to accept his judgment as to the authenticity of bronzes. Nor are the criteria which Lu Ch'iu Shou Wang employed to denounce the pseudo-Han-ting known to us. Nevertheless, he proved himself successful by convincing the Emperor Wu to accept that the alleged Chou ting was in fact a "heaven-bestowed" Han ting. The criterion applied by Liu Shui to declare an iron basin faked was an epigraphical one, namely the contradiction in terms contained in the inscriptional text. His determination was so

conclusive that it caused the owner of the vessel to smash it promptly and cheerfully.

4.2. The Sung connoisseurs:

(1). Chao Hsi-ku (趙希鵠).

Chao's work on this subject appears, among other topics, as a chapter entitled "The Determination of Ancient Bells, Cauldrons and Ritual Vessels" (古鐘鼎彝器辨) in his book, Tung tien ch'ing lu chi (洞天清祿集), which deals with problems concerning genuineness or otherwise, whether old or new, the patina and sound of bronze vessels and the inscriptions. In spite of the lack of systematic arrangement in his theory, a synthesis may be made as follows:

(I). The determination of vessel type and décor among bronzes of the Three Dynasties.

Chao says, "The Shang bronzes are simple and plain and have no décor; whereas the Chou bronzes are crowdedly and elegantly ornamented. This is an unchangeable and irrefutable conclusion, yet it does not apply to the Hsia bronzes. I have come across a decorated ke-dagger-axe of Hsia which is inlaid with gold as fine as hair. The Hsia bronzes are in the main over-loaded with such inlays. In the course of time, the gold had become detached, leaving hollows, for it had been set in intaglio grooves. The inlaid bronzes are at the present day erroneously supposed to be of Shang origin." ( op.cit., p.15 )

The theory is doubtless based on samples of later date or false materials. The existence of Hsia bronzes has hitherto not been

warranted by any archaeological evidence<sup>(7)</sup>. The so-called "Decorated ke-dagger-axe of Hsia" (夏瑀戈) which Chao says he saw was in the collection of Li Kung-lin (李公麇)<sup>(8)</sup>. Li states in the beginning of his Chou chien t'u (周鑒圖, 1091), "And the six characters, inlaid with gold, are indecipherable. Emperor Yü (禹) cast ting-cauldrons with the copper presented by the Nine Provinces. He employed his utmost thought and skill in having them engraved."<sup>(9)</sup> This fanciful remark must have sprung from the fact that the ke-dagger-axe in question, which bears a highly decorative inscription in the "Bird-insect-script" (鳥蟲書) typical of Chankue date, was wrongly attributed to the Hsia by Li simply because the characters were unintelligible to him. This statement may be supported by a comparison of the inscription on the Hsia tiao ko (夏瑀戈, see Li tai 1:1) with the inscription on the Ts'ai kung tzu kao ko (蔡公子果戈)<sup>(10)</sup>; they resemble each other to a large extent.

As to the ornamentation and decoration of the Shang and Chou bronzes, both have either simple or complex décor.<sup>(11)</sup> They certainly do not substantiate Chao's assertion that the Shang bronzes were simple and plain and without décor while the Chou bronzes were crowdedly and elegantly ornamented. Kuo Mo-jo says, "Vessels belonging to the Second Period (2. Early Products 第二期) — The later part of the Yin-Shang and the beginning of the Chou Dynasty, including the reigns of Ch'eng Wang, K'ang Wang, Chao Wang and Mu Wang, B.C. 1115-945) have been greatly

admired by lovers of ancient art.....The body of these vessels is usually heavy with deep bold decoration which is frequently composed of the t'ao t'ieh design amid thunder scrolls. There are also phoenix, dragon and elephant designs, but the t'ao t'ieh and thunder scrolls occupy the leading place in bronze decoration."<sup>(12)</sup> In his "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes", Karlgren has extracted a total of 33 elements as the criteria for the Yin style bronzes. Among these, 24 recur in the Yin-Chou style bronzes, which have added only 4 innovations( i.e. elements 39-42 ) of their own. These statistics strongly suggest that, in so far as décor is concerned, the Shang bronzes are rich in decoration and the Yin-Chou( which, according to Karlgren covers the first half of the Western Chou period ) bronzes "are not so much a new style as a continuation of the Yin style."<sup>(13)</sup> In other words, the bronzes belonging to the first half of the W. Chou period are to a considerable extent indistinguishable in decoration from those of the Shang. W. Watson<sup>(14)</sup>, while describing the motifs of the Shang period, provides figures( i.e. his Figures 42a and b ) and Plates( i.e. his Plates 14, 15, 19, 21 ) exhibiting the heavily and crowdedly decorated Shang bronzes. Apart from these, we have fully-attested specimen to testify that the Shang bronzes are not by and large plain or without décor. See the fu fang ting-cauldron( illustrated in our Plate Eleven ) for instance, where the whole body, from the belly to the legs, of the cauldron is heavily loaded with beautiful ornaments---a



realistic deer's head and a dragon and some unidentifiable figures. Applying Karlgren's terminology, it involves such criteria as: 1 Square Ting; 8 Cylinder Legs; 13 Segmental Flanges; 14 Free Animal Head( a very realistic deer's head ); 15 T'ao T'ieh; 17 Gaping Dragon; 26 Leg Blade; 29 Spiral Filling; 37 T Scores and decorated legs etc. It is in fact more heavily adorned than many Chou vessels. On the other hand, more recently excavated bronzes of Western Chou date tend to testify against Chao's statement as to Chou bronzes too. The bodies of the Po liang fu kuei( 伯梁父簋 ) and Pai hu( 白壺 ), for instance, are almost bare; and the decorations on the bodies of the Shih shih kuei No.1( 師旒簋甲 ), Pai hsi kuei( 白喜簋 ), Po yung fu ho( 伯庸父盃 ), Po yung fu li( 伯庸父鬲 ), Po yung fu ying( 伯庸父罍 ), Po pai fu p'an( 伯百父盤 ) and Hsün hou p'an( 荀侯盤 ) and so forth<sup>(15)</sup> are comparatively simple and naive. Chao's argument that Shang bronzes differ from Chou bronzes in that the former have no décor while the latter have complex décor is unconvincing.

(II). The determination of patinas, corrosive effects  
and verdigris:

Chao says, "Bronzes which have been buried in the earth for a thousand years acquire a pure green colour as if coated with jadeite. It appears to be lighter in colour before noon and become moist and glossy because of the cold moist weather throughout the afternoon. On the bodies of the vessels there are patches of earth-corrosion forming depressions or even holes [ with naturally irregular outlines ] like

the track of a snail.....Bronzes which have been soaked in water for a thousand years attain a pure green colour that is lustrous like jade. Those that have not been soaked for a thousand years are green but not lustrous and their corroded areas are identical with those of the former.....Those that have neither been buried in the ground, nor soaked in water, but have been passed down from generation to generation possess a purplish, dark brown colour with cinnabar spots, the thicker of which are protrusive. If they are of fine cinnabar, the spots become clearer after boiling. Since pseudo-patina is achieved by mixing lacquer with [ cinnabar? ] sand, it is easy to detect [ i.e. because lacquer will melt. ] "( op.cit., pp.15-16 )

Jung Keng has pointed out that the colours and thickness of verdigris depend on the nature of the soil i.e. whether it is dry or moist, fine or coarse and so on. Since almost three millennia have passed since the inception of the Chou era, there must be bronzes of that period which embody corrossions that give the impression of great age, and also bronzes of that date whose patinas look comparatively new. Ordinarily Chou vessels are coated with a thin layer of red, green or sometimes blue corrosion. Chao's view that those that have been buried in the ground are pure green and that those that have been soaked in water are pure blue-green and those that have been handed down are purplish dark brown is presumably a subjective speculation. Chao further states that the external corrosion on bronzes may be removed by soaking it in clean water or by saturating it in a solution of acetic acid and water. "As to artificial patina," Jung says, "it

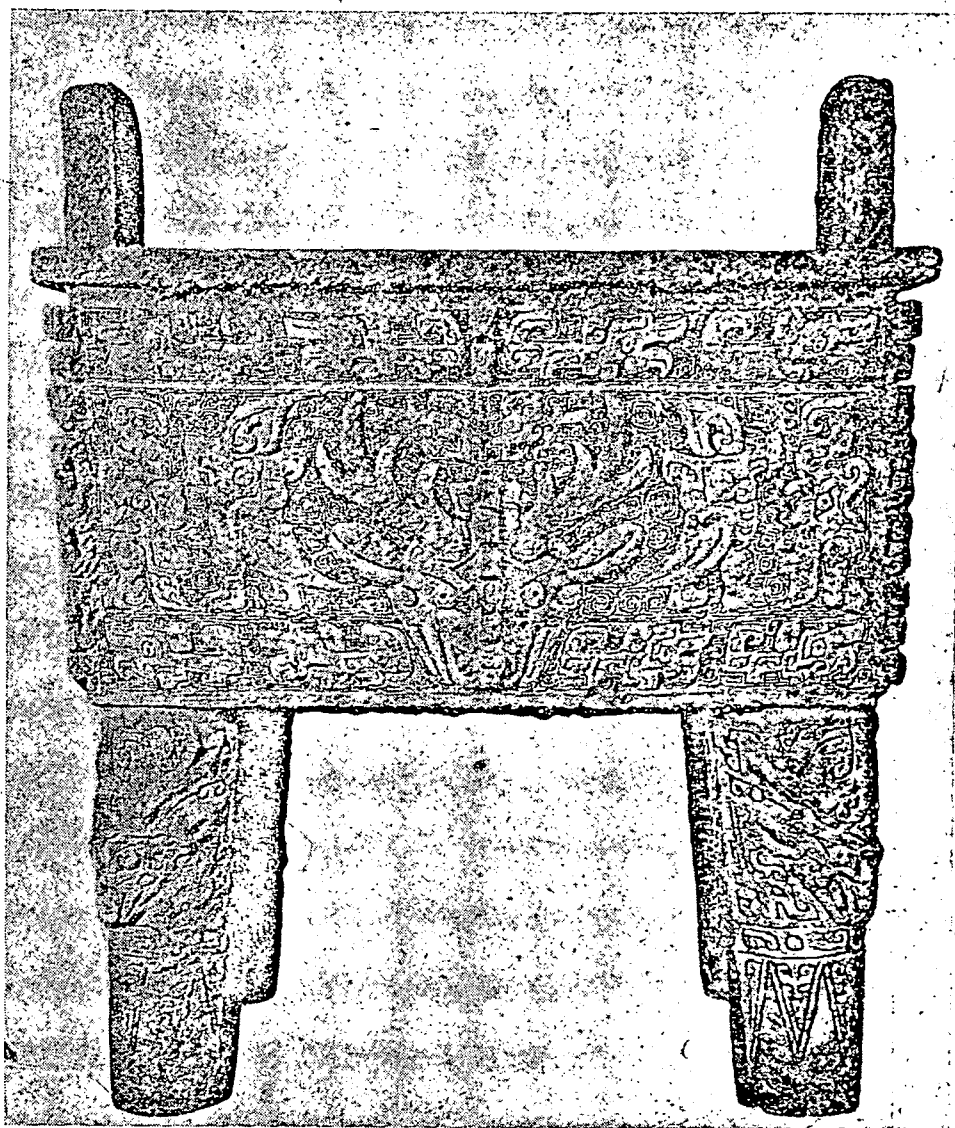


Plate Eleven The fully-attested lu fang ting-cauldron  
(鹿方鼎) of Shang date. It is heavily  
loaded with decoration.  
Height 62 cm; Diameter 38/52 cm; Ear's  
height 12 cm.

—Reproduced from Hsueh pao, Vol.7, 1954,  
pl.2.

can be removed by boiling water."<sup>(16)</sup> In principle Chao is justified in taking the patina as a point of departure for the determination of the status of bronzes. But he has ignored one essential point which is noted by Otto Kurz, who says, "It is a widely accepted assumption that the patina of bronzes is the most important proof of their authenticity. Not enough consideration is given to the fact that a fine coating of patina may easily be fabricated with the aid of chemicals. Even a thick layer of verdigris may be produced in a comparatively short time."<sup>(17)</sup>

H.J. Plenderleith<sup>(18)</sup> observed that the speed of decay in the ground is influenced by a variety of factors, of which some of the chief are:

- (i) Composition of the surrounding soil and water;
- (ii) Porosity and character of the soil;
- (iii) Galvanic action with other metals;
- (iv) Contact with organic remains, as when ritual bronzes are buried with the dead.

However, a full scientific study of the specific effects of particular soils on Chinese bronzes of varying composition would be necessary before we could draw any firm conclusion on the subject of variations in patination. Until this is done we can neither accept nor reject Chao's criterion.

Chao is also of the opinion that it is easy to detect false patina because it is achieved by mixing lacquer with sand. Jung Keng echoes that the artificial patina may also be removed by

boiling water. This is possible only in the case of those of poor quality. When confronted with a really fine product it is utterly out of the question. As already stated in Ch.2 above we know of some imitators of Ming date who were capable of producing excellent patinas which are comparable to and indistinguishable from genuine artifacts. It is said that the patinas produced by skilful craftsmen enter deeply into the interior of the metal and that the green and red colourings stand out, and even when scraped with a knife they do not break away. We are therefore sceptical whether this sort of patina is so easy to detect or to remove with boiling water alone as Chao and Jung have asserted. One thing is certain, in the meanwhile: that when chemical means are employed to achieve natural colours in artificial patina, the deception may not be so easily detected. Examples of this practice are cited in Hsu Ming-chih's (霍明志) Ta ku chai cheng lu (達古齋證錄). "To the best of my knowledge," Barnard writes, "no scientific investigator has detected patina artificially 'grown' by chemical means." (19) On the other hand, recent scientific research not only confirms that production of patina by means of electrolysis and chemicals is possible, but also promises to throw further light on the whole question of how far realistic patination may be induced. In the case of chemical means, the most promising results in producing patination are obtained from treatment with an aqueous solution of ammonium sulphate of about 10% concentration; the commercial material is

found to be more effective than the pure salt; and arsenical copper gives better results than copper of high purity<sup>(20)</sup>. All these discoveries further underline the impossibility to date of distinguishing artificial patination from natural corrosion of bronzes even by means of chemical analysis. Nor do such tests yet give adequate information for assessing the age of bronzes. Microscopic study<sup>(21)</sup> of this matter yields this result:

"It is to be noted, however, that the difference between the old and the modern metals is not always very pronounced. There are some examples of ancient metal objects that are almost free from the usual impurities and their structure is normal in every respect."

To sum up, we quote Flenderleith's statement as a provisional solution to this problem for we deem that his observation still holds good:

"In the present imperfect state of our knowledge,....there is no trustworthy scientific test which will distinguish whether a bronze is Shang or Sung, whether it is 3,000 or 1,000 years old. It is highly desirable that some scientific criteria should be found as this is perhaps the most urgent question left outstanding."( op.cit., p.54 )

(III) "Bronzes that carry tool marks in the bodies are forged."( op.cit., p.15 )

Chao's rather ambiguous statement needs further explanation, and a criterion so established is only of secondary importance. Upon

applying such a criterion the following points must be observed:

(i) Could the tool marks have been made accidentally in the process of excavation?

(ii) Could the tool marks have been made in the process of repairing an excavated bronze? Although it may be argued that there is no possibility that such a mistake should have occurred, because the marks could easily have been removed by the repairers, carelessness is always possible.

(iii) It should be noted that this criterion may be applied only to the detection of forged inscriptions, particularly to those that carry traces of cuts adjacent to the inscribed areas or among columns of characters. Tool marks so left are the best proof of careless and hasty incision by forgers of later date.

Upon the basis of the above discussion we may modify the criterion into "Bronzes that carry tool marks around or inside the inscribed area may have been fraudulently incised."

(IV) "The ancient bronzes of the Three Dynasties have no unpleasant odour; those that are newly discovered have an earthy smell; those that have been unearthed for a long time have none; those that are falsely made produce an evil, frowzy (𠄎) smell when rubbed with a warm palm." (op.cit., p.16)

This statement seems plausible at first sight but necessitates further exposition. In the first place, the ancient bronzes of

the Three Dynasties are not necessarily devoid of unpleasant odour; for as long as they embody verdigris, they are bound<sup>n</sup> to have an odour. It then depends in what terms this odour is to be described. A distinction has been made between the odour of old and new mortuary objects by Cheng Te-k'un: he describes the odour of the former as "an antique fragrance" (古香味), while that of the latter is something like "newly burned soil" (新燒泥味) (see below). But it is difficult to make any definite statement on the subject of the odour of bronze objects, because (a) there is no worthwhile evidence available from systematic testing of the odours of bronzes and of the substances reacting with them to produce natural or artificial patinas, and (b) there is no accepted terminology for describing odours and no instruments for measuring them objectively.

For the time being, then, Chao's criterion can neither be accepted nor rejected.

(V) "People in the past certainly worked with the utmost elegance and skill. Craftsmen then enjoyed a certain social standing, quite unlike their despised modern counterparts. This is why the ancient bronzes are loaded with ornaments as fine as hair. They are so arranged in such an orderly way and with such distinctness that not the slightest blurring is visible. The character strokes of the inscriptions look [ in cross-section ] like convex tiles, not too deep or steep-sided. The size and depth of characters are uniform, and [ like the ornaments ] are clean-cut and clearly defined, without the slightest blurring.....If a bronze is



encountered whose decoration and inscription are blurred,  
it is certainly forged."( op.cit.,pp.16-17 )

This criterion of quality of workmanship as a guide to age can only be verified by a physical examination of all fully-attested vessels and known forgeries. This is impossible at present, since most of the fully-attested vessels are at present in Mainland China and so are difficult of access, and photographs and/or rubbings adequate to this purpose are not available.



However, one gets the impression that the standard of workmanship of known Shang and Chou vessels is generally high, whereas some later forgeries are of inferior quality. Yet this does not mean that we can accept Chao's criterion as it stands, since some later forgeries and imitations are of a very high standard, particularly those of the Ming.


(VI) "The sound of ancient bronzes is dainty and clear, while the sound of modern bronzes is turbid and clamorous and can not escape the detection of the experts."  
"( op.cit., p.18 )

This criterion, again, could only be tested by actual experiment, as in the case of the preceding criterion. But the difficulties are even greater here, for here the tests could only be made on the vessels themselves.

(VII) "As to the script, the Hsia [ founders ] used the 'Bird-track-seal-script' (鳥跡篆), the Shang [ founders ] used the 'Insect-and-fish-seal-script' (蟲魚篆), the Chou [ founders ] used the 'Great-insect-and-fish-seal-script' (蟲魚大篆), the Ch'in

[ founders ] used the 'Great and small seal script' (大篆), the Han [ founders ] used the Small Seal and Li shu (小篆隸書), the Three Kingdom [ founders ] used Li shu. From the Chin and Sung [ of the Southern and Northern Dynasties ] onwards, [ the founders ] all used k'ai shu; the T'ang and Ch'in [ founders of the Wu tai ] used both k'ai shu and li shu." (op.cit., p.16)

Of the scripts current in various dynasties and accounted for by Chao, those of the Three Dynasties are clearly incorrect. For Hsia bronzes there is so far no evidence, so that the Hsia script ( if any ) is yet unknown. Among the Shang inscriptions there occur a number of graphs depicting animals, e.g. the last two characters "   " (大魚 = dog, fish ) in our Figure 7 above, and other objects. However, the proportion of these graphs is so small that it could hardly justify their being taken as typical of the Shang script as a whole. Moreover, the function of these graphs is uncertain, but the consensus of opinion is that they are "family crests" ( or clan-names ) or something of the kind. It is possible that Chao had this in mind when he described the Shang script as "Insect-and-fish-seal-script". But the precise reference of these three terms he used for the Three Dynasties is unknown. The only scripts used on known pre-Ch'in bronzes are the ordinary Shang-Chou bronze script and the Chaankuo "bird script". Chao's statements about the Ch'in and later scripts are substantially correct, however.

(VIII) "The inscriptions of the Three Dynasties appear in intaglio, which is known as 'open bag' (  ),

since the characters are concave. Certain inscriptions of Han or later date appear in relieve with protruding characters, though one also meets concave characters, some being engraved with a knife in the way that stone tablets are carved....Relieve inscriptions are definitely not of Three Dynasties origin."( op.cit., p.16 )

That the inscriptions of the Three Dynasties( or at least the Shang and Chou ) appear in intaglio is beyond doubt. There is no attested material which suffices to alter this picture<sup>(22)</sup>. As regards the hundreds of thousands of existing pieces, the proportion of relieve characters, other than those of the Hsüante reign-period of Ming, is extremely small; and those that are attributable to the Three Dynasties is smaller still. For instance, of the hundreds of inscriptions in the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues that have been regarded as "genuine" by Jung Keng, only five of Shang and Chou date( viz. 1 he, 4 ku ) and three of Han time( viz. 1 ting, 1 kuei and 1 ku ) appear in relieve; whereas among the faked and suspect inscriptions, the number amounts to seventeen. We do not see that these statistics justify Jung in making the statement that there are inscriptions pertaining to the Shang and Chou appearing in relieve<sup>(23)</sup>. Let us now turn to Wang Kuo-wei and Lo Fu-yi's San tai ch'in han chin wen chu lu piao( 三代秦漢金文著錄表 ), in which a total of 5780 inscriptions are recorded. Wang and Lo have regarded 357 inscriptions to be either forged or suspected( N.B. on other criteria than the question of relief versus intaglio ) as against 5423 which have

presumably been counted as "genuine". Nevertheless, of the alleged "genuine" 5423 inscriptions, there are 226, or 4 per cent, most of which belong to the Han or later date, appearing in rilievo. While among the 357 branded as faked or suspected inscriptions, there are 32, or 8 per cent, appearing in rilievo. These statistics suggest that twice as many of the rilievo inscriptions are faked. (One might <sup>in fact</sup> expect something like this, since rilievo inscriptions are easier to cast in that they involve a much simpler job in making the mould.)<sup>(24)</sup> On the ground of these statistics we may safely conclude that most of the rilievo inscriptions attributable to the Three Dynasties are forged and that rilievo inscriptions occur overwhelmingly in the Han or later times, especially in the Ming period. Accordingly, Chao's statement in this respect is very close to the mark, though it would be better if we modify it as follows:

"Bronzes with rilievo inscriptions attributable to the Three Dynasties on other criteria are to be treated with suspicion."

(2) Chang Shih-nan (張世南):

Chang's work on the determination of the status of ancient Chinese bronzes is contained in Ch. 5 of his Yu huan chi wen (游宦紀聞). His theory about the definition of k'uan chih (款識) has already been dealt with in Chapter 3 above. His views on patina, corrosion, decoration and type of ancient bronzes are those of a dilettante. We shall set out his chief arguments and

examine them in turn.

(I) The determination of patination of bronzes:

Chang says, "The determination of ancient bronzes involves the décor and inscriptions, the dried-tea colour, the cin-nabar spots, the 'genuine green well-mouth [ colour ]' (真青綠井口) etc. When all these elements are present, it can then be said to be of genuinely ancient origin.....In certain cases, variations exist in the dried-tea colours themselves. Bronzes of the Three Dynasties and of Ch'in and Han date have been in existence for a long time, and for this reason their colours have become lighter, yellowish and glossy.....Only those that have become coated with naturally old patina can be regarded as genuine ancient bronzes."( op.cit., pp.2-4 )

The argument is not only subjective but has little scientific ground. Although natural old patina is emphasized as far as proof of authenticity is concerned, scientific analysis has not yet been able to discriminate natural patinas from artificial corrosive coating( see above ). This line of research requires further exploration.

(II) The determination of the motifs of decoration:

"The motifs of decoration on ancient bronzes are plentiful. They range from cloud scrolls, thunder scrolls, mountain scrolls, light and heavy thunder scrolls, hanging-flower thunder scrolls, delicate scrolls, grain scrolls and cicada scrolls to 'yellow eyes'(黃目)<sup>(25)</sup>, fei-lien(飛廉)<sup>(26)</sup>, t'ao t'ieh, scaly dragons, hornless dragons, young dragons, scaled-phoenixes, bears, tigers, tortoises, snakes, deers, horses, elephants, luan-phoenixes, one-legged monsters(夔犧), grass monkeys, wild ducks, pairs of

fishes, coiled hui-snakes( 虺 ), nipples....." He goes on to list various types of handles( 耳 ) which it is not easy to identify, then says, "All ancient bronzes that accord with these motifs may be regarded as antiquities."

( ibid. )

A full and precise testing of this criterion will not be possible until adequate details of fully-attested vessels become available. However, even a cursory examination of such illustrations as are available shows that there is such a wide area of agreement in motifs between genuine early vessels and later copies that Chang's criterion as a whole falls to the ground. Further research, however, might show that in the matter of some individual motifs, Chang may have made some contribution.

(III) The determination of bronzes according to the vessel-  
wall thickness:

"Nowadays judges of ancient vessels tend to accept the thinness of the vessel-wall as a proof of authenticity. This is only a one-sided view. As a matter of fact [ among ancient vessels ] there are bronzes with thick vessel-walls and also bronzes whose vessel-walls are thinner, but [ as far as authenticity is concerned ] they may be judged by their types and patinas alone."( ibid. )

Again, nothing conclusive can be said about the validity or otherwise of the criterion quoted by Chang until actual measurements of vessel-wall thicknesses are available.

#### 4.3. The Yuan dilettante:

(3) Ti Ch'i-nien( 翟耆年 ).

Ti's Chou shih ( 籀文 ) originally consisted of two chüan ( 卷 ) but the second chüan has been lost. There was also a one-volume edition which is again lost. Despite its title, the book deals with treatises and catalogues on bronze and stone which were extant in the Yüan. Ti was the son of the Late Sung administrator Ti Ju-wen whom we have mentioned already in Ch.2 above. Ti inherited his father's love of ancient art. Nevertheless, he made little contribution to the determination of the status of ancient bronzes. He says,

" [ It ] contains at the beginning the Jui ting ( 鬲 鼎 ) that was presented to [ the Imperial Repository ] from Hsing chou ( 邢 州 ). It is made in an unorthodox type with an animal's head on each side, each holding a ring in its mouth. It has three supporting legs in the form of monsters. The type is so eccentric that it can hardly claim to be a vessel of the Three Dynasties." (27)

My friend, Mr. David Hung of Cambridge, has in his collection a Chi yüeh ting ( 卣 月 鼎 ) which accords very well with the latter part of this description. I personally examined the cauldron in the Summer of 1966. The tripod and its inscription are reproduced photographically in Plate Twelve and Figure 52 respectively. The measurement of the tripod is: height 10 1/8 ins; diameter 9 7/8 ins; circumference 31 1/2 ins; weight 11 lb. Its inscription comprises 16 characters ( including one ditto-mark ) running in four columns. It is so badly executed and incised that little



Plate Twelve The forged Chi yüeh ting-tripod( 卽 夬 鼎 )  
bearing an incised incomplete inscription  
( Fig.52 ) formerly owned by an English private collector and now in the collection of Mr. David Hung of Cambridge. It has not been published before.

Measurement:

Height 10 1/8 ins; Diameter 9 7/8 ins;

Circumference 31½ ins; Weight 11 lb.

---Photo kindly supplied by Mr. Hung.





Figure 52 The fraudulently engraved inscription on the Chi yüeh ting-tripod( Plate Twelve above ). The text is incomplete and disordered and individual characters are wrongly written and badly formed. ( White powder was applied to the inscribed area before photographing.)

---Photo kindly supplied by Mr. David Hung.

knowledge of bronze inscription is required to determine that the inscription is faked. A tsun-wine-beaker, known as Chi yüeh tshun ( 卣 父 辛 ), with exactly the same inscription, both in text and character shapes, can be seen in the Imperial Oh'ing Catalogue Ku chien ( 9:16 ). Its inscription has been declared faked by Jung Keng<sup>(28)</sup>. This tripod has not been published before. Mr. Hung has informed me that it was formerly in the collection of an English antiquarian and that it came into his collection several years ago, though he is reluctant to provide further details for publication. There is little doubt that the Chi yüeh ting-tripod itself is also fraudulently cast. Our reasons for this judgment are the unorthodoxy of the décor in that (a) the legs are decorated with ox-like animal heads. No such ornamentation has been found on fully-attested vessels of this type, and even on unattested vessels it is extremely rare; (b) There is no ornamentation on the belly of the vessel between the pendent cicada-motifs; and (c) The gaping dragons on the band are sparsely distributed and not well-connected. A further criterion which does not condemn the vessel outright but does throw some suspicion on its genuineness is the poor quality of the workmanship, for instance the varying distance between the rim and the band, and the uneven width of the borders of the band and the cicada-motifs. This vessel does seem to give material support to Ti's theory that "bronzes that are heterodoxically made in an eccentric type deviating from the traditional ones are forged."

#### 4.4. The Ming Connoisseurs:

##### (4) Ts'ao Chao (曹 紹 ).

The work of Ts'ao, the well-known connoisseur of antiquities, in this field appears as a chapter in his Ke ku yao lun (格古要論). It deals comprehensively with problems such as the determination of ancient lutes, ancient calligraphy, ancient paintings, jades and jewellery, ancient ink-stones, unusual and rare stones, pottery, lacquer, brushes and ancient bronzes etc. This book has enjoyed a high prestige in Chinese art circles. However, the Chapter dealing with ancient Chinese bronzes is not only what may be described as dilettantism, but is also a mere unacknowledged regurgitation of Chao Hsi-ku's theories. We may cite some of his main arguments here:

(I) Ts'ao says, "Bronzes which have been buried in the earth for a thousand years acquire a pure green colour like jadeite; bronzes which have been soaked in water for a thousand years are green like melon-skin and are lustrous like jade; although some that have not been soaked for a thousand years are also green or blue-green, they are not lustrous.....Those that have neither been buried in the ground nor soaked in water but have been in circulation possess a purplish dark brown colour with spots of cinnabar projecting.....Bronzes that have holes caused by earth-corrosion like the track of a snail or that have tool marks are faked." (op.cit., Ch.6, p.16.)

This is clearly a plagiarism<sup>(29)</sup> of Chao's view. Since Chao's arguments have already been commented upon above, we shall not repeat our comments here. It may be of interest to point out that the contemporaneous connoisseur Kao Lien(高濂) regarded them as Ts'ao's original contributions. ( See Tsun sheng pa chien Ch.14.)

(II) " [ As to the disposition of the people ] , the Hsia [ people ] were characterized by their honesty, the Shang by their naivety, and the Chou by their artistry. These characteristics are reflected in their artifacts, the Shang bronzes being simple and plain without décor; whereas the Chou bronzes are finely and elegantly engraved with adornments; yet the Hsia bronzes are exceptional. There are Hsia artifacts which are inlaid with gold as fine as hair. The majority of Hsia bronzes are finely decorated in this way." ( op.cit., Ch.6, p.17.)

The determination of vessel-type and décor of bronzes attributable to the Three Dynasties as quoted above is also directly copied from Chao's theory.

(III) " [ As to the inscriptions ] , those of the Three Dynasties appear in intaglio, where the character strokes are grooves engraved below the metal surface; those of the Han or later dates are in rilievo, where the character strokes are protrusive. Among the Han

inscriptions are also cast intaglio characters.....But relieve inscriptions are definitely not from the Three Dynasties."( op.cit., Ch.6, p.18.)

Here again, the remarks on the physical appearance of inscriptions of the Three Dynasties are a sheer plagiarism of Chao's theory and will not be dealt with again here.

(5) Kao Lien(高 濂).

Kao's study of the faking of bronzes in the Ming Dynasty has already been mentioned in Chapter 2 above. In regard to the determination of bronzes, Kao is concerned chiefly with the patinas. He approached the problem by criticising his contemporary Ts'ao Chao's theory. However, his arguments are by no means conclusive. He remarks,

"Bronzes of the Three Dynasties that have been buried in the ground for a long time may become blue-green<sup>(30)</sup> if [ the place in which they are buried ] is adjacent to the mountains, for the climate in hilly areas is wet and it turns the bronzes blue-green; if it is close to the rivers, they will become green, because the vapour is alkaline and turns the bronzes green.....It is incorrect to say that the water and soil have a strong effect on the colours of bronzes. It is my opinion that if bronzes are cast with pure clean copper, they acquire a blue-green lustre; if the copper is impure, they become green.....The dark brown<sup>(31)</sup> ancient bronzes are considered to be the best of its kind. Mercury-coloured or lacquer-black tripods and vessels are less prized; those which are green or blue-green are less so still. But if they are pure green or blue-green without the least impurity, as lustrous as if washed by

water or as brilliant as the sun, they are superior even to the dark brown ones. The founders of the Hsiante reign-period of Ming were inclined to imitate the dark brown colour. This is why vessels of this colour are numerous among the Hsuan bronzes. Bronzes of the Three Dynasties are not only green or blue-green and lustrous, but also their quality, vessel-types, decorations and inscriptions can not be imitated [ successfully ] by later craftsmen. And of course such bronzes can not <sup>be</sup> forgeries." (32)

Kao's arguments that bronzes that have been buried near to the mountains are blue-green and that bronzes that have been buried near to the rivers are green are in the same direction as Chao and Ts'ao did. On the other hand, he is right in differentiating the patinas in terms of alloy constituents. But he <sup>is</sup> over-optimistic in supposing that bronzes of the Three Dynasties can not be imitated or forged. By and large, he has made little contribution to the determination of bronzes.

(6) Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (董其昌).

A chin shih graduate of the Wan-li reign-period of the Ming. Tung obtained high position both in the Hanlin Academy and in the Board of Rites. At one time he was Inspector of Schools ( 督學 ) in the Hu ( i.e. Hunan and Hupei ) and Kuang ( i.e. Kuangtung and Kuangsi ) provinces. He was a typical scholar-official at the Chinese court, and also a well-known artist and calligrapher almost equal in fame to Mi Fei ( 米芾 ), the great Sung artist and to Chao Meng-fu ( 趙孟頫, 字子昂 ) of the Yuan. He was also a lover and connoisseur of ancient art. However, his

judgment of bronzes is no better than a copy of that of his forerunners. It is as follows:

"The sound of ancient bronzes is dainty and clear, while the sound of modern bronzes is turbid and clamorous( cf Chao's criterion VI above ); the ancient bronzes have no foul odour, while those that are newly discovered have an earthy smell; and those which have been unearthed for a long time have none; forgeries produce an evil, frowzy smell when rubbed up with a warm palm( cf Chao's criterion IV above )."(33)

The statement is a plagiarism of Chao's theory and thus will not be dealt with.

4.5. The Ch'ing connoisseurs and judges (34):

(7) Pao K'ang(鮑康; 1810- ? ) (35).

Pao was a chü jen graduate of the Tao-kuang reign-period and was best known as a collector and student of ancient Chinese coins. He had also a great interest in bronzes and made the acquaintance of famous collectors such as Yeh Chih-hsien, Liu Yen-t'ing, Ch'en Chieh-ch'i etc. He discussed questions of forgery with his friends in correspondence. As already mentioned in Chapter 3 above, he detected the fraudulently incised inscription on the Sui ch'i ch'i ting. Unfortunately he did only a little on this subject in general. He says,

"Concerning the tripods and other ritual vessels, those that are falsely inscribed should contain many characters;

in inscriptions comprising several or dozen or so (數字及  
+ 數字) characters half of their contents may possibly  
be genuine. Fu Chai ( 蓋齊, i.e. Ch'en Chieh-ch'i ) said,  
'Among ancient vessels, those that bear only several char-  
acters reading "made this precious honourable vessel" ( 乍  
寶尊彝 ) with no person's name are the kind of vessels  
that were then on sale in the town.' His statement is quite  
correct, since bells and tripods are intended to commemorate  
one's meritorious services and to display them to one's  
descendants, it is appropriate to record the date in detail  
and include admonitions to one's descendants, whereas there  
is no reason for things that are made for daily use to be  
engraved with inscriptions such as 'In the King's X year',  
'Sons and grans<sup>d</sup>ons forever use it'. There is no doubt that  
such inscribed vessels are faked." (36)

Regarding the number of characters in an inscription, Pao is quite wrong to remark that fraudulently inscribed bronzes should have numerous characters, and in certain cases the reverse is true. It depends very much on the size of the vessels. An example of a fully-attested Western Chou inscription containing 98 characters ( including two ditto-marks ) is to be seen in Figure 58 below. A fully-attested Shang inscription of 30 characters ( including two compound graphs ) is illustrated in Figure 7 above. Nor is he correct in regarding the contents of long inscriptions as being generally half genuine. This statement is



obviously based upon the isolated case of the fake of the Sui ch'i ch'i ting. On the contrary, there are those that are entirely false. Since we can not say for sure that certain vessels were for daily ( domestic ) use and others for ritual use only, Pao's second criterion is of doubtful value or validity. Despite the cautions Pao has frequently taken against the possibility of forgery when confronted with suspicious ancient bronzes<sup>(37)</sup> he has made little contribution to the determination of bronzes as a whole.

(8) Shen X( 沈氏 ).

Nothing is known of the identity of Shen. His work, Hsüan lu hsiao chih( 宣爐小志 ), has been incorporated in the Hsi yung hsüan ts'ung shu( 喜咏軒叢書 ). In the Chapter "On the Age of Bronzes"( 論新舊 ) he deals with problems of Hsüan bronzes in particular, and also with the determination of bronzes in general. It may<sup>be</sup> worthwhile examining his arguments here:

(I) Distinguishing the age of bronzes.

Shen says, "The recently cast vessels have all been falsely engraved with Hsüante style inscriptions, whereas the old vessels( 舊爐 would appear to refer here to Ming vessels, not to all vessels going back to Shang and Chou ) were not all made in the Hsüante reign-period, though there are occasional fine artifacts in the ancient style among the pseudo-Hsüan bronzes. So if one attempts to assess Hsüan bronzes on the basis of Hsüan bronzes [ alone ] , one has insufficient data for assessing the quality of the vessels. For some of the vessels are genuinely old while

others are [ only ] imitations of old vessels; some are innately old, others have been 'made old'; some are old yet not worthy of appreciation, while others are both old and worthy of appreciation but have been polished and embellished and giving an artificial colouring ( 熏染 ) by ignorant craftsmen so that they look exactly like new ones, and these must be distinguished." ( ibid. )

This passage throws an interesting light on the activities of late Ch'ing imitators and on public taste; firstly, in respect of the use of a Hsuan mark to give a certain cachet to imitated vessels, and secondly, in respect of the renovation of genuinely old vessels to make them appear new—in fact, the very reverse of the normal procedure! ( Though of course there is a parallel to this in the repair and modification of ancient bronzes practised in modern times. ) This passage includes no criterion for distinguishing genuine from imitated Hsuan vessels ( for which see below ), but is included here as a background to Shen's criteria.

(II) The distinction between genuine and forged bronzes:

"The newly manufactured vessels are in the majority of cases simple in type. There is a general lack of symmetry in the 'ears', legs, mouths and bases. There is also a lack of smoothness of line on curves and where the outline goes in and out. The forged 'old' vessels are given an ancient-looking surface by the application of chemicals with heating. Others have been deliberately battered to produce slight damage, and then polished before baking, producing what is at first glance a very attractive result. However,

these artificial colours are not deep or pure, instead they are rather superficial and thin. Quite unlike the genuine artifactual whose long seasoning has imparted a deep lustre that enters right into the metal, so that it is like looking down into a clear, deep pool of still, unfathomable water that extends beyond the reach of the eyes. Occasionally there will be maculations or other marks, yet in spite of this they fit naturally into their surroundings and add a certain distinction and charm. This is how one can tell the difference between genuine and forged bronzes."( ibid. )

Shen's statement that genuine antiquities can in fact be distinguished from pseudo-antiquities does seem to contradict his statement in the preceding passage that "there are occasional fine artifacts in the ancient style among the pseudo-Hsian bronzes." His argument that the patinas of the genuine bronzes are deeper than those of false vessels seems logical, but in view of the large number of non-genuine vessels that have deceived connoisseurs( who in China at least have paid great attention to patinas ), this criterion would appear to be over-optimistic.

(9) Chang Chih-tung( 張之洞 ), ( 1837-1909 ).(38)







Chang's works in this field include Kuang ya t'ang chi( 廣雅堂集 ) and Kuang ya t'ang lun chin shih cha( 廣雅堂論金石 ). He was one of the most severe judges of bronzes among his contemporaries, and for this reason has been regarded with disfavour by his fellow-lovers of antiquities. A typical representative of such dislike is Jung Keng, who has called him "maniac"(39) and condemned him for "having regarded the genuine





Mao kung ting, Yü ting (孟鼎), Tung wu chung (董武鐘) and Ch'i nü p'in (齊女餅) as faked."<sup>(40)</sup> We shall leave Jung Keng's criticism for the time being, and examine, for instance, Chang's judgment of the inscription on the famous Mao kung ting. He declares it faked for the following reasons:

(I) The literal errors:

Chang says, "Yesterday I saw Ch'en Chieh-ch'i, who had obtained a rubbing of the Mao kung ting text, which is a fake. Why should I say so? First, there are literal errors. . . .e.g. the graph '玄' in the phrase '玄衣' has been corrupted into '𠄎', which is obviously the ancient graph for '心'; in the phrase '用伐用任' the graph '伐' has been corrupted into '歲'; the phrase '柎管一卣' has been inverted into '柎管卣一', which is parallel to one of the phrases on the X-Y-ting (I can not recall the name) in the Chi ku chai (積古齋)<sup>(41)</sup>. Here a horizontal stroke has been added to the character '卣' at the bottom, as it has in the latter inscription. But here another stroke has also been added to the top of the '卣', which constitutes proof of fraud."<sup>(42)</sup>

Chang was the first scholar to have the daring suspicion that the text of the Mao kung ting is a fake. Unfortunately the literal evidence which he has adduced is not only weak, but also erroneous. In the first place he says, "The graph '玄' in the phrase '玄衣' has been corrupted into '𠄎', which is obviously the ancient graph for '心'." This is a futile remark on this point because the phrase in question, '玄衣', simply does not occur in the text. Most probably he has read the phrase

"" ( see our Figure 53B:11/7-8 ) as "玄衣", The character yet  
 er " " has not been encountered elsewhere. Neither oracle-  
 bone texts nor fully-attested bronze texts show any character  
 which can be certainly identified with the later " " or its  
 small-seal predecessor "" or the Chankue form "" (43)  
 from the Ch'u and other states, the latter being the earliest  
 attested form. The form "" with one dot inside is quite com-  
 mon in unattested bronze inscriptions( including the Mao kung  
ting text: "命"(念), "𠄎"(恣), "𠄎"(寔), "𠄎"(德) etc  
 ), but we have no evidence yet that this dotted form existed be-  
 fore the Han. The phrase "𠄎𠄎𠄎" on the Mao kung ting  
 seems to have been copied directly from the phrase "𠄎𠄎𠄎"  
 on the Fan sheng kuei(番生設, see our Figure 54:7/3-6) (44).  
 This suggests that the double dot was an innovation of the for-  
 ger involved.

But even if we take the character "" in the latter text  
 as a form of "心", no sense can be made of the text. Because  
 of this attempts have been made to identify it with "𠄎" in  
 the sense of "green" in a parallel text in the Lichi: "Yü tsao"  
 (礼记:玉藻:"三命赤黻𠄎衿"), "the third grade, the red sash  
 and the green gem." Jung Keng, who reads it also as "𠄎" (has-  
 ty) explains the relationship as follows: "the character ''  
 is constructed with the dot '' on the top of the heart ''  
 which signifies that the heart is in a state of anxiety. The  
Shuo wen explains that '𠄎' is a compound word composed of

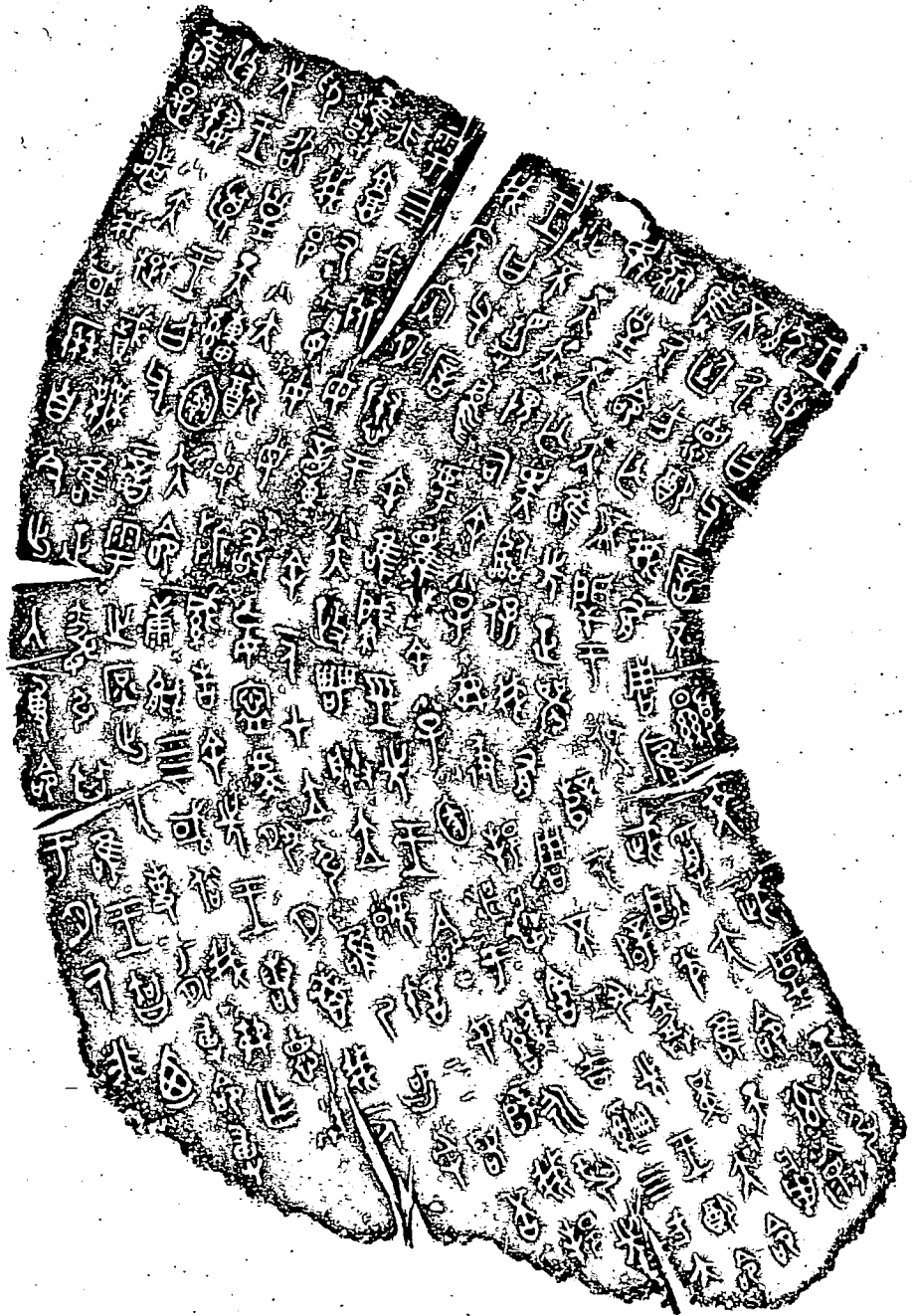


Figure 53A The forged inscription on the Mao kung ting (毛公鼎) (First part). A really fine example of a skilfully composed text and a skilfully made inscription.

—Reproduced from Chin ts'ung, p.258.

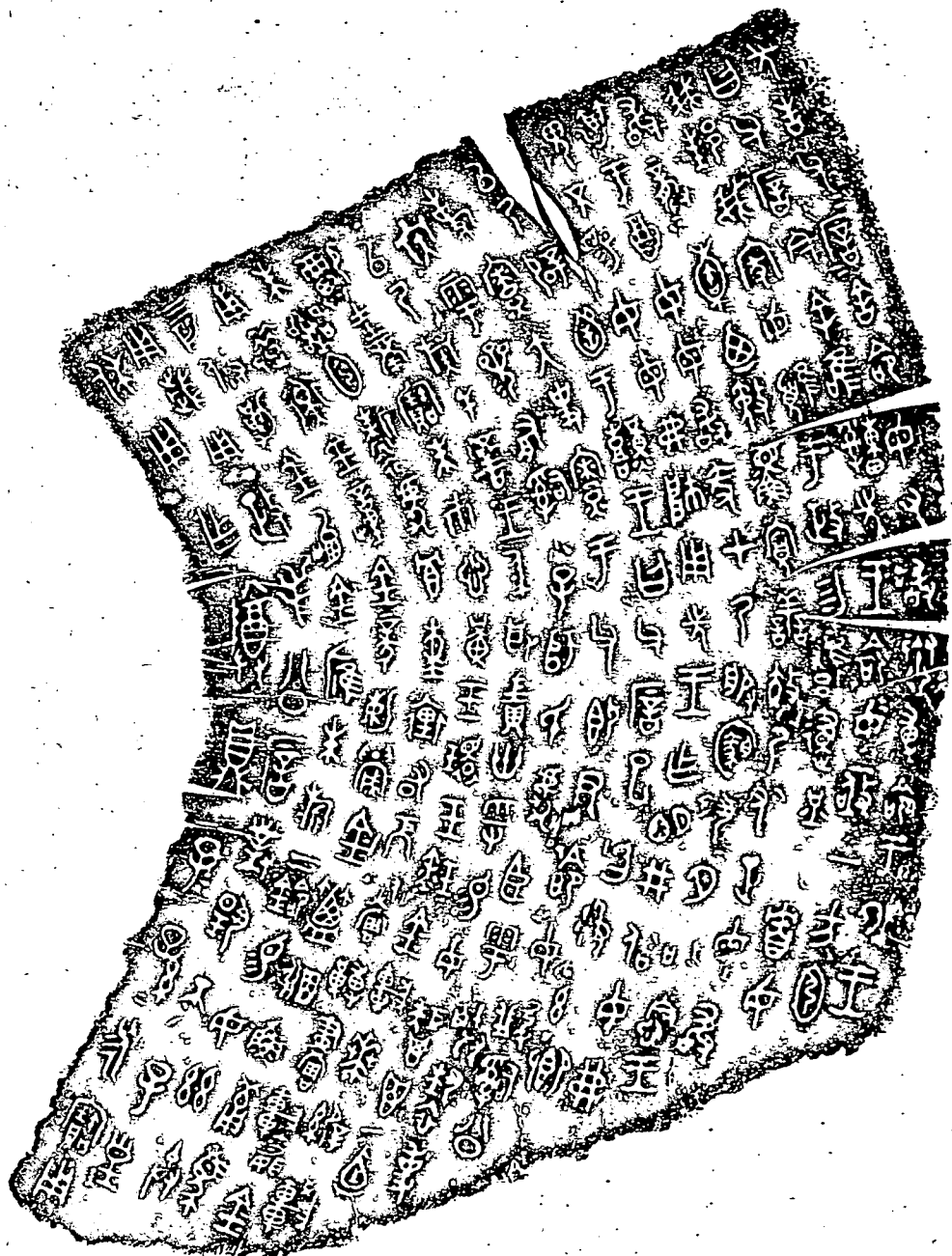


Figure 53B The forged inscription on the Mao kung ting  
(毛公鼎) (Second part).



—Reproduced from op.cit., p.259.




Figure 54 The unattested inscription on the Fan sheng kuei (番生殷), a considerable portion of whose text corresponds to that of the Mao kung ting (毛公鼎).

—Reproduced from Ta hsi ( lu:130 ).



' 囧 ' and ' 心 '. Hence ' 囧 ' should be an innovation for ' 心 '. Since the Shuo wen also says that ' 囧 ' is the phonetic of ' 恩 ', [ the whole character ] has changed from a pictograph to a phonetic compound.....Later ' 恩 ' evolved into ' 蔥 ' and further still into ' 蔥 '. The occurrence of ' 朱市蔥黃 ' in the Mao kung ting is comparable to ' 三命赤葱蔥樹 ' in the Li chi: 'Yü tsao'. "(45) Kao Hung-shin (高鴻緡) offers a fanciful interpretation of "  " as a simple pictograph: "  ", being the pictographic form of ' 蔥 ', depicts the underground root of an onion, commonly known as 'ts'ung po' (蔥白). In this context, it means a blue-green colour." (46) Tung Tso-pin also follows this interpretation in his articles, "Mao kung ting k'ao nien" (毛公鼎考年) and "Mao kung ting shih wen chu yi" (毛公鼎釋文注譯) (47).

Chang's remark about the inversion of " 一 " and " 囧 " is simply not true: both the Mao kung ting and the Mu tui have " 一 囧 " in that order. His remarks on this and on "  " suggest either that he was extremely careless ( as Jung Keng said in T'ung k'ao, p.213 and T'ung lun, p.136 ) or that the rubbing which he saw was an extremely poor one.

(II) The mixing of phrases and data from the Shih ching and the Shu ching:

"The text contains an admixture of phrases from the Shih and the Shu such as 'the glory' ( 耿光 ), 'the late officials' ( 先正 ), 'satisfied with your [ sic! ] virtue' ( 厭乃 [ 寶作 卑 ] 德 ), 'assist your [ sic! ] emperors' ( 辟 [ 寶作

辭]乃[實作畢]辟), 'gives great [sic!] mandate'(集大[實作氏]命), 'never shoot [sic!] being near to and protect'(無射[實作吳=畢]臨保), which are all unreadable. Moreover, there is 'to tranquillize my [nation], petty and great policies'(雍我[邦]小大猷) and many similar phrases, and expressions like 'from now [onwards] those that go in and out of the palace, and those who carry out the Imperial decree outside the country'(自今出入尊命于外) etc, are garbled. The text is a patchwork."  
 ( ibid. )

The assembling of phrases in the text of Mao kung ting from the phraseology of the Shih ching and the Shu ching alleged by Chang necessitates a further exposition. Synchronically, there are certain common linguistic features in the attested bronze-texts of the Chou period. It is a matter of course that certain idioms, technical terms, customary expressions and clichés crop up here and there both in traditional classics and in bronze texts of the Chou. A phenomenon of this sort must not be regarded as evidence of copying or proof of plagiarism. Nor can resemblances of this kind alone be exploited as criteria for detecting forgery. There must be some other supplementary proof. For instance, the homogeneity of the term "glory"(耿光) in the text of Mao kung ting with that of literary texts attributed to the Chou constitutes nothing against its authenticity at all. But if we compare the phrase "the glory of Kings Wen and Wu"(文武耿光) with "the glory of King Wen"(文王之耿光) in the Shu ching (書經:立政), <sup>(Shu Ching 390616ff.)(47a)</sup> it will then be a different story and

should arouse suspicion, since whereas "耿光" is short enough to be a cliché, the phrase "文武耿光", with its particular reference, is far less likely to be a common cliché, though of course it is not automatically ruled out as such. Here again, the term "the late officials" (光正) is a common expression in Chou literary texts. Thus it does not seem strange if it is found to have occurred on the Mao kung ting, a lengthy inscription universally attributed to Western Chou date. However, once a comparison has been made of the whole sentence in the Mao kung ting, "It is likewise due to the fact that the late officials had assisted their Emperors" (亦唯光正克昭事厥辟) with the corresponding sentence in the Shu ching "It is likewise due to the fact that the late officials could serve their Emperors openly" (書經：文侯之命：亦唯光正克昭事厥辟) (Shu ching 480037 ff.) it becomes quite apparent that this phenomenon can not be viewed as a question of terminological coincidence, but rather as a matter of imitation or copying of the former after the pattern of the latter. As to the clauses "satisfied with your virtue" (厥乃德) and "assist your Emperors" (厥乃辟), these are a misreading by Chang of the Mao kung ting text. Evidently, Chang has misapprehended the graph "his" (克 = 皀, 厥, 其) as "your" (了 = 乃). And so is "集大命" a misreading of "集厥命", "受大命" or "董大命" by Chang. Although common terms such as "his decree" (厥命), "great mandate" (大命) or "heavenly mandate" (天命) are common in the Shu ching and the Shih ching, the parallelism of

the sentence "Heaven has given him its mandate." (唯天集命) in the Mao kung ting to that of the Shu ching, "God has given his mandate to King Wen," (尚書:文侯之命: "惟時上帝集厥命于文王")<sup>(Shu ching 480027ff.)</sup>, can hardly be said to be coincidental.

Chang considers these four characters "無射臨保" to be unintelligible. In fact he has not only misdeciphered the character "采" as "射", but also punctuated the sentence wrongly. The sentence in question should actually read, "希皇天亡災(戰), 臨保我有固." (Therefore, God has never neglected us but has been with us and protected us, the Chou.) Here the "臨" and "保" are frequent characters in Chou literature, e.g. "God has not been with...." (詩經:雲漢: "上帝不臨")<sup>(Chu Hsi: Shih chi chuan, pp. 210-1)</sup> and "God has not protected...." (書經:多士: "上帝不保")<sup>(Shu ching 340221-4)</sup> etc. It will not be permissible for us to regard the expression in the Mao kung ting text "[ God ] has been with us and protected us, the Chou" as a copying or plagiarism of the classics. Nevertheless, if we take also the preceding clause, "Therefore, God has never neglected us," into consideration and contrast it with that of the Shih ching, "Therefore God has never neglected us," (詩經:抑: "肆皇天弗尚")<sup>(p. 20)</sup> we shall certainly have the impression that these two homogeneous sentences are identical not only in significance, but also in language to a large extent<sup>(48)</sup>.

Chang has also taken umbrage at the fact that sentences such as "雍我小大蕝" (to tranquillize my petty and great policies) and "自今出入尊命于外" (from now [onwards]

those that go in and out of the palace and those who carry out the Imperial decree outside the country ) are garbled. On this point, as a matter of fact, Chang himself is to blame, for he has been imprudent, on the one hand, to overlook the indispensable characters "邦" ( nation ) and "厥" (....onwards ), and on the other hand to punctuate the sentence incorrectly. The sentence, if punctuated "雍我邦;小大猷", "厥自今,出入專命于外", read smoothly and lucidly: "to tranquillize my nation; the minor and main policies...." and "From now onwards, those that go in and out of the palace and those who carry out the Imperial decree outside the country" respectively<sup>(49)</sup>.

(III) The whole text is devoid of sense:

"In spite of the fact that it consists of 500 characters, it does not refer to a single event, place or person. It is nothing but a string of conventional phrases. There was no such literary style in ancient times. This [ style ] is what has been denounced as the [ style of the ] pseudo-archaic version of the Shu ching by scholars such as Mei [ Cho ] (梅鷟) of the Ming and Yen [ Jo-chü ] (閻若璩) of the Ch'ing. It is devoid of sense. Ch'en Chieh-ch'i must have been mad to purchase a fake at a fabulous price!" ( ibid. )

It is true that the whole text has no record of place or date. But the text does refer to a specific event and person, namely the investiture of Mao Kung Yin. As to whether such a literary style existed in ancient times, there were certainly plenty of bronze texts of a similar nature in existence in Chang's time,

and he in his time is wrong to ignore these, even though we now realize that some at least of these texts are open to suspicion. Jung Keng is justified in denouncing Chang's argument as being devoid of sense<sup>(50)</sup>. On the whole, Chang's judgment of the forgery of the Mao kung ting text is weak and inconclusive, except for "the assembling of phrases from the Shih ching and the Shu ching." Such being the case, further investigation should be made of the text in search of better and more concrete evidence.

An extremely interesting state of affairs emerges from a comparison of the Mao kung ting with some other inscriptional texts we find that there are substantial textual resemblances between the Mao kung ting ( Figures 53A and B ), Shih X-kuei ( 師 畝 ) ( Figure 55 )<sup>(51)</sup>, Mu tui ( 牧 敦 ) ( Figure 56 )<sup>(52)</sup>, and the Fan sheng kuei ( 番 生 毀 ) ( Figure 54 ). The textual resemblance of the Mao kung ting text with others bronze texts published in the Sung and later catalogues and with literary texts is tabulated in Figure 57 below. From this chart we find that the text of the Mao kung ting corresponds in particular with that of the Shih X-kuei to the extent that coincidence is beyond credibility. Kuo Mo-jo says, "This inscription ( i.e. the Shih X-kuei ) resembles the Mao kung ting as greatly as if they were written by one and the same hand. The historical background contained in the text too, is in the main identical, so we have here placed it next [ to that of Mao kung ting ] ." <sup>(53)</sup> He says further, "Not only is the phraseology of this inscription homogeneous

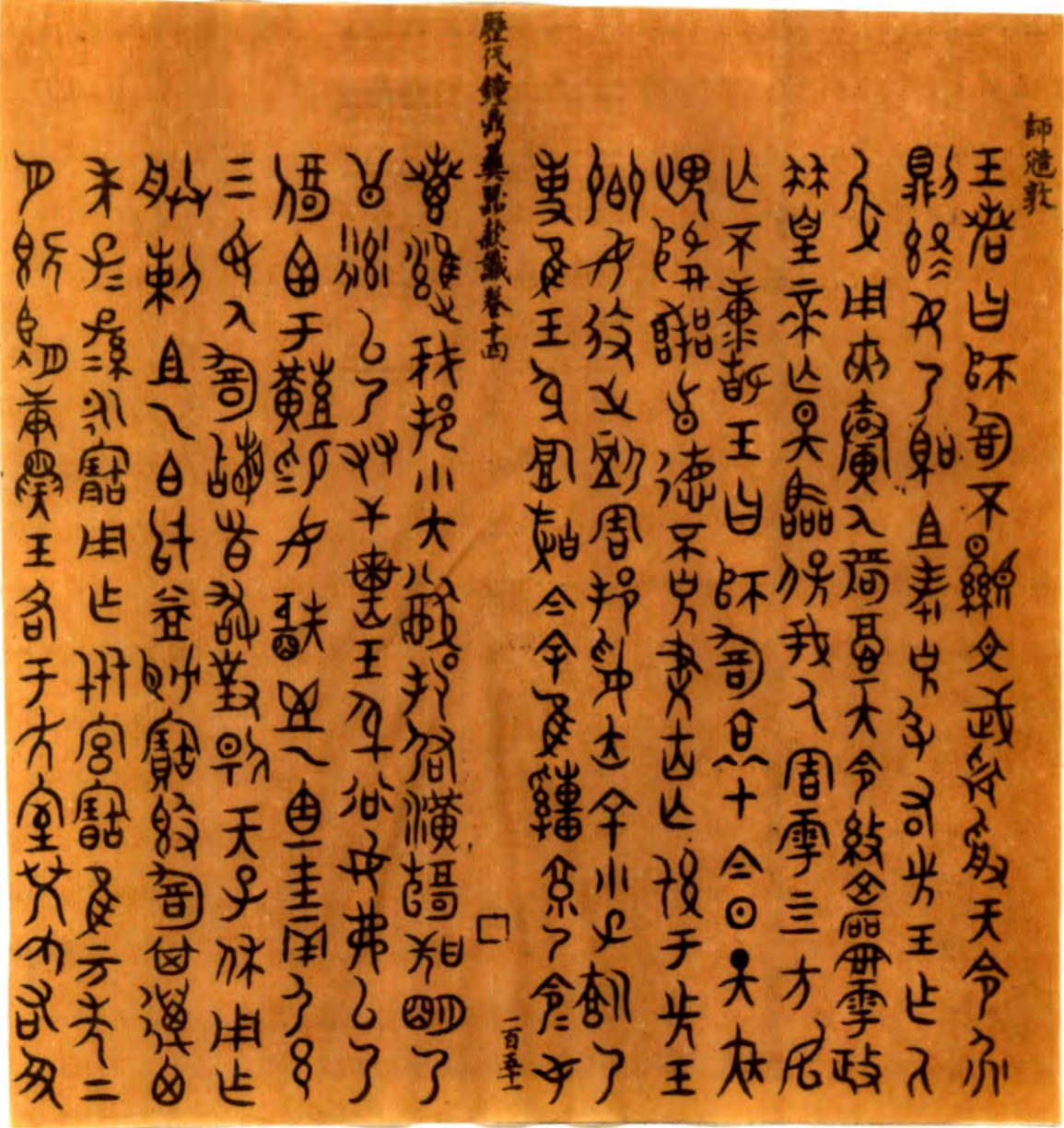


Figure 55 The unattested inscription on the Shih X-kuei (師寇敦), which has been exploited as a model for the compilation of the inscription text on the Mao kung ting.

---Reproduced from Id tai ( 14:151 ).

Figure 56 The unattested inscription on the Mu tui(牧豎), sentences from which have been copied by the compiler of the Mao kung ting text.

---Reproduced from Ii tai( 14:153-4 ).





夏王十癸一又三且錫少庸十  
 甫王十周十既又宮名大  
 室鈔文公成既人奇物太長  
 自王乎內與夫無令物王呼  
 自物言夫王錫命也止錫土  
 命呼或或命今洋宮密  
 為回其回思只密王不用夫  
 王止井亦只其厥及于既厥  
 奇炎不井不長也失也既  
 叩合既司可入自夫也故多白

物女及既  
 鼎王止則井  
 鼎不井之申故其不取不  
 皇不井之命進也  
 女既皇之全  
 末既自  
 所以  
 故其不取不

不與  
 白  
 不與  
 白

大夏



- 1. 王若曰: 父盾! 玉頤文武
- 2. 順受大命 唯天齒(特)
- 3. 夫阜命 心唯先正祭(裏)辟年辟
- 4. 彝(勳)德(德)董(德)大命
- 5. 奔皇天亡吳(畢)臨保我指周
- 6. 朕(吳)天疾畏... 畚耜: 四方大穰(穰)
- 7. 鳥虜! 趙余小, 子家湛于糞(糞)
- 11. 惠我一人
- 12. 難(難)我邦 小大猷
- 18. 今余唯蕃 先王命 女
- 22. 女毋弗帥 用先王旨明拜(型)
- 俗(欲)女弗
- 23. 以乃辟 函于糞... 卿
- 24. 事察大史察... 命女拜(德)翻公
- 25. 族
- 26. 以乃友 于孟(敬)王身
- 男 女 鬻 一 首
- 27. 朱市山 黃玉環 玉珠 金車 奉(南)
- 澤(碑) 載
- 28. 未 蠶 (陳) 字 (新) 新 (新) 皮 室 (庫)
- 蠶 蠶 太 瓦 (車) 畫 輪 畫 輪 耳 (轉) 室
- 南 道 衡 衡 室 室 (車) 金 泰 (車) 約 (的)
- 29. 認 (成) 金 簪 (簪) 魚 前 馬
- 未 斫 二 致

- 1. 王若曰: 師旬! 玉頤文武
- 應(郭釋: 等)受天令
- 3. 用夾孫(郭釋: 盟)年辟
- 夏大令
- 4. 不才(郭法: 帝)皇帝亡吳(畢)臨保我指周
- 雲亡不才(康)靜
- 5. 哀才(載)天疾
- 6. 畏(成)降
- 9. 難 我邦 小大猷
- 8. 谷 余 佳 蕃
- 10. 谷(欲)女弗以乃
- 11. 辟 函于糞
- 10. 以乃友 于孟(敬)王身

- 11. 女毋敢弗帥 先王旨明拜
- 14. 男
- 15. 女 鬻 一 首

- 5. 王
- 6. 令 拜(郭)朝公族 卿 事 大 史 察
- 7. 朱 市 山 黃 玉 環 玉 珠 金 車
- 8. 電 軻 奉 綽 載 朱 高 函 (郭)
- 臺 新 (郭) 皮 室 (郭) 畫 蠶
- 9. 道 (郭) 衡 衡 室 室 (車) 金 泰 (車) 約 (的)
- 10. 金 簪 魚 前 (郭) 朱 斫 斫 斫 (郭) 金 斧 (郭) 斫 斫 二 致

以 觀 文 王 之 獻 光  
 (之 故) *Shu ching* 1906: 148  
 惟 日 肆 上 帝  
 集 厥 命 于 文 王 (文  
 侯 大 命) (*op. cit.* 1900: 171)  
 心 唯 先 正 武 昭 事  
 厥 辟 (文 侯 之 命)  
 (*op. cit.* 4300: 37, 74)

肆 皇 大 弗 尚  
 (詩 經: 抑) 4: 20: 10

with that of the Mao kung ting, but the stylistic structure is also presumably derived from the same stereotype as the ting text: the practice of recording the King's decree in consecutive and separate paragraphs is comparable to that of the Mao kung ting."<sup>(54)</sup> The outcome of such observations constitutes a general principle for Kuo's dating and periodization of Chou bronzes: whenever the name of a person or place, or a particular event, occurs in two or several bronze texts, he links them together and assigns them to the same period. This method is logical in principle and has been widely adopted by many scholars in their chronological studies of bone and bronze inscriptions<sup>(55)</sup>. In doing this, Kuo has gone so far as to suggest that the texts of the Shih X-kuei and the Mao kung ting were written by the same scribe. This view has further been advocated and reaffirmed by Tung Tso-pin. He says, "The preceding seventeen examples have fully confirmed that this was done by one and the same scribe. No one can deny this fact. The duration of a man's service at the court could have ranged from thirty to fifty years, hence the Mao kung ting might have been manufactured together with the Shih X-kuei within this period."<sup>(56)</sup> We can agree that Kuo Mo-jo and Tung Tso-pin have approached the problem in the right direction, but unfortunately they have applied this method to the wrong material, namely unattested texts.

One explanation of this phenomenon could be that one of the two inscriptional texts was a Chou copy, imitation or plagiarism

of the other. Could it, then, be that the Mao kung ting text was the model for the Shih X-kuei text, since the former is attributed to the early part of King Ch'eng's reign and the latter to the inception of his successor King K'ang's reign? (57) This question is unanswerable, for the dating of these two bronzes is <sup>as</sup> yet a matter of controversy (58). However, as far as the coming to light of the vessels is concerned, the answer to the above question is negative: the Shih X-kuei first appeared in a Sung Catalogue—the Li tai; whereas the Mao kung ting is said to have been discovered in the later part of Tao-kuang or Hsien-feng reign-period (道光末, 或咸豐末, 1850-1861) (59). If the Shih X-kuei had been copied from the Mao kung ting, this would imply that the Mao kung ting was available to the cop<sup>y</sup>ist before or during the Sung period. If it were, we should expect it to have been included in a Sung catalogue. The only alternative is that the Mao kung ting text was fabricated after the model of the Shih X-kuei and some other available materials. Now we shall attempt to show whence the forger of the Mao kung ting text has derived his "raw materials":

1. The first sentence—"The King said, 'Uncle Yin, the illustrious Kings Wen and Wu'" (王若曰: "父盾, 丕顯文武" )— is copied from the first column of the Shih X-kuei with the personal name "父盾" in place of "師哥". The forger concerned had a sufficiently good knowledge of ancient script to enable him to discriminate the form of the graph—"king" (王) from

that of "jade" ( 玉 ) and not to follow the example of the Sung scholars who wrote them indiscriminately. It also enabled him to choose the character " 𠄎 " rather than its later variant " 𠄎 ";

2. The phrase—"to receive the heavenly mandate" ( )—is again a direct copy of that of the Shih X-kuei. Since the forger has already in mind to compose a lengthy text, the somewhat laconic style of the model-text has apparently seemed to him to require expansion. Quite ingeniously he supplies the reason for the receipt of the mandate—"Illustrious Heaven has been greatly satisfied with their( i.e. Kings Wen and Wu's ) virtue" ( 皇天弘猷率德 ). The tenth character in the 1st column of the Shih X-kuei appears in this form " 𠄎 ", which Kuo Mo-jo has identified with " 孚 = 敷 " (60), despite the fact Hsieh Shang-kung had deciphered it as " 應 " (61). Although Hsieh's decipherment is hardly correct in shape, it is quite agreeable in meaning. Instead of following the model-text to copy the original " 𠄎 ", the forger turns backward about 15 pages to the Ying hou tui ( 應侯敷 , Litai 13:136 ) where the required character " 𠄎 " is at his disposal. He has " 大命 " for " 天命 " which are used interchangeable (62). But the choice of " 𠄎 " rather than " 命 " seems superfluous, though both forms occur on fully-attested vessels;

3-4. As already stated above, the sentence—"The glory of Kings Wen and Wu, Heaven has given them its mandate" ( 文武猷光,

唯天<sup>崑</sup>集<sup>畢</sup>命 )—has been compiled in the light of those of the Shu ching, "The glory of King Wen" (書經:文政: "文武之取光") and "God has given his mandate to King Wen" (書經:文侯之命: "惟時上帝,集厥命于文王") with only a slight syntactical modification—the addition of "于文王". Yet the purport is largely the same;

4. As to the sentence "It is likewise due to the fact that the late officials had assisted their Emperors in governing the country industriously" (亦唯先正<sup>芬</sup>辟<sup>畢</sup>辟, 肅<sup>董</sup>大命), the forger does not seem to be satisfied with the model-sentence (i.e. the 3rd column, "用夾<sup>孫</sup>[郭<sup>蹟</sup>監], 畢<sup>辟</sup>辟, 奧<sup>大</sup>令"), so he turns to the Shu ching for better inspiration, "It is likewise due to the fact that the late officials could serve their Emperors openly" (書經:文侯之命: "亦唯先正克昭事厥辟");

5. The sentence "Therefore Illustrious Heaven has never neglected us, but has been with us and protected us, the Chou" (希<sup>肆</sup>皇天亡<sup>吳</sup>, 臨保我有周) is the consequence of a blend of the sentence in the Shih X-kuei "木<sup>肆</sup>皇帝亡<sup>吳</sup>, 臨保我<sup>畢</sup>周" and that in the Shih ching "肆<sup>肆</sup>皇天弗<sup>尚</sup>(詩:抑)". The character "木" has been transcribed as "希<sup>肆</sup> = 肆" by Kuo (63), but it does not tempt the forger. Instead he prefers "肆<sup>肆</sup>皇天" of the Shih ching to "木<sup>肆</sup>皇帝" of the model-text, though the meaning remains unchanged. "我<sup>畢</sup>周" has been erroneously transcribed by Hsieh as "我<sup>乃</sup>周"; and again, interestingly read as "我<sup>之</sup>周" by Kuo (ibid.) None of these is in any way superior to

"我有周" derived by the forger from the classics;

6. In the 6th column the sentences run, "New Heaven is indignant....the four corners are in great distress, and the chaos has not been calmed." (改天疾畏 [= 威] ..... 翻翻四方, 大從 [= 從] 不靜). Quite clearly, these sentences are also made after the patterns of those in the model-text "..... 寧四方, 民亡不康靜, 哀才 [= 哉] 今日天疾畏 [= 威] 降喪". The phrase "天疾畏" is a direct copy and "翻翻四方, 大從不靜" gives the reverse of the sense of the original, which reads, "In the four corners, there were none of the people who were not healthy or living in peace." But in the sequel the situation changes, "Alas! Now Heaven is indignant and calamity has befallen [ us ] ." This is the import of the Shih X-kuei, and the forger has grasped it correctly and reproduced it;

7. The two exclamations, the "烏虐" in the Mao kung ting text and "哀才(哉)" in the Shih X-kuei text, though distinct in form, are synonymous in meaning. In fact they frequently occur in pre-Ch'in literary texts in a pair as "烏虐哀哉" ( Woe alas! ). The forger appears to have replaced "哀哉" by its companion-phrase "烏虐" in order to avoid too great a resemblance to his textual model. The following sentence, "Pitiful as I am, my family( i.e. Royal household, the Chou ) is in a desperate plight"( 趨 [= 閱] 余小子家湛于難 [= 艱] )<sup>(64)</sup>, is more or less comparable in import to the model-text, "New Heaven is indignant and calamity has befallen [ us ] "( 今日天疾畏 [= 威] 降喪):

11-12. Here again, the clauses, "to be obedient only to me, the Emperor; to tranquillize my nation; the petty and great policies...." (惠[順]我一人; 維[雍]我邦; 小大猷), are undoubtedly plagiarised from "惠維我邦小大猷" of the Shih X-kuei with the difference only of the addition of "我一人", a personal pronoun used by the Kings in ancient times to refer to themselves;

18. The manner of investiture, "Now I am to continue the charges of the late Emperors and command you...." (今余唯嚮先王命, 命女.....) is also obviously patterned after that recorded in the Shih X-kuei: "Now I am to continue your charges (i.e. the previous orders) and command you...." (今余唯嚮京乃令, 令女.....);

22. Feeling the necessity for a change of sources, the forger now turns just three pages forward to the Mu tui where he is fortunate enough to find the useful phrase "女毋敢[弗帥]先王下明井[型]" in the 11th column and blends it into his framework. With a minor modification and replacements for the two obscure characters, the sentence runs smoothly, "You should not disobey the institutions established by the late Emperors." (女毋弗帥用[率由]先王下明井[型]);

22-23. After this brief excursion the forger reverts to the Shih X-kuei, whence he copied the following sentence, "Hoping that you would not let your sovereign fall into distress." (裕女弗以乃辟角于憂). In doing so, the forger has added



only the determinative "亻" to "谷" (= 俗);

26. The forger continues to look for details on the King's charges in the Shih K-kuei, "With the tsu-officers under your command you come to protect me [ where necessary ]" ( 以乃族干王身 [= 致教] 王身 ). It differs from the model-sentence only in one character, i.e. the "族" ( the tsu-officers ) for "友" ( the fellow-officers )—" 以乃友干王身 ". For the presentation of gifts, the expression "award you aromatic spirits one flask" ( 易女鬯一卣 ) may be derived from dozens of bronze texts. To judge from the style of writing of the script, the forger has evidently extracted this clause from the Mu tui.

On the basis of the textual resemblance of the inscription on the Mao kung ting to the inscriptions on the Shih K-kuei, Mu tui, Fan sheng kuei and to sentences in the Shu ching and the Shih ching in addition to the literal errors, we are convinced that the Mao kung ting text is a middle 19th century compilation, presumably by a group of forgers under the superintendence and supervision of a scholarly man. This man has a considerable knowledge of antiquities as well as of bronze script. We suspect that this man is the great collector, connoisseur and scholar Ch'en Chieh-ch'i, though we have no direct evidence for this. Hence, if the inscription is cast, the tripod itself is likewise a fake, though no information is yet available as to whether the inscription is cast or engraved. Epigraphic evidence of this kind provides the best proof of the status of inscribed ancient

bronzes, where scientific methods or chemical analysis of the bronze alloy may fail to do so. However, this does not necessarily mean that chemical analysis or other scientific procedures will be fruitless. For judging non-inscribed bronzes, such methods remain an indispensable avenue of approach. As far as the authenticity of the Mao kung ting is concerned, we are reminded of Wei Chü-hsien's statement that during the reigns of T'ung-chih and Kuang-hsu ( 1862-1908 ) Ch'en Chieh-ch'i had recruited forgers such as Hsu Chih-ch'üan, T'ien Yü-fan, Wang Hsi-ch'üan, Ho K'un-yü and Ho Yuan-yü in his workshop to produce bronzes such as Mao kung ting etc<sup>(65)</sup>. Wei's remark helps also to eliminate the doubt that such an excellent inscription as that on the Mao kung ting—its text is so well composed, its calligraphy is extremely well executed and its craftsmanship is superb—could be faked.

The Mao kung ting text provides an excellent example of the dangers to scholarship involved in the use of unattested materials;

(a) The material in it has been incorporated ( together with material from several hundred other unattested inscriptions ) by Karlgren in his Grammata Serica, and Grammata Serica Recensa and also in his "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes". He states that "The vessel was found in Shensi," without adducing any supporting evidence for this assertion;

(b) The whole text has been used by Dobson as a genuine

example of Chou Chinese in his EAC ( pp.209-220 ). He says, "The vessel [ i.e. the Ta feng kuei ] is said to have been discovered, together with the Mau-gong Ding ( see inscription No.12 ), at Chi-yi-shan ( 岐山 ) in modern Shansi [ sic! ] in 1844." (67) He gives no evidence for this assertion, which is apparently based on Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's remark in 1873 that "I have had it for thirty years," (68) and on Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's annotation on a rubbing of the vessel "It was excavated at Ch'ishan ( 岐山 ) in the latter part of the Tao-kuang reign-period." (69)

(c) Yetts in The Gull Chinese Bronzes, p.6, says "No documentary evidence of such a gift [ i.e. from a ruler to a subject ] could be more authentic than that afforded by the well-known inscription on the Mao kung ting." He apparently has no qualms about the inscription's genuineness.

In these three cases we have examples of this text being used to provide evidence on Chou script, Chou grammar and Chou ritual respectively, and this information will undoubtedly be widely used for many years to come by scholars who are not bronze specialists and are in no position to challenge it.

None of the three scholars quoted above seems to have had any qualms about using a text of very doubtful provenance as if it were fully attested.

More than a dozen scholars in China have studied and made commentaries on the text—e.g. Hsü T'ung-po's ( 徐同柏 ) Ts'ung ku, Wu Shih-fen's ( 吴式芬 ) Chün ku, Sun Yi-jang's ( 孙诒让 )

Ku chou shih yi ( 古籀拾遺 ), Wu Ta-ch'eng's ( 吳大澂 ) K'o ch'ai, Liu Hsin-yüan's Ch'i ku shih, Wu Pao-wei's ( 吳寶燁 ) Mao kung ting cheng chu ( 毛公鼎正註 ), Chang Chih-kang's ( 張之洞 ) Mao kung ting chiae shih ( 毛公鼎菁粹釋 ), Kuo Mo-jo's Ta hsi and Chin ts'ung, Wang Kuo-wei's "Mao kung ting ming k'ao shih" ( 毛公鼎銘考釋 ), Yü Hsing-wu's ( 于省吾 ) Shuang chien ch'ih chi chin wen hsuan ( 雙劍謄吉金文選 ), Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's "Chin wen li shuo shu cheng" ( 金文麻胡疏證 ), Jung Keng's T'ung k'ao, Kao Hung-chin's ( 高鴻誥 ) Mao kung ting chi shih ( 毛公鼎集擇 ) and Tung Tso-pin's "Mao kung ting k'ao nien" and "Mao kung ting shih wen chu yi" ( 毛公鼎釋文註譯 ) etc —but none has had the least doubt about its authenticity.

The most recent statements supporting the authenticity of the Mao kung ting text are T'ian Tan-chiung and Cheng Te-k'un. T'ian Tan-chiung, the Chief Curator of the National Central Museum in Taiwan, where the vessel is now preserved, says "The Mao kung ting was excavated in Ch'ishan county in Shensi in the latter part of the Tao-kuang reign-period ( 1821-1850 ). In the 2nd year of the Hsien-feng reign-period ( 1852 ), the merchant Su Yi-nien ( 蘇億年 ) transported it to the Capital when Ch'en Chieh-ch'i was holding office at Peking. Ch'en bought it at a very high price and took it back to Weihsien ( 淮縣 ) in Shantung Province where he kept it secret and showed it to nobody. He sold only rubbings of the inscription to those interested and

the price was substantial." (70) He goes on to say that it is "one of the greatest treasures of our age, that will no longer be an object which private collectors will vie to acquire for prestige purposes, but that belongs officially to the nation." ( ibid. )

Speaking of Barnard's challenge to the authenticity of the inscription, Cheng Te-k'un says "He goes on even so far as to brush aside the opinion of all qualified experts and question the authenticity of Mao kung ting and Shan shih p'an." (71)

The fact that this forged text has escaped the scrutiny of specialists of such eminence is evidence of the high degree of skill attained by bronze-text forgers, and the high quality of this one inscription alone should suffice to make us suspicious of the whole body of unattested materials until their genuineness can ( if ever ) be fully established. Clearly, it would be irresponsible to do otherwise in the light of the Mao kung ting.

(10) Ch'en Chieh-ch'i ( 陳介祺 ), ( 1813-1884 ) (72)

Ch'en's works on the study and determination of antiquities have been incorporated in his treatises—Fu chai ch'ih tu ( 匋齋尺牘 ) (73), Fu chai yin chi ( 匋齋印集 ), Chi ku lu ( 集古錄 ) and so on. Shang Ch'eng-tse has highly praised him by saying that among the several thousands of bronze artifacts that Ch'en had in his lifetime collected, none was a fake, and that Ch'en's theories and judgments of bronzes were not merely superior to those of all his contemporaries, but were in fact of a standard

without rival in the past or in the future<sup>(74)</sup>. Ch'en himself published only part of his collection in a catalogue entitled Fu chai ts'ang ch'i mu ( 簠齋藏器目 ); and later, early in this century, Teng Shih ( 鄧實 ) published all his rubbings of bronzes in the Fu chai chi chin lu ( 簠齋志金錄 ). As to the bronzes in this Catalogue, Jung Keng said that they are to be regarded on the whole as genuine<sup>(75)</sup>. This is, however, definitely not true, as we shall show below. Jung and, particularly, Shang were exaggerating. Hsu Chung-shu has justly commented that bronzes that have been labelled forged by Ch'en are not all so, and that some of the bronzes that have been regarded genuine by Ch'en are indubitably forged. Once cognizance has been taken of his own collection we find that bronzes such as Liang po ko ( 梁伯戈 ), Sung kuei ( 公頊毀 ), Mi sheng X-fu kuei ( 糜生咎父毀 ), Feng hsi yi kuei ( 豐兮夷毀 ), Kue shu fu ( 猷叔簠 ), Ning po li ( 鄭伯鬲 ) ( all these vessels can be seen in the K'ue chai Catalogue ) etc are faked<sup>(76)</sup>.

Undeniably, Ch'en was one of the greatest connoisseurs among his contemporaries of the declining Ch'ing Dynasty. His work on judging and determining bronzes have been entirely in the form of correspondence with his counterparts or friends such as Wang Yi-jung ( 王懿榮 )<sup>(77)</sup>, Wu Ta-ch'eng<sup>(78)</sup>, Wu Yun ( 吳雲 )<sup>(79)</sup> and Pao K'ang<sup>(80)</sup> etc, which have later been collected into his Ch'ih tu and Ch'en fu chai pi chi fu shou cha ( 陳簠齋筆記附手札 ). Of these letters the one to Wang Yi-jung is of

utmost importance, for it is representative of the main outline of his theories on the subject of the determination of bronzes. In evaluating Ch'en's contribution to this subject Shang remarks that "His study of ancient bronzes is so exhaustive that not only has he inquired into the profound meaning of the genuine characters but has also dealt thoroughly with the forged ones. His work may be regarded as solid research and not dilettantism."

(81) Shang's remark has obviously been made in the shadow of an extraordinary admiration of Ch'en. Jung Keng is of the opinion that "Ch'en, being too severe in his judgment of bronzes, errs on the side of over-suspicion."<sup>(82)</sup> It would be more true to say that Jung Keng has erred on the side of over-trustingness with regard to existing bronzes. Compared with these, Hsü Chung-shu has made a more <sup>a</sup> reasonable and precise comment. He opines that Ch'en's experiences in the determination of bronzes are useful and applicable, yet they have a strong touch of dilettantism<sup>(83)</sup>. We shall now examine Ch'en's criteria in detail:

- (I) "Bronzes that bear inscriptions reading 'made this precious and honourable vessel' (作寶尊彝), 'send you [ this present of ] a vessel' ( or ' [ made this vessel on the occasion of ] marrying a daughter' (鬻 [ = 歸女彝 ) are in my opinion merely articles [ made for ] sale in the market."<sup>(84)</sup>

Ch'en's somewhat obscure statement may be clarified by Pao K'ang's commentary. He says, "Fu Chai said that ancient vessels that

bear only a few characters reading 'made this precious and honourable vessel' without recording the makers' names are vessels [ made for ] sale in the market. His statement is correct, since bells and tripods were made for the purposes of recording one's merits and showing them to one's descendants, and they were appropriately inscribed with detailed dates and messages to admonish coming generations. On the other hand, for articles in daily use, or ornaments, there is no reason for incising such inscriptions as 'In the King's X-year' ( 惟王幾年 ), 'May sons and grandsons forever use it' ( 子孫永用 ) etc. Could there be any doubt that vessels so inscribed are fraudulently made by unscrupulous artisans?" (85) Since recording meritorious services for commemorative purposes was one of the reasons for manufacturing inscribed vessels in ancient times, not only is the date, as Pao has claimed, essential to the bronzes, but more important is the name of the maker or owner of the vessel. This statement may be documented by the prevailing practice of inscribing only names or emblematic characters on Shang and Certain Chou bronzes. The absence of maker's or owner's name in an inscription is unthinkable. In the find made at P'ututs'un ( 普渡村 ), Foumemchen ( 斗門鎮 ) in Ch'angan County in 1954 (86), some 27 bronze vessels were excavated. Among these vessels is a ting-tripod bearing an inscription which reads "made this precious ting-tripod" ( 作寶 鼎 ). The maker's name seems to be missing. However, inspection of the area above the three characters has been made by Barnard,



which shows that one or more further characters are likely to be present. He says, "Jung Keng [ sic! ] (87) has already opined that the majority of incomplete inscriptions of this kind are fakes---referring in particular to bronzes in the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues.....It is my opinion that the present inscription will be unlikely to invalidate Jung's [ sic! ] criterion, and that the rubbing is indeed incompletely made." (88) W. Watson has included two unattested vessels( illustrated in his Pls. 37b and 39b ) bearing incomplete inscriptions of this kind in his Ancient Chinese Bronzes, though at the same time he found the inscription most perfunctorily abbreviated( see op.cit., p.75 ). Since even fully-attested materials have not challenged the validity of Ch'en's theory, we shall record it with the amendment made by Pao K'ang as one of our primary criteria:

"Incomplete inscriptions that read 'made this precious and honourable vessel'( 作寶尊彝 ), 'to send you [ this present of ] a vessel'( or ' [ made this vessel on the occasion of ] marrying a daughter'( 鬯女彝 ) without recording any name of the makers or of the owners of the vessel are forged."

Applying this criterion we hereby declare that the following inscriptional texts, as recorded in the below-named Catalogues or treatises, are faked; and that in cases where such inscriptions are cast, the vessels themselves are likewise faked (89):

A.1 ins.C.1 T'ao t'ieh yu( 饒 饒 卣 : " 卣 " ): Ku chien

( 17:9 ); Jung's "List" ( p.856 ), in which Jung has re-named it "Chou tso yu" and labelled it as faked.

A.2 ins.C.M.2 Tso yi ( 作彝 : " 卣彝 " ); T'ao chai ( 1:52 ); Hsiao chiao ( 7:8 ); San tai ( 6:10 ). According to T'ao chai and San tai, the inscription is in rilievo. Hence the vessel is certainly a fake, since rilievo inscription can only be achieved by casting.

A.3 ins.M.2 Tso yi yu ( 作彝卣 : " 卣彝 " ); Cheng sung ( 8:5-6 ).

A.4 ins.C.2 K'uei wen tsun ( 夔文尊 : " 卣尊 " ); Hsü chia ( 5:50 ); Jung's "List" ( p.864 ), in which Jung has re-named the vessel Chou tso yi chih and labelled it as faked.

A.5 ins.C.2 T'ao t'ieh yi ( 饔饗彝 : " 卣彝 " ); Hsü chia ( 7:24 ); Jung's "List" ( p.841 ), in which Jung has renamed the vessel Chou tso yi kuei and labelled it as faked.

A.6 ins.M.2 Tso tsun chieh ( 作尊爵 : " 卣尊 " ); Cheng hsü ( 3:8 ); San tai ( 15:39 ).

A.7 ins.M.2 Tso tsun chih ( 卣尊觶 : " 卣尊 " ); Cheng hsü ( 2:32 ); San tai ( 14:39 ).

A.8 ins.M.2 Tso pao yu ( 作寶卣 : " 卣寶 " ); Chou ts'un ( 5:113 ); Ku chien ( 17:4 ); Hsiao chiao ( 4:13 );

Jung's "List" ( p.853 ), in which Jung has renamed the vessel Chou tso pao taun yi yu and erroneously labelled

it as "genuine".

- A.9 ins.S.2 Pao ting(寶鼎 : "卞寶") : Li tai( 1:10 or 1:22 )(90).
- A.10 ins.M.2 Tso lü shih(作旅解 : "亡旅") : Cheng yü( 2:20 ); Chui yi chai( 24:19 ); San tai( 14:39 ).
- A.11 ins.C.2 Fu yü(父育 : "卞父") : Hsü chia( 8:11 ); Jung's "List"( p.856 ), in which Jung has renamed it Shang tso fu yü and labelled it as faked.
- A.12 ins.M.2 Pao yi(寶彝 : "寶彝") : Hsü yi( 7:6 ); Jung's "List"( p.841 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou pao yi kuei and labelled it as faked.
- A.13 ins.M.2 Pao ting(寶鼎 : "寶鼎") : Chien ku( 1:34 ); Jung's "List"( p.827 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou pao tsun fang ting and labelled it as faked.
- A.14 ins.C.2 T'ao t'ieh ting(饒饒鼎 : "饒彝") : Ku chien( 5:3 ); Jung's "List"( p.827 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou tsun yi ting and labelled it as faked;
- A.15 ins.M.3 Tso pao yi li(作寶彝兩 : "卞寶彝") : Ch'eng ch'iu kuan( p.10 ); San tai( 5:14 ).
- A.16 ins.M.3 Tso pao yi chüeh(作寶彝角 : "卞寶彝") : Chou ts'un( 5:120 ); Hsiao chiao( 6:31 ).
- A.17 ins.M.3 Tso pao yi ku(作寶彝觚 : "卞寶彝") : Chou ts'un( 5:117 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:60 ).
- A.18 ins.C.M.3 Pao tsun(寶尊 : "卞寶彝") : Ku chien

( 10:13 ); Chien ku( 4:6-8 ); Chün ku( 1/2:30 ); Ching wu( 1:44 ); K'o chai( 13:7 ); Chou ts'un( 5:23 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:12, 4 vls. ); Jung's "List"( p.871 ), in which Jung has renamed the two vessels that bear the same inscription Chou tao pao yi tsun and labelled them as faked; San tai( 11:13, 2 vls. ).

A.19 ins.C.M.3( v. & l. ) Pao yi yu(寶彝白 : "卞寶彝") : Ku chien( 17:5 ); Chün ku( 1/2:35, 2 vls. ); Heng hsüan( p.67 ); Chai yi chai( 11:15, 18 ); Cheng sung( 8:14 ); San tai( 12:58 ); Jung's "List"( p.855 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou tao pao yi yu and labelled it as suspected.

A.20 ins.M.3 Pao tui(寶敦 : "卞寶彝") : K'o chai( 7:11, 3 vls. ); Cheng hsü( 1:32 ); Chou ts'un( 3:99 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:60-61 ).

A.21 ins.S.C.M.3 Hu shou yi(虎首彝 : "卞寶彝") : Li tai( 2:8 or 2:33 ); Po ku t'u( 8:14, 22-24 ); K'ao ku t'lu( 4:20 ); Hsiao t'ang( pp.27, 29, 94 ); Ku chien( 14:4-7 ); Hsü chia( 7:3-4 ); Chün ku( 1/2:6 ); Yün ch'ing kuan( 5:23 ); Ch'i ku shih( 5:16 ); Chi chih( 3:37 ); Hsü yi( 7:1-2, 4-5 ); Cheng sung( 4:33 ); Ching wu( 3:35 ); Chou ts'un( 3:117 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:17-18 ); Cheng t'u( 1:30 ); San tai( 6:19, 6 vls. ); Jung's "List"( pp.835-842 ). There exist in the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues eight vessels bearing this inscription

and bearing the same name Chou pao yi all of which Jung Keng has renamed Chou tso pao yi kuei (The majority of them have been labelled as faked by Jung. But surprisingly he marks the one in the Ku chien ( 14:7 ) and the 4th one in the Hsü chia ( 7:4 ) as "suspected". More surprising is that he has mistakenly labelled the 3rd one in the Hsü chia ( 7:3; also in the Chou ts'un: 3:117 ) as "genuine". Has he perhaps been deceived by the fine quality of the vessel? For whatever reason, he has failed to apply his criterion correctly.

- A.22 ins.C.M.3 Pao hsien (寶虛瓦 : "乍寶彝" ): Hsü chia ( 13:27 ); Chien ku ( 12:14 ); Ts'ung ku ( 9:6 ); Ching wu ( 3:26 ); Chou ts'un ( 2:91 ); Hsiao chiao ( 3:88 ); San tai ( 5:3-4, 2 vis. ); Jung's "List" ( p.832 ), in which Jung has renamed the two vessels bearing the same inscription Chou tso pao yi hsien and labelled them as "suspected".
- A.23 ins.M.3 Tso pao tsun (作寶尊 : "乍寶尊" ): Chou ts'un ( 5:21 ); Hsiao chiao ( 5:13 ).
- A.24 ins.C.5 Pao yung yu (寶用卣 : "乍寶用" ): Chi ku chai ( 5:8 ).
- A.25 ins.C.3 Yün lei p'ing (雲雷瓶 : "乍寶用" ): Ku chien ( 18:2 ); Jung's "List" ( p.867 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou tso pao yung p'ing and labelled it as faked.

- A.26 ins.C.3 San tsu ho(三足盃 : "卞寶用" ): Ku chien ( 31:45 ); Jung's "List" ( p.851 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou tso pao yung ho and labelled it as faked.
- A.27 ins.C.3 Pao p'an(寶盤 : "卞寶盤" ): Chi ku chai ( 8:1 ).
- A.28 ins.C.M.3 Pao tai( or kuei )(寶敦 : "卞寶敦" ): Ku chien( 28:19 ); Chi ku chai( 6:1 ); Chün ku( 1/2:36 ); K'o chai( 12:22 ); Cheng sung( 5:2 ); Shan chai( li eh'1 7:53 ); Cheng hsü( 1:33 ); Chou ts'un( 3:99 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:60 ); San tai( 7:5, 6 vls. ); Jung's "List" ( p.835 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou tso pao kuei but has erroneously labelled it as "genuine".
- A.29 ins.C.M.3 Pao ting(寶鼎 : "卞寶鼎" ): Hsü chia ( 2:18 ); Heng hsüan( p.20 ); Cheng sung( 2:18 ); Cheng hsü( 1:17 ); Chou ts'un( Pu yi:2 ); Hsiao chiao( 2:23 ); Sung chai( t'u 3; shih 2 ); San tai( 2:34, 4 vls. ); Jung's "List" ( p.826 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou tso pao ting and labelled it as "suspected".
- A.30 ins.M.3 Tso tsun yi li( 作尊彝兩 : "卞尊彝" ): Ch'eng ch'iu kuan( p.9 ); San tai( 5:14 ).
- A.31 ins.M.3 Tso tsun yi kuei( 作尊彝段 : "卞尊彝" ): Cheng hsü( 1:33 ); San tai( 7:4-5, 3 vls. ).
- A.32 ins.C.M.3 Tsun yi(尊彝 : "卞尊彝" ): Chi ku chai ( 5:22 ); Chun ku( 1/2:6 ); Cheng pu( 1:20 ); San tai

- ( 6:19 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:17 ).
- A.33 ins.M.3 Tso tsun yi wan( 作尊彝盃 ; " 乍尊彝 " );  
Hsiao chiao( 9:103 ).
- A.34 ins.C.M.3 Tsun ting( 尊鼎 ; " 乍尊彝 " ); Chün ku  
( 1/2:3 ); Hsiao chiao( 2:23 ).
- A.35 ins.M.3 Lü yi( 旅彝 ; " 乍旅彝 " ); Shan chai( 11  
ch'i 7:21 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:18 ); San tai( 7:5 );
- A.36 ins.C.M.3 Lü tsun( 旅尊 ; " 乍旅彝 " ); Ku chien  
( 10:2-4 ); Hsü chia( 5:17 ); T'ao hsü( pu yi:5 );  
Chui yi chai( 13:16 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:12 ); San tai  
( 11:12 ); Jung's "List" ( p.370 ), in which Jung has  
renamed the two vessels that bear the same inscription  
Chou tso lu yi tsun and has labelled them as suspect-  
ed.
- A.37 ins.M.3( v. & l. ) Tso lü yi yü( 作旅彝卣 ; " 乍旅  
彝 " ); San tai( 12:59 ).
- A.38 ins.M.3 Tso lü yi( 作旅彝 ; " 乍旅彝 " ); San tai  
( 6:19 ).
- A.39 ins.M.3 Tso lü ting( 作旅鼎 ; " 乍旅鼎 " ); San  
tai( 2:33-34, 4 vls. ).
- A.40 ins.C.M.3 Lü ch'e tsun( 旅車尊 ; " 乍旅車 " );  
Chün ku( 1/2:30 ); Ch'ing ai t'ang( p.15 ); Chou ts'un  
( 5:21 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:5 ).
- A.41 ins.M.3( v. & l. ) Tso tsung yi yü( 作宗彝卣 ; " 乍  
宗彝 " ); San tai( 12:59 ).

- A.42 ins.C.M.3 P'ian yün chung( 盤雲鍾 : "永實用" ): Ku chien( 36:25 ); Cheng sung( 1:1 ); Fu ying tien( p.147 ); Hsiao chiao( 1:3 ); San tai( 1:1 ); Jung's "List"( p.873 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou yung pao yung chung and labelled it as faked.
- A.43 ins.C.3 P'ian k'uei yi( 蟠夔彝 : "永實用" ): Ku chien( 14:29 ); Jung's "List"( p.842 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou yung pao yung kuei and labelled it as faked.
- A.44 ins.C.3 P'iao t'ieh yi( 簠簠彝 : "永實用" ): Ku chien( 14:12 ); Jung's "List"( p.842 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou yung pao yung kuei and labelled it as faked.
- A.45 ins.M.3 Yung pao yung ting( 永保用鼎 : "永保用" ): Shan chai( li ch'i 1:32 ); Hsiao ehiao( 2:23 ).
- A.46 ins.C.3 Pao hu( 寶壺 : "寶壺彝" ): Hsü chia( 8:43 ); Jung's "List"( p.847 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou pao tsua yi hu and labelled it as suspected.
- A.47 ins.C.M.3 Fu nü ting( 婦女鼎 : "帝女彝" ): Chi ku chai( 1:7 ); Hsü yi( 1:49 ); Ch'i ku shih( 16:1-2 ); Chau yi chai( 3:9 ); Hsiao chiao( 2:10 ); San tai( 2: 31-32, 2 pls. ); Jung's "List"( p.826 ), in which Jung has labelled it as suspected.
- A.48 ins.C.M.3 Fu yu( 婦卣 : "帝女彝" ): Chün ku( 1/2: 33 ); Hsü chia( 8:14 ); Ch'i ku shih( 6:1-2 ); Hsü yi



( 8:13-14 ); Ts'ung ku ( 3:13 ); Shan chai ( li ch'i 3:15 ); Ching wu ( 3:66 ); Oh'ing yi ko ( p.19 ); Chui yi chai ( 11:14 ); Chou ts'un ( 5:112 ); Hsiao chiao ( 4:12-13 ); San tai ( 12:58, 2 vls. ); Jung's "List" ( p.855 ), in which Jung has renamed the three vessels bearing the same inscription Shang chou nü yu and labelled them suspected.

A.49 ins.C.M.3 Fu tsun ( 婦尊 : " 帝女彝 " ): Chien ku ( 3:34-35 ); Hsi yi ( 5:24 ); Jung's "List" ( p.870 ), in which Jung has renamed the two vessels bearing the same inscription Chou cheu nü tsun and labelled them as suspected.

A.50 ins.C.M.3 Fu hsien ( 婦簋 : " 帝女彝 " ): Hsi chia ( 13:30 ); Hsi yi ( 13:19 ); Jung's "List" ( p.832 ), in which Jung has renamed the two vessels bearing the same inscription Shang chou nü hsien and labelled them as suspected.

A.51 ins.C.3 Fu nü yi ( 婦女匜 : " 帝女彝 " ): Chün ku ( 1/2:39 ).

A.52 ins.M.3 Fu nü tou ( 婦女豆 : " 帝女匚 " ): Chui yi chai ( 25:2 ).

A.53 ins.C.M.3 Fu nü li ( 婦女鬲 : " 帝女彝 " ): Chi ku chai ( 2:20 ); Chün ku ( 1/2:37 ); Yün ch'ing kuan ( 4:37 ); Hsiao chiao ( 3:52 ).

A.54 ins.C.M.3 Fu nü ku ( 婦女觚 : " 帝女彝 " ); Chün

ku( 1/2:43 ); Chui yi chai( 16:30 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:52-53 ); San tai( 14:27 ).

A.55 ins.C.3 Tzu ting(子鼎: "子乍文"): Hsü chia( 2:11); Jung's "List"( p.828 ), in which Jung has renamed it Shang tzu tao fu ting and labelled it as faked.

A.56 ins.C.4 Tso tsu hu(作祖壺: "乍且樽彝"): Chi ku chai( 2:2 ); Chün ku( 1/2:82 ).

A.57 ins.S.C.M.4 Pao tsun(寶尊: "乍寶樽彝"): Li tai( 2:3 or 2:29. Hsieh comments that the inscription reading "made this precious and honourable yi-vessel" corresponds to those of the two Shang precious yu-pails ---i.e. the two Pao yu 寶卣 recorded in 3:41 of this Catalogue which will be dealt with in our List A.58 below---with difference only in execution. The vessel is lost and the inscriptional text has been obtained from an existing hand-copy. ); Ku chien( 10:14 ); Hsü chia( 5:25 ); T'ao chai( 1:44 ); Cheng sung( 7:10; in which the vessel is known as Tao pao tsun yi tsun and the vessel is said to be in the collection of Sumitomo.); Senoku( Pao tsun ); Cheng pu( 1:32 ); Hai wai( t'u 76; shih 12 ); Chou ts'un( 5:22 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:16 ); San tai( 11:17, 4 vis. ); Jung's "List"( p.864 ), in which Jung has renamed the two vessels bearing the same inscription Chou tao pao tsun yi chih and labelled them as suspected; Shina( Nihon ), in which there

is a chih-goblet called K'uei feng wen yu kai chih (夔鳳紋有蓋斛) bearing this inscription. The vessel is said to belong to the former collection of S. Yokota, Kyōto (京都横田正治郎氏舊藏). I wonder whether it is the one formerly in Sumitomo's collection?

A.58 ins.S.C.M.4 ( v. & l. ) Pao yu (寶卣: "卣寶尊彝"); Li tai ( 3:6 or 3:41 ); Hsiao t'ang ( p.33 ); Pe ku t'u ( 9:26-28 ); Ku chien ( 17:1 ); Chün ku ( 1/2:75-6 ); K'o chai ( 18:21 ); Ch'i ku shih ( 6:5 ); Cheng sung ( 8:17-18; the three vessels bearing the same inscription of which one has also a lid-text, have gone into the collection of Sumitomo of Japan. ); Senoku ( Pao yu ); Hai wai ( t'u 50-51; shih 8; the two vessels are in the collection of Sumitomo, and one of them has also a lid-text. ); Chui yi chai ( 11:15-17 ); Chou ts'un ( 5:108 ); Hsiao chiao ( 4:33-4 ); San tai ( 13:8-9, 7 vls. ); Jung's "List" ( p.856 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou tse pao tsun yi yu and labelled it as faked.

A.59 ins.C.4 Hsi shou lei (犧首罍: "卣寶尊彝"); Ku chien ( 12:7 ); Jung's "List" ( p.849 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou tse pao tsun yi lei and labelled it as faked.

A.60 ins.C.4 Ch'an wen p'ing (蟬紋瓶: "卣寶尊彝"); Ku chien ( 18:3 ); Jung's "List" ( p.867 ), in which

Jung has renamed it Chou tso pao tsun yi p'ing and labelled it as faked.

- A.61 ins.S.4 Chuan tai yi (篆帶彝 : "卡寶博彝") : Li tai ( 12:3 or 12:125 or 12:111 )<sup>(91)</sup>; K'ao ku t'u ( 4:21 ).
- A.62 ins.S.C.M.4 Pao tsun yi (寶尊彝 : "卡寶博彝") : Hsü k'ao ( 4:16 ); Hsü chia ( 7:2 ); Chi ku chai ( 1:26 ); Chün ku ( 1/2:54 ); Ch'i ku shih ( 5:17 ); Hsü yi ( 7:3 ); Cheng sung ( 4:37 ); Ching wu ( 3:37 ); Hsiao chiao ( 7:23 ); San tai ( 6:26, 3 vls. ); Jung's "List" ( pp.836, 842 ), in which Jung has renamed the two vessels bearing this inscription Chou tso pao tsun yi kuei but has erroneously labelled ( p.836 ) the one in the Hsü chia ( 7:2 ) as "genuine" despite the fact that he has at the same time labelled the other one faked. This indicates that he has not only contradicted himself, but has also been inconsistent in applying his criterion.
- A.63 ins.C.4 F'ao t'ieh ting (饗養鼎 : "卡寶博彝") : Ku chien ( 5:4 , 6:29 ); Jung's "List" ( pp.826, 828 ), in which Jung has renamed the one in the Ku chien ( 6:29 ) Chou tso pao tsun yi ting and labelled it as suspected ( op.cit., p.826 ); whereas he has renamed the other one bearing the same inscription in the Ku chien ( 5:4 ) Chou tso pao tsun yi fang ting and labelled it as faked.

- A.64 ins.C.4( v. & l. ) (92) K'uei feng yu(夔鳳卣 : 蓋  
 銘 : "寶彝" ; 蓋銘 : "卣寶尊彝" ) : Ku chien( 17:  
 3 ) ; Chün ku( 1/2:76 ) ; San tai( 13:8-9, 7 vls. ) ;  
 Jung's "List"( p.853 ), in which Jung has renamed the  
 two vessels bearing the same inscription Chou tso pao  
tsun yi yu but has mistakenly labelled them as "gen-  
 uine".
- A.65 ins.C.4( v. plus l. ) T'ao t'ieh yu(饒饒卣 : 蓋  
 銘 : "卣寶" ; 蓋銘 : "尊彝" ) : Ku chien( 17:8 ) ;  
 Jung's "List"( p.853 ), in which Jung has renamed it  
Chou tso pao tsun yi yu but has erroneously labelled  
 it as "genuine".
- A.66 ins.C.4 Hsi shou lei(犧首罍 : "萬年無疆" ) ;  
Ku chien( 12:8 ) ; Jung's "List"( p.849 ), in which  
 Jung has renamed it Chou wan nien wa Chiang lei and  
 labelled it as faked.
- A.67 ins.C.4 Tzu sun yi(子孫彝 : "子孫寶彝" ) : Hsü  
chia( 7:11 ) ; Jung's "List"( p.841 ), in which Jung  
 has renamed it Shang tzu sun pao yi kuei and labelled  
 it as faked.
- A.68 ins.C.M.4 Yung yi(用彝 : "用卣寶彝" ) : Yi lin  
 ( Yung yi ) ; Hsiao chia( 7:22 ) ; San tai( 6:23 ).
- A.69 ins.C.4 Pao li(寶鬲 : "其永寶用" ) : Hsü chia  
 ( 14:6 ) ; Jung's "List"( p.831 ), in which Jung has re-  
 named it Chou ch'i yung pao yung li and labelled it as

- faked.
- A.70 ins.M.5 Tzu sun tsun(子孫尊 : "子子孫卞寶" );  
Chien ku( 3:36-37 ); Jung's "List"( p.871 ), in which  
 Jung has labelled the two vessels that bear this ins-  
 cription as faked.
- A.71 ins.M.6 Tzu ting(子鼎 : "子子子孫寶用 " ): Hsü yi  
 ( 1:39 ); Jung's "List"( p.829 ), in which Jung has  
 labelled it as faked.
- A.72 ins.C.6 Su hu(素壺 : "子子孫孫寶用" ); Ku chien( 19  
 :18 ); Jung's "List"( p.848 ), in which Jung has re-  
 named it Chou tzu sun hu and labelled it as faked.
- A.73 ins.C.6 Lei wen fu(雷紋簋 : "子孫孫永寶用 " );  
Ku chien( 29:17 ); Jung's "List"( p.834 ), in which  
 Jung has renamed it Chou tzu sun fu and labelled it  
 as faked.
- A.74 ins.C.7 Tzu li(子鬲 : "卞寶彝子其永寶 " ); Chi  
ku chai( 7:25 ); Chün ku( 2/1:13 ); Ch'i ku shih( 18:  
 20 ); San tai( 5:18 ).
- A.75 ins.C.M.7 Tzu sun ting(子孫鼎 : "子子孫孫永寶  
 用 " ); Ku chien(4:20, 5:5 ); Hsü yi( 1:40 ); Jung's  
 "List"( p.829 ). There are three ting-tripods bearing  
 this inscription in the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues.  
 The two that appear in the Ku chien( 4:20, 5:5 ) have  
 been renamed by Jung Keng Chou tzu sun fang ting and  
 the one appearing in the Hsü yi( 1:40 ) Chou tzu sun

ting ; they have all been labelled <sup>as</sup> faked in Jung's "List".

A.76 ins.C.7 Chou hsien(周虛瓦: "乍寶彝子貝永寶 " );

Yün ch'ing kuan( 4:39 ).

A.77 ins.M.7 Shih kuei(史簋: "史乍父寶博彝子 " );

Hsü yi( 6:40 ); Jung's "List"( p.842 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou chung kuei and labelled it as faked.

A.78 ins.M.7 Pao hu(寶壺: "子子孫孫乍寶用 " );

Hsü yi( 8:35-36 ); Jung's "List"( p.848 ), in which

Jung has renamed it Chou tzu sun hu and labelled it as faked.

A.79 ins.M.7 Tzu sun p'u(子孫鋪: "子子孫孫乍寶用 " );

Hsü yi( 13:10 ); Jung's "List"( p.844 ), in which Jung

has renamed it Chou tzu sun tou and labelled it as faked.

A.80 ins.M.7 Pao hsien(寶簋瓦: "子子孫孫乍寶用 " );

Hsü yi( 13:16 ); Jung's "List"( p.833 ), in which Jung

has renamed it Chou tzu sun hsien and labelled it as faked.

A.81 ins.M.10 Tso pao ting(乍寶鼎: "乍寶子子孫孫

永寶用 " ); Cheng sung( 2:42 ); Hsiao chiao( 2:53 )

; San tai( 3:18 ).

A.82 ins.M.10 Tso pao kuei(乍寶毀: "乍寶毀貝子孫

萬年永寶 " ); Cheng sung( 5:14 ).

A.83 ins.M.11 Tso pao tsun kuei(乍寶博毀: "乍寶博毀

孫子子其萬年用 " ) : San tai ( 7:24 ).

The preceding 83 inscriptional texts recorded in the existing Catalogues run counter to our criterion established by Ch'en Chieh-ch'1 and are therefore forged. As to the status of the vessel bodies we are not in a position to judge as a personal examination is impossible. Nevertheless, as has been stated above, whenever an inscription in our list happens to be cast, the vessel bearing the inscription is likewise a fake. We shall now continue to scrutinize Ch'en's criteria:

(II) "It is possible to distinguish cast inscriptions from those that are incised. Usually the grooves of well-cast characters are narrower on the top but wider at the bottom." (93)

The identification of the ways in which inscriptions are made is of great importance. It is strictly relevant to the status of a bronze. For instance, a cast inscription on a false vessel may constitute an important proof of its forgery. Ch'en's observation in this respect deserves attention. But it should be remembered that there are always exceptions which demand further supplementary evidences as well as other considerations, in determining bronzes.

(III) "Forged inscriptions always carry tool marks, though these marks can be smoothed off by rubbing them with a brush made of fine copper wire. This process will also leave marks and the edges of the strokes will



be dull."( ibid. )

Ch'en's statement is an elaboration of Chao Hsi-ku's theory. It should be remembered that inscriptions containing vestiges of cuts may possibly be forged; whereas false inscriptions do not necessarily leave behind cut marks, since these depend on the skill, technique or attention of the artisan. A skilfully engraved inscription is unlikely to show any tool marks. On the other hand, the location of the cut marks also have to be taken into account( see the present Chapter above ).

(IV) "Since in forged vessels there is no inscription under the spots of patina, no inscription can be seen in such spots. With authentic inscriptions, there is a thin layer of dust accumulated in the character grooves, which can never be forged."( ibid. )

This criterion applies only to the case where a forged inscription has been engraved later on a genuine vessel, whereas in the case of forged inscriptions cast or incised in a forged vessel it is null and void, because artificial patination or corrosive effects may have been produced soon after the inscription was cast or engraved. Nevertheless, this criterion is worth considering, in particular for the identification of a newly-incised inscription on an old bronze. Hence, it would be better if we amend it as follows:

"Excavated vessels with inscriptions whose character grooves have no adhering dust or corrosion, or where the nature

of the patina in the inscribed area differs from that of the vessel body, may have been fraudulently engraved. Authentic inscriptions have a thin layer of dust accumulated inside the character grooves."

(V) "Whether an object is old or not may be judged by rubbing it with the hand. This is applicable both to bronzes and to jades, and in fact to all sorts of antiquities. The metal of forged articles is not properly fused."( ibid. )

Nothing could be more unscientific than such a statement. Ch'ên gives no indication of the respects in which he believes the feel of ancient vessels differs from that of new ones, so we can neither accept nor reject his criterion.

In any case, since such a criterion would be completely subjective, it would seem to offer a less promising line of further inquiry than physical features on which general agreement can be reached or which can be measured.

(VI) "The ancient characters are strong while the modern ones are weak. Every stroke of the characters of ancient writings is perfect---an entity that can stand by itself. How can this be accomplished by men of the present time? One who can not realize the truth of this has proved himself not to be pursuing the right line of study."( ibid. )

This is a criterion that can only be tested in the following

way:

(a) By testing first the fully-attested inscriptions to determine whether they are in fact of a high artistic standard;

(b) By comparing with these the best of the known later imitations to determine whether any of them is of equal standard to the genuine ancient inscriptions.

This is a task which remains to be done by a qualified art-critic. It does indeed seem to offer a more promising line of enquiry than the preceding criterion. If I may venture a subjective personal impression, it is that the best of the modern forgeries are up to the standard of ancient inscriptions, though of course a future full-scale survey by an expert might disprove this.

(VII) "It is essential that every lover of antiquities should make the study of inscriptions his chief priority. Since even illiterate dealers can readily distinguish the genuine vessels from forged ones by constant handling of objects that have been excavated, why is it impossible for the scholars to do so? The reason why one can tell whether or not an object is genuine by examining a rubbing of its inscription is because of one's knowledge of the script."( ibid.)

Ch'en has rightly emphasized the importance of inscriptions, particularly with a view to determining the authenticity of bronzes. This point needs emphasizing even today, when so many scholars still lean heavily on stylistic criteria, whereas if

they included more inscriptional criteria in their judgments they would be using a broader and more reliable foundation. As we have said above, in cases where the inscription alone provides evidence of forgery, and where the inscription is cast, there is no need for further discussion, using other criteria, about the status of the vessel.

(VIII) "Script varies with period, which may be observed by comparison. There are fine hands as well as very indifferent ones, which vary between successive Kings' reigns and equally between different sovereign states. Their texts have been composed in fixed phraseology. It is easy to grasp these features through frequent observation and comparison."( ibid. )

In other words, each period has its characteristic form of script and phraseology. This sounds reasonable, but unfortunately, <sup>insufficient</sup> fully-attested material exists for it to be tested yet. This criterion has often been used by later writers, but unfortunately on un-attested materials( except in the case of oracle bones ). The attested materials cover a very limited period of time, which makes the prospect of success with this criterion less promising.

(IX) "How can an inscription be considered genuine if the individual characters are not properly written, the construction of sentences is illogical, the calligraphic execution is inferior and the phraseology is faulty?"( ibid. )

This statement carries great weight in the detection of forged inscriptions, especially of inferior ones. It is, however, inapplicable to comparatively fine specimens. Already in Chapter 3 above we have in several cases employed this criterion to test a number of fraudulently engraved inscriptions. It has proved effective and <sup>we</sup> shall record it here in a revised version as one of our primary criteria:

"Inscriptions whose characters are wrongly formed and whose phraseology is faulty are forged."

(X) "Every line of writing as well as every single character on the ancient vessels has its own individual spirit (氣) which can never be forged." (94)

"Ancient writing is full of strength and vitality. It is permeated with a genuine inspiration (真精) that reaches to the tip of every stroke, which is the secret of good calligraphy. Hence the study of inscriptions should be pursued along this line." (95)

This criterion again, like No. (VI) above, is one that needs systematic application to known forgeries and known genuine vessels. But again, this would have to be done by qualified art-critics.

(XI) "The Pi chi li (畢姬鬲) is unlikely to be authentic. However, I dare not say for certain before I see the vessel personally. If the li-cauldron is faked then the inscription is also certainly a fake." (96)

Five Pi chi li-cauldrons (97) have been incorporated in the Hsiao

chia Catalogue bearing largely the same inscription. The 3rd, 4th and 5th inscriptions are completely alike and read,

"Po K-Fu made the [ Lady ] Pi Chi this honourable li-cauldron. For ten thousand years may her sons and grandsons forever treasure and use it for offering sacrifices." (白<sup>白</sup> [ = 嬰 ] 父<sup>父</sup> 卞<sup>卞</sup> 畢<sup>畢</sup> 姬<sup>姬</sup> 博<sup>博</sup> 高<sup>高</sup> , 其<sup>其</sup> 萬<sup>萬</sup> 年<sup>年</sup> 子<sup>子</sup> 子<sup>子</sup> 孫<sup>孫</sup> 孫<sup>孫</sup> 永<sup>永</sup> 寶<sup>寶</sup> 用<sup>用</sup> 享<sup>享</sup> . )

No flaw can be detected in the contents of this inscription text. However, a careful scrutiny of the other two inscriptions---i.e. the 1st in the San tai ( 5:41 ) and the 1st and 2nd in the Hsiao chia ( 3:80-2 ) Catalogues---reveals that the indispensable verb "made" ( 卞 ) and the phrase "honourable li-cauldron" ( 博高 ) are lacking in the 1st and 2nd vessels respectively. Such inscriptions, which make no sense whatsoever because of the omission of certain essential words, cannot be regarded as genuine. And the calligraphy of these two inscriptions is so indifferent as to answer well to Ch'en's criterion ( IX ) above. Unfortunately they did not come to Ch'en's notice. It is probable that the one of whose authenticity Ch'en did not feel certain should be among those three ( i.e. from 3rd to 5th in the Hsiao chia ) or five ( i.e. from 2nd to 6th in the San tai ) cauldrons recorded in the above-mentioned Catalogues. However, Ch'en was cautious in making the remark that he would not say for sure before he had examined the vessel personally. Another rational statement made by Ch'en is that "if the vessel is faked then the inscription on it is also certainly a fake." This is extremely important for the deter-

mination of ancient bronzes and we shall record it here in a revised version as one of our primary criteria:

"Inscriptions appearing on forged vessels are also forged."

(XII) "The quality both of the vessels themselves and of the ornamentation and inscriptions on them differ chronologically within the whole Three Dynasties period. The differences become clearer the more observations and comparisons one makes."<sup>(98)</sup>

While one expects a fairly rapid development in, for instance, weapons and tools, stimulated by new technological discoveries, in the case of ritual vessels other factors are operating (conservatism and perhaps respect for ancestral tastes) which would tend to have a retarding effect. However, some development, however slight, is to be expected over a long period, which means that this is not an unpromising avenue of research. The same remarks apply <sup>as</sup> to No. (VIII) above.

Apart from studying the forgery of bronzes in general, Ch'en occasionally deals with individual vessels, such as the Pi chi li just mentioned above, in particular. In some cases Jung Keng comments that he has erred on the side of over-suspicion<sup>(99)</sup>. This criticism by Jung was probably evoked by the fact that Ch'en had harshly judged a certain number of bronzes. For instance, in the Ch'ih tu (1:14) Ch'en gives his verdict on what he calls the Chung to hu (仲多壺)<sup>(100)</sup>; "The upward strokes of the character '多' is far too long for it to look like an archaic

graph. Also the character seems to be rather weak." While these are reasonable criticisms, at least in the case of the first one, they are hardly grave enough to condemn the inscription outright.

To sum up, so far as the judgment of bronzes is concerned, Ch'en has made a considerable contribution to the field, though not all his theories may be adopted as they stand. His main importance to the historian of bronze studies is that he was the first to suggest a whole series of new approaches to the problem of the determination of the status of bronzes.

#### 4.6. The Contemporary Judges.

(11)-(12) Wang Kue-wei ( 王國維 ) ( 1877-1927 ) and Lo Fu-yi ( 羅福頤 ).

Wang studied bone and bronze inscriptions and antiquities in general under Lo Chen-yü, the father of Lo Fu-yi. His Kuo ch'ao chin wen ehü lu piao was compiled under Lo Chen-yü's supervision and published in 1914. It contains some 4295 inscribed vessels, including the 1176 bronzes in the Four Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues. Both genuine and faked, together with suspected specimens, are blended into this list, as stated in the "Preface": "Albums published by numerous collectors always comprise both genuine and false materials. It was not until after the reigns of T'ung-chih and Kuang-hsü ( 1862-1908 ) that the art of determination began to progress. Take the T'ao chai Catalogue for instance, in which nine out of ten weapons are faked; another



example is the Ch'i ku shih Catalogue which has treated the rubbings of inscriptions reproduced by modern compilers from Juan's ( 阮 ) and Wu's ( 吳 ) treatises ( i.e. the Chi ku chai and the Chün ku Catalogues respectively ) as being of quite different inscriptions and all these duplicate inscriptions have been included in it. This List marks all such duplicate reproductions under the heads concerned and the forged and suspected vessels are appended separately at the end of the appropriated categories to avoid confusion." ( op.cit., p.1. ) In spite of Wang's statement that "the art of determination began to progress" he has managed to extract only some 5% of the total number of bronzes as being forged or suspected. This is far too small a proportion in view of the fact that 44% of the bronzes included in the Four Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues have been declared either forged or suspected by Jung, Keng. Although Jung based his "List" largely on Wang's "List" in classifying the bronzes in the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues, he makes this criticism of Wang's List, "Mr. Wang Kuo-wei's Chin wen chu lu piao, having for more than ten years been revised and improved by Mr. Lo Chen-yü, can be said to be most refined and exhaustive. Yet it regards the genuine Ta chia hu ( 大賈壺 ) as faked, and mistakenly treats the following suspected or forged vessels as authentic: X-kung ch'u t'ung hu ( 汧公廚銅壺 ), Chien chao yüan nien yen tsu teng ( 建昭元年雁足鐘 ), Huang shan teng ( 黃山鐘 ), T'ai tang kung teng ( 台蕩宮鐘 ) and Yüan k'ang teng ( 元康鐘 ). There are

also bronzes which have first been classed <sup>as</sup> genuine but later as suspect, e.g. the Sui ho hu ( 绥和壺 ), because on some border-line vessels it is not easy to make a firm pronouncement." (101) Jung has admitted that regarding the authenticity of the Ohien chao kung ting ( 建昭定鼎 ) he altered his opinion three times ( ibid. ) Now, Wang's List was later in 1933 elaborated and revised by Lo Fu-yi under the new title of San tai ch'in han chin wen chu lu piec ( 三代秦漢金文著錄表 ). It is a very comprehensive and exhaustive list of bronze inscriptions that consists of seventeen official or public collections and some 187 private collections from such countries as China, Japan, America, Canada, France, Sweden and so forth. On the basis of Wang's List Lo adds an extra one-fourth of new materials, giving a total of some 5780 vessels. Yet it is regrettable to note that Lo has at the most singled out a total of 357, that is 6%, allegedly suspected or forged vessels in their lengthy joint List. What principles or criteria lie behind this revised List we do not know, but we have every reason to believe that it was made according to subjective personal opinion. It may be regarded as an excellent corpus of inscriptional texts from many collections, yet, contrary to Jung Keng's favourable claim on its behalf, it has on the whole contributed very little to the study of forgery.

(13) H. Maspero ( 1883-1945 ).

In his review of Takata Tadasuke's ( 高田忠周 ) Ko chū hen ( 古籀篇 ) appearing in the Journal Asiatique, Vol. 210, 1927,

pp.129-142. Maspero challenges the reliability of the materials included in Takata's admirable dictionary of archaic script. He discusses the authenticity of archaic bronzes in general and the genuineness of the inscription on the Kuo chi tzu po p'an ( 虢季子白盤 ) in particular. His judgments are so severe and "crushing" that Karlgren could not help "retaliating" by examining his chief arguments at the beginning of his "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes". Since Karlgren's counter-attack is also severe, it may be worthwhile reviewing both sides of the dispute here:

(I) Maspero was the first to have the suspicion that "when several vessels carry the same inscription, it is possible that at least one among them may be a fake, a copy or an imitation of the one which carries the genuine inscription." (102) This is certainly true in the case of the existing unattested bronze texts. A very good example is that of the two forged inscriptions —the Pi chi li—among several similar unattested inscriptions recorded in the Hsiao chiao and San tai Catalogues which we have just declared forged above. As we shall <sup>see</sup> later, in some instances the reverse is the case. That is to say among several vessels that bear the same inscription only one or none at all may be authentic. The latter phenomenon occurs under various circumstances: the forgers copy an unattested text from the Sung or Ch'ing Catalogues and incise it on several vessels; or else it may happen that forgers working independently have procured inscripational materials from the very same models in the Sung

Catalogues where the original vessels have been lost<sup>(103)</sup>. One problem which puzzles us very much indeed is that when genuine texts on attested vessels have later been copied and added to genuine textless bronzes by recent antique dealers for obvious purposes, how shall we class this category of "inscribed bronzes"? For as far as the vessel bodies and the textual contents are concerned, they are undeniably authentic, though the incision is a later operation. This state of affairs must have occurred widely in the profusion of private catalogues.

Another point which aroused Maspero's suspicion is the fact that there have been numerous finds in which the same inscription occurs on several or even a whole series of vessels. And his judgment of this sort of situation is that "the ancient Chinese would not seem to have willingly wasted the metal" for the casting of "this profusion of identical vessels." (ibid.) Now, the crucial point consists entirely in the circumstances of the find. Had the finds to which he refers been scientifically controlled ones, then Maspero was erroneous in forming such a belief, for recent scientific excavations show that there have been finds of series of identical vessels carrying exactly the same inscription; and also finds of a variety of vessels carrying quite distinct inscriptions<sup>(104)</sup>. Nevertheless, we may reasonably suppose that Maspero is implicitly referring to vessels from accidental discoveries or the "loot" of professional grave-robbers, since scientific excavations did not commence in China

until the year following the publication of Maspero's review article in 1928<sup>(105)</sup>. On this point Maspero seems to be justified, and so is Karlgren's objection that there have frequently been finds in which the vessels have not had the same inscription and that there have also been finds which combine both phenomena—vessels with different inscriptions found together, and also series of vessels with the same inscription<sup>(106)</sup>. Here again the crucial point lies in the circumstances of the find. Unfortunately all the examples he gives are from unscientific discoveries, though in the case of the latter find made at Jents'un in Ch'i-shanhsien, Shensi, in 1890, which he adduces in support of his argument, was attended and "controlled" by a special emissary of the famous collector P'an Tsu-yin; yet for this again we have only a second-hand assertion recounted by Lo Chen-yü in his Cheng sung ( 3:35 )<sup>(107)</sup>. We must not forget that antique dealers could be ingenious in creating provenances for their merchandise. To sum up, this criterion of Maspero's is useful so long as it is amended as follows:

"Series of identical vessels of unreliable provenance which carry the same inscription should be regarded with suspicion."

(II) Another argument of Maspero's which is of vital importance is that whenever a bronze bears a date which accords with the traditional chronology, the San t'ung li of Liu Hsin of the Han Dynasty, we must suspect it of being a forgery of later ages,

the date being the result of a backward calculation. He adduces the text of the Kuo chi tzu pe p'ian and says, "Its date carries a decisive proof contrary to its authenticity; according to the calculation, indeed, the first day of the first month of the 12th year of King Hsuan falls on the day ting hai (丁亥 the 28th, Nov., 817 B.C., of Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's dating: 3rd Jan., the 12th year of King Hsuan, 816 B.C. )<sup>(108)</sup>, and this exact coincidence is unlikely: when examined, for instance, how many times in two centuries and a half the date of the Ch'un ch'iu are agreed with those given by P. Hoang according to the calculation? In my opinion, there is no doubt that the inscription is a fake."<sup>(109)</sup> But as to the inscription of the Sung ting ( ) he says, "It is clear that all are not necessarily false; if I have ever believed the authenticity of the inscription on the Wu chuan ting ( i.e. the Wu hui ting 無惠鼎 in our Figure 27 above ) I am inclined to accept the authenticity of the inscription of the tripod of Sung which makes no reference to any known historical statement and particularly to an incorrect date according to the mathematical calculation."<sup>( ibid. )</sup> Indeed, there is a great number of inscriptions so dated. Wu Ch'i-ch'ang gives the figure of 215 for the inscriptions with dates up to the year 1929 when he wrote his "Chin wen li shuo shu cheng" as against a total of 2753 inscribed bronzes. Among these 215 dated inscriptions at least 70 tally well with the "Chronology of Chou" reconstructed by Wu in the light of the San t'ung li<sup>(110)</sup>. By the aid of his

"Chronology", Wu has tried to determine the exact date of no less than 224 bronze inscriptions. Karlgren seizes upon this fact and objects, in the first place, that "if the Ch'un ch'iu of the State of Lu does not agree with the San t'ung li, that fact can prove nothing whatever as to the chronology of the Royal Chou Court---we are fully aware that a whole series of different chronological systems were in parallel use in Chou time, and to draw such far-reaching conclusions as Maspero does from a document of Lu is certainly not allowable.....in fact it is only a paradox as long as it has not been proved that the San t'ung li system did not exist in pre-Han times but is a pure construction of Liu Hsin."<sup>(111)</sup> In 1945 Karlgren abandoned the orthodox chronology for the Chu shu chi nien version( see later.) In the second place, Karlgren appears to be in favour of Wu Ch'i-ch'ang simply because Wu's attitude towards this question runs counter to Maspero's position---Wu maintains that the San t'ung li chronology existed and was that of the Royal Chou Court already in Western Chou time. In face of a date like the one in the Kuo chi tzu po p'an Wu endeavours to ascertain that in the first quarter of the first month, in the 12th year of King Hsuan's reign, there was a day ting hai according to the reconstructed San t'ung li system. And that was the 3rd day of the first month,<sup>(112)</sup> not "the 1st day of the first month" given by P. Hoang, as Maspero has said. Yet, on the other hand, Karlgren, tries to dissociate himself from Wu's theories for the reason

that Wu's detailed results of the calculation of Western Chou chronology is far too bold, for we can not even know whether there was only one, or two or more systems in use in Royal Chou during the long period 1122-771 B.C. Our sources for Western Chou dates are so few and meagre and of so late a period. But in the end he again alters his attitude, mainly for the sake of argument. He says, "It is quite possible that in this particular case the reign list may happen to be correct and the scribe in question may have been an adherent of the San t'ung li."<sup>(113)</sup>

The focus of this dispute is primarily the question of the dates of Western Chou. Maspero erred by trying to establish the principle that whenever a bronze has a date which accords with the San t'ung li system, we must suspect it of being a fake; or that, on the contrary, if a bronze has no reference to any known historical fact or to the date which accords with that of the San t'ung li system<sup>(114)</sup>, we may be inclined to accept the authenticity of its inscription. Neither Wu's reconstructed chronology of Western Chou nor his attribution of no less than 224 bronzes to an exact date in a specific King's reign is on the whole acceptable<sup>(115)</sup>. Nor is Karlgren's argument for the authenticity of the inscription on the Kuo chi tzu po p'an justifiable.

We shall now inquire into the dependability of the Western Chou chronology. It is nevertheless a very controversial problem. The orthodox chronology, also known as the San t'ung li, which



is a result of calculation by Han scholars, codified by Liu Hsin, first appeared in the Chapter "The Treatise on Measurement and Chronology" of The History of Former Han (前漢書:律曆志) and was later adopted by Chu Hsi, the Sung philosopher, in his T'ung chien kang mu (通鑑綱目). It gives the date for the Chou conquest of the Shang as 1122 B.C., whereas the "present version" of the Chu shu chi nien (今本竹書紀年) gives the date as 1051 B.C. However, this text is not at all reliable. Hence, Wang Kuo-wei made a collection of quotations from the "original" Chu shu chi nien (古本竹書紀年) and from these produced a reconstruction that gives the date 1027 B.C. for the Chou conquest (116). This chronology is later accepted and improved simultaneously by Ch'en Meng-chia (117) and Karlgren (118), and has lately been advocated with astronomical evidence by H.H. Dubs (119). On the other hand, the orthodox chronology has by no means been entirely dropped. Wu Ch'i-ch'ang, for instance, advocates it wholeheartedly, and Karlgren himself also adopted the San t'ung li system in all his studies prior to 1945. Furthermore, W. Van Hensden has continued to follow it (120). These two sets of dates, 1122 B.C. and 1027 B.C. which do not accord before the year 841 B.C.—the first year of the Regency of Kung He with which Ssu-ma Ch'ien begins to date the events recorded in the Shih chi—are 95 years apart. Although the "original" Chu shu chi nien's 1027 B.C. for the Chou conquest seems preferable, it contradicts many historical events recorded in the traditional classics, e.g. in

the Shu ching, particularly in the Chapter "Wu ch'eng" (書經: 武成), as pointed out by Chou Fa-kao (121). In short, the question of both chronologies remains unsolved. For this reason, many contemporary and modern scholars in both East and West, have striven to find a better one. However, none of these reconstructed chronologies is satisfactory or acceptable. For instance, Wang Kuo-wei develops the theory that the establishment of Chou was in the first year of Wen Wang's reign and that Chou's conquest of the Shang was in the 11th year of the Chou Empire or the 2nd year of King Wu's reign (122). There has arisen in the West a curious theory of the establishment of the Chou Empire, which was inspired by H. Maspero (123) and elaborated by W.P. Yetts (124). Basing himself on a calculation made by Maspero, Yetts tries to reach a conclusion about the end of the Yin by independent means. He reasons that from the year 841 B.C. Chinese chronology is safely established. There were ten kings anterior to that date. "Allowing an average of 15 years to each reign, we arrive at 991 B.C. for the establishment of the dynasty," ( ibid. ) Maspero and Yetts consider that not only the 281 years ( 1122-842 ) of the orthodox chronology, but even the 209 years ( 1050-842 ) of the pseudo-Chu shu chi nien chronology are far too long a period for ten kings, and they therefore operate with a maximum of 150 years ( 15 years per reign ). "It is", Karlgren comments "easy to demonstrate how utterly foolish this computation is." (125)

Recently, Tang Tso-pin, in his Yin li p'u (殷曆譜, pt B,

下, Ch. 3, pp. 21B-37B, has collected records of one solar and six lunar eclipses that he and others have found mentioned on recently excavated oracle bones. Through the dating of these eclipses he has reconstructed a detailed chronology of Shang and given the date 1111 B.C. for the Chou conquest. His theory has been firmly held ever since <sup>(126)</sup>, though it has later come under severe criticism by H.H. Dubs. "His dating for these eclipses," Dubs comments, "is, however, based upon <sup>a</sup> table calculated with great labour during the war, unfortunately by antiquated and not always reliable methods.... He is not an astronomer, but a palaeographer. Information concerning modern methods of astronomical calculation for ancient eclipses was not then available in China. .... So that Mr. Tung's dating is unacceptable. For when he did so, he did not have available an accurate canon of Shang lunar eclipses." (ibid.) Chou Ma-kae joins him in rejecting Tung's new chronology. He says, "But, although Mr. Tung's 1111 B.C. as the date of the Chou conquest fits well with the Shu ching documents, it fails to agree with the statements in the 'Bamboo Annals'." (127) After this he goes on to suggest another date, "in other words, neither Mr. Tung's 1311 B.C. nor Mr. Dubs's 1192 B.C. will fit the eclipse in question.... Thus, 1218 B.C. might have been the year of the eclipse in question, and 1018 B.C. the year of the Chou conquest." (ibid.) But later in an article <sup>(128)</sup> Chou radically alters his opinion and agrees with Dubs that Keng shen (庚申) eclipse of the oracle bones should be identified with

the Dec. 27-28 eclipse of 1192 B.C. Although he has not mentioned his previous 1018 B.C. given for the Chou conquest, we may reasonably assume that this must also have been changed.

Japanese scholars, headed by Dr. S. Sinjō (新城新藏), have constructed yet other chronologies. In his "Chou ch'u ehieh nien tai" (周初之年代), Dr. Sinjō, having disagreed with 1122 B.C. as the date of the Chou conquest given by the San t'ung li, gives 1066 B.C. instead. But this calculation was immediately disproved by Wu Ch'i-ch'ang (129). Furthermore, Dr. Sinjō himself has often changed his view on this matter (130). Recently, Yamada Subaru (山田統) in his article entitled "The Absolute Dates of the Early Chou" (周初的絕對年代) (131), claims to have arrived at an exact date for the commencement of the Chou Empire. He gives, among other dates, 1062 B.C. (i.e. the 12th year of King Wu's reign) for the Chou conquest, which is the result of a calculation based largely upon a sentence in the Shih chi. It reads, "Since Chou Kung died, five hundred years later there was Confucius." (史記:太史公自序: "自周公卒五百歲而有[或生]孔子"). This suggests that Chou Kung died in 1051 B.C. (500 + 551). With the support of this sentence he concludes that the death of the Duke of Chou took place in the 9th month of the 9th year of King Ch'eng's reign (i.e. 1051 B.C.), which makes it possible for an absolute date for the Early Chou to be fixed. Yamada's calculation seems plausible at first sight. However, upon examining the fundamental figure of "five hundred years"

(五百歲) on which Yamada's calculation is based, his argument looks less convincing, because the figure "five hundred years" may well have been given by Ssu-ma Ch'ien as a round number to the nearest hundred, in the same way as the "Three hundred songs" (詩三百) are actually 305 in number<sup>(132)</sup>. But one thing which is absolutely clear is that in the very same context, "five hundred years" is again given by Ssu-ma Ch'ien for a period which was certainly not exactly 500 years in length: Ssu-ma Ch'ien continues, "Since Confucius died down to now, it has been five hundred years" (孔子卒後至於今五百歲) (ibid.) This is indeed a very rough approximation: Confucius died in 479 B.C. and Ssu-ma Ch'ien finished his Shih chi (the above remark occurs in his last Chapter 太史公自序) in 91 B.C.<sup>(133)</sup>. The interval is just (479-91=) 388 years. If Ssu-ma Ch'ien's "five hundred years" is so crudely approximate in the latter case, it may be equally imprecise in the former<sup>(134)</sup>. Accordingly, Yamada's "absolute" dates are also unacceptable. But this is only one example of the numerous alternative chronologies that have been proposed<sup>(135)</sup>. There is no point in recording them all here. So much for what we know about the chronology of Western Chou from sources available so far. None of them can be accepted as the exact system that was in use at the Western Chou Court. This serves also to invalidate Maspero's principle regarding the dates in the inscriptions discussed above.

(III) Upon scrutinizing the authenticity of the Kuo chi tsu

pe p'ian, Maspero notes that the text has been composed almost entirely from lines in the Shih ching, with some expressions from the Shu ching, which he tabulates side by side. He concludes that "It is...probable that the inscription has been fabricated completely by plagiarizing the Shih ching and the Shu ching by a modern scholar." (136). Such a conclusion surprised Karlgren very much for the reason that "in ancient China the same theme, the same phraseology, the same rimed stanzas right in the middle of a prose text crop up everywhere, they are a commune bonum, woven by every author into his own fabric without the least hesitation or compunction. Many bronze inscriptions are entirely in verse and could equally well have been inserted into the Shih ching by Confucius as many other poems—there is no difference at all in principle. Many other inscriptions in prose, are extremely similar to Chapters in the Shu ching and the Yi chou shu—a particularly good instance is the famous Mao kung ting—and, here again, there is really no fundamental difference." (137) Karlgren is right to the extent of saying that the same theme, the same phraseology, the same rhymes occur in many ancient Chinese literary works just as one would expect, since works of a specific period by different authors share the same grammatical conventions or happen to use the very same prevailing idioms or customary expressions. It is very true in the case of the compilation of certain anthologies, historical treatises, biographies etc. For instance, the great historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien copies

a great many passages directly from the Shih pen (世本), Ch'un ch'iu, Kuo yü, Chan kuo ts'e (戰國策) and so on into his Shih chi; and so did Pan Ku from the Shih chi into his Han shu (138). But from the point of view of an individual keeping personal records, e.g. the writing of autobiography, the receiving of special imperial decrees, charges or investiture, as is in fact the case with the inscription in question, it is a completely different story: nobody will incorporate other people's affairs into his own life story without making it clear that they refer to a third person. Karlgren has suggested that "the early book in China was the ritual bronze," so that "the genuine Shu ching chapters and the odes of the Shih ching as well as the short chapters of the Yi chou shu may very well have been cast in bronzes long before they were transcribed into ordinary wooden manuscripts." ( ibid. ) But so far not a single attested inscription has been found which accords wholly with any long or short complete chapter of the classics, or with any complete piece or stanza of verse in the Shih ching (139), except that in certain unattested inscriptions, portions of the texts identical to, or parallel sentences, phrases occur in certain texts of the classics, which hints at the plagiarism of the former from the latter by forgers. Such is precisely the case with the Kuo chi tzu po p'an. Besides the clichés and customary expressions at the beginning and end of the text, the main content is a noticeable plagiarism of the Shih ching by a scholarly forger (140). The resem-

blance of sentences or phrases is certainly not a coincidence. Nor can we accept Karlgren's speculation that "many bronze inscriptions.....could equally well have been inserted into Shih ching by Confucius as many other poems---there is no difference at all in principle."( ibid. ) There is no evidence whatsoever to warrant the hypothesis that Confucius inserted any bronze inscription into the Shih ching. Nor can the odes used as a model such as the "Ts'ai eh'i"(采芑), "Liu yüeh"(六月), "Ts'ai wei"(采芣) and "Ch'u ch'e"(出車), which describe the uprising of the Hsien-yün(玁狁) barbarians in the reigns of Li Wang and Hsüan Wang. It is even more striking that, among the commanders-in-arms such as Fang Shu(方叔), Chi Fu(吉甫 or 吉甫), Nan Chung(南仲) etc who were sent by the Kings to chastise the rebels, Kuo Chi Tzu Po(虢季子白), a man who had attained great military merits by killing five hundred and capturing fifty of the enemy, should have been neglected by the poets. The only logical explanation of this state of affairs would be that the above-mentioned poems of the Shih ching were not composed after the text of the Kuo chi tzu po p'an, but that the reverse is the case.

(IV) The final point which has aroused Maspero's suspicion is the fact that the bronze inscriptions describe the ceremonies of investiture so as to show three different modes of procedures. This, he opines, is contrary to what we know from the Li chi and the Chou li about these rites: "there was one and only one fixed



ceremonial for these occasions."<sup>(141)</sup> It would be premature to make such a subjective remark as Maspero did, because the representation and the dependability of the rites described in the San li (三禮) are to a certain extent questionable. Karlgren is justified in stating in reply that the Li chi and the Chou li are both works of late Chou time (the former having been collected into a whole only in Han time) and that they are not of course authoritative as throwing light on the rites of the Western Chou period some 500 or 600 years before their composition. No one seriously believes that early Chou time institutions and life were exactly as they are described in the rigorous Confucian rituals. "That the bronze inscriptions do not tally with the pedantic rules of Confucianism does not really imply flaw in their authenticity."<sup>(142)</sup> Recently excavated bronze inscriptions confirm that certain rites advocated by Confucius himself, for instance, the custom of mourning for three years, was never practised in Early Chou<sup>(143)</sup>. But this does not necessarily invalidate all the rites, institutions or ceremonies recorded in the traditional San li. Li Ya-nung (李亞農) has observed that whereas scholars have tended to depreciate the historical value of the San li, these documentary sources derived from the newly excavated Chang fu ho text do in fact contain considerable valuable material. They offer interesting support to the passages, especially in the Chapter "She yi" (射義) of the Li chi, and moreover, employ terminology such as "Hsiang li" (鄉禮), "Ta

chu"(大祝) and "She"(射), common to these traditional sources. (144) Even if the San li are, as is now generally accepted, compilations of Han date, it would be most surprising if it were found that they were entirely unreliable (145). As to the modes of procedure in connection with the ceremonies of investiture, Maspero's pre-conception that "there was one and only one fixed ceremonial for these occasions" is again proved erroneous. The roughly authenticated inscriptions which run counter to Maspero's theory exhibit that investitures were indeed carried out with different modes of procedure in Western Chou time. For instance, in the inscription on the Shih shih kuei No. 1 (which is illustrated in our Figure 58) the procedure of investiture has been precisely described, "The King stayed in the Palace X(洹). The next morning the King entered the ancestral temple and ascended the throne. Ch'ih Kung came assisting Shih Shih to stand in the centre of the Hall. The King summoned the chief scribe to charge Shih Shih, saying, '.....'"; whereas in the inscription of the Yi hou nieh yi (宜侯矢彝), the same ceremonial was very much simplified, "The King stood in the ancestral temple of Yi, facing towards the south; the King commanded Nieh, the Marquis of Ch'ien, saying, '.....'." (146) Hence, Maspero's argument is groundless.

(14) Chao Jui (邵鉞).

Chao specialized in bronzes cast by Imperial decree in the Hsiante reign-period of the Ming. His Hsüan lu hui shih deals

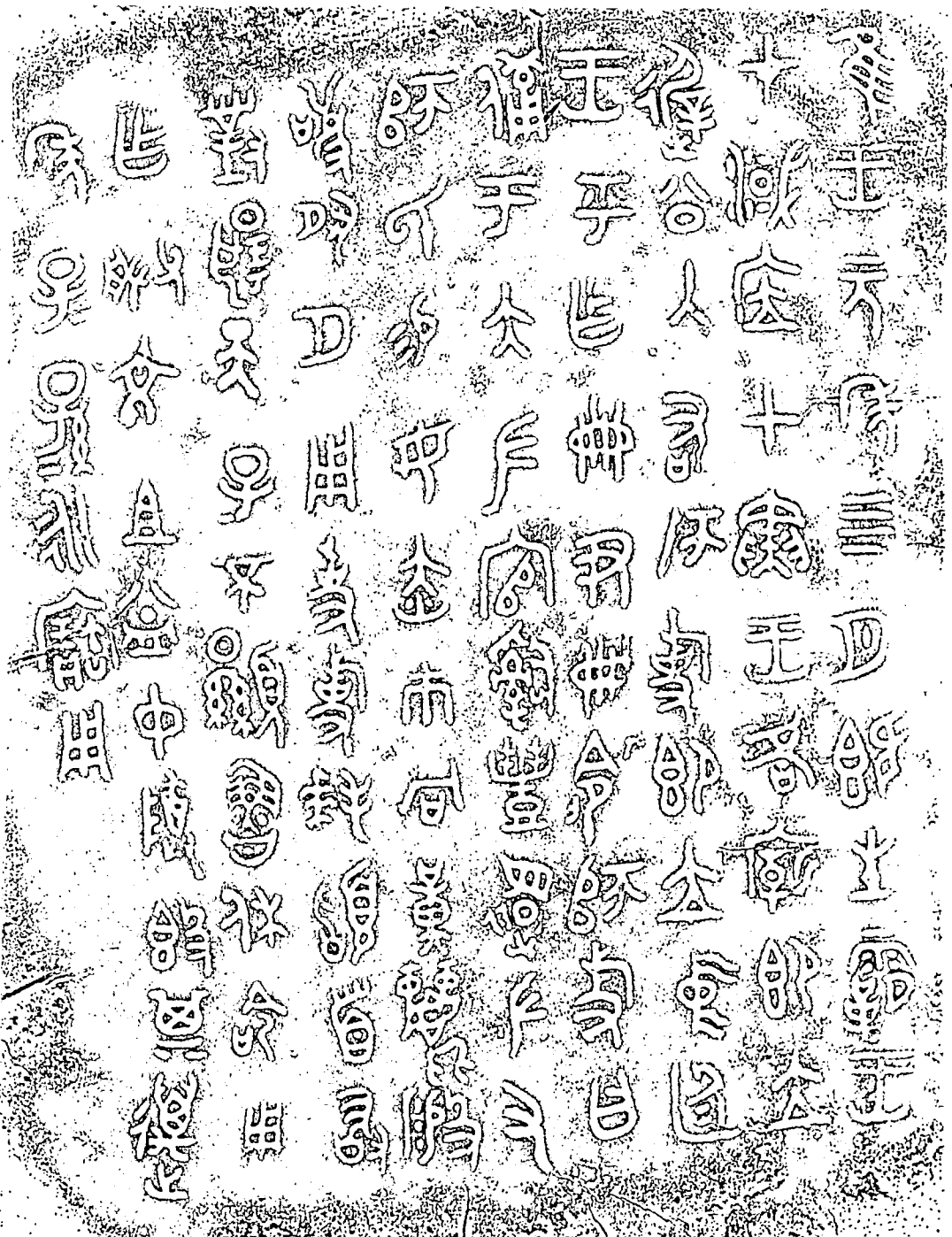


Figure 58 The authentic inscription on the Shih shih kuei No.1(師旒簋甲), newly excavated at Changchia-p'o, Ch'angan, Shensi.

—Reproduced from Hsueh pao, Vol.29, 1962, pl.2

comprehensively with topics such as inscriptions, type, ornament, patination, imitation( by private artisans ) etc of the Hsüan bronzes. Only sporadically does it concern the problem of forgery. Nevertheless, it is a momentous work on the Hsüan bronzes, even though it deals very little with bronzes in general. As to forgery of inscriptions based on those of Hsüan bronzes, Chao has made several discoveries. He states,

- (I) "The One-character type of inscription which reads 'Hsüan' ( 宣 ).....is always formed in the seal style. Those that are written in the 'standard style' ( k'ai shu ) style are in the majority of cases forged."  
( op.cit., p.4:1 )

See our Figure 3 above, for instance, where (a), (d) and (e) are believed to be genuine, i.e. officially cast; whereas (f) is forged, i.e. cast by private or secret enterprise according to Chao's observation. The status of (b) and (c), which are in li shu style, is obscure. However, in a wider sense they are likewise counted as "standard style" for the reason that li shu is a standardization of the chuan shu and the ku cheu. So in this sense they are also forged.

- (II) "Inscriptions that read 'The Inner Altar in the suburban temple' ( 内 壇 郊 社 ) and appear in relieve, encircled and guarded by a pair of dragons that are extended to fill the base of the vessel, [ are regarded as authentic ] ; should a circle be drawn in

the middle of the base, lines and designs of dragons embracing the four seal-impressed characters engraved superficially [ below it ] , it is forged." ( op.cit., 4:2 )

The inscriptional rubbing illustrated in our Figure 5:(b) above exemplifies the authentic form. No sample of a faked inscription of the pattern described by Chao is available.

(III) "Recently, there have been vessels displayed in the City, whose inscriptions are engraved in an oblong-shaped k'ai shu style reading 'Manufactured by Imperial decree in the Hsiante reign-period of the great Ming Dynasty' ( 大明宣德御製 ). Some of them are adorned with curling dragons. All these are forged." ( op.cit., 4:3 )

When engraving is performed, intaglio characters result. This bears witness to Chao's statement that "all genuine inscriptions on Hsüan bronzes, no matter whether they are in ohuan, li or k'ai shu style appear in rilievo, or in seal-impressed rilievo. None appears in intaglio; if it does, it is an old fake by the founders of Soochow." ( op.cit., 4:6 )

(IV) "The eight-character type of inscription, which reads 'Wu Pang-tso made [ this ] in the 5th year of the Hsüan te reign-period' ( 宣德五年吳邦佐造 ) and runs in two vertical columns of four characters, appears in seal-impressed k'ai shu characters. Wu Pang-tso was

then an official whose duty was to superintend the casting of bronzes. Now in this inscription he has not described himself as an 'official'. Could it be cast by a private founder? Vessels bearing this sort of inscriptions are mostly forged. However, they will be determined according to the way in which the brin is applied."( op.cit., 4:4 )

We are not quite sure by virtue of what Chao suspects the authenticity of this Eight-character type. If it is only because the character "official"( 𠄎 ) is lacking, his reasoning is far from convincing. The forger who has dared to forge already eight characters will certainly not hesitate to add another one. More so is the fact that, since in (III) above forgers have daringly forged an "imperial decree", why should they fight shy of an "official"? It must be that this was intentionally done by Wu Pang-tse, the superintendent of bronze-casting at Court, in order to differentiate his private products from those made in his official capacity. On the other hand, a pair of four-character columns gives a fine symmetrical effect, whereas with the addition of " 𠄎 ", the symmetry would be spoiled.

- (V) "EVERY character of the genuine inscription is neat and complete. The character grooves look lustrous and their colour is as old as that of the vessel body. Since it has never been out, chiselled or baked, even the grooves are as minute as grains of sesame, they

are still refined and lustrous, and identical in colour to the vessel body. They are far superior to forgeries whose inscriptions are cast by 'sand moulding' (翻砂) and whose character grooves are stiff and rough." ( op.cit., 4:6 )

Chao speaks only of the average fake and ignores the really fine specimens. When the latter are taken into account, Chao's observation becomes invalid. On patinas, Chao gives his verdict:

(VI) "Forgeries are restricted to the majority of the red- and black-coloured vessels. Those of green and yellow colours, being in their original state, can easily be seen not to be faked, though they differ in that some have their old [ colour ] while others have [ been given ] a new [ colour ] .....The patination of the genuine Hsüan bronzes is generally not easy to imitate. Only the crab-shell-green colour is easy to make fraudulently, because [ this ] black-green colour can be achieved by chemical means, and the finer examples of this may easily be confused with authentic examples. However, the artificial patinas have a very superficial gloss which does not penetrate deeply into the vessel surface. They have a purplish-green gloss which it is not difficult for an expert to identify." ( op.cit., 5:9-10 )

As has already been made clear above, the determination of the

age of patina is subjective and unreliable. We have learned in Chapter 2 above that some artificial patinas on Hsian bronzes are so skilfully made that they enter deeply into the metal. All this is contrary to Chao's statement above. Chao deals also with the acoustic qualities of bronzes. He says,

(VII) "While distinguishing patinas, we shall also distinguish the sound. The sound of bronzes that contain a higher proportion of silver is clear and high. It is fine and concentrated (細銳); its eddying reverberations are wafted gradually away, so that even when the note seems to have died it can still be faintly heard. The sound of the bronzes that contain more gold is full and sonorous; it wells out in mighty waves that echo afar and return. If it is a falsely made vessel, it gives a 'tock-tock' sound like rapping on dead wood, because the quality of the bronze is poor and the vessel-wall is thin." ( op.cit., 5:10 )

Chao's remark, though passable in principle, concerns discernment of the quality and nature of bronzes in general rather than the detection of forgery in bronzes in particular. Since there exist both fine and poor-quality pseudo-Hsian bronzes, we wonder how Chao distinguishes the sound of a really fine pseudo-Hsian bronze from that of a genuine one?



(15) Jung Keng(容庚).

Jung, an expert on ancient Chinese bronzes, has also been one of the greatest detectors of forgery. In 1927, in his capacity as one of the appraisers for the Dept. of Antiquities of the Palace Museum of Peking(北京故宫博物院古物陳列所), he personally handled and examined no less than three thousand vessels, and this frequent contact with bronzes naturally gave him a sound basis for judging vessel-type, décor and inscriptions on bronzes. He published the result of his determination of the bronzes in the Imperial repositories in 1929 in an article entitled "西清金文真偽存佚表"(A Classified List of Authentic and Forged, Lost and Extant Bronzes( with Inscriptions ) as Recorded in the Imperial Catalogues of the Antiquities in the Palace ), YJCS, Vol.5, 1929, which is based upon six criteria. Again in 1941, when he published his Shang chou yi ch'i t'ung k'ao, these criteria were included together with the addition of four criteria for judging vessel-type and décor:

- (i) Bronzes whose type do not look antique are faked;
- (ii) Animal-like sacrificial beakers; elephant-beakers, chicken-beakers, swan-beakers and duck-beakers are all faked;
- (iii) Decorations which do not seem old are all faked;
- (iv) Nine out of ten of the vessels of Shang and Chou which are gilded or silvered are forged.

These stylistic criteria are also based upon the bronzes in the

Imperial repositories, yet they can also apply to bronzes in general. Although no reason has been given for the derivation of these criteria, we can surmise that this must have been the result of Jung's inscriptional grouping of the bronzes ( see Jung's "List".) Thus, these stylistic criteria are in the main useful, except that criterion (ii) should be modified to "Animal-like sacrificial beakers such as elephant-beakers, chicken-beakers, swan-beakers and duck-beakers etc are to be regarded with suspicion", since a duck-beaker has recently been excavated at Mach'angkou, Lingyuan in Liaoning Province (遼寧凌源馬廠沟)<sup>(147)</sup>; and that, in the light of Anderson's study on the problem of gilding in ancient China<sup>(148)</sup>, criterion (iv) should be modified to "Nine out of ten of the vessels of Shang and Chou which are gilded or silvered are to be regarded with suspicion." We can not say "ten out of ten" because some fully-attested late Chou and Chankuo gilded bronze objects have been discovered<sup>(149)</sup>. Jung's inscriptional criteria have also proved useful and applicable, though he has made sporadic mistakes in his "List" and has been inconsistent at times in applying his criteria ( see above and also later below ). For these errors he admits, "Upon re-examining them, there are two vessels which I originally regarded as genuine but which are in reality forged; there are twenty-seven vessels whose authenticity I formerly suspected but which are actually genuine; there are fourteen vessels which were treated as faked but which are in fact genuine. Nevertheless,

all in all I have not erred very greatly."<sup>(150)</sup> In his joint work (with Chang Wei-ch'ih) Yin chou ch'ing t'ung ch'i t'ung lun, Jung revised his ten criteria, which we shall discuss as follows:

- (I) "Among bronzes whose inscriptions coincide with those recorded in the Sung Catalogues, some of the Yin specimens bearing clan emblems or inscriptions reading 'shih' (史), 'ko' (戈), 'po (or older brother) made this precious and honourable yi-vessel' (伯乍寶尊) etc may have been genuine, but the rest that contain more characters<sup>(151)</sup>, or whose inscriptions tally with [those in the Sung Catalogues] but whose types and décor differ from them, are all forged."<sup>(152)</sup>

If this is really the case, one explanation would be that the original vessels were lost after the compilation of the catalogues and that the recorded inscriptions were later copied and incorporated in imitated or forged vessels. In support of this hypothesis we may mention two facts: firstly, as Jerome Ch'en has pointed out, owing to a shortage of copper for minting, the Emperor Kao-tsung of Sung (1127-1162) gave 1500 bronze articles in his Palace collection to the Imperial mint in 1154<sup>(153)</sup>; secondly, less than 1% of the vessels and inscriptions recorded in the Sung Catalogues are still extant (see Jung's ibid and also Note 103 above). We can reasonably suppose that Kao-tsung's example would have been followed at least by his courtiers, and

indeed Ch'en notes( loc.cit. ) that some 2 million catties of brass and bronzes were procured from the ordinary people. This would help explain the missing 99%. In the light of this we shall amend Jung's criterion to:

"Inscriptions identical to those recorded in the Sung Catalogues, regardless of whether the vessel-type corresponds or not, are to be regarded with the gravest suspicion."

In fact, some inscriptions of this type have been proved to be imitations, forgeries or replicas. These imitations or replicas after models taken from the Sung albums are of two kinds: one derives only the contents of the inscriptional texts and the other copies both the text and the actual form of the characters as well. Examples for the former are the Chia yi-vessel as detected by Barnard( see Chapter 3 above ) and the Mao kung ting text first declared faked by Chang Chih-tung and later supported by Wei Chü-hsien, Barnard and the present writer( see the present Chapter above ). For examples for the latter see later in this Chapter. Under this criterion Jung has declared a number of vessels( largely in the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues ) faked. We shall now list 11 vessels( including some recorded in other Catalogues ) whose inscriptions fall into this category in the light of this criterion:

B.1(84)(154) ins.S.C.M.7 Chou kung ting( 周公鼎 : " 周公  
卜文王 傳彝 " ): there are incorporated in the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues---Ku chien( 2:1-5 ); Hsi chia

( 1:5-7 ); Hsü yi( 1:4-5 ); Chien ku( 1:12-3 )—twelve fang ting-square tripods called Chou wen wang ting ( 周文王鼎 ) bearing this inscription, "The Duke of Chou made King Wen's honourable vessel." Jung in his "List"( p.829 ) has renamed them all Chou chou kung fang ting and has labelled them all as faked. In the Ii tai( 9:6-7 or 9:95 ) it is known as Iu kung ting ( 魯公鼎 ), and in the Hsiao t'ang( p.7 ) and Po ku t'u( 2:3-5 ) as Wen wang ting( 文王鼎 ), which has been widely followed by later cataloguers. Among the Hsüan imitated bronzes are many that are modelled after this inscription. See for instance our Plate Two: (d) above. Tripods which carry this same inscription are also found in the following private catalogues and are therefore to be regarded as faked: Chi ku chai( 4:6-7 ); Chün ku( 2/1:3 ); Chin so( 1:28 ); Huai mi( 7:2 ); Chou ts'un( 2:60 ); Chui yi chai( 3:19 ).

B.2(85) ins.S.C.M.18( v. & 1. ) Chung chü tui( 仲駒敦 : " 求旁仲駒父下仲姜敦. 子子孫孫永寶用享孝 " ). The vessel-text and a lid-text running in the opposite direction can be found in the following Sung Catalogues: Ii tai( 13:8-10 or 13:138-9; in which two vessel-texts running leftward and three lid-texts running rightward are included.); Hsü k'ao( 4:24-5 ); Hsiao t'ang( pp.53-4 ); Po ku t'u( 16:29-33). Imitations or

fakes of this inscription have been recorded in the following Ch'ing and later catalogues: Ku chien ( 28:11 ) ; Hsü chia ( 12:28-30, 3 vls ) ; Chi ku chai ( 6:26-7 ) ; Ch'i ku shih ( 16:24-5, 2 vls. ) ; Hsü yi ( 12:18-22, 5 vls. ) ; Jung's "List" ( pp.842-3 ), in which Jung has renamed the ten vessels that bear this inscription Chou lu p'ang chung chü fu kuei and has labelled them all as faked.

B.3(86) ins.C.M.18 Chung chü yi ( 仲駒匪 ; 鈕同上 ). The forger of this kuang-covered gravy-boat is foolish and careless indeed for when he copies the inscriptional text from the Sung Catalogues he forgets to change the vessel-name "敦" into "觥" or at least "匪". This vessel can be found in these Catalogues: Chien ku ( 12:53-4 ) ; Hsü yi ( 14:42 ) ; Jung's "List" ( p.867 ), in which Jung has renamed the two vessels that carry the same inscription Chou lu p'ang chung chü fu kuang and has labelled them all as faked.

B.4(87) ins.C.7( v. plus 1. ) Chung chü yu ( 仲駒卣 ; 蓋鈕 ; "仲駒仲姜" ; 器銘 : "□永享孝" ) ; Hsü chia ( 8:8 ) ; Jung's "List" ( p.857 ), in which Jung has labelled it as faked. It is noticeable that the sentence in the text has no verb; nor has it a vessel-name. It makes no sense at all. There can be no doubt that it has been extracted from the Sung Catalogues.

- B.5(88) ins.M.18( v. & l. ) Chung chü yü( 仲駒卣 : 器蓋  
銘同前 ) : Hsü yi( 8:6 ); Jung's "List"( p.857 ),  
in which Jung has renamed the vessel Chou lu p'ang  
chung chü fu yü and has labelled it as faked. The ves-  
sel-name "敦" in this case does not correspond to  
its type "卣".
- B.6(89) ins.C.M.18( v. & l. ) Chung chü tsun( 仲駒尊 :  
器蓋銘同上 ) : Ku chien( 9:12-3 ); Hsü yi( 5:9-10;  
the vessel-text and the lid-text run in opposite dir-  
ections ); Jung's "List"( p.848 ), in which Jung has  
renamed the two vessels that bear this inscription  
Chou lu p'ang chung chü fu hu and has labelled them as  
faked. The vessel-name "敦" in the inscription does  
not tally with the vessel-type "壺" either.
- B.7(90) ins.M.18( v. & l. ) Chung chü hu( 仲駒壺 : 器蓋  
銘同上 ) : Chien ku( 8:6-7 ); Hsü yi( 8:34; the vessel-  
text and the lid-text run in opposite directions );  
Jung's "List"( p.848 ), in which Jung has renamed the  
four vessels that bear this inscription Chou lu p'ang  
chung chü fu hu and has labelled them all as faked.  
The vessel-name "敦" in this inscription does not  
tally with the vessel-type "壺". It is not correctly  
written "𣪠" either.
- B.8(91) ins.M.18 Chung chü p'an( 仲駒盤 : 銘同上 ) : Hsü  
yi( 15:1 ); Jung's "List"( p.845 ), in which Jung has

renamed the vessel Chou lu p'ang chung chü fu p'an and has labelled it as faked. Here again, the vessel-name "敦" in the inscription does not accord with the vessel-type "盤".

B.9(92) ins.C.18 Chung chü yi (仲駒彝 : 銘同上) : Hsü chia (7:16) ; Jung's "List" ( p.842 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou lu p'ang chung chü fu kuei and has labelled it as faked.

B.10(93) ins.M.18 Chung chü hsien (仲駒虜瓦 : 銘同上) ; Hsü yi ( 13:13 ) ; Jung's "List" ( p.833 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou lu p'ang chung chü fu hsien and has labelled it as faked. The vessel-name "敦" in this inscription does not accord with the vessel-type "虜瓦".

B.11(94) ins.C.18 Chung chü fu ting (仲駒父鼎 : "... 鼎 ...." ) : Ching wu ( 1:30 ) ; the forger concerned has been ingenious in using the character "鼎" in place of "敦" so as to fit in very well with the vessel-type. This vessel was in the collection of Yeh Chih-hsien (葉志詵), a frequent customer of the forgers—the Su brothers ( see Chapter 3 above ).

(II) "Bronzes whose inscriptions are an elongation, summary or modification of the inscriptional texts recorded in the Sang Catalogues are all forged." ( ibid. )

This criterion is analogous in nature to (I) above, with a



a difference only of degree: forged inscriptions falling into category B are the result of copying a complete version of a Sung text, while those falling into the present category C are later modifications of the Sung model-texts. For instance, the ( identical ) text of the Chou kung ting or Iu kung ting or Wen wang ting recorded in the Sung Catalogues has served as a model for many false inscriptions of this kind. The following inscribed vessels are a cross-section of these:

- C.1(95) ins.C.1 Kung hu(公<sup>𠄎</sup> : "公" ): Ku chien( 19:27 ) ; Jung's "List"( p.847 ) ; Jung has regarded it as faked.
- C.2(96) ins.C.M.2 Kung ko(公戈 : "公下" ): Chi ku chai ( 8:18 ) ; Chün ku( 1/1:46 ) ; Chin so( 2:110 ) ; Chui yi chai( 30:12 ).
- C.3(97) ins.C.3 Wen ting(文<sup>𠄎</sup> : "公下文" ): Ku chien ( 3:18 ) ; Jung's "List"( p.829 ), in which Jung has renamed the tripod Chou chou kung ting and has labelled it as faked.
- C.4(98) ins.C.3 Iu ting(魯<sup>𠄎</sup> : "魯(周)下<sup>𠄎</sup>" ): Hsü chia ( 1:26 ) ; Jung's "List"( p.828 ), in which Jung has renamed the tripod Chou chou kung ting and has labelled it as faked.
- C.5(99) ins.M.4 Iu ting(魯<sup>𠄎</sup> : "魯(周)公下<sup>𠄎</sup>" ): Chien ku( 1:26 ) ; Jung's "List"( p.829 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou chou kung fang ting and has labelled it as faked.

C.6(100) ins. C.5 Kung yi(公彝 : "公下寶尊彝" ): Ku chien( 13:20 ); Jung's "List"( p.836 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou kung kwei but has erroneously regarded it as "genuine". There is no doubt that this inscription is a summary of the Chou kung ting text and that "kung"( 公 ) is obviously not a personal name in this context.

C.7(101) ins. M.5 Wen yi(文彝 : "文下寶尊彝" ): Hsiao chiao( 7:27 ).

C.8(102) ins. M.5 Wen kwei(文毀 : "文下寶尊彝" ): Cheng hsü( 1:35 ); Sung chai( t'iu 8; shih 5 ); San tai( 7:11 ).

C.9(103) ins. C.5 Wen ting(文鼎 : "公下文尊彝" ): Ku chien( 3:15-7 ); Jung's "List"( p.829 ), in which Jung has renamed the first tripod Chou chou kung fang ting and the second Chou chou kung ting and has labelled them all as faked.

C.10(104) ins. C.8 Lu ting(魯鼎 : "太壬保魯(周)下寶尊彝" ): Ku chien( 2:11-2 ); Jung's "List"( p.829 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou chou fang ting and has labelled it as faked.

There is a great profusion of ancient vessels which carry the name "白"( 白 = 伯 or 白 ). It may be due to the fact that the graph "白" had a variety of meanings in the past: it could be a surname, as in the case of the name of the maker and owner

of the newly excavated bronzes: the Po hsi kuei (白喜簋) and the Po hu (白壺) (155); it could be an older brother or uncle older than the father, e.g. the makers of the Po yung fu ho (伯庸父盃), Po pai fu p'an (伯百父盤) (see ibid.); it could also be a Chou feudal rank (at least in literary texts). But this does not indicate that existing vessels carrying such inscription as "Po made this precious and honourable vessel" (伯乍寶尊) are all authentic. There is a considerable number of fakes whose inscriptions are no more than a modification or summary of the texts recorded in the Sung Catalogues, e.g. the Po li (伯鬲; "白乍寶尊"), (156) and the Po pao yu (伯嘯卣; "白乍寶尊"), (157) etc are among the commonly used models. The following fakes are among these based on these two vessels:

C.11(105) ins.C.2 Po li (伯鬲; "白乍"): Ku chien (31:6); Jung's "List" (p.831) classifies it as suspect in spite of the fact that it is an incomplete inscription.

C.12(106) ins.M.3 Po yu (伯卣; "白乍尊"): Chui yi chai (11:28).

C.13(107) ins.M.4 Po yu (伯卣; "白乍寶尊"): Chien ku (7:7); Cheng hsü (2:17, the vessel is known as Po tso pao yi yu); Jung's "List" (p.855) classifies it as suspect.

C.14(108) ins.M.3 Po tui (伯敦; "白乍尊"): K'o chai (7:10).

- C.15(109) ins.G.M.3 Po ting(伯鼎: "白乍彝"): K'o chai( 6:18 ); Fu chai( 1:11 ); Ch'i ku shih( 1:4 ); Chün ku( 1/2:2-3; two tripods of which one was in the collection of Lü Yao-hsien 呂堯愔 and the other in Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's collection ); Chou ts'un( 2:66 ); Hsiao chiao( 2:22, 3 vls ); San tai( 2:23 ).
- C.16(110) ins.M.5 Po ting(伯鼎: "白乍寶彝"): Chien ku( 1:21-2 ); Jung's "List"( p.828 ) classifies it as faked.
- C.17(111) ins.M.5 Po ting(伯鼎: "白乍文彝"): Hsü yi( 1:37 ); Jung's "List"( p.828 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou po fang ting and has labelled it as faked.
- C.18(112) ins.M.6 Po ting(伯鼎: "白乍文王彝"): Chien ku( 1:19-20 ); Jung's "List"( p.828 ), in which Jung has also renamed it Chou po fang ting and has labelled it as faked.
- C.19(113) ins.G.2 Po yi(伯彝: "白乍口"): Ku chien( 13:22 ); Jung's "List"( p.841 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou po kuei and has labelled it as faked.
- C.20(114) ins.G.M.3 Po yi(伯彝: "白乍彝"): Ku chien( 13:21 ); Chien ku( 6:13 ); Chi ku chai( 5:23 ); Chün ku( 1/2:9 ); Ch'i ku shih( 17:9 ); Chin so( 1:35 ); Hsü yi( 6:27 ); Cheng sung( 4:33 ); Ching wu( 3:32 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:15-7; 9 vls; known as Po tso yi in this work ). It is extremely interesting that of these three

vessels that carry the same inscription one( i.e. Chien ku 6:13 ) is regarded by Jung as "genuine"( Jung's "List" p.835 ); one( i.e. Ku chien 13:21 ) as "suspect"( Jung's "List" p. 840 ) and one( i.e. Hsü yi 6:27 ) as "faked"( Jung's "List" p.841 ). For safety's sake, in the meantime, we may consider them all faked, until there is evidence to testify for the authenticity of any of them.

C.21(115) ins.M.5 Po yi(伯彝; "白伯父彝"): Hsü yi( 6:26 ); Jung's "List"( p.842 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou tse po fu kuei and has labelled it as faked.

C.22(116) ins.C.M.3 Po chih(伯觶; "白觶"): Ku chien( 26:19 ); Cheng sung( 9:24; known as Po tse yi chih in this work ); Shan chai( li ch'i 4:84 ); Hsiao chiao( 5187 ); San tai( 14:49 ); Jung's "List"( p.864 ) regards it as suspect.

C.23(117) ins.M.4 Po hsien(伯獻; "白觶"): Chien ku( 12:11 ); Cheng hsü( 1:28 ); Jung's "List" ( p.832 ), in which Jung has erroneously treated it as "genuine". The forger contradicts himself by giving two vessel-names—hsien-steamer and li-cauldron—to the questionable steamer.

C.24(118) ins.C.M.4 Po lü yi(伯旅彝; "白旅彝"): Chi ku chai( 5:23 ); Chün ku( 1/2:53 ); Chin so( 1:38 );

Cheng pu( 1:23; it is known as Po tso lü yi in this work ); there are four vessels in the Chin so Catalogue under the name "Po"( 匚 ). Their inscriptions, ranging from three characters to four, vary very slightly. On the three-character text( i.e. G.20 above ) the compilers, the Feng brothers, comment, "Neither above nor below the character 'po' is there any graph, so we do not know which 'Po' it is. This vessel is rather small, but its imitations and counterfeits are plentiful. Nevertheless, this particular one seems to be of archaic origin. Its inscription is inside the belly." ( Chin so 1:35 ). The Fengs' intention of eliminating suspicion against their own collection is implicit in their argument. However, it is a matter of common knowledge that many collectors would be reluctant to acknowledge that any of their treasures are fakes.

G.25(119) ins.M.5( v. & 1. ) Po pao yu( 伯 寶 卣 : 器 蓋 同 銘 : " 伯 作 寶 卣 彝 " ) : Chien ku( 7:6 ); Chou yi chai( 11:28; it is known as Po yu in this work and was in the collection of Yeh Chih-hsien ); Chou ts'un( 5: 106-7 ); Hsiao chiao( 4:36 ); Jung's "List"( p.856 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou po yu and has labeled it as suspect. This inscription corresponds exactly to the text of the Po pao yu found in the following Sung Catalogues: Li tai( 11:5-6 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.39 );






Po ku t'u( 11:3-9 ).

C.26(120) ins.M.6 Po tso kuei( 白土段; "白土寶用博段") : Cheng sung( 5:8 ); Chou ts'un( 3:91 ); Haiiao chiao( 7:67; it is known as Po tso pao yung tsun kuei in this work ); San tai( 7:13; it is known as Po kuei in this work ). The wording of "伯作寶用博段" is extremely alien to that of the conventional Chou inscription texts( see also (v) below ).


(III) "Bronzes whose inscriptions are a copy of the Sung inscriptional texts, from one type of vessel on to another, with or without erasure or alteration, are all faked."( ibid. )

This criterion is again homogenous in nature to a certain extent with criteria (I) and (II) above, save that it is treated from another point of view. For instance, the inscription on the Chung chü tui( 仲駒敦 ), as recorded in the Sung Catalogues, was originally inscribed on the tui( 敦 ) type of vessel( see B.2 above ), but has later been copied and inscribed on Kuang-covered boat( 觥 see B.3 ), yu-pail( 卣, see B.4, B.5 ), hu-vase( 壺, see B.6, B.7 ), p'an-laver( 盤, see B.8 ), yi-vessel( 彝, see B.9 ), hsien-steamer( 簋, see B.10 ) and ting-triped( 鼎, see B.11 ) etc. Similarly with the inscriptions on the Po li( 伯鬲 ) and the Po pao yu( 伯匚卣 ), first appearing in the Sung Catalogues but later transferred and inscribed on a variety of vessels: tui-vessel( 敦, see C.14 ), ting-triped( 鼎, see C.15, C.16, C.17,

G.18 ), yi-vessel( 彝 , see G.20, G.21, G.24 ), Chih-goblet( 卣 , see G.22 ), hsien-steamer( 簋 , see G.23 ) and so on. This is also a useful criterion for detecting forgeries, which we shall now apply to test some of the vessels recorded in the existing catalogues:

D.1(121) ins.S.C.1 Tzu ting( 子 鼎 : " 子 " ): the character " 子 " has a variety of forms among inscriptions recorded in the Sung Catalogues, e.g. "  " ( Li tai 1: 6-7; 1:20 ), "  " ( Li tai 1:22 ), "  " ( Tzu fu ting ting 子 父 丁 鼎 , Li tai 1:10-11; 1:23 ), "  " ( Tzu fu chi ting 子 父 己 鼎 , Li tai 1:10-11; 1:23 ), "  " ( Tzu sun fu ting ting 子 孫 父 丁 鼎 , Li tai 1: 24 ) etc. They can also be found in the Hsiao t'ang( p. 2 ) and Pe ku t'u( 1:10 ) etc. Vessels which carry this character are commonly attributed to the Yin( or Shang) because this graph or sign is generally regarded as an emblematic symbol or family name of one of the Shang clans. It has not been found in any fully-attested Chou inscription. However, when this character later occurs in the inscriptions recorded in the Imperial Ch'ing Repositories, the Tzu ting in the Hsü chia( 2: 12 ), for instance, which carries this graph, is attributed to the Chou date. Here the dating of this vessel is not very wrong for it has two "ring ears"( 環耳 ) attached to either side below the rim. They are



analogous to the handles of the kuei-container( 甗 or 段 ) which is attributable to Chou date. This type of handle( i.e. the ring ear 環耳 ) is not found to have occurred in the ting-triped type of vessels. For instance, there is a total of 47 tripods incorporated in Chapter 2 of the Hsü chia. Forty-five of them have the conventional "vertical ears" or "bent ears" ( i.e. Karlgren's Yin-Chou criterion 39 ). Only two, viz. the Tzu ting in question and the Chou ju ting( 周 卣卣, Hsü chia 2:34 ) have the peculiar "ring ears". Being eccentric in shape, they are to be regarded as faked on the strength of T'ü Ch'ü-nien's criterion discussed in this Chapter above. However, Jung Keng has attributed it( i.e. Hsü chia 2:12 ) to Shang date and regarded it as "genuine"( see Jung's "List" p.819 ). However, Jung is not wrong insofar as the inscription is concerned, because the graph "  " is of typical Shang form and fairly well written. What, then, is wrong with the ting-triped and the inscription thereon? The answer is simple: it is the discrepancy exhibited by the fact that the inscription has been a transference of Shang-style script to a Chou-style tripod. Jung's attribution and judgment of this ting-triped directly contradict his stylistic criteria which we shall discuss presently. Another example has been

recorded in the San tai( 2:1 ).

D.2(122) ins.M.1 Tzu ting( 子鼎 : "子□" ): Chien ku( 1:24 ); Jung's "List"( p.827 ), in which <sup>he</sup> has correctly labelled it as faked.

D.3(123) ins.C.1 Tung ting( 子鼎 : "□子" ): Ku chien( 3:35 ); Jung's "List"( p.827 ), in which Jung has dated it to the Shang but has regarded it as faked.

D.4(124) ins.C.1 Tzu yi( 子彝 : "子" ): Hsü chia( 7:8 ); Jung's "List"( p.840 ), in which Jung has dated it to the Shang but has regarded it as suspect.

The following vessel types in this category D are largely typical Shang vessels. It may, therefore, be argued that they should be regarded as genuine, because they all carry Shang-style inscriptions. Nevertheless, we have evidence which testifies against their genuineness, e.g.

D.5(125) ins.M.1 Tzu chih( 子卣 : "子" ): Ku chien( 26:21 ); Shan chai( 11 ch'1 4:46-8; three vessels are included, of which one inscription is in rilievo ); Chien ku( 11:4 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:68-9, 2 vls ); San tai( 14:32 ); Jung's "List"( p.864 ), in which Jung has dated it to the Shang but has regarded it as suspect.

D.6(126) ins.C.1 Tzu hsien( 子簋 : "子" ): Hsü chia( 13:28 ); Jung's "List"( p.832 ), in which Jung has dated it to the Shang but has regarded it as suspect.

D.7(127) ins.M.3 Tzu hsien( 子簋 : "己子丁" ): Hsü yi

( 13:15 ); Jung's "List" ( p.833 ) has labelled it as faked.

D.8(128) ins.M.1 Tzu ku(子夬 : "子" ): Shan chai( Li ch'i 4:5 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:45-6, 2 vls ).

D.9(129) ins.M.3 Tzu tsun(子尊 : "子父丁" ): Hsü yi( 5:14 ); Jung's "List" ( p.870 ) has regarded it as faked. This inscription is a direct copy of the text on the Tzu fu ting ting(子父丁<sup>所</sup>) recorded in the Li tai( 1:10-11 or 1:23 ).

D.10(130) ins.C.M.4 Tzu tsun(子尊 : "乍父乙子" ): Ch'i ku shih( 5:5, it was in the collection of Lu Ts'un-chai 陸存齋 since he purchased it in Peking in 1892 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:13, it is known as Tso fu yi kuang tsun in this work ); San tai( 11:13; known as Tso fu yi tsun in this work ).

D.11(131) ins.C.1 Tzu tsun(子尊 : "子" ): Ku chien( 9:21 ); Hsü chia( 5:10 ); Jung's "List" ( p.861 ) has renamed the one in the Ku chien Shang tau ku and has labelled it as faked, while he has ( "List" p.869 ) renamed the one in the Hsü chia Shang X-tsun and has regarded it as suspect.

D.12(132) ins.C.1 Tzu tsun(子尊 : "子□" ): Ku chien( 9:22 ); Jung's "List" ( p.860 ) has regarded it as suspect.

D.13(133) ins.C.1 Tzu tsun(子尊 : "□子" ): Hsü chia

( 5:11 ): Jung's "List" ( p.869 ) has regarded it as suspect.

D.14(134) ins.C.4 Tzu tui(子敦 : "子乍敦□□子" ): Ku chien( 28:14 ); Jung's "List" ( p.841 ) has regarded it as suspect.

D.15(135) ins.M.1 Tzu chia(子谿 : "子" ): K'o chai( 21:13, 2 vs ).

D.16(136) ins.C.M.1 Tzu chia(子谿 : "子" ): Oh'ang an( 1:30 ); Chui yi chai( 24:22; the inscription is in rilievo and the vessel was in the collection of Liu Yen-t'ing ); San tai( 13:47 ).

D.17(137) ins.M.1 Tzu chia(子谿 : "子" ): Hsiao chiao( 6:84 ).

D.18(138) ins.C.6 Tzu yi(子匱 : "□子乍匱子子水" ): Ku chien( 32:15 ); Jung's "List" ( p.845 ), in which Jung has erroneously regarded it as "genuine". In fact the inscription is not only incomplete, but also badly written.

D.19(139) ins.C.M.1( v. & l. ) Tzu ya(子匱 : "子" ): Hsü chia( 8:12 "子" ); Hsü yi( 8:11; the lid-text reads "子" ). Jung has ( "List" p.856 ) regarded the yu-pail in the Hsü chia as faked, but the one in the Hsü yi as "genuine" ( see Jung's "List" p.852 ). This vessel has been incorporated in his Pao yün lou Catalogue with a vessel-text reading "子". He comments,

".....The lid is an imitation which bears an inscription reading '𠄎' (cf '𠄎' in the Hsü yi ). It differs from the vessel-text [ '𠄎' ]." ( See Pao yün lou p.97 ). The vessel-text "𠄎" appears also in the Cheng sung( 8:1 ), which indicates that Lo Chen-yü has made the right choice. It is inconceivable that the compilers of the Hsü yi Catalogue should have mistaken the imitated lid-text "𠄎" for its allegedly genuine vessel-text "𠄎".

D.20(140) ins.M.2 Tzu yü( 子育; "子下" ): Chien ku( 7:12 ); Jung's "List"( p.856 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou tzu tse yü and labelled it as faked.

There is a great number of existing vessels which bear the inscription "shih"( 𠄎; also described as 手執中 ) and which are thus known as "Shih So-and-So". For instance, the Shih yü( 史育 ) first appears in the Sung Catalogues—Li tai( 3:2 or 3:37 or 3:15 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.36 ); Po ku t'u( 10:18 )—where its inscription reads "Shih"( 𠄎 = 史 ). We know from a number of fully-attested Western Chou bronze inscriptions( e.g. the Shan fu shan ting 膳夫山鼎 ) (158) that "史" was used as an official title, followed by a personal name( e.g. "史奉" Shih Hu in the inscription just quoted ). It is unlikely that an official title would be used alone in the way it does on the vessels under discussion. Admittedly, "史" has been used as a surname at least since the Han Dynasty, but there is no clear evidence of its be-

used  
 ing as a surname during the Western Chou. Nor is there any evidence from attested materials that a surname could be used alone as the whole inscription on a vessel. Such inscriptions, however, are so numerous that we should expect to have found at least one among the fully-attested vessels if in fact they are genuine. In view of this all such unattested inscriptions must fall under suspicion, at least until such time (if ever) attested materials come to light bearing this inscription "史" in isolation. We shall now list a selection of these:

D.21(141) ins.S.C.M.1 Shih yu(史卣 : "史" ): Ku chien ( 16:23 ); Li tai( 3:2 or 3:37 or 3:15 ); Hsiao t'ang ( p.36 ); Po ku t'a( 10:18 ); Chui yi chai( 10:2; it is known as Chih chung yu in this work ); Chou ts'un ( 5:114; it is known as Shih yu"史卣" in this work ); Hsiao chiao( 4:6 ); San tai( 12:36 ); Jung's "List" ( p.851 ) has erroneously classed it as "genuine".

D.22(142) ins.C.M.1 Shih tsun(史尊 : "史" ): Ku chien ( 9:6; Jung has renamed this vessel Shang shih chih but has mistakenly regarded it as "genuine". See Jung's "List" p.862 ); Hsu chia( 5:26; this vessel with exactly the same inscription has been regarded as faked by Jung Keng presumably on the ground that it is gilded and silvered. See Jung's "List" p.870 ); Chün ku ( 1/1:12; it is known as Shou chih chung tsun ); Yi lin( Shih tsun ); Huai mi( Ch.1 ); Cheng hsi( 2:5; the

character is in rilievo ); Chui yi chai( 17:5 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:2; four vessels of which one inscription is in rilievo ); San tai( 11:1; 6 vls ).

D.23(143) ins.C.M.1 Shih ku( 史觚 : " 史 " ): Ku chien ( 23:43-4; two vessels which Jung Keng has erroneously regarded as "genuine". See Jung's "List" p.858 ); Cheng pu( 2:15 ); Cheng hsi( 2:27 ); Shan chai( li ch'1 4:6; the inscription is in rilievo ); Chi ku chai( 5:19; the vessel is known as Shou chih chung ku and the inscription appears in rilievo ); Chün ku( 1/1:14 ); Liang lei hsüan( 2:5-6 ); Erh pai( p.3 ); Yin ts'un ( 2:24; four vessels of which one inscription is in rilievo ); Chui yi chai( 16:2 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:47-8 ); Cheng t'u( 1:51 ); San tai( 14:14, 7 vls ).

D.24(144) ins.H.2 Shih ku( 史觚 : " 父史 " ): Chien ku ( 10:24 ); Jung's "List"( p.860 ), in which Jung has regarded it as suspect; San tai( 14:21 ).

D.25(145) ins.C.M.1 Shih ting( 史鼎 : " 史 " ): Ku chien ( 3:24; the inscription reads " 𠄎 ", Jung has dated it to the Shang but erroneously regarded it as "genuine". See Jung's "List" p.819 ); Hsü chia( 1:19; the inscription reads " 𠄎 ". Jung has attributed it to the Shang and labelled it as suspect. See Jung's "List" p.825 ); Hsü yi( 1:21-2; two tripods, the inscription on the first ting reads " 𠄎 " and it has peculiar

décor. Jung has erroneously regarded them as "genuine". See Jung's "List" p.819 ); Cheng sung( 2:3 ); Pao yün hou( pp.13-4; it is a reproduction of the tripod recorded in the Hsü yi ); Yin ts'un( 1:1 ); Chou ts'un( 2:66 ); Hsiao chiao( 2:3-4; three tripods whose inscriptions are badly written ); San tai( 2:4-5; five tripods with bad inscriptions ).

D.26(146) ins.C.M.1 Shih yi(史彝 : "史" ): Ku chien( 13 :37; Jung has renamed this vessel Shang shih kuei but has erroneously regarded it as "genuine". See Jung's "List" p.834 ); Chi ku chai( 1:24-5 ); Chün ku( 1/1: 6; it is known as Shou chih chung yi in this work ); Cheng sung( 4:26 ); Chou ts'un( 3:118 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:4 ); San tai( 6:3, 2 vls ).

D.27(147) ins.M.7 Shih yi(史彝 : "史卡寶博彝子" ); Hsü yi( 6:40 ); Jung's "List"( p.842 ) has labelled it as faked.

There exist a considerable number of vessels which are known as "Shu"(叔, the usual, but unproved, decipherment of 𠄎, 𠄎 or 𠄎 ). They first appear in the Sung Catalogues e.g. the Kuo shu yi( 虢叔彝 : "虢叔卡" ; Li tai 12:4-5 or 12:125 ) and the Shu pao yi( 叔寶彝 : "口叔卡寶博彝" )(159). On the Shu pao yi Hsieh Sheng-kung comments, "As for Shu, people of Chou known as Shu were Kuo Shu 虢叔, Jung Shu 榮叔 and Ts'ai Shu 蔡叔. The upper character [ of this inscription ] is blurred,



it is, therefore, impossible to find out who this *Shu* is." (160) Hsieh's observation on this blurred character (cf. Barnard's remark made on the newly excavated Tao pao ting mentioned in this Chapter above) is of great importance. Barnard's remark suggests that incomplete inscriptions caused by corrosion, oxygenization or damage during excavation exist on genuine vessels. However, this does not guarantee the genuineness of all the existing bronzes which carry such an incomplete inscription, because, for convenience' sake, instead of copying a lengthy inscription text, unskilled forgers would tend to select comparatively short inscriptions of this kind as models. For example, there exists in the Li tai Catalogue a Shu yi (叔匜) with an inscription reading, "叔乍旅匜". Hsieh explains, "The inscription which reads 'The younger brother made this valedictory yi-vessel' is parallel to that on the Li reading 'The elder brother made this li-cauldron'. The only difference is in the matter of seniority." (ibid.) This argument is hardly conclusive, for, although the seniority of the brothers is discernible, to which family or clan these brothers belong, or even whether they do in fact belong to the same family, is yet obscure. Inscriptions of this sort are not only incomplete, but also entirely meaningless. We therefore consider them faked. Examples are as follows:

D.28(148) ins.C.M.1 Shu ku (叔盂: "叔"): Ku chien (24:

7; the vessel is devoid of decoration and the character, which reads "叔", is in rilievo. It is typical

of Han or later date. However, Jung Keng has regarded it as "genuine". See Jung's "List" p.858 ); Hsü chia ( 11:17; Jung has labelled this vessel as faked. See Jung's "list" p.861 ); Chün ku( 1/1:16; the character is in rilievo ); Yin ts'un( 2:24 ); Chui yi chai( 16:26 ); Chou ts'un( 5:17 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:48 ); San tai( 14:17 ); Cheng t'u( 1:47 ).

D.29(149) ins.C.1 Shu yu( 叔酉 : "叔" ): Ku chien( 16:7 ); San tai( 12:38 ); Jung's "List"( p.855 ) has labelled it as suspect.

D.30(150) ins.C.M.1 Shu chüeh( 叔爵 : "叔" ): Yi lin ( Shu chüeh ); Yin ts'un( 2:2 ); Chui yi chai( 19:13 ); Hsiao chiao( 6:9 ); San tai( 15:12, 3 vls ).

D.31(151) ins.C.M.1 Shu tsun( 叔尊 : "叔" ): K'o chai ( 13:24; it was in the collection of Yeh Chih-hsien ); Chui yi chai( 5:2 ); San tai( 11:2; it was in Yeh's collection and the graph is badly formed ).

D.32(152) ins.C.M.1 Shu chih( 叔觚 : "叔" ): Hsü chia ( 12:4; Jung Keng has regarded it as suspect. See Jung's "List" p.864 ); Yin ts'un( 2:26 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:69 ); San tai( 14:34 ).

D.33(153) ins.M.2 Shu chih( 叔觚 : "叔" ): Chui yi chai( 24:8; it was in the collection of P'an Tsu-yin ).

D.34(154) ins.C.1 Shu hsien( 叔簋 : "叔" ): Ku chien ( 30:7; the steamer, known as "周叔簋" is devoid

of decoration and is attributable to a later date rather than to the Shang or Chou. But Jung Keng has regarded it as "genuine". See Jung's "List" p.831 ).

D.35(155) ins.C.1 Shu fang yi(叔方彝 : "叔" ); Hsü chia( 6:31 ); Jung's "List"( p.872 ) has labelled it as suspect; San tai( 6:4 ).

D.36(156) ins.C.3 Shu yi(叔彝 : " 四月叔□□□□ " ); Ku chien( 13:30 ); Jung's "List"( p.842 ) has labelled it as faked.

D.37(157) ins.M.3 Shu yi(叔彝 : " 叔乍□尊 " ); Chou ts'un( 3:116 ).

D.38(158) ins.M.1 Shu ting(叔鼎 : "叔" ); Chui yi chai ( 5:20; the tripod is extremely small and it was seen in Shanghai. )

D.39(159) ins.M.3 Shu ku(叔觚 : "叔乍彝" ); San tai ( 14:27 ).

Inscriptions which read " 庚 , 庚 or 庚 " ( 庚 ) are numerous in the Sung Catalogues; the Li tai( 1:5-6 or 1:19 ); K'ao ku t'u ( 1:3-5 ); Haiao t'ang( p.2 ); Po ku t'u( 1:11 ). They have constituted good models for later forgers. Examples are as follows:

D.40(160) ins.M.1 Keng ting(庚鼎 : "庚" ); Hsü yi( 1:3 ); Jung's "List"( p.826 ) has labelled it as faked.

D.41(161) ins.C.2 Keng ku(庚觚 : "庚□乙" ); Hsü chia ( 11:19 ); Jung's "List"( p.860 ) has labelled it as suspect.

D.42(162) ins.C.1 Keng chih(庚解: "庚"): Chi ku ch'ai  
( 2:12 ); Chün ku( 1/1:6 ); Liang lei hsüan( 2:15-6 );  
Erh pai( p.1 ).

D.43(163) ins.M.1 Keng chüeh(庚爵: "庚"): San tai  
( 15:13 ).

Inscriptions which read "𠄎, 𠄎 or 𠄎"(癸) are also very common in the Sung Catalogues: the Li tai( 1:6 ); K'ao ku t'u( 1:4-5 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.3 ); Po ku t'u( 1:12-3 ). They have also been widely copied by forgers of later date:

D.44(164) ins.C.1 Kuei ting(癸鼎: "癸"): Ku chien( 1:16; the character is in exactly the same style as that of the Po ku t'u 1:11-3 ); Jung's "List"( p.826 ) has classed it as faked.

D.45(165) ins.C.1 Kuei ting(癸鼎: "癸□"): Ku chien( 1:7 ); Ku shen( 1:6 ); Jung's "List"( p.825 ) has classed it as suspect.

D.46(166) ins.C.2 Kuei ku(癸觚: "子癸"): Hsü chia( 11:20 ); Jung's "List"( p.860 ) has classed it as suspect. As a matter of fact in the Shang and Chou eras the ten stems( 十天干 ) were used predominantly as names for a deceased father( e.g. Fu Kuei 父癸 ), grandfather( e.g. Tsu Ping 且丁 ) or other more distant ancestors, but never for a son or deceased descendants.

D.47(167) ins.M.1 Kuei chüeh(癸爵: "癸"): San tai

( 15:13 ).

D.48(168) ins.M.1 Nü ting(女鬲 : "女" ): Hsü yi( 1:46 );

Jung's "List"( p.827 ) has classed it as faked. The inscription is copied from the Sung Catalogue—Li tai

( 16:172 ).

The characters "mu"( 𣎵 ) (161) and "sun"( 𣎵 or 𣎵 = 孫 ) (162), to which we may add " 𣎵 " and " 𣎵 ", also read "sun" by Sung and subsequent scholars, though without any convincing reason, are also common in the Sung Catalogues and have therefore been widely copied by later forgers;

D.49(169) ins.M.1 Ma ku( 木觚 : "木" ); Chien ku( 10:22-

23; 2 vls ); Jung's "List"( p.861 ) has classed it as faked.

D.50(170) ins.M.1 Mu chüeh( 木爵 : "木" ): Ch'i ku shih

( 7:7 ); Hsiao chiao( 6:9; 3 vls ).

D.51(171) ins.C.1 Muhsien( 木觚 : "木" ); Ku chien( 30:

9 ); Jung's "List"( p.832 ) has classed it as suspect.

D.52(172) ins.C.1 Mu fang hu( 木方壺 : "木" ): Hsü chia

( 9:56; the vessel is dated Han in this Catalogue. Its inscription is in rilievo ); Jung's "List"( p.846 ), in which Jung has erroneously classed it as "genuine" and attributed it to the Chou.

D.53(173) ins.C.1 Sun ku( 孫觚 : "孫" ); Ku chien( 24:

8; Jung's "List" p.861, has regarded this vessel as

faked ); Hsü chia( 11:21; the inscription reads " 𣎵 "

and the drawing of the vessel is fine. For this reason presumably, Jung's "List" p.858 labels it "genuine". Nevertheless, the inscription is copied from the texts of the Chi sun tui( 己孫敦 ) or the Chi ting tui( 己丁敦 ) recorded in the Sung Catalogues<sup>(163)</sup> with a difference only in that the forged character sun has a raised hand ); Chün ku( 1/1:16 ); Chui yi chai( 16:6; it is known as Chiao wen tzu ku in this work ).

D.54(174) ins.C.1 Sun ting( 孫鼎 : "孫" ): Hsü chia( 1:40 ); Jung's "List"( p.825 ) has labelled it as suspect.

D.55(175) ins.M.1 Sun chih( 孫解 : "孫" ): Chien ku( 11:4 ); Jung's "List"( p.864 ) has classed it as suspect.

The inscription text on the Yi kung ting( 乙公鼎 : "乙公下傳  
鼎子子孫孫永寶" ) as recorded in the Sung Catalogues<sup>(164)</sup> has also been widely copied by forgers of later date:

D.56(176) ins.C.11 Yi kung ting( 乙公鼎 : "Text as the model" ): Chi ku chai( 4:7-8 ); Chün ku( 2/1:58 ).

D.57(177) ins.M.15 Yi kung ting( 乙公鼎 : "乙公下萬壽傳  
鼎子子孫孫永寶用之" ): Chien ku( 1:14 ); Jung's "List"( p.829 ) has regarded it as faked.

D.58(178) ins.M.2 Yi kung ting( 乙公鼎 : "乙公" ): Hsü yi( 1:16 ); Jung's "List"( p.827 ) has regarded it as faked.

D.59(179) ins.M.10 Yi kung yi( 乙公彝 : "乙公下傳  
鼎子子孫孫永寶" ): Hsü yi( 6:25 ); Jung's "List"( p.842)

has regarded it as faked.

The inscription text of the Chao chung k'ao fu hu (召仲考父壺 : "惟六月初吉丁亥召仲考父自乍壺用祀用饗多福清用祈眉壽萬年無疆子孫永寶是尚" ) as recorded in the Sung Catalogues (165) has also been exploited by later forgers as textual raw material:

D.60(180) ins.G.M.37( v. & l. ) Chao chung k'ao fu hu ( 召仲考父壺 : "Text as above" ); Ku chien ( 19:6-7 ); Chien ku ( 8:3-4; 2 vls ); Jung's "List" ( p.849 ) has regarded all the three vessels as faked; Chi wen ( 4:19-20 ).

D.61(181) ins.M.35 Chao chung tsun ( 召仲尊 : "唯口月口口口亥召仲考父自乍壺用祀用口多福口用蕪眉壽萬年無疆子子孫孫休口" ); Hsü yi ( 5:7-8 ); Jung's "List" ( p.849 ) has labelled it as faked.

(IV) "Inscriptions whose sentences sound alien to those of traditional inscriptions are all forged." ( ibid. )

Under this criterion Jung has divided into five sub-divisions:

(1) "Inscriptions that read '子子孫孫永寶用' ( May sons and grandsons forever treasure and use it ), '永寶' ( Forever treasure it ), '寶尊' ( Treasure [ this ] honourable [ vessel ] (?) ), '乍寶用' ( Made [ to be ] treasured and used(?) ), [ but that lack the maker's name ], are all forged." ( ibid. )

This criterion is useful and effective, yet it is but an elabor-

ation of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's ( Barnard has mistaken it for an original contribution of Jung's. See this Chapter above ). Since it has already been discussed at length above, we shall not repeat our remarks here.

- (ii) "Inscriptions that read ' 萬年 '( Ten thousand years ), ' 萬年無疆 '( Ten thousand years boundlessly ) without any context are all forged." ( ibid. )

Inscriptions of this kind are incomplete. Forged examples are as follows:

E.1(182) ins.C.2 Wan nien ting ( 萬年鼎 : " 萬年 " ); Hui chia ( 2:23 ); Jung's "List" ( p.827 ) has regarded it as faked.

E.2(183) ins.C.12 ( v. & l. ) Wan shou tsun ( 萬壽尊 : " 萬壽博鼎子 = 孫 = 亦寶用之 " ); Ku chien ( 8:21-2 ); Jung's "List" ( p.848 ), in which Jung has renamed it Chou yi kung hu and regarded it as faked. It is noticeable that the vessel-name ( 鼎 ) does not tally with the exact vessel-type ( hu-vase ).

- (iii) "Inscriptions that read ' chi ' ( 卣 = 舉 ) followed by a vessel-name, for example, ' 卣 ', are also faked." ( ibid. )

The character referred to here occurs very frequently in the Sung Catalogues. It has a variety of forms: 卣, 卣, 卣, 卣, 卣 etc (166). Although the reading chi is without foundation, we shall use it here as a matter of convenience. Bronzes that carry



these variants of chü are generally attributed to the Shang by the Sung scholars and the practice has been widely followed by later and modern scholars( e.g. the chü has been used as one of Karlgren's three important Yin criteria )(167). The trend has been that when a vessel is inscribed with a short Shang-style inscription, it is rarely regarded as forged. In point of fact this is not true, since the shorter and simpler the inscription, the easier the faking, and the chü constitutes an ideal model for faking Shang-style inscribed bronzes. There is indeed great difficulty in dealing with bronzes bearing this graph, especially when it is inscribed on Shang-style vessels. What we can do, however, is to discriminate the common, usual and regular features existing in the corpus of examples from the unusual, uncommon or irregular ones. Inscriptions containing the chü character generally fall into four categories:

(a) The chü character, occurring as part of real texts, is used as a clan-name, in some cases as a maker's name; but in others its usage is ambiguous. For instance, "𠄎卩旅彝"(旅車卩; see Chün ku 1/3:27), here the maker Chü is comparable to the makers P'ien Yüan(𠄎 = 天龍), Chi(𠄎 = 冀) and Chao(𠄎 = 𠄎 = 邵 = 召) proposed by Kue Mo-jo (168). There are instances where the chü character occurs at the end of the inscription, "Made for Father Yi [ this ] precious sacral vessel Chü, a scorpion-like emblem."(卩父乙寶尊彝𠄎)(169), "P'eng Ni yi Chü"(彭女彝)(170), "叔宿卩日士寶尊彝𠄎"(叔宿敦

See Chün ku 2/1:41 ) etc. The function of these chü is obscure. Yet it would be very hazardous to treat them as faked, for we have a fully-attested Shang inscription which is marked at the end with two emblematic signs "𠄎𠄎" ( See our Figure 7 above ). Nevertheless, when the chü occurs in such an eccentric contexts as "𠄎 | 𠄎", "𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎", "𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎" etc, we can not but regard them as faked.

(b) Chü is usually followed by the miao hao of a deceased ancestor, which has been a traditional Chinese form of nomenclature. For instance, when inscriptions such as "𠄎𠄎𠄎", "𠄎𠄎𠄎", "𠄎𠄎", "𠄎𠄎", "𠄎𠄎𠄎", "𠄎𠄎𠄎", "𠄎𠄎𠄎" etc occur on an unattested Shang-style bronze, we have hardly any reason to denounce its authenticity, though this does not mean that we automatically regard it as genuine. However, if inscriptions occur against this rule, in a novel, heterodox form such as "𠄎𠄎𠄎", "𠄎𠄎𠄎", "𠄎𠄎𠄎" etc, we shall not be amiss in regarding them faked.

(c) Chü is also used as a family name, but in a simpler form in the same way as the sacrificial names of the later Shang Kings, which include one of the ten stems as the second element. Bronze examples are: "𠄎𠄎", "𠄎𠄎", "𠄎" (172) etc. Unlike the preceding Category, inscriptions in this Class may be interpreted as being the mark of a living owner, in contrast to those in Category (b) which have been generally taken to mark a deceased ancestor. Hence, inscriptions that read "𠄎𠄎", "

"• 𠄎", "𠄎 𠄎", contrary to the traditional form, are to be regarded as faked.

(d) Chü is used purely as a clan-name marking the ownership or the maker of the vessel, e.g. "𠄎", "𠄎", "𠄎", "𠄎" (173) etc. The status of Shang-style bronzes inscribed with these marks is extremely difficult to determine from the inscription alone, even though we are not inclined to treat them all as genuine. In view of the fact that inscriptions of the form chü followed by a vessel-name (e.g. 𠄎) have not been found among fully-attested vessels, Jung Keng is probably right in regarding such inscriptions as faked. Examples of such questionable inscribed vessels follow, covering all our four categories:

E.3(184) ins.C.2 Chü ting( 𠄎 鼎 : " 舉 鼎 " ); Ku chien( 3:7 ); Jung's "List"( p.827 ) has labelled it as faked.

E.4(185) ins.C.4 Chü tsun( 𠄎 尊 : " 舉 舉 祖 己 " ); Ku chien( 9:4 ); Jung Keng has renamed it Shang chü chü tsu chi tsun and regarded it as suspect( see Jung's "List" p.870 ).

E.5(186) ins.E.3 Chü hu( 𠄎 壺 : " 子 父 舉 " ); Hsü yi( 8:34 ); Jung's "List"( p.848 ) has labelled it as faked.

E.6(187) ins.C.3 Chü chia( 𠄎 斝 : " 禾 舉 旅 " ); Ku chien( 23:9 ); Jung's "List"( p.866 ) has classed it as faked.

E.7(188) ins.S.M.2 Yi chü tsun( 乙 舉 尊 : " 乙 𠄎 " ); Li tai( 11:1 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.24 ); Po ku t'au( 7:3-4 );

Hsü yi ( 5:21 ); Jung's "List" ( p.870 ), in which Jung has renamed it Shang yi chü tsun and regarded it as faked.

- E.8(189) ins.M.2 Yi chü chüeh ( 乙舉爵 : " 乙 升 " ): San tai ( 15:25 );
- E.9(190) ins.M.2 Yi chü ting ( 乙舉鼎 : " 乙 升 " ): Yin hsü ( 1:11 ); San tai ( 2:11 ).
- E.10(191) ins.M.3 Ting chü yu ( 丁 升 卣 : " 丁 升 夫 " ); Cheng sung ( 8:11 ); Senoku ( Yu with inscription reading " 丁 升 夫 " ); Hai wai ( t'u 40; shih 6 ); Chui yi chai ( 10:11 ).
- E.11(192) ins.M.3 Ting chü yu ( 丁 舉 卣 : " 丁 升 夫 " ): Yin hsü ( 1:76 ).
- E.12(193) ins.S.2 Ting chü chüeh ( 丁 舉 爵 : " 丁 升 " ); Li tai ( 4:50 ).
- E.13(194) ins.M.3 Ting chü chüeh ( 丁 舉 爵 : " 丁 升 夫 " ); Yin hsü ( 2:33; 2 vls ).
- E.14(195) ins.M.2 Ting chü chüeh ( 丁 舉 爵 : " 丁 升 " ); San tai ( 15:26; the inscription is in rilievo ).
- E.15(196) ins.M.3 Ting chü ku ( 丁 舉 觚 : " 丁 升 夫 " ); Yin hsü ( 2:42 ).
- E.16(197) ins.M.3 Ting chü ku ( 丁 舉 觚 : " 丁 升 夫 " ); Yin hsü ( 2:42; the inscription is in rilievo ).
- E.17(198) ins.M.2 Ting chü p'an ( 丁 舉 盤 : " 丁 升 " ); Yin hsü ( 2:74; the inscription is in rilievo ); San

tai( 17:1; 2 vessels of which one inscription is in  
rilievo ); K'e chai( 16:2; 2 vls ); Cheu ts'un( 4:19 );  
Hsiao chiao( 9:68 ).

E.18(199) ins.C.3 Chi chü ku( 己舉觚 : " 己 夙 " ):  
Ku chien( 23:38 ).

E.19(200) ins.C.M.2 Chi chü ting( 己舉鼎 : " 己 夙 " ):  
T'ao chai( 1:21 ); Hsiao chiao( 2:9 ); San tai( 2:12 ).

E.20(201) ins.M.2 Chi chü chieh( 己入爵 : " 己 入 " ):  
Cheng hsü( 2:7 ).

E.21(202) ins.S.C.2 Chi chü yi( 己舉彝 : " 己 夙 " ); Li  
tai( 2:6 or 2:31 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.26 ); Po ku t'u( 8:  
7-8 ); Chin so( 1:34 ).

E.22(203) ins.S.2 Hsin chü( 辛舉 : " 辛 夙 " ); Li tai( 5:  
4 or 5:56 ).

E.23(204) ins.C.3 Hsin fu chü( 辛父舉 : " 辛 父 夙 " ):  
Chi chih( 3:39 ).

E.24(205) ins.C.M.2 Hsin chü yu( 辛舉卣 : " 辛 舉 " ):  
Chün ku( 1/1:39 ); Yün ch'ing kuan( 1:6 ); Chui yi  
chai( 10:6 ).

E.25(206) ins.S.3 Hsin fu chü yu( 辛父舉卣 : " 辛 父 卣 " ):  
Li tai( 3:4-5 or 3:39 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.35; it is  
known as " 父 舉 卣 " in this work ); Po ku t'u( 10:16-  
17 ; it is also known as Fu chü yu in this work ).

E.26(207) ins.S.2 Kuei chü( 癸舉 : " 癸 舉 " ): K'ao ku  
t'u( 5:14 ).

- E.27(208) ins.M.2 Kuei chü chüeh(癸舉爵 : "出母") :  
San tai( 15:28 ); Yin hsü( 2:18 ).
- E.28(209) ins.M.3 Fu yi chü yi(父乙夨彝 : "父乙夨") :  
Cheng hsü( 1:29 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:10 ); San tai( 6:12 ).
- E.29(210) ins.C.M.3 Fu yi chü tsun(父乙舉尊 : "父乙  
夨" ) : Ku chien( 9:2 ); K'o chai( 13:19; it is known  
as Fu yi tsun in this work ); Yin tsun( 1:22 ); Hsiao  
chiao( 5:8; it is known as Fu yi o tsun 父乙厄尊 in  
this work );
- E.30(211) ins.M.3. Fu yi chü lei(父乙舉罍 : "父乙夨") :  
Yin hsü( 2:67 ).
- E.31(212) ins.M.3 Fu ting chü chüeh(父丁夨爵 : "父  
夨" ) : Cheng sung( 10:4 ); Hsiao chiao( 6:44 ).
- E.32(213) ins.M.4 Fu chi chü ting(父己舉鼎 : "父己  
舉" ) : Shan chai( li ch'i 1:35 ); "Yin and Chou"( A  
252 ).
- E.33(214) ins.M.3. Fu kuei chü chüeh(父癸舉爵 : "父夨  
夨" ) : Shan chai( li ch'i 6:26 ); Hsiao chiao( 6:57 );  
Yin ts'un( 2:17 ); Yin hsü( 2:31 ).
- E.34(215) ins.M.3 Chü wa fu chüeh(舉戊父爵 : "夨戊父")  
: Heng hsüan( p.74 ); Chui yi chai( 21:10 ); Yin ts'un  
( 2:13 ); Yin hsü( 2:27 ).
- E.35(216) ins.M.2 Chü fu chia(舉父卣 : "夨父") : San  
tai( 13:50 ).
- E.36(217) ins.M.3 Chü X chü ku(舉|舉觚 : "夨|夨" ) : Yin

- hsü( 2:45 ).
- E.37(219) ins.G.4 P'eng nü chüeh(彭女爵 : "彭亨林林");  
Chün ku( 1/2:58 ); "Yin and Chou"( Yin epigraphical  
 criterion p.22 ).
- E.38(219) ins.G.5 Chen tui(朕敦 : "朕上嗣時天");  
Chün ku( 1/3:30 );
- (iv) "Inscriptions, the Po ho fu ting(伯蘇父鼎) for instance, that read 'Po Ho Fu said' immediately followed by 'then bowed the head to the ground and dared to respond and extol the King's grace'(伯蘇父若曰:乃首首敢對揚皇君休) but that lack the charge in between are all forged."( ibid. )

The inscription in question consists of two unconnected fragments with the omission of the charge, i.e. the main body of the inscription. There can be little doubt that this sort of deficient inscription is faked. Examples are as follows:

- E.39(220) ins.S.37 Po ho tui(伯蘇敦 : "惟王命元年正月初吉丁亥伯蘇父若曰:乃首首敢對揚皇君休用下其萬年子:孫:永寶用."); Hsü k'ao( 5:6 ); "Shu cheng"( pp. 1078-80; 1121-22 ), where Wu Ch'1-eh'ang has mistakenly regarded it as genuine.
- E.40(221) ins.G.M.37 Po ho ting(伯蘇鼎 : "Text as above"): Hsü chia( 1:9 ); Hsü yi( 1:19 ); Jung's "List"( p. 830 ), in which Jung has labelled these two tripods as faked.

E.41(222) ins.C.37 Pe ho yi(伯翳匱 : "Text as above" ):  
Ku chien( 32:7-8 ); Jung's "List"( p.867 ), in which  
Jung has renamed it Chou po ho fu kuang and has re-  
garded it as faked.

E.42(223) ins.C.37 Pe ho yu(伯翳卣 : "Text as above" ):  
Ku chien( 15:15-6 ); Jung's "List"( p.857 ) has regard-  
ed it as faked.

E.43(224) ins.C.M.35( v. & l. ) Pe ho tsun( 伯翳尊 : "  
Same inscription on vessel and lid texts as above, but  
子 and 孫 lack repetition mark." ): Ku chien( 8:26-  
30; three vessels bearing the same inscription have  
all been regarded as faked by Jung Keng. See Jung's  
"List" p.871 ); Chien ku( 3:25-6 ); Hsi yi( 5:6 ).  
These two vessels, whose inscriptions have repetition  
marks for the characters "子" and "孫", contain  
37 characters each. Jung has also declared them faked  
( see Jung's "List" p.871 ).

(v) "Inscriptions which read, e.g. 'Made the elder uncle's  
honourable vessel'( 作伯父尊彝 ) and thus do not  
sound ancient enough are all forged."( ibid. )

Jung apparently means that the compound "伯父" is too modern,  
and we agree with this. Forged examples are C.3, C.17, C.21 etc  
as listed above.

(v) "Vessels whose types do not accord well with their ins-  
criptions in terms of period are all forged."( ibid. )



This could prove to be one of the most useful, effective and applicable criteria Jung has ever discovered. It was later developed by Karlgren into his "valuable and effective" touchstone (174). However lucid and fluent the inscription text, or however skilful the craftsmanship may be, if it turns out to violate this principle, it is faked. Nevertheless, this criterion is less efficient when applied to vessels of a comparatively close period. For instance, according to Kue Mo-jo and Karlgren the style of the vessels attributable to the Early Western Chou is not so much a new style as a continuation of the Yin style (Fully-attested vessels do not appear to contradict this). The bulk of the Yin criteria recur in the Early Western Chou bronzes (175). So at times it becomes almost impossible to distinguish between Yin and Yin-Chou (as Karlgren terms them) purely by virtue of stylistic grouping (176). However, vessel-types underwent drastic evolution in the course of a comparatively long period of time. In general, so far as vessel-type is concerned, among vessels datable to the Late Yin and Early Western Chou periods, i.e. the Second Period—Kue's "Early Products" (—945 B.C.) or the Archaic Period—Karlgrén's "Yin and Yin-Chou" (—950 B.C.) are many square yi (方彝, i.e. Karlgren's Yin element 5) and kuei without cover (無蓋之毀, commonly known as yi 彝), but no fu (簋). There are many of the types called tsun, ku (尊, 卣, i.e. Karlgren's Yin element 4), yu (卣, Karlgren's Yin element 3), chüeh, chia (鬲, 斝, i.e. Karlgren's Yin element

6 ) and kuang( 甬 , i.e. Karlgren's Yin element 7 ), but no p'an ( 斝 , contrasts with Karlgren's Yin-Chou element 42: p'an ) or yi( 匜 ). Among bells there are to( 鐸 ) but no chung( 鐘 ).


As to vessels of the period between the Middle Western Chou and the Middle of the Ch'un-ch'iu, i.e. the Third Period—Kuo's "Evolution"( 946-600 B.C. ) or Karlgren's "Middle Chou"( 950-650 ) there are ting( 鼎 , roughly equal to Karlgren's Middle Chou element 48: Shallow ting ), li( 鬲 , i.e. Karlgren's Middle Chou element 44: Arched li ), fu( 簋 , i.e. Karlgren's Middle Chou element 45 ) and kuei( 簠 , i.e. Karlgren's Middle Chou element 51: Footed kuei ). But the square yi( 方彝 ) is almost extinct in this period. On the other hand, a new type known as hsü( 盃 , i.e. Karlgren's Middle Chou element 47 ) emerged. In wine vessels, yu, chüeh, kuang, chia, ku, disappeared. Instead the hu type( 壺 , it is missing from Karlgren's criteria ) prevailed and superseded them. P'an and yi( 匜 , i.e. Karlgren's Middle Chou element 46: Ih ) were first found and among bells—chung( 鐘 , i.e. Karlgren's Middle Chou element 43 ) and pe( 鐸 ) gradually became popular.

Among vessels of the periods between the Middle of the Ch'un-ch'iu and the end of the Warring States, i.e. the Fourth Period—Kuo's "New Forms"( 600-403 B.C. ) or Karlgren's "Hui"( 650-200 B.C. ), li and hsien( 鬲 鬲 ) were seldom seen, and the hsü( 盃 ) disappeared entirely. There were—apart from the type of fu and yi that lived on down to the Ch'in Dynasty—new types known as tui( 敦 ) and tien( 簋 ). After that small bells,

pien chung (編鐘), became common (177). This is<sup>a</sup> general guide as regards types of vessels of pre-Ch'in date. It may be used as a touch-stone to test the discrepancies between the vessel-type and its inscription. For instance, vessels whose types belong to the Middle Western Chou or later date should not be found to have embodied the typical Shang character, i.e. the clan-names, the so-called "Hei tzu sun" (非子孫 = 祈子孫), "Ya hsing" (亞邢 = 亞形), "Chü" (夬, 夬, 夬 = 舉) or other "pictorial characters" (see also Kuo's Hing wen yen chiu, pp.1-10'). Conversely, typical Shang and Early Western Chou vessels such as square yi, ku, chüeh, kuang, chia and yu etc should not carry inscriptions of a later style. It should, however, be remembered that, upon applying this criterion, the kuang (觥) type of vessel must not be confused with the yi (卣), for they pertain to two quite distinct periods: the kuang, which is rather deep in body and which has a lid normally in the likeness of a cow, is one of the Shang wine vessels. Wang Kuo-wei terms it "Ssu kuang" (兕觥 or "Rhinoceros-shaped vessel") (178). Whereas the yi, which is shallower in body and has an elongated spout and normally four legs but no cover, is a washing vessel, mainly for washing the hands before or after meals. It belongs to a later date, say, the Middle Western Chou or later. It may be compared to the sauce-boat of the West in shape. The Sung scholar, Hsieh Shang-kung for example, does not distinguish the kuang from the yi, for he mistakes the Shang kuang for yi (179), even though he is well

aware of the fact that the yi was used for washing the hands (180). Only the anonymous Sung author of the Hsi k'ao discriminates the kuang from the yi by including two Sau kuang ( op. cit., 2:8-9; 3:27 )—in his Catalogue. In the Ch'ing Dynasty, the compilers of the Imperial Catalogues confuse the kuang with the yi to a considerable extent. This is reflected in the fact that Jung Keng has to renamed a great number of vessels in the imperial repositories. However, it should be born in mind that there is always a possibility that the lid of a kuang-vessel might have been lost during excavation or circulation. Hence, whether a vessel is a kuang or otherwise, should not be decided solely according to the cover; the shape of the vessel should also be taken into account. By virtue of this criterion, we shall now continue to list the forgeries. They are of two kinds:

(1) Vessels of a comparatively later period with Shang-style inscriptions are all faked:

F.1(225) ins. C.2 Tzu sun yi (子孫匜 : "  " ): Ku chien ( 32:16 ); Jung Keng ( "List" p.845 ) has renamed this vessel Shang K-yi which means that he has dated it to the Shang. But the shape of this vessel is extremely eccentric and is irrefutably of later Chou type. It is justifiably attributed as such in the Ku chien. The fraud reveals itself by the discrepancy between the type of the vessel and its inscription. Jung has presumably been deceived by the beautifully-executed

Shang-style inscription.

- F.2(226) ins.C.4 Po yi(伯匜 : "匜 戊 作 伯 匚 " ): Ku chien( 32:6 ); Jung's "List"( p.846 ) has labelled it as faked but has erroneously dated it to the Shang.
- F.3(227) ins.M.2 Tso yi( 作 匜 : " 匚 匚 ( 斧 子 ) " ): Chou ts'un( 4:32; it was in the collection of P'an Tsu-yin ); Chui yi chai( 14:1; it is known as Fu tzu yi 斧子匜 in this work and the inscription is in rilievo ).
- F.4(228) ins.S.4 Fu kuei yi( 父癸匜 : " 魯 方 父 癸 " ): Li tai( 12:5-6 or 12:127 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.71 ); Po ku t'u( 20:29-30 ).
- F.5(229) ins.S.4 Tsu wa yi( 祖戊匜 : " 匚 辛 祖 戊 匚 又 " ): Li tai( 5:10 or 5:61 ).
- F.6(230) ins.S.21 Wen chi yi( 文姬匜 : " 丙 寅 子 錫 龜 貝 用 作 文 姬 己 寶 彝 十 一 月 有 三 ( 若 銘 ) 斝 子 孫 ( 璽 銘 ) " ): Li tai( 12:7-8 or 12:129 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.72 ); Po ku t'u( 20:33-4 ).
- F.7(231) ins.M.2 Tsu hu( 祖壺 : " 祖 尊 " ): Hsü yi( 8:37 ); Jung's "List"( p.848 ) has labelled it as faked. The hu type of vessel did exist in Shang times, yet it was by no means common. Thus hu bearing Shang style inscriptions should be regarded with suspicion.
- F.8(232) ins.C.M.5( v. & l. ) Tzu ting hu( 子丁壺 : " 子 丁 匚 形 父 甲 " ): Yün ch'ing kuan( 2:10-1 ); Chui yi chai( 13:1; it is known as Tzu ting fu chia hu in this

work ).

- F.9(233) ins.M.2 Li ko p'an(立戈盤 : "子立戈形" ): Chien ku( 13:1 ); Jung's "List"( p.845 ) has labelled it as suspect; Cheng Hsü( 3:19; it is known as Tzu ta<sup>2</sup> hsing p'an 子乃形盤 in this work ); San tai( 17:1 ).
- F.10(234) ins.C.M.2 Ya X-p'an(亞吳盤 : "亞吳" ): Ch'i ku shih( 8:7 ); Hsiao chiao( 9:68; it is known as Ya yen p'an 亞燕盤 in this work ); San tai( 17:1 ).
- F.11(235) ins.M.3 X-fu wu p'an(夙父戊盤 : "夙父戊" ): Cheng sung( 10:25 ); Shan chai( li ch'i 8:48; it is known as Yü fu wu p'an 聿父戊盤 in this work ); San tai( 17:2; it is also known as Yü fu wu p'an in this work ).
- F.12(236) ins.M.3 Tzu ho pei fu yi p'an(子荷貝父乙盤 : "子荷貝形父乙" ): K'o chai( 16:2 ); Yin ts'un( 2:34; it is known as Fu yi p'an in this work ); Hsiao chiao( 9:69 ); San tai( 17:2 ).
- F.13(237) ins.M.3 Fu wu p'an(父戊般 : "父戊酉" ): Yin ts'un( 2:34 ); Chui yi chai( 7:1 ); San tai( 17:2 ).
- F.14(238) ins.C.M.4 Tzu sun fu kuei p'an(子孫父癸盤 : "子孫父癸" ): Chi ku chai( 2:22 ); Chün ku( 1/2:79 ); Yin ts'un( 2:34; it is known as Fu kuei p'an in this work ).
- F.15(239) ins.C.4 Fu chia p'an(父甲盤 : "夙父甲" ): Hsü chia( 15:5 ); Jung's "List"( p.844 ) has attributed

it to the Shang but has regarded it as "genuine".

F.16(240) ins.M.2 Shang tzu p'an(商子盤 : "商子") :  
Hsiao chiao( 9:68 ).

F.17(241) ins.C.5 Hsi tzu sun fu chi p'an( 析子孫父己  
盤 : "析子孫父己 " ) : Ching wu( 1:1 ).

F.18(242) ins.M.8 Ya hsing fu hsing p'an(亞形父辛盤 :  
"亞形中尊形□山形立爻形立戈形父辛 " ) : Chui  
yi chai( 7:1 ).

(ii) Vessels whose types belong to a comparatively  
early period with inscriptions of a later period  
are all forged.

Examples are the replicas, imitations etc by later artisans,  
the bulk of which are the Hsüan bronzes of the Ming. They are  
characterized by the fact that an archaic-style vessel carries  
an inscription of much later date. A privately-imitated chüeh of  
Yüan, the Lu yi chüeh(陸頤爵) bears inscription which reads  
"歲至正乙巳甫里陸頤製" ( Made in the Chih-cheng reign-  
period, the year yi szu by Lu Yi of Fuli ) (181). Here the Chih-  
cheng( 1341-1368 ) unmistakably points to the Yüan Dynasty,  
hence no one would have mistaken it for Shang despite the fact  
that chüeh are typical of Shang. Another example is the Ching yi  
ku(敬一觚) whose inscription reads "大明崇禎玖年潞國製成  
歸拾壹敬一主人" ( In the 9th year of the Ch'ung-chen reign-  
period of the Great Ming Dynasty, the State of Lu made this 41st  
vessel, Ching Yi Chu Jen. ) (182). It is even clearer in this

case that this Shang-style ku was made in 1636 in the late Ming. All these imitated archaic-style vessels embody an indication as to when and by whom the vessels were made. They therefore do not worry us at all. But in the case of fraudulent imitations and facsimiles by later forgers for obvious purposes, such clues are of course lacking. In such cases we have to resort to other means, and for detecting discrepancies between vessel-type and inscription-style, Jung's criterion is the best guide. Forged examples belonging to this category are as follows:

F.19(243) ins.M.8( v. plus 1. ) Chih yi(智匜 : 器 : "智  
乍寶彝" ; 盖 : "周乙父作" ) ; Chien ku( 12:55 ) ;

this vessel is in fact of the type kuang but the compilers of the Imperial Catalogues have mistaken it for yi. Jung has made the correction and suspects that the inscription on the lid might have been forged( see Jung's "List" p.866 ).

F.20(244) ins.C.8( v. plus 1. ) Li yi(利匜 : 器 : "利  
作寶彝" ; 盖 : "□作□□" ) ; Ku chien( 32:12 ).

This vessel is also of the kuang type and Jung Keng has justifiably renamed it "周子解" and regarded it as suspect( see Jung's "List" p.866 ).

F.21(245) ins.C.5)( v. & l. ) Chi chi yi(李姬匜 : "李姬  
乙用□□女□□□" ) ; Hsü chia( 14:35 ) ; Jung's

"List"( p.866 ) has renamed it as kuang and considered it as faked.



- F.22(246) ins.C.5 Yi kung tsun(乙公尊: "乙公作萬壽"): Ku chien( 8:18 ); Jung's "List"( p.865 ) has renamed it Chou yi kung chih and considered it as faked.
- F.23(247) ins.C.12 Yi kung tsun(乙公尊: "乙公作萬壽 傳鼎子=孫=水 " ): Ku chien( 8:19-21 ); Jung's "List"( p.848 ) has renamed it Chou yi kung hu and regarded it as faked. The vessel-name( 鼎 ) in the inscription does not tally with the actual vessel-type( 壺 ). The text is obviously a copy of the Sung inscriptional text on the Yi kung ting(乙公鼎 ).
- F.24(248) ins.C.M.3 Yi kung chüeh(乙公爵: "乍乙公"): Chün ku( 1/2:15 ); K'o chai( 22:10 ); Fu chai( 2:17; it is known as Tso yi kung chüeh in this work ); Ch'i ku shih( 7:28 ); Shen chai( 11 ch'i 6:29 ); Chou ts'un( 5:127 ); Chui yi chai( 22:26; it was in the collection of Liu Yen-t'ing and later in that of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i ); Hsiao chiao( 6:59 ); San tai( 16:26 ).
- F.25(249) ins.M.3 Yi fung keng chüeh(乙父庚爵: "乙父庚"): Hsiao chiao( 6:50 ).
- F.26(250) ins.C.3 Fu ting tsun(父丁尊: "子□父丁"): Ku chien( 8:7 ); Jung's "List"( p.870 ) has regarded it as suspect.
- F.27(251) ins.C.4 Fu ting tsun(父丁尊: "父丁子乙"): Ku chien( 8:6 ); Jung's "List"( p.862 ) has renamed it Shang fu ting ku and regarded it as faked.

F.28(252) ins.C.14 Ting hai chia(丁亥學: "六月初吉  
丁亥福壽萬年無疆子尚"): Ku chien(23:8);  
Jung's "List"(p.865) has labelled it as faked, for  
the text is copied from that of the Chao chung k'ao fu  
hu recorded in the Sung Catalogues—Li tai(11:9-10);  
K'ao ku t'u(4:53-4); Hsiao t'ang(p.41); Po ku t'u  
(12:14-5).

In addition to the above-mentioned criteria, Jung and Chang Wei-ch'ih have made investigations into the relationship between vessel-type, décor and inscriptions. They conclude that three discrepancies among the forgeries may be observed:

(a) "Discrepancies in vessel-type: the type of vessel which is made by altering one type of vessel into another is conspicuous and easy to detect, e.g. the upper part of the hsien-steamer may be altered into a cauldron by adding three legs to the base, which is illustrated by the P'ien k'uei ting(鑄夔鼎) in the Ku chien(6:11)."

(b) "Discrepancies between vessel-type and inscription:  
(i) inscripational texts which have been transferred from one type of vessel to another [as stated in (III) above];  
(ii) the kind of vessel which is not in agreement with the contents or nature of the inscripational text. Although there is no fixed rule as to what sort of inscription should be inscribed on what sort of vessel, the two should nevertheless go well with each other. For instance, inscriptions

concerning dowries should not be inscribed on bells or tripods; and those that record meritorious services to the nation will not be inscribed on mirror-dishes( 鏡 ) as in the case of the Chin hou p'an ( see our Figures 16-23 above ); (iii) inscriptions that do not occupy the proper location on the vessel, e.g. inscriptions on the yu-pail have never been found to run horizontally. However, there exists in the Chi ku chai ( 1:34 ) a yu, i.e. the Tzu chih tao tsau yi yu ( 子執乃祖乙卣 ) with such an inscription " □ 卣且乙 " running horizontally. It is definitely forged."

(c) "Discrepancies between vessel-type and décor: as in the case of inscriptions, the characteristics of décor are likewise consistent. So vessels whose types do not tally well with their decorative motifs are forged. For example, the ting in the Shan chai ( li ch'i 1:64 ) with a t'ao t'ieh scroll below its mouth has straight legs, which is uncharacteristic in terms of period. Again, the Kung fa hsü ting ( Chou ts'un 2:30; see also our Figure 25 above ) is heavily adorned with t'ao t'ieh scrolls which are typical of Shang and Early Western Chou, while the Kung fa hsü chung ( Chou ts'un 1:49; see also our Figure 24 above ), whose type corresponds to that of the kou ti type bell, is attributable to the Ch'unch'iu. Since their types do not accord well with the period-characteristics or their décor, we know that their inscriptions are falsely incised." (183)

Jung and Chang's statement is on the whole logical and Karlgren has made a more or less similar enquiry into this matter; except <sup>that</sup> Karlgren deals largely with décor elements in considerable detail. Karlgren notices that "A elements regularly go together with A elements and with C elements, and B elements combine with B elements and with C elements, but A and B elements do not as a rule occur together on the same vessel."<sup>(184)</sup> In principle, it is substantially true in so far as aesthetic considerations and symmetry are concerned. A vessel would certainly be eccentric in design if its décor elements went counter to this principle. But Karlgren relates them more to the art of bronze design than to the problem of detecting forgery. And Karlgren has never confined himself to strictly attested materials. In short, Jung is perfectly right in drawing attention to the discrepancies existing between vessel-type, décor and inscriptions for the determination of the status of bronzes.

(16) Kuo Mo-jø (郭沫若) (1892- ).

Kuo, a palaeographer and eminent scholar of ancient Chinese bronzes, has published a number of works on bronzes, especially on epigraphy. His most important works are the treatises: Yin chou ch'ing t'ung ch'i ming wen yen chiu, Liang chou chin wen tz'u ta hsi t'u lu k'ao shih, Chin wen ts'ung k'ao etc which deal largely with inscriptions. Kuo's studies on inscriptions concentrate on commenting on and annotating the texts and evaluating the historical significance of their contents. But his

greatest contribution to this field of studies is perhaps his somewhat pioneering periodization and localization of ancient Chinese bronzes as demonstrated in his fa hsi. But he has paid little attention to the problem of forgery, because he has no doubt of the genuineness of the materials he has employed at the time of using them, though he has at times revised his earlier opinions about particular vessels. Nevertheless, during the last two decades or so, he has centred his researches mainly on thoroughly attested materials—the scientifically excavated bronzes. There is little question of including forgeries in this portion of his studies.

To the best of our knowledge, Kuo has on only one occasion published the result of a study on the question of forgery. This is the article "公伐邾鐘之鑑別與其時代" (The Determination of the Kung fa hsi chung and its date), included in Ming wen yen chiu in the 1950 edition as one of the Chapters, but eliminated in later editions. In this study, he justifiably declares the inscription on the Kung fa hsü ting (Figure 25) faked, but has, at the same time, erroneously defended the authenticity of the inscription on the Kung fa hsü chung (Figure 24). It may be of interest to examine his argument in this context (see also Chapter 3 above).

After making a comparative study of the inscriptions on the Kung fa hsü chung and ting, Kuo discovered that the last graph in the second column of the Chung is blurred through corrosion;

hence the area for this character on the ting has been left blank. Moreover, there are two redundant characters, viz, the "其" and "用" in the last column of the ting text. Then there is the marked difference between the chung and the ting in the characters "鐘" and "鼎". On the basis of graph-structure and phraseological evidence, he declares that the inscription engraved on the Kung fa hsü ting is faked, for the following five reasons:

- (I) The character "𠄎" in the Chung text is executed as "𠄎", but as "𠄎" in the Ting text; the character-structure of the latter is wrong, for the determinative "yi" (邑) is not constructed with the element "口" (mouth) but "△" or "□" (circumference);
- (II) The last two characters in the first column of the Chung text are "𠄎𠄎" which may be identified with "攻戰"; whereas the Ting text has "𠄎𠄎" instead, which have been forged presumably after the pattern "𠄎𠄎" of the Chih ting (夏鼎) (185). However, the character "𠄎" thereon, which should be deciphered as "𠄎 = 𠄎 = 𠄎" ("a three-holed pipe"), has been mistaken for "戰" ("fighting" or "attack") by the forger;
- (III) The character immediately following "𠄎方以靜" in the second column of the Chung text is obscure owing to abrasion. The forger of the Ting, having failed to obtain a suitable graph for it, leaves it blank instead;

(IV) The character "為" was anciently constructed by combining the elements "爪" and "象", and it is correctly formed in this way in the Chung text, "𠄎", but it has been erroneously executed as "𠄎" by the forger of the Ting;

(V) The inscription text of the Chung, which consists of four-character phrases, constitutes "an unrhymed poem" (!); whereas the Ting text has been supplemented with two additional graphs viz. "其" and "用", which spoil the rhythm of the text on the one hand, and make the text "incomprehensible" on the other. For instance, the last column of the Ting text reads "其子子孫孫  
萬年永用高" (May his sons and grandsons for ten thousand years forever use it for offering sacrificial), in which the character "其" produces abnormal phraseology.

"All this" Kuo concludes, "points to the fact that the inscription on the Ting is falsely engraved." Kuo's argument is in the main conclusive, except that his reasoning under (V) is hardly acceptable.

Having successfully detected the forgery of the inscription on the Kung fa hsü ting, Kuo goes on to argue for the genuineness of the inscription on the Kung fa hsü chung. It is a great pity that all his effort has been wasted. (His study has been invalidated by Jung Keng and excised by Kuo himself, see also

Chapter 3 above ). Nevertheless, from the standpoint of judging bronze inscriptions, Kue's method of scrutinizing structural errors of script has proved fruitful and therefore worth considering.

(17) Cheng Te-k'un (鄭德坤).

In the conclusion of his joint work 中國明器 A Brief History of Chinese Mortuary Objects (186), Cheng suggests several methods for determining the status of mortuary objects. Since bronzes have often been used for funerary purposes, it will be of relevance to discuss Cheng's theories here:

(I) "The most reliable method of dating mortuary objects would of course be the archaeological evidence: the date of the soil layer, the accompanying articles such as coins, tomb tablets and other special contemporaneous objects are among the best testimony for the determination of mortuary objects." ( op.cit., pp.83-5 )

It is indeed a scientific method applicable to all excavated antiquities in general. However, it is inapplicable to forged or suspect materials already in circulation, though of course genuinely excavated articles may be used as a valuable control in the study of forgeries.

(II) "Descriptions [ of antiquities ] in ancient texts and contemporaneous relics such as bronze vessels, pottery, paintings and so forth may be adduced as evidence in the determination of mortuary objects." ( ibid. )



Historical records of antiquities and actual relics of the past do of course constitute concrete materials for comparative study. But one should never accept them at their face value without good evidence, since the descriptions in traditional texts are not all reliable, nor are "ancient" objects in circulation totally dependable. When using such materials one should never take their reliability for granted.

(III) "Inscriptions on mortuary objects, seal impressions and the characteristics and decoration [ of such objects ] may also be employed as sources for judgment."

( ibid. )

This is the kind of enquiry our present study has pursued. Among inscribed antiquities, epigraphical evidence is of utmost importance. It tells not only its own story, but also the story of the objects concerned, giving a clue for the determination of their status. Decoration also plays a significant part in this respect.

(IV) "Variation between the results of chemical analysis of the soils of different periods and of different degrees of firing may also help in the detection of false vessels."( ibid. )

Chemical means are effective to a considerable extent, especially for the study of the component constituents of historical objects; yet in so far as bronze alloys and corrosive effects are concerned, chemical analyses do not seem to have yielded satisfactory results so far( see above ).

(V) "Glazed mortuary objects which have been buried in the ground for a long time and have undergone chemical change become iridescent. Porcelains which have not been buried for a long time in the earth are not so."( ibid.)

Anything that has been buried for a long time in the earth is bound to undergo some sort of effect either in its physical appearance or in colour, or in both, due to oxygenization. Through prolonged contact with moist soil, the original colours of the objects can fade away and a new colour take <sup>their</sup> place. Cheng says that Jung Keng is able to distinguish the colour of new glaze from that of old glaze, though we have no means of testing this statement. As regards colour and patination as an aid to the determination of bronzes, scientific approaches have hitherto not been very promising( see above ).

(VI) "Professor Jung has taught me how to distinguish [ mortuary objects ] by smelling: soak the object in water and then take it out and smell. An old article has a sort of "antique fragrance"( 古香味 ) which is difficult to describe; whereas a new one has only the smell of newly burned soil."( ibid.)

In support of his statement, Cheng refers to Chao Hsi-ku's theory that the ancient bronzes of the Three Dynasties have no unpleasant odour; those that are newly discovered have an earthy smell; those that have been unearthed for a long time have none; those that are falsely made produce an evil, frowzy smell when rubbed

up with a warm pain<sup>(187)</sup>. Since this question has been discussed above, we shall not repeat our comments here. Yet one point worth mentioning in this connection is that Cheng admits that "the human nose, unlike a machine, has a limited capacity. When exposed to a particular odour for too long a period, one's nose loses its sensitivity."( op.cit., p.85 )

(VII) "Having been buried in the earth for a long time, the ancient vessels have undergone chemical change by contact with the soil. Long afterwards the loess has become firmly consolidated and has stuck to the vessels. As to the verdigris of bronze vessels, it is not easy to remove. Since new vessels have not been buried in the earth for<sup>a</sup> along time, a single washing suffices to dissolve the loess."( ibid. )

When applied to newly forged bronzes which have intentionally been buried in the ground in order to acquire some natural corrosion, Cheng's statement is perfectly logical. However, as to the fine artificial patinations or corrosive effects achieved by chemical means such as that of the pseudo-Hsüan bronzes stated above, this criterion will not be fruitful, because the fine artificial patina permeates the metal so deeply that it cannot even be scraped away with a knife, much<sup>less</sup> washed away with water. Nevertheless, it is not our intention to deny the value of the washing method completely. We agree that it is effective to a certain degree. That is to say it may be applied to test the length of

time during which a bronze has been buried in the soil.

(VIII) "The last and yet the best method of discriminating the new [antiquities] from the old is frequent observation, just as the more you see of a man, the quicker you can judge his age." (ibid.)

Similarly, Shang Ch'eng-tso has opined that an illiterate apprentice, after years of experience, is able to determine the status of a bronze with certainty<sup>(188)</sup>. However, it would be an exaggeration to assert that this is "the best method" of all. In the first place, it is not a scientific method, as Cheng himself has acknowledged (see Cheng's ibid.); in the second place, it has often proved in practice to be unreliable, as we have seen in the case of high-quality forgeries that have deceived men of Kuo Mo-jo and Jung Keng's standing. But there is one important factor contributing to their misjudgment which must be mentioned. Since their life-long experience of bronzes has extended over a whole range of vessels, many (or perhaps even most?) of which are later copies or forgeries, they have not had the opportunity of observing only genuine articles over a sufficiently extended period to enable them to distinguish genuine from imitated vessels. It may well prove to be otherwise with future generations of students of bronze, for they will (depending of course upon the availability of newly-excavated bronzes from Mainland China) be in a position to confine their observations in the initial training-period to fully-attested vessels and so acquire a

"reservoir" of experience of genuine vessels which will put them in a position to judge unattested vessels more reliably. Until such time as this is feasible it would clearly be safer to restrict ourselves as much as possible to more objective criteria, particularly those established by physical and chemical analysis.

(18) Shang Ch'eng-tso (商承祚).

Shang is an archaeologist as well as an expert on bone and bronze scripts. In 1933 he published an article entitled "Ku tai yi ch'i wei tzu yen chiu" (A Study of Forged Inscriptions on Chinese Bronzes) (189), the first of its kind to deal primarily with falsely-engraved inscriptions. In addition to scores of faked examples, he has identified a total of 16 engravers (or forgers as he calls them) who were known or suspected to have produced false inscriptions on textless ancient bronzes (see Ch. 3 above). Later in his supplementary article "Ku tai yi ch'i wei tzu yen chiu pu p'ien" (190), he replies to Hsi Chung-shu's criticism of his previous article, besides adding eight more engravers to his list of forgers. Basing himself upon numerous forged inscriptions, Shang has established six valuable and effective criteria:

(I) "The style of characters has been influenced by that of the Sung Catalogues." ("Wei tzu yen chiu" pp.247-8) By the Sung Catalogues, here, Shang does not mean that they are of the original Sung editions, but that they are of the Ming or later editions. The original Sung edition of Hsieh's Li tai, for

instance, which was a lithographic edition, has been lost. Later in the Ming Dynasty, Chu Mou-yin(朱謀聖) published a wood-block edition of the Li tai based on a transcription of Hsieh's work. Juan Yuan and Liu Shih-heng(劉世珩) of the Ch'ing published further (re-cut) editions. Yu Hsing-wu(于省吾) has reproduced an excellent photostatic edition of Chu's wood-block edition under the title of Ying chu k'e pen li tai chung ting yi ch'i k'uan chih(景朱刻本歷代鐘鼎彝器款識), Peking, 1935. All these later versions of the Li tai have distorted the original shapes of the characters to the extent that the two ends of character-strokes become more pointed than in the original Sung version, of which some pages have been recovered(191). Falsely engraved inscriptions copied from these editions resemble them in style, i.e. the character-strokes have sharp tips. Shang considers that inscriptions which have been falsely incised after the style of these Sung Catalogues are full of mistakes and badly formed. Accordingly, they may be attributed to the First Period of Forgery, a period between the reign-periods of Ch'ien-lung and Tao-kuang(1736-1850; see op.cit., pp.247-9)

(II) " [ Inscriptions whose texts are composed ] by assembling sentences [ from several different inscriptional texts ] ." ( op.cit., pp.249-50 )

The method of copying from the Sung Catalogues was found to be not always successful and was discarded by some forgers. Instead of copying the whole inscription of a vessel, which would be too

easy to identify, parts of several inscriptions were collected and put together( see also our Note 189 for Ferguson's summary ). However fine the craftsmanship of these inscriptions, the texts being a jumble from different sources, are usually unintelligible. Illustrations are inscriptions No.3 and No.4 in the "Wei tzu yen chiu" pp.250-1, which have been reproduced in our Figures 26 and 28 respectively. This group of fakes, which represent a more advanced type, have been dated to the Second Period of Forgery, the time between the reign-periods of Hsien-feng and Kuang-hsü ( 1851-1908 ; see op.cit., pp.249-51 )

(III) " [Inscriptions fabricated by ] expunging characters of [ lengthy inscriptional texts ] ." ( op.cit., pp.251-2 )

Since a complete copying of an existing inscription may give rise to suspicion, and since customers were often eager to acquire inscriptions with new contents, the forger expunges characters or phrases from an inscriptional text while copying it. The craftsmanship of this group of fakes is more advanced than that of the two preceding periods and they are therefore dated to the Third Period of Forgery, the time from the founding of the Republic of China onwards( 1912- ). Both the above methods i.e. (II) and (III), can be detected by a careful study of the wording of the inscription, for there is usually some slip in the combination of several inscriptions or the selection of words from some inscriptions which makes the wording of the

forgery incorrect. Hence, however fine the work that has been produced, its text is still irregular. Examples are the rubbings of the Wang tzu shen chan-cup ( 王子申 盞 ) and inscription No.5 in the "Wei tzu yen chiu" p.252, which have been reproduced in our Figures 51 and 50 respectively.

(IV) "Inscriptions that are imitations of other inscriptional texts [ in an enlarged or reduced size ] ." ( op.cit. pp.252-5 )

Because the size of the intended vessel may be bigger or smaller than the original vessel, or because the textless sample is a bell or tripod, the forger imitates an existing inscription text either on an enlarged or reduced scale and engraves it on the intended vessel. Those that are imitated on a reduced scale may have characters or phrases expunged from the model-texts when the engraving area is too small to accommodate the whole text. This group of fakes are also attributed to the Third Period of Forgery. Illustrations are inscriptions Nos.6, 7, 8 in the "Wei tzu yen chiu" pp.253-4, which have been reproduced in our Figures 33-38.

(V) "Copying an inscriptional text and engraving it [ on to a textless vessel ] ." ( op.cit., p.255 )

Some forgers were aware of the fact that inscriptions with expunged characters or phrases could easily arouse suspicion, so they copied a complete text. This group of fakes, which are largely analogous to those of (IV) above, differ from them in



that they are reproduced in roughly the same size as the model-text. They are easily detected through comparison. However, Shang remarks that "bronze inscriptions, which have slim, weak strokes, with no character either in the individual graphs( 字 神 ) or in the lines as a whole( 行氣 ), are certainly forged." ( ibid. ) This is an arbitrary decision, for, although some forged inscriptions are badly formed, not all genuine inscriptions are well executed. For instance, the characters of the fully-attested inscription, the Ch'u wang t'an kan ting ( see our Figure 10 above ) are weak and carelessly formed. Now, if we adopt this criterion, we shall have to deny the authenticity of the authentic Ch'u wang t'an kan ting. But in fact the opposite is true in this case. It thus serves to disprove Shang's argument in this respect.

(VI) "Most of the vessels with lids have inscriptions on both body and lid. However, there are vessels whose vessel-bodies are inscribed but whose lids are not, or vice versa, though they are in the minority. The antique dealers used to provide the textless portion, either the vessel or the lid, with an identical inscription, because, as far as they were concerned, the more characters, the easier the sale. But for us, it is 'a flaw in a piece of jade' and is therefore deplorable." ( op.cit., pp.258-9 )

Shang's observation discloses that forgery exists among vessel-

texts and lid-texts, especially when there is variation in style between them. A comparative study of vessel-texts with lid-texts would certainly disclose discrepancies of this kind. There is incorporated in the T'ung k'ao ( pt. I, 429:16; pt. II, 361:685 ) a Shou kung tso fa hsin kuang ( 字字作父辛觥 ) with the same inscription on both vessel and lid, which reads " 字字作父辛尊彝其水寶 " ( Shou Kung made Father Hsin's honourable ritual vessel, may he forever treasure it ). Thanks to Shih Chang-ju's ( 石璋如 ) observation that the vessel-text is cast, while the lid-text is incised (192), it is our conviction that the lid-text of this kuang is a later addition, because there is no reason why the lid-text should be left for later incision while the vessel-text was cast.

On the whole Shang has contributed a great deal, especially to the detection of forged inscriptions. His criteria are for the most part applicable and effective; except that criteria (II) and (III) are homogeneous in nature; and so are criteria (IV) and (V).

(19) Hsü Chung-shu ( 徐中舒 ).

Three years after the publication of Shang's "Wei tzu yen chiu", Hsü published an article entitled "Lun ku t'ung ch'i chih chien pieh" ( 論古銅器之鑑別 ) (193), which he claimed to be a sequel to Shang's work. In this article Hsü adds a further four criteria for the determination of ancient bronzes. These criteria, which have been severely criticized by Shang in his



gift to curry favour with another state;

(iii) Bronzes discovered at the same time could well have been forgotten or neglected by compilers of catalogues ; or they could have been kept secret by collectors unwilling to make them public.

These reservations go a long way towards reducing the value of Hsü's criterion, but this is no reason for abandoning it entirely. It remains valuable not so much as a criterion as for the purpose of drawing our attention to the possibility of forgery in such cases. Accordingly we may state that bronzes by the same maker or with the same dedicates, and those that bear the same inscription but are published in different albums at different periods, are to be suspected. In most cases, the ones appearing in the later catalogue are forged, i.e. imitations of the former ones; except that there is evidence that some such inscriptions are not from distinct vessels, but from vessels already published in previous albums. As a matter of fact a vessel could be published first by its original owner, then published a second time in another catalogue by a new owner, and this process could have been repeated as many times as the vessel has changed hands. It is important to note in this connection that Hsü's criterion should not be applied to vessels which have changed hands and published more than once by different owners. On the other hand, there are, of course, numerous cases where a group of identical vessels bearing the same inscription have been published in one

or several catalogues. It is with this category of vessels that Hsü's criterion is chiefly concerned. For example, there exist seven chung-bells of three different kinds which all belonged to Hsi Chung ( 兮 中 ). The first kind, bearing the same inscription of 27 characters, consists of five bells; of which four are incorporated in the Chün ku ( 2/3:41-3 ) and one in the Cheng sung ( 1:7 ). It is a complete inscriptional text with slight differences in the division of the text into columns. The second kind, bearing an incomplete inscription of 18 characters, comprises one bell ( Chün ku 2/3:44; Hsiao chiao 1:27; it was in the collection of Yeh Chih-hsien ). The third kind, also bearing an incomplete inscription, but of 19 characters, comprises one bell, on which Lo Chen-yü comments, "The Chün ku Catalogue ( 1895 ), having recorded four Hsi chung chung 兮 中 鐘 and one Pien chung 編 鐘 ( mistaking the incomplete inscription of 18 characters for that of a member of a pien chung-set of bells ), fails to include this one. Thus there are altogether six Hsi chung chung in existence." (194) Evidently, Lo is unaware of the other Hsi chung chung which is in the Ch'i ku shih Catalogue ( 9:8 ) and which bears an incomplete inscription of 19 characters. It is this particular bell that Hsi Chung-shu has given as an exemplification for judging bronzes by his criterion. His denunciation is based on the fact that this Hsi chung chung, being analogous to the group of Hsi chung chung in the Chün ku Catalogue, was published approximately 40 years after them. It thus strongly

suggests that the bell in the Cheng sung ( 1930-4 ) is a later imitation. Here again, the bell in the Chün ku which has been termed by Lo a "pien chung-set of bells" is not reliable either. This so-called pien chung bearing an incomplete inscription of 18 characters does not fit in with the partial inscription of another Hsi chung chung, which contains 19 characters ( see Ch'i ku shih 9:8 ), as a component part, but instead overlaps with it. How can they be considered to be a pien chung-set of bells?

There is another group of three bells which were all made by Cha ( 虢 ) : one is called Cha pien chung ( 虢編鐘 Cheng sung 1:8-9 ), bearing an inscription of 35 characters; one is called Li po chung ( 釐伯鐘 Chün ku 2/3:33; though it is known as Cha pien chung 虢編鐘 in the Fu chai and other Catalogues ), which bears an incomplete inscription of 25 characters; another is known as Cha chung ( 虢鐘 Yi lin ) which bears an incomplete inscription of 6 characters. In the Preface of the Cha pien chung Lo Chen-yü writes, "There used to be two Cha chung ( 虢鐘 ), of which one contains 35 characters and the other 25 characters. The inscription on the former, which was in Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's collection, resembles that of this one. The latter is known as Li po chung ( 釐伯鐘 ) in the Chün ku Catalogue. Both bells have now gone to Japan. The only one that still remains in this country is this bell ( i.e. the Cha pien chung ) which I saw ten years ago in the Capital. Now, however, I have no knowledge of its whereabouts. The bell which was once in Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's

collection has the graph '虛' in place of '虛', the phrase '用樂好賓' in place of '用樂好宗'. However, the graph '宗' on this bell coincides with that on the bell (which contains 6 characters) in the Yi lin Catalogue. In view of the fact that the upper sentence reads '用享大宗', the lower sentence would therefore be expected to be '用樂好賓'. Now these two characters '好宗' are a mistake." ( Cheng sung 1:8-9). Lo's remark implies that what he himself has published in his Catalogue is a fake! On the other hand, the Li pe chung in the Chün ku, which carries a partial inscription of 25 characters, is not a member of a group of pien chung either. For the same reason, the inscription on the bell in the Yi lin does not form a component portion of a whole pien chung text but overlaps another alleged member of the set. Basing ourselves upon this criterion together with the preceding discussion, we shall now record a further group of fakes as follows:

G.1(253) Ans.C.M.27 Hsi chung chung (兮仲鐘: "兮仲作大鑄鐘其用進孝于皇考已白用保壽前文人子孫永寶用享"): Cheng sung ( 1:7 ). The identical Hsi chung chung bearing this inscription as recorded in the following Catalogues should be regarded with suspicion until there is evidence that they are but a reproduction of those already published in the Chün ku ( 2/3:41-3; four bells, of which one was in the collection of Chiang Ching-ch'iu 蔣鏡秋 of Hunan; one in that of Mr. Liu of Shantung;

one was seen in the Capital; and one is from the rubbing presented by the Buddhist monk Liu Chou 六舟 of Chekiang ): Yün ch'ing kuan ( 5:23-4 ); X'o chai ( 1:5-6; two veibells of which one was in the collection of Li Shan-nung 李山農 ); Fu chai ( 1:4 ); Sh'i ku shih ( 9:6-8; it was in the collection of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i ); Ch'ing ai t'ang ( p.18 ); Chou ts'un ( 1:62-3; 3 vls ) ; Hai wai ( t'u133; shih 22; it was in the collection of Liu Hsi-hai and Ch'en Chieh-ch'i; but later went to the collection of Sumitomo of Japan ); Chui yi chai ( 1:26-9; three bells of which one was in the collection of Sun Yüan-ju 孫淵如, but later went to Ch'en Chieh-ch'i; one of Liu Yen-t'ing, i.e. Hsi Hai; one is a reproduction of that in the Chün ku ). This makes it clear that the last bell in the Chui yi chai is not subject to suspicion; Hsiao chiao ( 1:25-7; three bells known as " 今仲作己白鐘 " are recorded in this work ); San tai ( 1:12-3; 3 vls ); Senoku ( Hsi chung chung ).

G.2(254) ins.C.M.18 Hsi chung chung ( 今仲鐘 : " 今仲作大鑄鐘其用追孝于皇考己白用侃嘉 " ): Chün ku ( 2/3:44; it was in the collection of Yao Liu-yü 姚六榭 ); Chou ts'un ( 1:64; it is known as Hsi chung pien chung in this work ); Chui yi chai ( 1:29; also known as Hsi chung pien chung, it was in the collection of Chin Ian-



po 金蘭波 ); Hsiao chiao ( 1:27; known as " 兮仲作  
乙白鐘 ", it was in the collection of Yeh Chih-hsien )  
; San tai ( 1:15 ).

G.3(255) ins.G.19 Hsi chung chung ( 兮仲鐘 ; " 兮仲作  
大雷鐘其用追孝于皇考乙白用仇喜壽 " ); Ch'i ku  
shih ( 9:8; it is a reproduction of the rubbing owned  
by Ch'en Su-sheng 陳蘇生 ).

G.4(256) ins.M.35 Cha pien chung ( 戲編鐘 ; " 佳正月初  
吉丁亥戲作寶鐘用追孝于乙白用享大宗用潔(樂)  
好宗戲果蔡姬永寶用邵大宗 " ); Cheng sung ( 1:8-9 );  
Hsiao chiao ( 1:28; two bells which are known as " 戲作  
乙白鐘 " in this work ); San tai ( 1:17; it is  
known as " 乙白鐘 " in this work ); T'ung k'ao ( Vol.  
1, p.498:Cl1; Vol.2, p.500:C953 ); inscriptions are  
illustrated in our Figures 59A and 59B.

G.5(257) ins.G.M.25 Cha pien chung ( 戲編鐘 ; " 首啟對  
揚天子玉頸休用作朕文未釐伯林鐘戲果蔡姬  
永寶 " ); Chün ku ( 2/3:33; it is known as " 釐伯  
鐘 " in this work ); K'o chai ( 2:11-2; it was in  
Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's collection ); Fu chai ( 1:3 ); Ch'i  
ku shih ( 9:10-11; it was in Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's collect-  
ion ); Chou ts'un ( 1:59 ); Hai wai ( t'u 136; shih 22;  
it was in the collection of Yüan Li-t'ang 袁理堂 ;  
then went to Ch'en Chieh-ch'i; later it was in the col-  
lection of Sumitomo ); Chui yi chai ( 1:25 ); Hsiao



Figure 59A The forged inscription on the Cha pien chung  
( 戲編鐘 ). Note that the last character of  
the fourth column on the left ku( 左鼓 )—  
" 宗 " is an erroneous graph. It should be  
" 賓 " ( cf. Figure 59B ). The craftsmanship  
is comparatively poor.

—Reproduced from San tai( 1:17 )

Vertical column of ancient Chinese characters, likely a seal or inscription. The characters are arranged in a single column, reading from top to bottom. The style is highly stylized, characteristic of seal script (Zhuanshu).

A larger, more complex block of ancient Chinese characters, possibly a seal or inscription. The characters are arranged in multiple columns, reading from right to left. The style is highly stylized, characteristic of seal script (Zhuanshu).

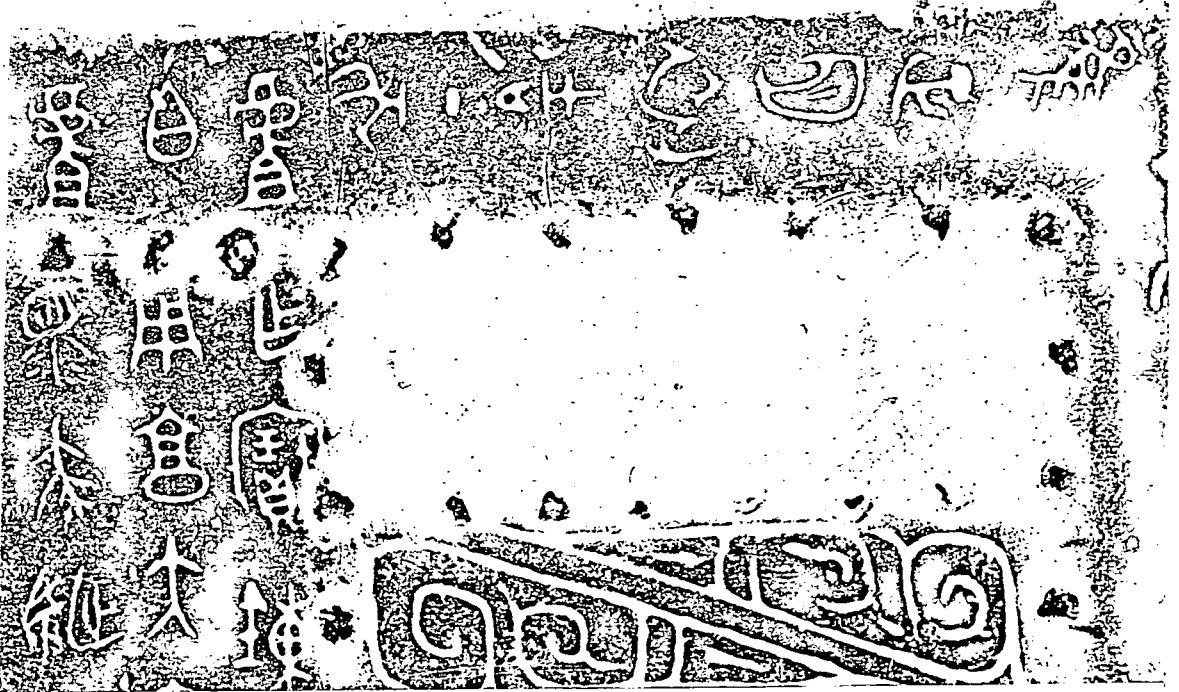
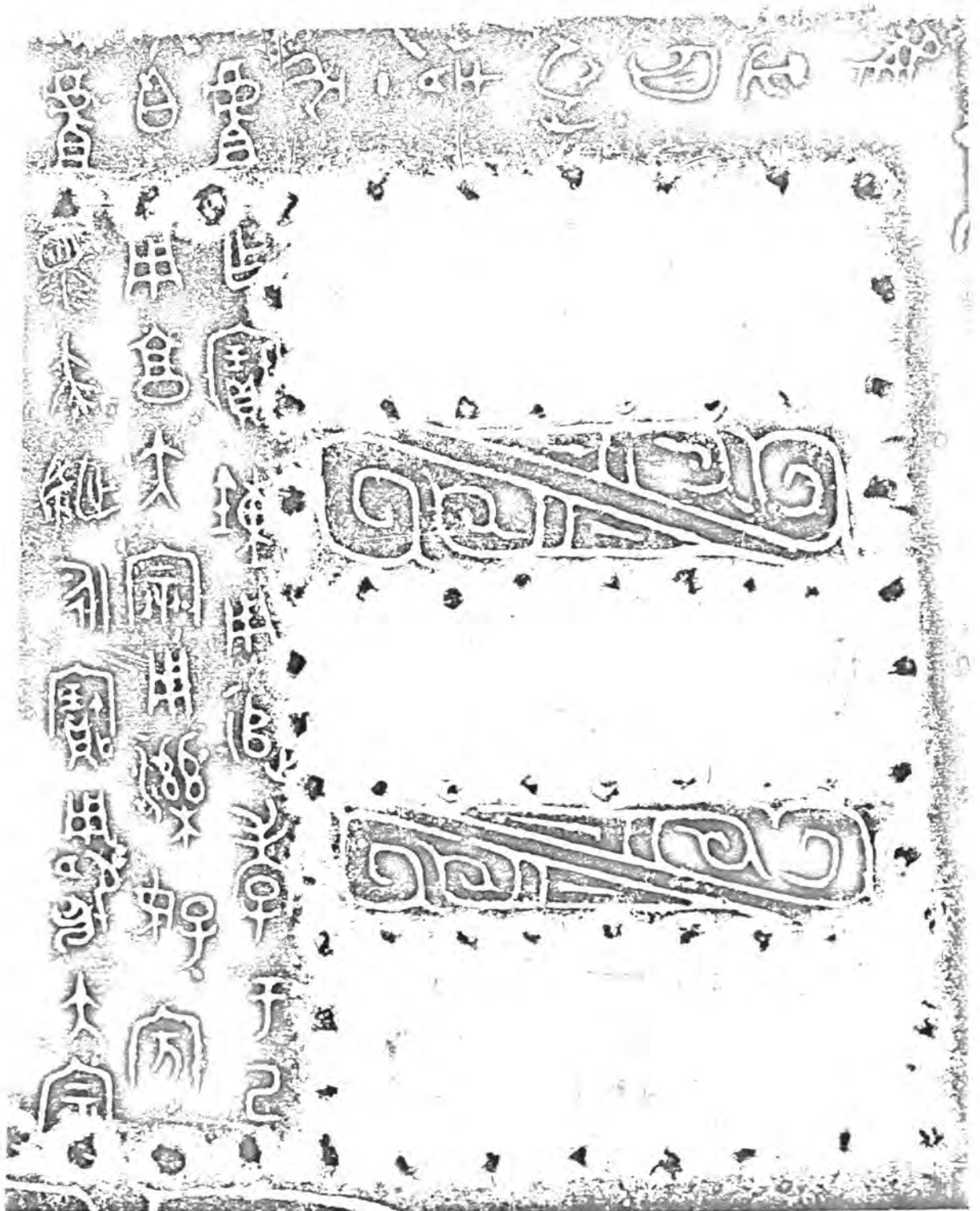


Figure 59B The forged inscription on the Cha pien chung (虢編鐘). Note that there are visible tool marks around the three characters—"果蔡姬"—in the third column on the Cheng chien (金匱).  
 問 ) .

—Reproduced from Hai wai ( t'u 135 ).



---reproduced from hai wai ( v'u 127 ).

chiao( 1:23; it is known as " 虢作虢伯鐘 " in this work ); San tai( 1:18; it is known as " 己白鐘 " in this work ); Senoku( Cha pien chung ). It is illustrated in our Figure 60.

G.6(258) ins.O.M.6 Cha chung( 虢鐘: " 好賓虢眾蔡姬 " ); Yi lin( The inscription is cast in the right ku 右鼓. The identical bell in Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's collection, whose inscription is also incomplete, is slightly bigger than this bell ); Chou ts'un( 1:59; it is known as " 虢編鐘 " in this work ); Hsiao chiao( 1:4 ); San tai( 1:18; it is known as " 己白鐘 " in this work ).

(II) "In the case of a number of vessels, not belonging to one person, time or locality but having the same style of writing( especially when this has certain individual peculiarities ), only one or two may be considered as originals( i.e. those after which the other vessels have been imitated ), while the rest may well be regarded as forged."( op.cit., pp.237-40 )

So far as we can tell, this criterion relates chiefly to inscriptions in general and to individual characters in particular. Hsu's reasoning is that peculiarities, eccentricities and individualities in the style of inscription exist in vessels belonging to different persons, times or localities. Forged inscriptions engraved by the same engraver show similar characteristics. Shang Ch'eng-tso in his study of forged inscriptions, though

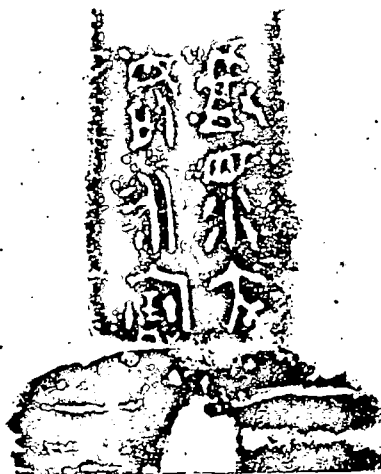


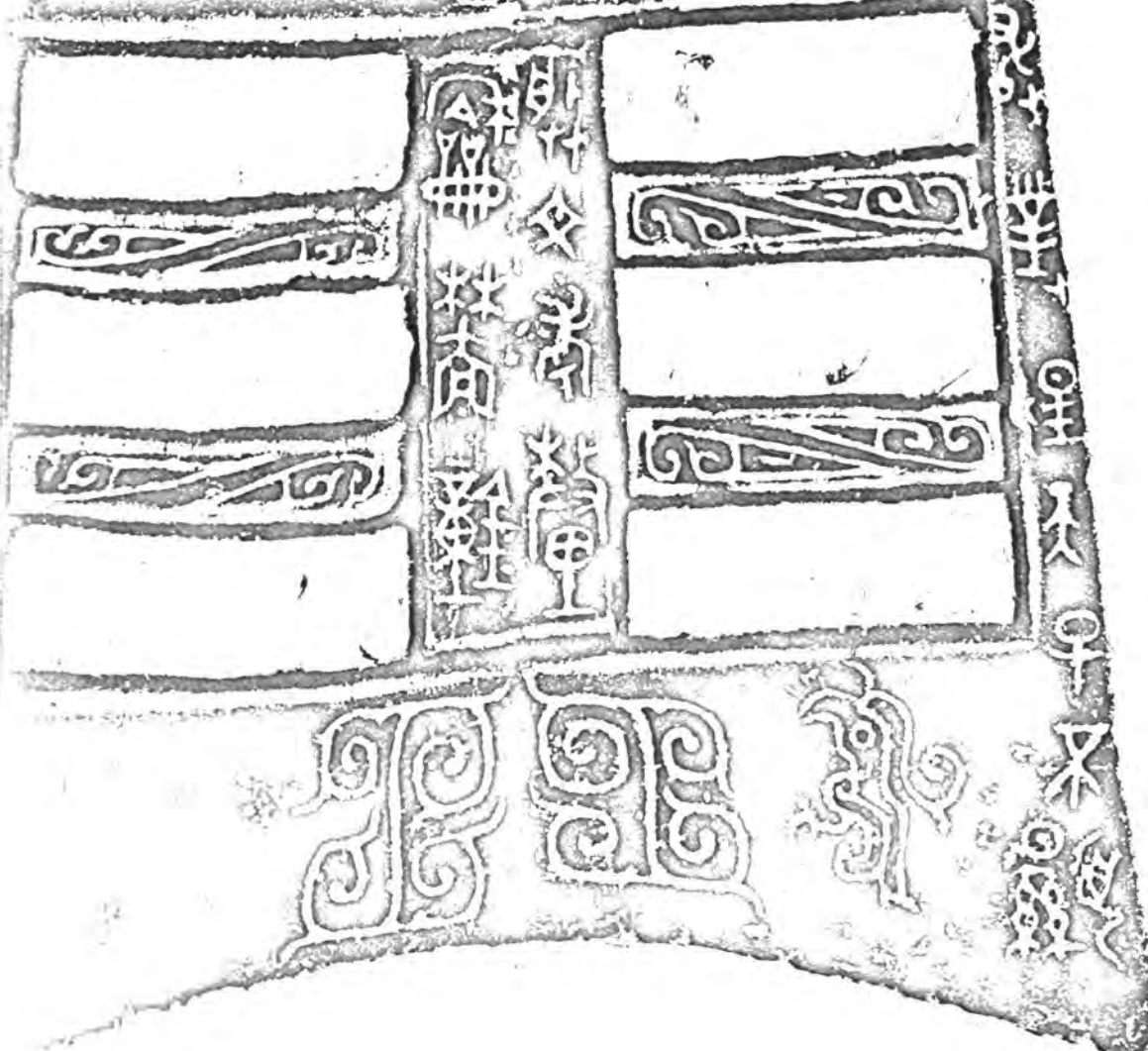
Figure 60 The forged inscription on the Cha pien chung  
(賈編鐘), a jumble of unconnected phrases  
running in a manner contrary to traditional  
writing convention.

—Reproduced from San tai( 1:18 )

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unable to ascribe forged inscriptions with identical characteristics to any particular forger, has classified a number of faked specimens into several groups which have common characteristics and can be seen to be from one and the same hand (195). Hsü's contribution along these same lines has already been dealt with above in footnote 15 to Chapter 1. The peculiarities mentioned there are far from common in bronze script in general and are typical of one particular hand. Hsü is justified in regarding them as being from the hand of one forger, though he has made this judgment on the inadequate foundation of the criterion of only one single character. Shang Ch'eng-tso has been sceptical about the validity of this criterion and refuted Hsü's theories as imaginary, idealistic and subjective (196). However, Shang has evidently misunderstood the point of departure of Hsü's criterion. In fact, Hsü has not applied his criterion directly to inquire into the authenticity of bronzes, but has adduced it as evidence for individual characteristics of certain forgers. Also, Shang has based his criticism largely upon unattested materials, which are unacceptable. We shall now record the questionable vessels as follows:

H.1(259) ins.M.47 Kung fa hsü ting (公伐郟鼎 : "For the text see our Figure 25 above " ): Chou ts'un ( 2:30 ; it is known as "魯公伐郟鼎" in this work ); Ming wen yen chiu ( 1:87; 1930 edition, in which Kuo has already declared it faked; see also Jung Keng's

denunciation of its genuineness in Chapter 3 and in the present Chapter above ).

H.2(260) ins.M.46 Kung fa hsü chung (公伐邾鐘 ; "Text largely similar to the above; see our Figure 24" ); Chou ts'un ( 1:49; it is known as "魯公伐陳鐘" in this work ); Ming wen yen chiu ( 1:87, 1930 edition. It has been excised by Kuo Mo-jo from later editions; see also Jung Keng's denunciation of its authenticity in Chapter 3 and the present Chapter above ); Chui yi chai ( 2:10 ); Chi wen ( 2:11 ).

H.3(261) ins.M.13 Ia ken chao ting ( 剌民肇鼎 : "剌觀  
迄寶傳其用口驚寃媯日辛 " ); Cheng pu ( 1:10; known as "剌觀日辛鼎", it was in the collection of Sumitomo of Japan ); Hai wai ( t'u 3; shih 1; known as "剌觀鼎", it was in Sumitomo's collection ); Chi wen ( 1:34; it is known as "剌鼎" in this work ); Senoku ( Ia ken chao ting ); San tai ( 3:27; it is known as "剌觀鼎" in this work ); GSR ( K.120 ).

H.4(262) ins.M.3 Pe lü ting ( 白旅鼎 : "白旅鼎" ); Cheng sung ( 2:17 ); San tai ( 2:33 ).

H.5(263) ins.M.3 Cheng ting ( 貞鼎 : "貞乍鼎" ); Cheng sung ( 2:19; it was in the collection of Liu Shan-chai ); Shan chai ( li ch'i 1:30; it is known as "貞鼎" in this work ); Hsiao chiao ( 2:22; it is known as "貞鼎" in this work ); San tai ( 2:33 ).

H.6(264) ins.M.27 Hsü wang liang ting (邾王桴鼎: "邾王桴用其良在鑄良鑄鼎用鑿口脂用難賓客子子孫孫世世是口"): Cheng sung (3:21); Chin ts'ung (p.260); Shan chai (li ch'i 1:74); Ta hsi (t'u 37; lu 164; shih 159); Chi wen (1:38); San tai (4:9); Hsiao chiao (2:98); GSR (K.223).

H.7(265) ins.M.6 X-chiu ting (齊敝鼎: "齊敝也保旅鼎"): Cheng sung (2:32; "Years ago I (Lo Chen-yü) saw it in an antique shop at the Capital. Now I have no idea where it has gone."); San tai (3:7).

H.8(266) ins.C.M.26 (1.) Pl hsien tui kai (畢鮮敦蓋: "畢鮮卞皇且益公降敦用斲眉壽魯休養其萬中子子孫孫永寶用"): Chün ku (2/3:41; it was in the collection of Ch'en Mu-an 程木菴 of Anhui); Ching wu (3:16); Chou ts'un (3:55); Hsiao chiao (8:25; it is known as "畢鮮卞皇且益公敦" in this work); San tai (8:26).

H.9(267) ins.C.M.22 Pe ch'i fu fu (伯其父簋: "唯伯其父薦大作旅簋用錫眉壽萬中子孫永寶用之"): Chi ku chai (7:3); Chün ku (2/3:15; it was in the collection of Liu Ching-ku 劉鏡古 of Shensi; later it was in Mr. Lu's (of Chuch'eng 諸城) collection); Yün ch'ing kuan (3:10-11); Ch'i ku shih (17:19); Meng wei (hsü 14; it is known as "伯其父慶簋" in this work); Chou ts'un (3:128; it was in the collection of Liu

Ching-ku, then went to Lo Chen-yü ); Hsiao chiao ( 9:17 ; it is known as " 白其父慶簠 " in this work ); San tai ( 10:18; it is known as " 白其父簠 " in this work ); GSR ( K.236 ).

H.10(268) ins.C.M.19 Lu po ta fu tui ( 魯伯大父敦 : " 魯伯大父下中妣前敦其萬年眉壽永寶用享 " ); Chün ku ( 2/2:71-2 ); Ts'ung ku ( 6:41 ); Shan chai ( li ch'i 7:68 ); Ta hsi ( t'u 118; lu 227; shih 196; it is known as " 仲妣前敦 " in this work ); Chou ts'un ( 3:71; it was in the collection of Mr. Ho of Ch'ient'ang 錢塘何氏 ); San tai ( 8:2 ); Hsiao chiao ( 8:4; it is known as " 魯伯大父下中妣前敦 " in this work ).

H.11(269) ins.C.M.13 Yen kung yi ( 匡公匚 : " 匡公下為姜乘般豐邁年永寶用 " ); Chün ku ( 2/1:84; it was in the collection of Ts'ao Ch'iu-fang 曹秋舫 ); Yün eh'ing kuan ( 4:50 ); Huai mi ( 2:12 ); Ta hsi ( t'u 146; lu 266; shih 226 ); Shan chai ( li ch'i 8:38 ); Chou ts'un ( 4:28-9 ); Chui yi chai ( 14:13 ); San tai ( 17:31 ); Hsiao chiao ( 9:59; it is known as " 匡公下姜乘匚 " in this work ).

H.12(270) ins.M.29 Keng wu yü ( 庚午盃 : " 隹正月□□□庚午□□李□□□□乍燬□□萬年無疆子孫永寶用之 " ); Chou ts'un ( 4:38-9; it was in the collection of Mr. Ch'eng of Hsihsien 歙縣程氏 ).

H.13(271) ins.M.16 Ch'ang po ting ( 水日伯鼎 : " □□永日伯

也寶鼎其萬年子孫永寶用享 " ): Cheng sung ( 3:7 );  
San tai ( 3:35; it is known as "永<sup>8</sup>鼎" in this work );  
GSR ( K. 342 ).

H.14(272) ins.M.15 Ch'ang chung wu lung li (永中無龍鬲 :  
"永中無龍作寶鼎其子孫永寶用享 " ): Cheng sung  
( 4:12-3 ); Hsiao chiao ( 3:76 ); San tai ( 5:35 ).

H.15(273) ins.M.17 Ch'ang chung wu lung li (永中無龍鬲 :  
"Text largely same as above with the addition of '萬  
年' " ): Cheng sung ( 4:12-3 ); San tai ( 5:36 ).

H.16(274) ins.M.28( v. plus 1. ) Nei ta tzu po hu (內天子  
白壺 : 器 : "內天子白也寶壺永口子子孫用 " ;  
蓋 : "內天子白也鑄寶壺蓋子孫永用享 " ): Hsiao  
chiao ( 4:81 ); Cheng sung ( 7:29-30 ); Wu ying tien ( p.  
102; it is known as "內天子白壺 " in this work );  
San tai ( 12:13-4 ) ( See also Chapter 5 below ).

H.17(275) ins.M.39 K'ie chung (克鐘 : "克不敵豕專真王  
克敢對揚天子休用作朕皇且永白寶鑄鐘用此  
克段永克其萬年子孫永寶 " ): Cheng  
sung ( 1:10-11; "I ( Lo ) have no knowledge to which  
collection it belongs." ); Chou ts'un ( 1:27 ); Ta hsi  
( lu 96; shih 112; it is known as "克鐘" in this  
work ); Hsiao chiao ( 1:64; it is known as "克作永  
白鐘" in this work ); San tai ( 1:23 ).

H.18(276) ins.C.M.92 Tseng po X-fu (曾伯燾簋 : "佳王九月

初志庚午曾伯震陈醒元武：孔常克狄洲及印發懿湯定衛錫  
 竹县殷卑方余翼其志金黃鑄东用自尔旅匡征后行用威福梁  
 用者用高于我皇且文未天賜之福曾伯震段不黃考備年  
 壽聖子孫 = 永家用之吉 ”) : Chi ku chai ( 7:7-9 ) ;

Chün ku ( 3/2:11-2; two vessels of which one was in the collection of Yeh Meng-yü 葉夢漁 ; one in the collection of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i ) ; K'o chai ( 15:2 ) ; Fu chai ( 3; fu 1 ) ; Ch'i ku shih ( 5:26-9; it is known as "曾伯震簋" in this work; two vessels of which one was in Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's collection, and another can be found in 17:25-6 ) ; Ts'ung ku ( 2:19-21 ) ; Chou ts'un ( 3:119-120; two vessels of which one belonged to Yeh and one to Ch'en ) ; Chui yi chai ( 8:17-21 ) ; Ta hsi ( t'u 132; lu 207; shih 186; two vessels of which one has been destroyed by fire. See Table of Contents, p. 14 ) ; San tai ( 10:26 ) ; Hialao chiao ( 9:22-3 ) ; Chi wen ( 4:1 ) ; GSR ( K.258 ) .

(III) "For every type of vessel, there is a fixed location for the inscription. Inscriptions that are not inscribed in this location are probably all forged."

( op.cit., pp.240-2 )

There is not yet sufficient attested material available for us to test this statement in detail against each vessel type, though there is no reason why this should not be done once adequate materials become available. From the fully-attested material which we have been able to examine we may at least say that we

have found nothing to invalidate this criterion of Hsü's. On the other hand, in the unattested material there is considerable variation in the location of inscriptions. While we cannot safely adopt this criterion as a general guide at the moment, it does point to an avenue of research which might well be worth pursuing in the future.

Hsü opines that there are two kinds of li-cauldron of which one has ears( handles ) and one has none. The former, like the ting-triped, is inscribed inside the belly of the vessel; whereas the latter, having a thicker lip, is inscribed either on the rim or externally in the band below the mouth. However, this does not correspond with the view of Shih Chang-ju(石璋如) when he states that the li-cauldron is generally inscribed in three different forms: (i) on the vessel-wall inside the belly; (ii) on the rim and (iii) internally below the mouth<sup>(197)</sup>. As to which of these two statements is more acceptable, we are not yet in a position to judge. Hence, Hsü's denunciation of the inscriptions on the Yung kung li(永宮鼎)(198) and the Po shang fu li(白土父鼎)(199) on the ground that they are inscribed internally below the mouth is hardly justifiable, unless there is other supporting evidence<sup>(200)</sup>.

Hsü further remarks, "Ancient bronzes, apart from the li-cauldron type, are generally not inscribed externally in a conspicuous area."(ibid.) This statement is also unfounded. A great many bronzes, Shang and Chou bells, for instance, bear

inscriptions in an externally, noticeable location. Fully-attested examples are the set of newly excavated bells and wine beakers—the Li ma tsun ( 𠄎 馬 尊 )—whose inscriptions all rest on visible places such as the chests of the horse-like vessels (201). As to the chüeh-triped-like wine-cup, according to Shih Chang-ju, its inscriptions may be placed in such locations as inside the handle, the spout, rim, columns, inside as well as outside the vessel body and the legs etc, amounting to sixteen different forms ( See Shih's ibid. ) This, of course, refers only to unattested materials. It does suggest that we shall need to excavate a large number of chüeh-wine-cups to test this statement!

Hsi is of the opinion that inscriptions on bells, apart from the pien chung-set of bells which are much smaller in proportion and whose inscriptions are shared among several member bells, run generally in three forms:

- (1) Begin first from the Right Ku 1 ( 右 鼓 1 ) and then continue upward to the Cheng Chien 2 ( 鉦 間 2 ), followed by the Left Ku 3 ( 左 鼓 3 ); the inscription will then run on, if it does not end here, to the Right Ku 4 ( 右 鼓 4 ) on the reverse side, and then further to the Cheng Chien 5 ( 鉦 間 5 ) and the Left Ku 6 ( 左 鼓 6 ).

It may be illustrated by this chart:

Right Ku 1 → Cheng Chien 2 → Left Ku 3 → Right Ku 4  
 → Cheng Chien 5 → Left Ku 6;



(ii) Start first from the Cheng Chien 2 and then continue downward to the Left Ku 3; turn over to the Right Ku 4 on the reverse side; carry on upward to the Cheng Chien 5, followed by the Left Ku 6; and then revert to the Right Ku 1. This can be shown as follows:

Cheng Chien 2 → Left Ku 3 → Right Ku 4 → Cheng Chien 5 → Left Ku 6 → Right Ku 1;

(iii) Commence first on the Left Ku 3 and then turn over to the Right Ku 4 on the reverse side; carry on upward to the Cheng Chien 5 and then to the Left Ku 6. Revert to the Right Ku 1 and end above in the Cheng Chien 2.

This may be shown as follows:

Left Ku 3 → Right Ku 4 → Cheng Chien 5 → Left Ku 6 → Right Ku 1 → Cheng Chien 2.

We may say in conclusion that inscriptions on bells, whichever form they may take, run as a rule vertically from top to bottom in regular sequence from the column on the right to the column on the left. This is in line with the traditional way of writing with the exception of some oracle bone inscriptions and of a very few unattested bronze inscriptions which may run in either direction. This may <sup>be</sup> plotted as in Figure 61 below.

Shih Chang-ju, in his study on the locations of inscriptional texts on vessel-bodies of Shang and Chou, has observed that there are sixteen forms in which the bells are inscribed. He provides a chart which is reproduced in our Figure 62:

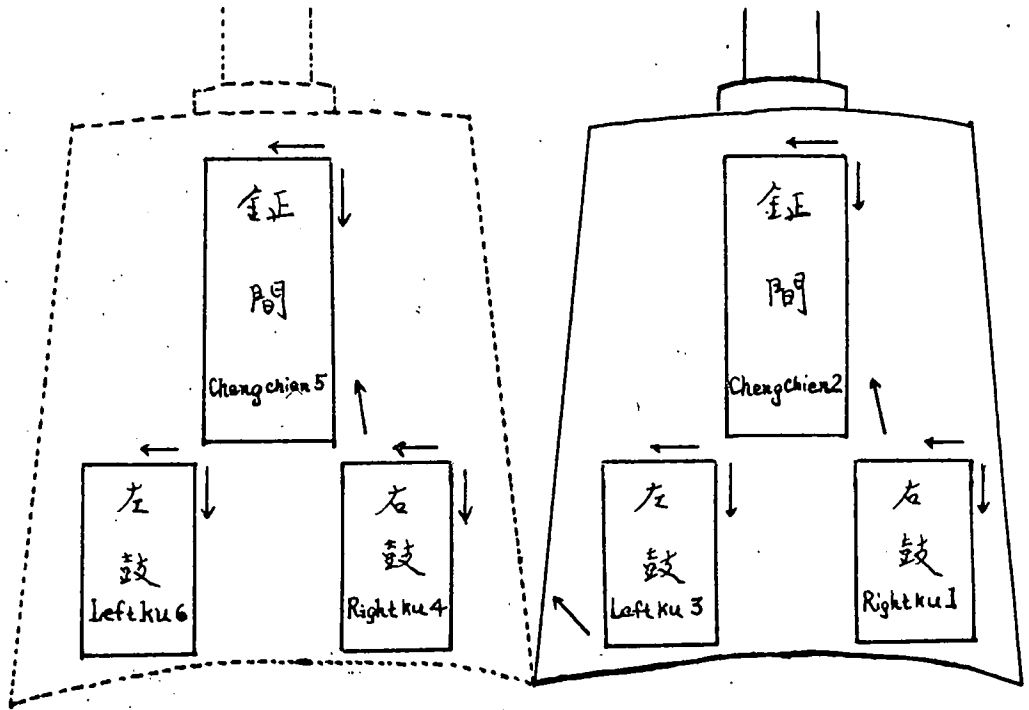


Figure 61 The regular sequence of inscriptions on bells.

—After Hsü Chung-shu, "Lan ku t'ung ch'i  
 chih chien pieh", K'ao ku hsiieh she she  
k'ao, Vol. 4, 1936, p. 242.

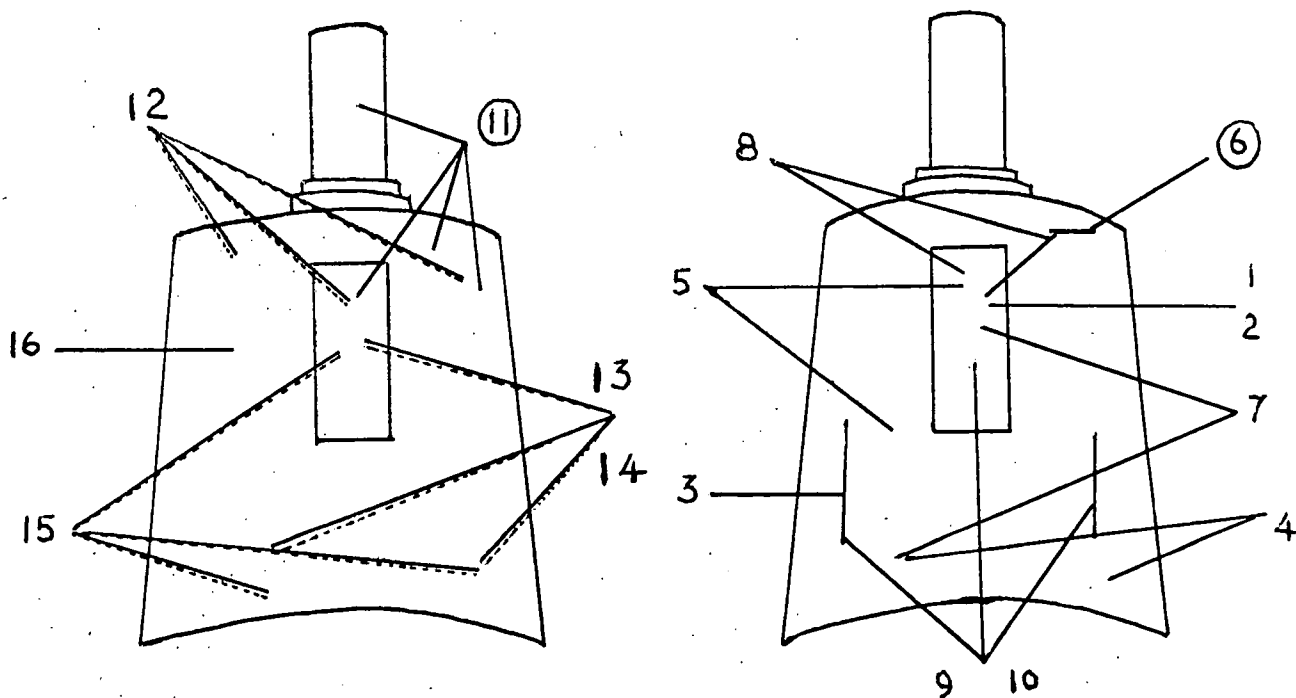


Figure 62 The alleged locations of inscriptions on bells.

—After Shih Chang-ju, "Shang chou yi ch'i ming wen pu wei li lüeh", Ta lu tsa chih, Vol.8, No.7, 1954, pp.218-9.

Generally speaking, most of these forms are reasonable for they accord with the principle or convention of Chinese writing with the exception of forms 6 and 11: not only because they are based on faked materials, but also because they are illogical and against this principle of Chinese writing. Shih Chang-ju writes:

"(6) From the Chuan (篆) to the Cheng (鍾): that is starting from the Chuan on the top and ending in the Cheng. For instance, the inscription on the Cha chung (虢鐘; see our Figure 59B above) (202) runs [ horizontally ] in a line from the Chuan on the top, and ends [ vertically ] in three columns in the Cheng, totalling 35 characters, as shown [ in our Figure 62: ⑥ ] "( *ibid.* )

The Cha chung, i.e. Cha pien chung, has already been declared faked by applying Hsü Chang-shu's criterion above ( see 4.6.(19). (I).G.4 ). Moreover, in no cases of fully-attested materials, nor in many cases of unattested materials, have we found inscriptions on bells running horizontally and certainly not laid on their side as is the case in this questionable inscription. Hence we cannot accept what Shih has said as quoted above. He writes further,

"(11) From the Luan (鑿) to the Chuan (篆), Cheng (鍾) and Yung (甬): that is, starting [ vertically ] from the Right Luan and continuing [ horizontally ] in the Chuan, followed by the Cheng, and finally ending in

the Yung ( i.e. the handle ). An example is the Cha pien chung ( 虢編鐘 ; see our Figure 60 above ) (203) as shown [ in our Figure 62; ⑪ ] " ( ibid. )

This Cha pien chung has also been declared faked by applying Hsü's criterion above ( see 4.6.(19).(I).G.5 ). Its inscriptional texts does not run in a proper order, but is a hodge-podge<sup>of</sup> phrases arbitrarily added to the body of the bell. There is no reason why the founder should have inscribed the phrase " 虢眾蔡姬永寶 " ( Cha and the Lady Ts'ai forever treasure ) in the Yung instead of inscribing it either in the left Ku or in any of the other locations on the reverse side. It is unprecedented in inscriptions on bells and certainly not supported by any fully-attested inscriptions. In conclusion, Shib's statement must again be rejected. On the other hand, as Shang Ch'eng-tse did (204), we prefer to accept Hsü's criterion and by the application of this we declare faked the following inscriptions on the bells concerned.

I.1(277) ins.S.C.M.64 Hsu tzu chung ( 許子鐘 : " 惟正月  
初吉丁亥許子將以擇其吉至自乍鈐鐘中縣虢揚元鳴  
北煌穆和鈐用單以喜用樂嘉賓大夫及我朋友鼓。越  
萬年無謀眉壽無已子子孫孫永保鼓之  
" ): Li tai ( 6:3-5 or 6:64-5 or 6:50-1; 2 vls )  
; K'ao ku t'u ( 7:7-8; it is known as " 鄧子鐘 " in  
this work ); Ta hai ( t'u 246; lu 193; shih 178; 2 vls );  
Chi wen ( 2:7 ); the inscriptional text runs in this

order: (i) Cheng Chien 2; (ii) Right Ku 1; (iii) Left Ku 3; (iv) Cheng Chien 5; (v) Right Ku 4; (vi) Left Ku 6, which is contrary to the principle established.

I.2(278) ins.C.M.46 Tzu chang chung (子璋鐘: "往正月  
初吉丁亥群孫析子璋璋單其志金自作爾鐘用  
匪以喜用樂父魁諸士其眉壽延基子口孫孫永  
保鼓之"): Hsü Chung-shu has declared this inscrip-  
tion( Cheng sung 1:14 ) faked on the ground that it  
runs in the order: (i) Cheng Chien 2; (ii) Right Ku 1  
; Left Ku 3. On the other hand, with the second bell  
( Cheng sung 1:15 ) carrying the same inscription run-  
ning in the regular sequence of writing Hsü. seems to  
be quite satisfied( see op.cit., p.242 ) Concerning  
the inscription on this group of bells, Shih Chang-ju  
has this to say, "There are altogether six Tzu chang  
chung [ which bear the same inscription ] ; but their  
forms vary. There is one bell whose inscription is in-  
scribed in one Cheng and two Ku( Implicitly, this re-  
fers to the inscription in question )."( See Shih's  
op.cit., p.219 ) Nothing has been said as to the se-  
quence of writing on this bell by Shih; nor has he  
doubted the genuineness of these Tzu chang chung-bells.  
Kuo Mo-jo has happily collected five of them( includ-  
ing the one declared faked by Hsü ) in his Ta hsi, yet  
has made no annotation on its enigmatic and irregular

wording<sup>(205)</sup>. To us, however, the inscription text is but a poor imitation of that of the Sung text, i.e. the forged Hsü tzu chung ( see I.1 above ), in spite of the fact that it runs in a regular sequence of writing. But the workmanship of the incision is far from good. Several marked errors occur in the inscrip-tional text: " 壬正十月初吉丁亥 " ( In the first, tenth month, the first quarter, on the day ting hai ), where the first month ( not to be confused with the " 壬 " 壬 ) and the tenth month contradict each other. The forger has betrayed himself by expanding the phrase " 壬正月初吉丁亥 " in the Hsü tzu chung with an extra " 十 ". The phrase " 擇其吉金自作魯鐘 " ( Chooses his best metal and makes by himself this harmonious bell ) is obviously copied from that of the Hsü tzu chung: " 擇其吉金自作魯鐘 " with the change of only one character, viz. the " 魯 " for the " 鐘 ". The rest of the text is also largely an imitation of the Hsü tzu chung text with only some minor modifications. All this evidence suffices to disprove the authenticity of all bells which bear this questionable inscription as recorded in the following Catalogues: Chün ku ( 3/1:28-9; two bells, of which one was in the collection of Ch'eng Mu-an 程木庵 and one in the collection of Chang Shu-wei 張叔未 ). The inscriptions on

them are on the whole alike, except that the three characters "子, 璋, 孫" of the second bell have repetition marks and that the character "之" is blurred through corrosion and cannot be seen ); Yün ch'ing kuan ( 5:29-30; it is known as "周鐘" in this work ); K'ie chai ( 2:5-7; 2 vls ); Cheng sung ( 1:14-5; two vessels, of which one contains 45 characters, since the first "子" has no repetition mark, and of which the other contains 44 characters, since the two characters "子璋" have no repetition mark ); Ts'ung ku ( 6:8 ); Shan chai ( yüeh eh'i: 19-20; 2 bells ); Ch'ing yi ko ( 1:21 ); Chou ts'un ( 1:50; 2 bells ); Ta hsi ( t'u 251-3; lu 194-8; shih 179; five bells attributed to the State of Hsü 許 ); Chui yi chai ( 2:13 ); San tai ( 1:27-31; six bells, of which the 1st, 3rd and 6th bear the same inscription but run in an improper order ); GSR ( K.310 ).

I.3(279) ins. C.M.10 Cheng hsing shu chung ( 鄭井叔鐘 : "奠(鄭)井(邢)叔作器鐘用妥賓" ); Chi ku chai ( 3:2-3; it is known as "鄭邢叔妥賓鐘" in this work. The inscription, which is included here from a rubbing by Chao Chin-chai 趙晉齋, comprises eight characters in the Cheng Chien reading "鄭井叔作器鐘用" and two characters in the Right Ku reading "妥賓" ); accordingly, it runs in this order: (1) Cheng Chien 2;



(ii) Right Ku 1, which is contrary to our criterion. It is therefore a fake. It can also be found in these Catalogues: Shuang wang ( Cheng hsing shu chung ); Chou ts'un ( in the Yi ts'ung 6:71; ) two bells, of which one contains eight characters in the Cheng Chien "鄭井叔作甬鐘用" and one character "賓" in the Left Ku; while the other also contains eight characters in the Cheng Chien "鄭井叔作甬鐘用", but two characters in the Right Ku "妥賓".) According to our principle, the latter is a fake. There appears in the Yi ts'ung ( pu yi 20 ) another bell which bears the same inscription, but of only eight characters in the Cheng Chien "鄭井叔作甬鐘用". The compiler Tsou An ( 邵安 ) comments, "In 1912 this bell was brought to Shanghai for sale in the market by a collector from Hunan. An antique dealer added the lower four characters to the Cheng Chien, since there was a blank therein. He also cleaned it up by scraping, whereby the original text became unreadable. Afterwards it was purchased by someone from the East ( i.e. Japan )." ( ibid. ) Kuo Mo-jo has also noticed that the inscription on the second bell, which belongs to the Niu chung ( 鈕鐘 ) type and which is not forged, in the Chou ts'un Catalogue is falsely engraved. The fraud lies in the fact that the two characters "妥賓", which should be

inscribed in the left Ku according to the conventional form, are engraved in the Right Ku instead. Another discrepancy is that the alleged maker of the bell—Cheng Hsing-shu( 鄭 井 叔 ), who lived in the reign of Hsiao Wang of the Western Chou( 西 周 孝 王 )—could not have made such a niu chung, for it does not belong to that period(206).

To sum up, Hsu's criterion, which is useful and effective, may be revised to "Bronzes which are not inscribed in the proper location or whose inscriptions do not run in a regular, conventional order are faked."

(IV) "Inscription, type and décor of bronzes each has different periodic characteristics; yet these three are in accordance with the principle that if any of them belongs to an early date, the rest should also do so; or that if one is of a later date the other should likewise be so. Should there be bronzes [ whose inscription, type or décor characteristics ] do not tally with each other, they must either be totally forged, or at least the inscriptions are forged."( op.cit., pp.242-3 )

This criterion corresponds in principle with Jung's criterion(V); (a), (b) and (c) above, and will therefore not be dealt with here again.

(20) Noel Barnard.

Barnard's studies on ancient Chinese bronze vessels have

for the last decade or so been concerned with two main avenues of investigation: first, the nature of the authenticity of the materials and the historical significance of those inscriptions which are of undoubted authenticity; secondly, the study of forgery<sup>(207)</sup>. As already mentioned in Chapter 1 above, his investigation into the forgery of inscribed bronzes have been conducted on the basis of four major principles: (i) properly attested inscribed objects; (ii) already proved or alleged spurious inscriptions; (iii) unattested or <sup>re</sup>unreliably attested inscriptions and (iv) all available archaeological documents of all kinds, i.e. from the Shang bone inscriptions to Ch'in and Han stone and strip inscriptions. This attitude and his "approach of dividing the materials into primary( i.e. properly attested ) and secondary ( i.e. unattested ) groups as a prelude to serious study"<sup>(208)</sup> are essential to all students of antiquities in general, and to students of ancient Chinese bronzes in particular. And Barnard's emphasis on this matter is perfectly justifiable. Having erected himself a principle of guidance, Barnard pursued his enquiries along this line and in 1958 published his first article—"A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of Western Chou Date"<sup>(209)</sup>. In this article, apart from bringing together five commentaries and annotations of the Yi hou nieh yi ( 宜侯矢彝 ) in an eclectic study, Barnard proclaimed his "most important discovery"—"The Principle of Constancy of Character Structure." He claims that it is a result of observation and conclusions he has arrived at

upon the basis of an extensive study of bronze inscriptions conducted over the past four years prior to the publication of the above-mentioned article ( see his Note 22 in op.cit., p.36. The validity and effectiveness of this new principle will be discussed later ). In the following year, he brought out another article which he intended as part of a series devoted to the subject of forgery among the inscribed bronzes of Chou. This article contains his denunciation of the authenticity of the inscription on the Chia yi-vessel already mentioned several times in Ch.3 and the present Chapter above, and is entitled "Some Remarks on the Authenticity of a Western Chou style Inscribed Bronze". The declaration is made as a result of a calligraphic and ~~tactical~~ appraisal of the document concerned. In this article he stresses the point that epigraphical evidence has great weight in the study of forgery, and this evidence thus forms the main basis of his investigation. On the other hand, he underestimates the efficacy of other approaches such as stylistic grouping, chemical analysis and other scientific means, etc. He writes, "Stylistic groupings of vessels, décor and inscriptions mean nothing as far as proof of authenticity is concerned---they merely indicate characteristics of the materials that obtained in particular periods; chemical tests may determine the antiquity of the bronze in a general sort of way but precise dating of objects cast more than a few centuries ago is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. Science can offer little aid in the absence of such

essential information as the nature of the site in which they were buried, prevalence of moisture, proximity of other objects etc." (210) This statement proved premature when at a later date Barnard diverted his methods of research purely to scientific and chemical approaches (see below). Moreover, it should be remembered, as has already been discussed above, that stylistic groupings of vessels, décor and inscriptions may be employed as a control, or rather criterion, for the observation of discrepancies among bronzes, even though they "mean nothing as far as proof of authenticity is concerned". Again in the following year, he published yet another article entitled "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of the Reign of King Mu of Chou" (211). In this article, besides dealing largely with the content of the authentic inscription text, he has by no means shown less concern for the question of forgery. He anticipates his forthcoming works, "Forgery in Archaic Inscribed Bronzes of China" (212) and these promised in his statement that "others in this series which will be published in the near future are: 'Further Notes on the Ch'u Silk Documents'; 'An Interesting Group of Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronzes of Western Chou'; 'The Ts'ai Bronzes of Shou-hsien' and several others still in preparation." (213) However, before the publication of this series of works came rather unexpectedly his treatise, Bronze Casting and Bronze Alloys in Ancient China (MS monograph KIV, 1961). Indeed, the arrival of this treatise was rather fortuitous; during the compilation of a

work on the subject of forgery Barnard aimed to devote a complete Chapter to the subject of bronze casting and to assemble therein a comprehensive list of chemical analyses of ancient Chinese bronzes in an effort to discover whether scientific investigation of the materials might help in solving certain problems of forgery. It was later found that the sources were so prolific that a single chapter was insufficient to cope with the rapidly accumulating evidence, which was therefore tending towards monograph status<sup>(214)</sup>. In this book he has altered his method and attitude of research into adopting a scientific and chemical approach. He has not by any means lost interest in the issue of forgery. He seeks to entice metallurgical scholars to push still further into this realm of exploration, since this excursion into the technicalities of bronze casting will eventually assist, he claims, in no small measure in clearing the field of unwanted spurious materials( see ibid.)

We shall now examine the points intended to be criteria for the determination of the status of bronzes made by Barnard throughout his works in chronological sequence:

(I) The Principle of Constancy of Character Structure.

Barnard writes, "I proceed to draw attention to a most important characteristic of the archaic script which is not limited to the present inscription but is, indeed, a definite feature to be observed in all fully-attested documents of all types dating from Shang to Han times—I label the

characteristic: 'The Principle of Constancy of Character Structure'. In each of the several thousands of fully-attested inscriptions I have studied it was observed that repeated characters, or elements of characters, in any one document, were always written on the same structural principle—numbers of strokes, position and intrinsic features stroke combinations always accorded in each occurrence of the same character written by the same writer. The principle is so irrefutably evidenced in attested texts engraved in bone, bronze and stone; cast bronze texts; impressed seal texts; and in ink writing on silk and on bamboo, that there remains not the slightest shadow of doubt that here we have a fundamental principle that has governed Chinese writing from the earliest times in which authentic examples exist."(215)

Having discovered this important principle, Barnard then tries to apply it in declaring the inscription on the famous Mao kung ting and the San shih p'an faked. He collects numerous formal variants of two characters and says that "the examples of inconstancy presented above are neither archaic, Chou, nor genuine.... The principle of constancy of character structure which is the decisive proof of forgery in the case of the Mao kung ting will be discussed in succeeding papers dealing with individual properly attested inscriptions."(216) This newly discovered principle has been strengthened further in his following article, "I am

quite satisfied after prolonged study of this matter to assert that inconstancy is not a characteristic of Chinese calligraphy, whether ancient or modern, whether it is found in archaic style writing, it is merely due to the ignorance on the part of the writer of the principles of Shang and Chou period calligraphy. It is quite permissible to regard inconstancy as a definite proof of forgery." (217)

The Chinese script, apart from being used as a means of communication, has been used as an art-form. Where aesthetics are concerned no artist is inclined to obey any such "Principle of Constancy". This is particularly true in the sphere of Chinese calligraphy. Dr. Cheng Fe-k'un writes, "Chinese calligraphers throughout the ages write as momentary fancy dictates, not only each character in different forms, but in different styles and even inventing new styles and characters as they go along." (218) And this indeed is a common practice in Barnard's "Chinese writings from the earliest times in which authentic examples exist" down to the present day. Examples of this sort abound in the writings of numerous famous Chinese calligraphers: where one and the same character occurs in different forms with distinct character structure within one single piece of calligraphy: "寘  
: 寘 ; 寘 ; 寘 " (219) "師 : 師 ; 為 : 為 " (220) "明 : 明 " (221) "明 ; 時 " (222) etc. In disproving the "Principle of Constancy of Character Structure" Dr. Cheng gives rough statistics from Jung Keng's Chin wen pien, which show that there are 745



inscriptions each containing a character that is written in two different forms; 96, three; 26, four; 12, five; 3, six; 1, seven. In case Barnard might not accept unattested materials from the Chin wen pien, he furnishes a rubbing of the newly excavated Shang bronze—the Hsü ssü tzu ting ( see our Figure 7 above ) as support. He observes that this genuine inscription has six characters each composed of a mien-roof. Among these two are written in two strokes, one in three, and three in four strokes. The character pei-cowrie ( the 7th character ) is written in its common form, but the "cowrie" element in the character pao-precious ( the 15th character ) has a very much simplified structure. The place name, which is undeciphered, occurs twice in the text as the 10th and the 20th graphs, but is written in two different ways; the former with a complex and the latter a simple form of the pushou ( 部首 ) "月" ( moon ) (223). Similar examples could easily be multiplied, yet we need only add one other fully-attested inscription of Western Chou date—the Shih shih kuei No. 1 ( see our Figure 58 above ). In this inscription at least four characters are executed in two different forms with distinct structures, elements or number of strokes:

1. "右" ( to assist ) =  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{右} \quad ( 3/4 ) \\ \text{𠂇} \quad ( 5/10 ) \end{array} \right.$
- 2.3 "師旅" ( The General Shih ) =  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{師} \quad ( 3/5-6 ) \\ \text{旅} \quad ( 4/8-9 ) \end{array} \right.$

4. "𠄎" ( command ) =  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{𠄎} \quad ( 4/7 ) \\ \text{𠄎} \quad ( 8/9 ) \end{array} \right.$

In the light of this fully authenticated evidence, we must declare that it is certainly not "permissible to regard inconstan-  
cy as a definite proof of forgery".

Concerning the execution of inscriptions, Barnard writes,

(II) "It may be accepted as a general rule of guidance that Western Chou inscriptions were always cast with the vessels and only in Eastern Chou and Chankuo times did the practice of incising texts on vessels commence.... Western Chou style incised inscriptions should always be regarded, in the first place, with strong suspicion."  
"(224)

It is true from the evidence of all materials hitherto available, including both attested and unattested vessels, that cast inscriptions on bronzes predominated in pre-Eastern Chou periods. But this does not necessarily mean that the practice of incising texts on metal, as on bones and shells in the Shang, did not commence until the Eastern Chou and Chankuo periods. Although little is known of this process at present, no one can guarantee that attested incised inscriptions of Western Chou style will never be brought to light. Nevertheless, in the meanwhile, Barnard is justified in stating that Western Chou style incised inscriptions should always be regarded, in the first place, with strong

suspicion.

(III) Barnard anticipates the possibility of determining spurious bronzes by means of chemical analyses. The aim is first to determine the significance of alloy proportions and of trace elements, and then to find out whether there is a marked difference in bronze alloy constituents of different periods (225)

However, available analyses of this kind made to date reveal that attested as well as unattested items present roughly the same features. Moreover, chemical analyses assembled by Ch'en Meng-chia show that alloy proportion in the Shang and Western Chou bronzes are practically identical (226). In this connection, Yetts's statement still holds good, though it appeared some four decades ago. He says, "In short, the likelihood is that the alloys used in feudal China conformed to no uniform standard, but varied according to the accidental chances of supply and the rough empirical knowledge of craftsmen.....Another factor likely to complicate estimates based on metallic composition is the frequency with which bronze objects were melted down and the metal cast afresh.....the constant re-casting of bronzes must have gone on everywhere at all times; and there seems no reason, e.g. why a pseudo-archaic vessel made, say under the Sung, should not be composed of actual metal cast by a craftsman of feudal China some two thousand years before. These are reasons why the mere analysis of alloys is not likely to provide definite criteria as

to the age and provenance of bronzes<sup>(227)</sup>.

(IV) "The presence of 'mould-joins' as such cannot be taken as evidence of authenticity."<sup>(228)</sup>

We include this statement here, for although it is not a criterion for detecting forgery, it is in fact a warning against attempting to set up such a criterion. Barnard's essential argument is based on the fact that "the majority of vessels( which are illustrated in later catalogues by means of clear photographic reproductions ) exhibit mould-joins in the vessel-body." ( op.cit. p.240 ) This is the effect of a cire-perdue casting after already-prepared décor sections have been inserted into grooves and depressions in the model surface made for the purpose( see op.cit., p.241 ). Barnard remarks that "Sectionalism is characteristic of both authentic and forged vessels"( op.cit., p.240 ), but he fails to document this statement with reference to vessels which have been established as authentic or forged. This is another approach which will have to wait until access to the fully-attested material in Mainland China becomes available. For the time being Barnard's statement cannot be accepted, though it may well prove to be true in the future.

(V) Barnard also attempts to develop important criteria for the determination of forgery out of the actual nature of the adherence of the earthy traces on bronzes. He claims that in one of several bronzes examined, the clay-like adhering matter shows disturbing evidence of artificial application—traces of scapel-

like tool marks clearly made while the clay was in a plastic state( see op.cit., p.202 ). But whether the artificial application of earthy traces was made to a forged vessel or otherwise he does not know; for he believes that "earthy materials might, of course, quite well be added to a comparatively clean genuine article shortly after discovery and before a sale was attempted for obvious reasons."( ibid. ) This again is somewhat of a speculation, for the majority of excavated bronzes are covered with a thick layer of soil, and if the object is really authentic no earthy material needs to be added. And Barnard is also of the opinion that in the case of a genuine bronze unearthed from the ground, the soil covers the patina more or less, as would naturally be expected, and if observed under magnification the earthy material is indeed, very naturally intermingled with the patina; while in the case of a suspected bronze the soil covers only the pristine metal in several scattered areas( see ibid. ) This is quite correct if the soil is applied to the vessel-body only for a short time when oxygenization has not yet taken place. However, in view of the fact that artificial patination and corrosive effects could easily be achieved in a very short time by chemical means, the study of earthy materials in the attempt to develop criteria for detecting forgery is unlikely to be fruitful, if not hopeless, because some of the chemicals may themselves have been mixed with soil or sand while being applied to the bronzes.

(21) Bernhard Karlgren( 1889- ).

Karlgren is included here not because he has made any important contribution to the detection of forgeries, but for his attempts to perform the complementary task of determining <sup>in</sup> authentic vessels. Karlgren has no doubt as to the authenticity of the bulk of bronzes among the existing repositories. His criterion for accepting them as authentic is the "Unquestionable Chinese experts' opinions" upon which his studies have been based. Unfortunately, our scrutiny has shown that these "experts' opinions" are in the majority of cases subjective, and, what is worse, based on experience with unattested vessels with <sup>insufficient</sup> properly-attested objects available as a control.

Karlgren's "touch-stone" is in fact a form of Jung's (V) and Hsu's (IV) stylistic criteria discussed above. According to this principle, distinction in type and decoration of bronzes of a given period correspond to those in inscriptions of the same period. This is Karlgren's "touch-stone" not for detecting forgery, but for accepting unattested materials as genuine. He writes, "If then it turns out that clear distinctions in type and decoration correspond to these distinctions( i.e. the stylistic groupings established by him on the basis of the inscriptions ), then the inscriptions on the whole( there will always be isolated exceptions ) are not forged. They are authentic. For it is inconceivable that a number of recent forgers working independently and on isolated specimens, could have had the expert

knowledge of details of decoration and inscriptions that would have enabled them unflinchingly to put the proper inscriptions on the proper kind of vase."<sup>(229)</sup> This attitude presupposes, as Barnard has pointed out that "the stylistic studies made to date are infallible and that any vessel with an appropriate inscription and décor combination must, because of this fact, be authentic."<sup>(230)</sup> An extremely good example, which would directly invalidate this criterion and which has already been dealt with by Barnard (ibid.) is the pseudo-Chia yi-vessel (夾彝) whose inscription is typically of "Western Chou" and whose vessel-type together with its décor is characteristic of the same period. There is no question, as Jung Keng has already pointed out, that discrepancies between inscriptions, type and décor exist in forgeries. But the absence of these discrepancies, on the other hand, is certainly insufficient to constitute a "touch-stone" which will warrant the authenticity of those that are devoid of such discrepancies. Forgers who produced only imitated archaic style artifacts would have made no mistake of this kind, for the "experts' knowledge of details of decoration and inscriptions" would have been unnecessary for these "isolated forgers", who would be making exact replicas, not creating new individual vessels.

As to the mass of materials on which Karlgren's studies are based, Barnard writes, "the very basis of the stylistic groupings established by Karlgren is to be questioned; the

majority of the vessels he employed lack acceptable testimony and their authenticity is, in the final analysis, merely an expression of subjective opinion of several Chinese scholars."

( ibid. ) On the ground of our investigation of the imitation and forgery of bronze vessels in Ch.2, of the fraudulently engraved inscriptions both on the genuine and forged bronzes by engravers of later dates in Ch.3, and of our discussion on the method and criteria for determination of bronzes and inscriptions in the present Chapter above, we are more than ever before convinced that Karlgren has indeed undertaken, to use his own words, "an exceedingly risky and thankless task [of] elaborating a chronological system on the basis of inscriptions which might in many cases be forgeries. Since we know how extremely skilful the Chinese art forgers are in producing pseudo-archaic bronzes with more or less elaborate inscriptions."<sup>(231)</sup> Karlgren, having himself acknowledged that there certainly is a considerable risk in basing one's studies on unreliable sources, feels safe in "working only with materials accepted by the best Chinese experts." Such materials include the three Sung repertoires—the Po ku t'u K'ao ku t'u and the Hsi k'ao—of which he writes, "they seldom present any forged materials.....In Sung time the knowledge of archaic art and epigraphy was still too little developed to allow of forgeries of any considerable scale or of a quality calculated to deceive." ( op.cit., p.16 ) This is in the main not true. The three Sung Catalogues( the Li tai may also be included)



all contain forged materials, as can be seen from the foregoing List of Forgeries in the current Chapter. And the knowledge of archaic art and epigraphy was by no means too little in the Sung time to allow of forgeries( for details see Ch.2 above ).

As regards the Four Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues Karlgren admits that they furnish extremely risky materials. Hence he resorts to Jung Keng's "List" as a guide. Yet Jung's "List" is not without errors( see our List of Forgeries above). Finally, of the 39 contemporary catalogues of the private collections published during the 19th and 20th centuries none, as shown by our List of Forgeries, is free of forgeries. Yet Karlgren feels content with these materials since the bulk of these great repertories of bronze inscriptions have been passed under review by Wang Kue-wei and Lo Hu-yi in their List and hence "the risk of spurious materials is much smaller."( ibid. ) Here again Wang and Lo's List can hardly "form an indispensable aid to everyone who has to do with Chinese bronzes" for the reason, on the one hand, that there is a far smaller proportion of "spurious" and "suspected" materials therein than we might reasonably expect( see also 4.6.(11)-(12) in this Chapter above ), and on the other hand, a great number of materials which Wang and Lo have regarded as "genuine" fall into our List of Forgeries. In spite of all this, Karlgren still believes that "this negative fact does not invalidate our general conclusion, since they are built on a series of vessels."( op.cit., p.156 ) But his series of vessels

lack acceptable testimony and are on the whole questionable.

#### 4.7. Additional Note on the Dangers Inherent in the Use of Unattested Materials.

We shall conclude this chapter on criteria suggested hitherto with two examples of the dangers to scholars in other fields that may result from what Hsü Chung-shu calls "over-trustingness" in the use of unattested materials.

Our first example is Karlgren's Grammata Serica and its revised version Grammata Serica Recensa. Karlgren draws his examples of ancient forms of the script from Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, from stone drum inscriptions, and from 451 almost entirely unattested bronze inscriptions whose authenticity he does not question. The resultant work is presented to the reader with no warning about the dubious provenance of his raw materials, and the reader, unless he is a bronze specialist, which is unusual, will naturally assume that a scholar of Karlgren's standing will have used only reliable data, and he can hardly be blamed for using this work as freely and confidently as he might use a European corpus inscriptionum.

Our second example is Dobson's Early Archaic Chinese. This systematic grammar is based partly on 14 unattested bronze inscriptions, of which at least one, the Mao kung ting, has been shown above to be a late forgery, and of which another, the Ta yü ting, has been seriously challenged by Chang Chih-tung<sup>(232)</sup>. The reader is assured that "the material of the sample is all

attributable to the first sixty years of the Chou Dynasty" (233). Dobson's notes on the provenance of the vessels concerned can be grouped as follows:

- (a) Inscriptions nos. (3), (4), (7) and (9): date and place of find given, but without documentation (234);
- (b) Inscriptions nos. (1), (5), (12) and (13): given as "said" or "believed" to have been discovered at such-and-such a place, though without specifying the source of the statement or belief (235);
- (c) Inscriptions nos. (10) and (11): stated to be of unknown provenance (236);
- (d) Inscriptions nos. (2), (6), (8) and (14): given without any comment as to provenance (237).

It might be thought that these notes alone would constitute an adequate warning to the reader, but such reviews of this work as we have seen to date give no hint of any suspicions having been aroused. The work has been reviewed by Chou Fa-kao (238), A.C. Graham (239), D. Leslie (240) and J. Vochala (241). Apart from Chou's reservation that "the Mao-kung ting should not really be included since most scholars think that it belongs to the Late Western Chou period", none of these reviewers appears to doubt the reliability of the inscriptions used by Dobson. Graham says that "The book certainly succeeds as a practical introduction to pre-classical Chinese; from now on it will be easier for sinologists concerned with other periods at least to gain a secure

foothold in the pre-classical language." Vochala describes it as "a very serious attempt at presenting a systematic description of Archaic Chinese." Leslie says that "These reproductions [ of bronze inscriptions ] and their translations will be of considerable value to students and scholars alike apart from their interest as grammatical documents." The important thing to notice about these reviews is that they were concerned almost entirely with Dobson's grammatical analysis, this being the reviewers' speciality. They can hardly be blamed for not inquiring more closely into the reliability of the raw materials, since this was not their main concern. This underlines the great danger inherent in the use of unattested materials: the danger that specialists and students in other fields may continue where the bronze specialist leaves off, without realising that they are adding storeys to a structure which may well prove to have been built on sand.

Notes: Chapter Four

1. The term was probably first suggested by Chao Ming-ch'eng (趙明誠), husband of the great woman poet of Sung—Li Ch'ing-chao (李清照)—with the publication of his Chin shih lu (金石錄).
2. Ti Ch'i-nien (韋孝年) in his Chou shih (稽史) writes, "Li Kung-lin (李公麟)....published his K'ao ku t'u (考古圖) with pictures and descriptions for every vessel in every chapter. Its methods and systems in dealing with questions such as vessel-type, inscription, commentary on textual significance and the usage of the objects and its inclusion of both preface and postface are universally followed [ by scholars ]. The attention of scholars to the study of ancient bronzes was initially drawn by Po Shih (伯時, another name of Li Kung-lin)." ( Ch.1, p.11 )
- 2.a "Studies Presented to Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei on His Sixty-fifth Birthday" (慶祝蔡元培先生六十五歲論文集), Academia Sinica, Vol.2, 1935, pp.661-687.
3. "Some Remarks on the Authenticity....", MS, Vol.18, 1959, pp. 224-5.
4. See Ch.2, pp.42-3, especially Notes 19.a and 19.b above.
5. See Ch.2, pp.47-8 above.
6. See Ch.2, pp.58-9 above.
7. See Ch.3 above and also W. Watson, Ancient Chinese Bronzes, p.19.

8. See Li tai( 1:15 ).
9. As quoted by Ti Ch'i-nien in his Chou shih, Vol.1, p.12.
10. See Chih K'an( 智 龍 ), "Ts'ai kung tzu kuo ko"( 蔡公子果戈 ), Wen wu, Vol.7, 1964, pp.33-4; Cheng sung( 11:30 ); Chou ts'un( 6:24 ); Bernard, Bronze Casting, pp.166-7, pl.42; Yu Hsing-wu, Ia yi( p.103, no.567 ).
11. See W. Watson, Ancient Chinese Bronzes, pp.39-67.
12. Ta hsi:" t'u shuo ", p.1; translated into English by J.C. Ferguson.
13. "Yin and Chou", pp.90-116.
14. See China before the Han Dynasty, pp.150-7.
15. See Kuo Ho-jo, "Epigraphical Notes on a Group of Bronzes Unearthed at Changchiap'o, Ch'angan, Shensi", Heieh pao, Vol. 29, no.1, 1962, pp.1-14.
16. See T'ung k'ao, Ch.12, p.193.
17. Makes; A Hand-Book for Collectors and Students, Faber & Faber, London, 1948, p.176.
18. H.J. Plenderleith, "Technical Notes on Chinese Bronzes with Special Reference to Patina and Incrustation", TOCS, Vol.16, pp.33-55.
19. Bronze Casting, p.212.
20. See H.J. Vernon, "The Open-air Corrosion of Copper, pt.111; Artificial Production of Green Patina", JIS, Vol.XLIX, no.2, 1932, p.157.
21. Fink and Polushkin, "Microscopic Study of Bronzes and Copper"

AIMME, Vol.3, pp.24-5.

22. Despite Barnard's unsubstantiated assertion that some Shang bronzes do in fact bear relief inscriptions ( see Bronze Casting, p.159 )
23. See T'ung k'ao, p.193.
24. This does of course raise the whole question of why intaglio should have been preferred, despite its greater difficulty of execution in mould-carving, though we do not intend to pursue this line of inquiry here, except to remark that it is of course easier to produce an intaglio inscription by the cire perdue process.
25. A motif mentioned in the Li chi: "Chiao t'e sheng" and in the Chou li: "Ch'un kuan" but not yet found on an actual vessel. It is not impossible that this was an early<sup>s</sup> name<sup>-er</sup> for the t'ao t'ieh motif.
26. Apparently some kind of bird connected with the wind, as yet unidentified as a motif ( see Han shu: "Wu ti chi", 注: "飛廉神禽, 能致風氣者也" ).
27. Chou shih: "Wang yu san kuan ku ch'i t'u" ( 稽史: 皇祐三館左器圖 ), Vol.1, p.10.
28. See Jung's "List", p.871; and also T'ung k'ao, p.197.
29. We use the word "Plagiarism" in this study without implying criminal intent, since until modern times the unacknowledged reproduction of passages from other writers' works ( particularly in the case of technical writing ) in China has not

been regarded as reprehensible.

30. "Blue-green" is used as a translation of "青" and "green" as a translation of "綠".
31. "Dark brown" is a translation of "褐".
32. Tsun sheng pa chien: "Tan ku t'ung se", Ch.14.
33. Yün hsüan ch'ing pi lu: "Tan ku t'ung ch'i" (箒軒清閔錄編古銅器).
34. From this section onwards only the most important writers will be included.
35. Date of death given as 光緒 in 姜惠夫: 歷代人物年里碑傳綜表 but cannot be more accurately determined.
36. Pao yi yüan shou cha, p.3.
37. op.cit., pp.1-4.
38. See Hummel, pp.27-32.
39. See T'ung k'ao, p.213.
40. See T'ung lun, p.136.
41. He is apparently referring to the Mu tui (牧豎) in the Li tai Catalogue( 14:153 ).
42. Kuang ya t'ang lun chin shih cha( 3:2 ).
43. As an element in the graph "𠄎(志)" ( see Ch'u wang t'an kan ting No.1, illustrated in our Figure 10 above ); and in "𠄎(眞)" ( see U chün ch'i chieh, illustrated in our Figure 11 above ).
44. See also T'ao chai( 2:16-7 ); Chou ts'un( 3:12 ); Chi wen( 3:24-5 ); Ta hsi( t'u 106; lu 130; shih 133 ); Chin ts'ung



( p.260 ); Hsiao chiao( 8:102 ); San tai( 9:37 ).

45. Chin wen pien( 10:4 ).

46. Mao kung ting chi shih( 毛公鼎集釋 ), Taipei, 1956.

47a. Text as given in Ku Chien-kang( 顧頡剛 ), Shang shu tung chien( 尚書通禎 ).

47. Ta lu tsa ehieh, Vol.5, nos.8, 9, 1952.

48. Wang Kuo-wei in his Kuan t'ang ku chin wen k'ao shih: "Mao kung ting ming k'ao shih" no.1( 觀堂古金文考釋: 毛公鼎銘考釋 ) says, "希律 in ancient times was a variant of 長律".

Chu Hsi( Shih chi ehuan 詩集傳, Shanghai, Chunghua Press, 1958, p.205 ) remarks, "弗尚 means to neglect."

49. Tung Tso-pin's interpretation is followed here. See "Mao kung ting shih wen chu yi", Ta lu tsa ehieh, Vol.5, no.9, 1952.

50. See T'ung lun, p.136.

51. Also known as 師隄敦 in the Li tai( 14:151-2 or 14:137-8 )

52. See Li tai( 14:153-5 or 14:139-141 ).

53. See Ta hsi( shih 139 ).

54. See Chin ts'ung( p.283 ).

55. See Tung Tso-pin, "Chia ku hsueh chih tuan tai yen chiu"( 甲骨學之斷代研究 ); Jao Tsung-yi( 饒宗頤 ), Yintai chen pu jen wu t'ung k'ao( 殷代貞卜人物通考 ), Hong Kong University Press; Karlgren, "Yin and Chou"; Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi cheu t'ung ch'i tuan tai".

56. See "Mao kung ting k'ao nien"( 毛公鼎考年 ), Ta lu tsa ehieh, Vol.5, no.8, 1952, p.258.

57. See Wu Ch'i-ch'ang, "Chin wen li shue shu eheng", pp.1057-9; Tung Tso-pin, "Mao kung ting k'ao nien", pp.257-60.

58. See Tung ibid.; and also Kuo's Chin ts'ung ( pp.125-168 );  
Ta hsi ( shih 134-3 ); Kao Hung-chin ibid.
59. See Ch'en Chieh-ch'i's annotation on a rubbing of the Mao kung ting, quoted by Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai, no.1", Hsiieh pao, Vol.9, 1955, p.151; no reference for this is given by Ch'en. See also Kao Hung-chin ibid.; T'ian Tan-chiung ( 譚旦同 ), "Mao kung ting chih ching li" ( 毛公鼎之經歷 ), Ta lu tsa chin, Vol.5, no.9, 1952, p. 309.
60. See Ta hsi ( shih 139 ).
61. See Li tai ( 14:151 ).
62. Kao Hung-chin ( Mao kung ting chi shih, p.76 ) says, "The great mandate means the heavenly mandate."
63. See Ta hsi ( shih 139 ).
64. Wang Kuo-wei decipheres the character "𠄎" as "擢" ( see "Mao kung ting ming k'ao shih" ), but without comment. Kao Hung-chin relates it to "閔予小子遭家不造" of the Shih ching ( 詩經: 周公奭 ) and to "嗚呼! 閔予小子嗣造天丕愆" of the Shu ching ( 書經: 文侯之命 ). Accordingly, he identifies it with "閔" which is preferable and has been followed here.
65. See Chung huo k'ao ku hsiieh shih, p.120; and also Ch.2 above.
66. "Yin and Chou", p.49, B143.
67. EAC p.175.
68. Quoted by Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai no.1"

- Hsüeh pao, Vol.9, 1955, p.151. He is quoting Teng Shih's Fu chai chi chin lu( 3:1 ), which I have not been able to see.
69. Quoted by Ch'en Meng-chia, loc.cit..
70. See "Mao kung ting chih ching li", Ta lu tsa chih, Vol.5, no.9, 1952, p.309.
71. Afchaedogy in China: Chou China, Vol.3, p.287.
72. See also Hummel, p.521.
73. Unfortunately, this work is not available in this country and I have been unable to obtain it from the Far East. My quotations from it are at second hand, but I have thoroughly compared the quotations made from it by such writers as Shang Ch'eng-tso and Hsü Chung-shu. While realising that this approach is not completely satisfactory, I have preferred to do this rather than omit a mention of Ch'en's criteria, in view of his eminence as a collector and connoisseur.
74. See "Wei tzu yen chiu", p.243.
75. See T'ung lun, p.136.
76. See "Chien pieh", pp.233, 241, 245-7.
77. See Ch'ih tu( 4:6 ) and Fu shou cha( pp.12-3 ).
78. See Ch'ih tu( 1:11 ).
79. See Ch'ih tu( 11:15 ).
80. See Ch'ih tu( 9:40 ).
81. See "Wei tzu yen chiu", p.244.
82. See T'ung k'ao, p.212.

83. See "Chien pieh", p.233.
84. Fu shou cha, p.4.
85. Pao yi yuan shou cha, p.3.
86. See articles in the Wen ts'an, Vol.2, 1955, pp.128-9, 146; Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai; no.5", Hsueh pao, Vol.13, no.3, 1956, pp.121-6.
87. Barnard does not seem to realize that Jung Keng has followed Ch'en's theory.
88. "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of the Reign of King Mu of Chou", MS, Vol.19, 1960, pp.67-113.
89. The system of serial numbers applied here is: the letters A,B,C,D...which precede the numbers are arbitrarily chosen for faked inscriptions which offend various criteria; the figures immediately following the letters are serial numbers. The letters "S" and "C" following the figures denote the Sung and the Ch'ing Catalogues respectively, while catalogues published since 1912 have the letter "M". The last figure denotes the number of characters contained in the inscription. The bracketed letters( v. and l. ) differentiate vessel-texts from lid-texts.
90. See Hsieh Shang-kung(薛尚功), Li tai chung ting yi ch'i k'uan chih fa t'ieh(歷代鐘鼎彝器款識法帖); reproduced by Juan Yuan in the 2nd year of the Chia-ch'ing reign-period( 1797 ); in cases where an alternative reference is given, e.g. 1:22 in addition to 1:10 in this particular case,

- the alternative one denotes the edition reproduced by Lin Man(林漫) in 1866.
91. Where a second alternative reference to the Li tai Catalogue is given, it denotes the edition reproduced by Yü Hsing-wu (于省吾), entitled Yin chu k'e pen li tai chung ting yi ch'i k'uan chih(景朱刻本歷代鐘鼎彝器款識法帖), Peking, 1935.
92. The bracketed letters ( v ) and ( l ) denote the vessel-text and the lid-text respectively. ( v. and l. ) means that both texts are identical; whereas ( v. plus l. ) indicates that the vessel-text differs from the lid-text and that the exact number of characters is the total of both texts.
93. Ch'ih tu( 4:6 ); and also Fu shou cha, p.12.
94. Quoted by Pao K'ang in his Shou cha, p.3; again quoted by Shang Ch'eng-tso in his "Wei tzu yen chiu", p.270.
95. A letter by Ch'en to P'an Tsu-yin in Chou Chin's(周進) possession, as quoted by Shang in his "Wei tzu yen chiu", pp.291-2.
96. Ch'ih tu( Vol.1 ), as quoted by Hsü Chung-shu in his "Chien pieh", p.232.
97. Also known as Po X-fu li(伯鄒父鬲) or Po yen fu li(伯宴父鬲), this vessel can be found in the following Catalogues: Chün ku( 2/2:75 ); K'o chai( 17:12 ); T'ao chai( 2:52 ); Cheng sung( 4:14-5 ); Ts'ung ku( 3:33 ); Ch'ing yi ko( 1:4 6 ); Ch'ing ai t'ang( p.17 ); Chou ts'un( 2:67-8 ); Chui yi chai

- ( 27:8 ); Hsiao chiao ( 3:80-2 ); San tai ( 5:41-2; six vessels are included in this Catalogue, which bear the same inscription. The graph "止" is missing from the first inscription ( 5:41. ) ).
98. Ch'ih tu ( Vol.9 ), as quoted by Hsu Chung-shu in his "Chien pieh", p.232.
99. See T'ung k'ao, p.212.
100. This seems to refer to the character "𠄎" recorded in Chia wen pien ( 7:7 ) as occurring on the 觶仲多壺 .
101. Ch'in han chia wen lu ( 秦漢金文錄 ), Pref., p.2, Peking, 1931.
102. op.cit., p.134.
103. Karlgren has remarked that the vessels recorded in the Sung repertories are almost all lost. ( See "Yin and Chou", p.15 ).
104. See Kuo Mo-jo, "Epigraphical Notes on a Group of Bronzes Unearthed at Chang-chiap'o, Ch'angan, Shensi", Hsüeh pao, Vol.29, no.1, 1962, pp.1-14; see also articles in the Wen ta'an, Vol.2, 1955, pp.128-9, 146; Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai no.5", Hsüeh pao, Vol.13, no.3, 1955, pp.121-6; Archaeological Reports, "A Western Chou Tomb Found at P'ututs'un, Ch'angan" ( 長安普渡村西周墓的發掘 ), Hsüeh pao, Vol.15, no.1, 1957.
105. See An yang fa chüeh pao kat, pp.3-36.
106. See "Yin and Chou", p.15.
107. See Karlgren ibid.

108. See "Shu cheng", pp.1110-2.
109. Maspero opcit., pp.137-8.
110. See "Shu cheng"; and "Yin chou ehieh chi nien li t'ui cheng"  
(殷周之際年麻推證), Kuo hsueh iun ts'ung, Vol.2, no.  
1, 1929, pp.149-241.
111. "Yin and Chou", p.11.
112. See "Shu cheng", pp.1110-2.
113. "Yin and Chou", p.12.
114. In this case he specifically means the text of the Sung ting; however, Wu Ch'1-ch'ang has identified its date—the day chia hsü in the fourth quarter of the 5th month in the 3rd year—with the 30th in the fourth quarter of the 5th month in the 3rd year of King Hsüan's reign according to his reconstructed chronology( see "Shu cheng", pp.1101-2 ).
115. For the former, see our discussion below; for the latter, a number of forged inscriptions accord surprisingly well with his system, e.g.
- (1) Ch'ueh ts'ao ting no.2(趙曹鼎 = ): Wu dates it to the 11th day in the 2nd quarter of the 5th month in the 15th year of King Li's reign—a serious error which ignores the term "King Wang"( 韓王 ) appearing in the text( see "Shu cheng", p.1070 ); see also 5.1.J.3 below.)
- (2) Po ho tui( 伯和敦 ; see our List of Forgeries E.39 below ): Wu dates it to the 8th day in the 1st quarter of the 1st month in the 1st year of the Kung Ho regency

( 841 B.C. ) ( See op.cit., pp.1078-9; 1121-2 ).

(3) Kuo chi tzu po p'an ( see above ).

In addition, Wu admits that at least 5 inscriptions present an enigma which he found it difficult to explain but ascribed them to faulty casting ( see op.cit., pp.1120-1128 ).

116. See Ku pen chu shu chi nien chi chiao ( 古本竹書紀年集

校 ) in the Hai ning wang shih yi shu ( 海寧王氏遺書 ).

117. See Hsi chou nien tai k'ao ( 西周年代考 ), 1945.

118. See "Some Weapons and Tools of the Yin Dynasty", BMFEA, Vol. 17, 1945, pp.101-144. Karlgren had followed the orthodox chronology in all his studies prior to the publication of this article.

119. See "The Date of the Shang Period", T'ung pao, Vol.40, 1951, pp.322-335; and "-do- A Postscript", T'ung pao, Vol.42, 1954 pp.101-5.

120. See Ancient Chinese Bronzes of the Shang and Chou Dynasties Tokyo, 1952.

121. See "Certain Dates of the Shang Period", HJAS, Vol.23, 1960-1961, pp.108-113.

122. See "Chou k'ai kuo nien piao" in the Kuan t'ang chi lin ( 觀堂集林: 周開國年代 ), Chunghua Press, Peking, 1959, pp. 1141-52.

123. See La Chine Antique, p.46.

124. See "The Shang-Yin Dynasty and the Anyang Finds", JRAS, 1933 pp.657-685, especially pp.683-5.



125. See Note 118 above.
126. See "On the Lunar Eclipses of the Yin Dynasty", GXYI, Vol. 22, 1950, pp.139-160.
127. See "Certain Dates of the Shang Period", HJAS, Vol.23, 1960-1961, pp.108-113.
128. See "On the Dating of a Lunar Eclipse in the Shang Period", HJAS, Vol.25, 1964-5, pp.243-7.
129. See "Hsin ch'eng pe shih chou ch'u chih nien tai shang tui" (新城博士周初之年代商兌), Kuo hsüeh lun ts'ung, 1929, pp.243-268.
130. See S. Sinjō (Shinjō Shinzō 新城新藏), "Shūsho no nendai" (周初の年代), Shinagaku, Vol.4, no.4, 1928, pp.471-620. Chinese translation by Tai Chia-hsiang (戴家祥) "Chou ch'u chih nien tai", Kuo hsüeh lun ts'ung, Vol.2, no.1, 1929, pp.58-148. S. Sinjō, "Jōdai Kimbun no Kenkyū" (上代文の研究), Shinagaku, Vol.5, no.3, 1929, pp.327-433. See also Kuo Mo-jo, Chin ts'ung, pp.280-291.
131. Yamada Suberu (山田統). An article of which a translation by Cheng Ch'ing-mao (鄭清茂) under the title "Chou ch'u ti chüeh tui nien tai" (周初の絶対年代), without any indication of previous publication, <sup>appears</sup> in Ta lu tsa chih, Vol. 15, nos.5,6, 1957, pp. 14-7( 150-3 ); 17-21( 193-7 ).
132. Further examples may be found in many early texts: "The Master said, 'In the Book of Poetry are three hundred pieces but the design of them all may be embraced in one sentence

—having no depraved thought' "(論語為政); translated by J. Legge; Mo Tzu said, "The Confucianists recite the Three Hundred Songs, play with the Three Hundred Songs, sing the Three Hundred Songs and dance to the Three Hundred Songs "(墨子:公孟 ); and also in the Shih Chi: "The Three Hundred Songs is the result of an expression of indignation of the sages"(史記:報任安書 ).

133. See Wang Fo-hsiang(王伯祥 ), Shih chi hsüan(史記選 ), Pref. p.3, Peking, 1957.
134. Takigawa Kametarō(瀧川龜太郎 ), Shiki Kaichū Kōshō(史記會注考證 ), Ch.70, pp.19-20.
135. See S. Sinjō, "Shūsho no nendai"; Tung T'ao-p'ün, Yin li p'u(殷曆譜 ), esp. pt.1, Vol.4, Ch.4; and also his "Wu wang fa chou nien yüeh jih chin k'ao"(武王伐紂年月日考 ), Wen shih che hsüeh pao, Vol.3; and "Hsi chou nien li p'u"(西周年曆譜 ), Academia Sinica, Vol.23; see also Yamada Suberu's work mentioned in Note 131 above.
136. Maspero op.cit., p.137.
137. "Yin and Chou", p.13.
138. See <sup>Cheng</sup> Ch'iao(鄭樵 ), T'ung chih: "Tsung hsi"(通志:總序 ); Liu Ta-chieh(劉大杰 ), Chung kuo wen hsüeh fa chan shih(中國文學發展史 ), Kuwen Press, Hong Kong, pp.173-185.
139. Karlgren himself seems to agree with this when he says that "it is remarkable how completely seldom persons and events known from early literature occur in the inscriptions"

( "Yin and Chou", p.14 )

140. See also Maspero op.cit., p.137.
141. op.cit., pp.139-42.
142. "Yin and Chou", p.14.
143. See Kuo Mo-jo, "Epigraphical Notes on a group of Bronzes Unearthed at Changchiap'o, Ch'angan, Shensi", Hsüeh pao, Vol.29, no.1, 1962, pp.1-14.
144. See Li Ya-nung (李亞農), "Chang fu he ming shih wen chu chieh" (長白盞銘釋文註解), Hsüeh pao, Vol.9, 1955, pp.177-81.
145. See Barnard, "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of the Reign of King Mu of Chou", MS, Vol.19, 1960, pp.67-113, especially p.98.
146. The English translation is a revised version of Barnard's translation in "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of Western Chou Date", MS, Vol.17, 1958, pp.12-46.
147. See Hsin chung kuo ti k'ao ku shou huo (新中國的考古收穫), The Wen Wu Press, Peking, 1962, pl.XL, no.1.
148. See J.G. Anderson, "The Goldsmith in Ancient China", BMFEA, Vol.7, 1935, pp.1-35. Anderson carries the existence of gilding back to Yin time. However, this is based on an Oeder axe of unknown provenance ( see op.cit., pp.6-7 ).
149. See Hsin chung kuo ti k'ao ku shou huo, pl.LIV.
150. T'ung k'ao, p.197.
151. By this Jung seems to mean more than about ten.

152. Jung's "List", pp.813-4; T'ung k'ao, pp.197-200; T'ung lun pp.137-8.
153. J. CH'EN, "Sung Bronzes—An Economic Analysis", BSOAS, Vol.28, 1965, pp.613-626, especially p.618.
154. The figure in the bracket is a continuation of the serial number.
155. See Kuo's "Epigraphical Notes...." mentioned in our Note 143 above.
156. Li tai( 16:4-5 or 16:171-2); Po ku t'u( 19:10-11 ).
157. Li tai( 11:118-9 ).
158. See "Shan hsi sheng po wu kuan hsin chin cheng chi ti chi chien hsi chou t'ung ch'i"( 陝西省博物館新近征集的幾件西周銅器 ), Wen wu, Vol.7, 1965, pp.17-19.
159. See Li tai( 12:4-5 or 12:126-7 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.29 ); Po ku t'u( 8:20-21 ).
160. Li tai( 12:126-7 ).
161. Li tai( 5:1 or 5:53 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.49 ); Po ku t'u( 15:29 ).
162. See Li tai( 5:1 or 5:53; 11:5 or 11:118 ); Hsiao t'ang( pp.40, 50 ); Po ku t'u( 11:14-15; 15:36 ).
163. See Li tai( 5:6 or 5:43 ); K'ao ku t'u( 3:31 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.51 ); Po ku t'u( 16:22-3 ).
164. See Li tai( 9:9 or 9:97 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.16 ); Po ku t'u( 3:22 ).
165. See Li tai( 11:9-10 ); K'ao ku t'u( 4:53-4 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.41 ); Po ku t'u( 12:14-5 ).

166. See Li tai ( 9:2 or 9:91 ); Hsiao t'ang ( p.15 ); Po ku t'u ( 3:7-8 ).
167. See "Yin and Chou", pp.20-3; see also W. Watson, Ancient Chinese Bronzes, Ch.4, pp.68-74.
168. See Ming wen yen chiu, pp.1-10.
169. See W. Watson, Ancient Chinese Bronzes, p.75 and pl.42a.
170. See P'eng nü ting ( 彭女鼎 ; K'o chai 6:17 ); P'eng nü hsien ( 彭女簋 ; op.cit., 17:6 ).
171. See Chü fu chia chih ( 夬父甲解 ; Cheng sung 9:17; Shan chai: li ch'i 4:65; Hsiao chiao 5:76 ); Chü fu yi tsun ( 夬父乙尊 ; Chün ku 1/2:29; Ch'eng ch'iu kuan p.24; Yin ts'un 1:21; ); Chü fu ting yi ( 夬父丁彝 ; San tai 6:13 ); Chü fu ting chüeh ( 夬父丁爵 ; Chi ku chai 2:5; Chün ku 1/2:16; k'o chai 22:10; Ch'i ku shih 7:18; Shan chai: li ch'i 5:60; Yin ts'un 2:12; Chui yi chai 21:10; Hsiao chiao 6:41 ); Chü fu chi yi ( 夬父己彝 ; San tai 6:15 ); Chü fu chi chüeh ( 夬父己爵 ; Yin ts'un 2:13 ); Chü fu kuei chüeh ( 夬父癸爵 ; Yin ts'un 2:17 ); Tsu ting fu yi chüeh ( Yin ts'un 2:19 ).
172. See Chü yi chüeh ( 夬乙爵 ; San tai 15:25 ); Chü kuei chüeh ( 夬父癸爵 ; San tai 15:28 ); Chü ting chih ( 夬丁解 ; Liang lei hsüan 2:17-9; Erh pai p.3; Chui yi chai 23:20 ).
173. See Chü ting ( 夬鼎 ); Li tai ( 9:2 or 9:91 ); Hsiao t'ang ( p.15 ); Po ku t'u ( 3:7-8 ); Ku chien ( 3:8 ); Hsu chia ( 2:13<sup>4</sup> ); Chien ku ( 1:35 ); Chün ku ( 1/1:3 ); T'ao chai ( 1:19 ); Huai mi ( Ch.1 ); Ching wu ( 1:36 ); Cheng hsü ( 1:8 );

- Yin ts'un( 1:1 ); Chui yi chai( 5:10-11 ); Hsiao chiao( 2:1 ); San tai( 2:6-7; 2:7 ).
174. See "Yin and Chou", p.15.
175. See "Yin and Chou", pp.109-110.
176. See also Karlgren, "New Studies on Chinese Bronzes", BMFEA, Vol.9, 1937, pp.1-177, especially p.4.
177. See Kuo Mo-jo, Ta hsi: "T'u shuo", pp.1-3; translated into English by J.C. Ferguson and appearing at the end of the book, pp.6-9; Karlgren, "Yin and Chou", pp.90-134; "New Studies on Chinese Bronzes", pp.95-6.
178. See Kuan t'ang chi lin: "Ku li ch'i lüeh shuo: shuo szu kuang"( 觀堂集林: 古禮器略說: 說說說說 ).
179. See Li tai( 5:61 or 5:47 ).
180. See Li tai( 12:127-8 or 12:113-4 ).
181. See Ch'ing yi ko( 8:17 ); Hsiao chiao( 13:104; it is known as Fu li chüeh 甫里爵 in this work ).
182. See Hai wai( t'u 81; shih 12; it was in the collection of the School of Fine Art of Japan ).
183. T'ung lun( pp.137-8 ).
184. See "New Studies on Chinese Bronzes", p.14.
185. See Chi ku chai( 4:22-3 ); Chün ku( 2/3:79 ); Ch'i ku shih ( 16:5 ); Shih liu( 1:17 ); Ta hsi( t'u 4; shih:20 ); Chi wen( 1:12 ); Ts'ung ku( 11:5-6 ).
186. Cheng Te-k'un and Shen Wei-chün( 鄭德坤沈維鈞合著 ), Chung kuo ming ch'i( 中國明器 ), YJCS monograph series

No.1, Peking, 1933.

187. See Tung tien ch'ing lu chi, p.16 and also 4.2.(1) above.
188. See "Wei tzu yen chiu", pp.244-5.
189. It appeared in the Nanking Journal (金陵學報), Vol.3, no.2, 1933, pp.243-294; it has been summarized in English by Ferguson in JNGBRAS, Vol.66, 1935, pp.70-2.
190. See K'ao ku hsüeh she she k'añ, Vol.5, 1936, pp.297-306.
191. See Hsü Chung-shu, "Sung t'ò shih pen li tai chung ting yi ch'i k'uan chih fa t'ieh ts'an yeh pa" and "——tsai pa" (泉  
拓石本歷代鐘鼎彝器款識法帖殘頁跋及再跋),  
Bulletin of Academia Sinica, Vol.2, nos.2, 4. From the remnants of the original Sung edition of the Li tai, we find that the ends of the character-strokes are far from being sharp.
192. See "Shang chou yi ch'i ming wen pu wei li lüeh" (商周彝器  
銘文部位例略), Ta lu tsa chih, Vol.8, no.6, 1954, p.183.
193. See K'ao ku hsüeh she she k'an, Vol.4, 1936, pp.229-47.
194. Cheng sung (1:7).
195. See "Wei tzu yen chiu", pp.273-280.
196. See "Pu p'ien", pp.301-3.
197. See Shih Chang-ju, "Shang chou yi ch'i ming wen pu wei li lüeh" (商周彝器銘文部位例略), Ta lu tsa chih, Vol.8, nos.5-7, 1954.
198. It has been included in the following Albums: Chün ku (1/3:

59.); Chi ku chai ( 7:21 ); Shan chai ( li ch'i 2:17 ); Ch'i ku shih ( 18:20-21 ); Chou ts'un ( pu yi 2 ); Hsiao chiao ( 3:56 ).

199. It can be found in the following Catalogues: Shan chai ( li ch'i 2:22 ); Cheng sung ( 4:6 ); Chui yi chai ( 27:3 ); Hsiao chiao ( 3:69 ).

200. See also Shang Ch'eng-tso, "Fu p'ien", pp.303-6.

201. For the bells, see the Fu feng ch'i chia ts'un ch'ing t'ung ch'i ch'un ( 扶風齊家村青銅器群 ), edited by the Shensi Provincial Museum ( 陝西省博物館 ) and the Shensi Provincial Control Commission for Ancient Monuments ( 陝西省文物管理委員會 ), Peking, 1963; for the wine-beaker, see Li Ch'ang-ch'ing ( 李長慶 ) and T'ien Yieh ( 田野 ), "Tsu kuo li shih wen wu ti yu yi tz'u chung yao fa hsien" ( 祖國歷史文物的又一次重要發現 ), Wen wu, Vol.4, 1957, pp.5-9; Shih Shu-ch'ing and others ( 史樹青等 ), "Po tsun, po yi chi lo chü lei shih wen" ( 盞尊、盞彝及鬲的釋文 ), Wen ta'an, Vol.6, 1957, p.69; Chou O-sheng ( 周華生 ), "Mei hsien chou tai t'ung ch'i ming wen ch'u shih" ( 郿縣周代銅器銘文初釋 ), Wen ts'an, Vol.8, 1957, pp.52-3; Kuo Mo-jo, "Li ch'i ming wen k'ao shih" ( 盞器銘文考釋 ), Hsüeh pao, Vol.16, no.2, 1957, pp.1-6.

202. That is the Cha pien chung ( 虢編鐘 ), included in our list G.4(256) above.

203. That is the Cha pien chung included in our list G.5(257).



204. See "Pu p'ien", pp.301-3.
205. See Ta hsi( lu 194-8; shih 179 ).
206. See Ta hsi: "T'u shuo", Note 13, p.7.
207. See Bronze Casting, Pref. p.vii.
208. "Some Remarks on the Authenticity....", Note 10, p.229.
209. MS, Vol.17, 1958, pp.12-46.
210. "Some Remarks on the Authenticity....", Note 1, p.213.
211. MS, Vol.19, 1960, pp.67-113.
212. op.cit., Note 7, p.74.
213. op.cit., Note 1, p.67.
214. See Bronze Casting, Pref. p.vii.
215. "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of Western Chou Date", pp.37-8.
216. op.cit., Note 24, p.39.
217. "New Approaches and Research Methods in Chin Shih Hsüeh", Memoirs of the Institute for Oriental Culture, Vol.19, 1959, pp.1-31.
218. Archaeology in China: Chou China, Vol.3, 1963, p.288.
219. See Ou-yang Hsün(歐陽詢), Sung t'o chiu eh'eng kung li ch'üan ming(宋拓九成宮醴泉銘), Peking, 1962.
220. See Liu Kung-ch'üan(柳公權), Hsüan mi t'a(玄秘塔), Hong Kong, Singapore, 1950-65.
221. See Wang Hsi-chih(王羲之), Wang hsi chih hsiao k'ai tzu t'ieh(王羲之小楷字帖), Shanghai, 1965.
222. See Su Tung-p'o(蘇東坡), Hong le t'ing chi tzu t'ieh.

- (豐樂亭記子帖), Shanghai, 1964.
223. See Archaeology in China: Chou China, pp.287-8.
224. Bronze Casting, pp.161-8.
225. op.cit., pp.197-9.
226. See Ch'en Meng-chia(陳夢家), "Yin tai t'ung ch'1"(殷代銅器), Hsiieh pao, Vol.7, 1954, pp.15-59; see also Barnard, Bronze Casting, p.197.
227. See The George Eumorfopoulos Collections, p.35.
228. Bronze Casting, pp.240-1.
229. "Yin and Chou", p.15.
230. See Barnard, "Some Remarks on the Authenticity....", Note 8, p.226.
231. "Yin and Chou"; p.10.
232. See Kuang ya t'ang lun chin shih cha( 3:2-3 ).
233. Early Archaic Chinese, Introduction, p.xv.
234. op.cit., pp.184, 187, 195 and 202 respectively.
235. op.cit., pp.175, 190, 209 and 221 respectively.
236. op.cit., pp.204 and 207 respectively.
237. op.cit., pp.179, 192, 200 and 226 respectively.
238. HJAS, Vol.24, 1962-3, pp.252-260.
239. BSOAS, Vol.26, 1963, pp.455-6.
240. TF, Vol.L, 1963, pp.330-6.
241. OIZ, Vol.61, 1966, cols.275-8.

Chapter Five: The New Criteria and the Determination  
of Forged Inscriptions by  
Application of the  
New Criteria.

Since both imitated artifacts and fraudulently engraved inscriptions abound among existing, unattested bronzes, and since the categories of forgery and the techniques of faking have varied with time and individual forgers( see Ch.2 and Ch.3 above ), more methods and criteria for determination of status must be developed to eliminate as many forgeries as possible. Investigation has been made( in Ch.4 ) of existing as well as of some recent criteria for the judgment of bronzes and of inscriptions. To our great disappointment, emphasis has been laid by most of the connoisseurs and judges on the aesthetic appreciation of vessels in their own right rather than on the authenticity of the objects. Apart from these of one or two modern detectors, the bulk of their theories concerning appraisal of bronzes is inadequate---nothing more than dilettantism. They are based, not on objective fact, but on personal subjective opinion, likes or dislikes. And few have in fact applied their criteria to purge the fakes from the existing vessels. The following is an attempt to establish new and effective criteria for the detection of forged inscriptions.

5.1. Inscriptions containing interpolations (衍文)  
are mostly forged.

In contradistinction to the original portion of any piece of writing, an interpolation is a later addition, and they at times appear to be redundant. We should not expect that, in so solemn and serious a matter as the casting of ritual and memorial vessels in the Shang and Chou, interpolations should have been permitted to occur in an important inscription. The only alternative would seem to be forgery. Interpolation occurs for three reasons: one being to supplement or to improve the meaning of the writing, which can be detected only by comparing it with the original version, as in other fields of textual criticism<sup>(1)</sup>; another is to provide a new text for collectors looking out for such things; a third is carelessness on the part of inexperienced copyists engaged in forgery. This kind of interpolation is easy to detect for it is superfluous on the one hand, and the sense is difficult to arrive<sup>at</sup> on the other. Examples are as follows:

J.1(280) ins.G.M.89(1.) Wang tui (望敦蓋: "佳王十又三年六月初吉戊戌,王才周康宮新宮,且王格大室即立宰朋父右望入門且中廷北鄉,王乎史年册命望死翦畢王家賜女赤環市繚用事望拜稽首對揚天子丕顯休,用作朕皇且白困父嘏設且邁年子=孫=冰實用。"):

Yun ch'ing kuan (3:48-9); Shang chou shih ming (Ch.3);

Chün ku ( 3/1:83-5 ); Ta hsi ( lu 62; shih 80 ); Chi wen  
( 3:18 ).

This inscription has already been suspected to be a later addition by Ch'en Meng-chia ( see below ). However, we should declare it forged for the following reasons:

(1) Unreliable provenance:

This inscription was first recorded in Wu Jung-kuang's ( 吳榮光 ) Yün ch'ing kuan ( 1842 ). Wu reproduced it from a hand-copy made by Yao Sheng-ch'ang ( 姚聖常 ) (2), without knowing the provenance, status and whereabouts of the vessel. Nor have those who have included this inscription in their catalogues bothered to look into these problems. All of them, except Ch'en Meng-chia, treat it, together with its vessel-text, as a genuine inscription text. A representative example is Kuo Mo-jo, who has included this questionable inscription, instead of the vessel-text, in his Ta hsi ( lu 62; shih 80 ).

(2) There is an interpolation of seven characters " 入門立  
中廷北鄉 " in the text:

Li ( née Wu ) T'iao-yang ( 呂吳調陽 ) first noticed the discrepancy in the number of characters between the lid-text ( Figure 63A ) and the vessel-text ( Figure 63B ). She says, "The lid-text of the Wang tui contains 89 characters; whereas the vessel-text has 81 [ sic! ] , lacking the seven characters ' 入門立中廷北鄉 ' with a repetition of the graph ' 孫 ', " (3) However, she failed to discover the forgery. Wu Shih-fen ( 吳式

券)<sup>(4)</sup> also noted the discrepancy, but made no comment on its authenticity. It was not until C. Ferguson<sup>(5)</sup> that the interpolation in the text was discovered. Yet the fake remained undiscovered. Ch'en Meng-chia doubts the authenticity of the text in view of the interpolation. He states, "There are seven extra characters——'入門立中廷北鄉' in the lid-text. The graph '敢' is omitted from the phrase '敢對揚'. Its calligraphy, both in character-structure and in overall arrangement, is badly organised, and the characters '冊', '畢', '事', '揚', '寶' etc, differing from those of the vessel-text, are erroneous. [ I ] suspect it to be a later addition."<sup>(6)</sup> The interpolation in the lid-text has been discovered by comparing it with the vessel-text. It fits in so well with the text that, on the other hand, one may wish to argue against the vessel-text that there is a defect in it—the omission of these seven characters. Since the omission or inclusion of this phrase does not affect either the meaning or the syntactic structure of the text as a whole, this possibility must be admitted. Accordingly, we shall have to call upon other criteria. Nevertheless, we are not inclined to run the risk of treating the vessel-text as genuine either. Our main concern here is the interpolation of these seven characters that provide a clue to the lid-text's having been forged.

(3) The calligraphy of the text is badly organised and very indifferent. This implies that the lid-text is a copy

of the vessel-text. The characters are so badly formed—indeed some of them are erroneously executed—that it can not be regarded as genuine. e.g.

(a) "𠄎" ( Figure 63A:3/2 ):

Sixteen variant forms of the character "𠄎" have been recorded in Chin wen pien ( 14:6 ). Except for the one occurring in this inscription, the element "𠄎" appears in two forms: "𠄎" or "𠄎". These are in accordance with those collected in the Ku lin ( 59:6371-81 ); "𠄎" or "𠄎". Nothing is found to have occurred in the shape "𠄎" occurring in this inscription, where only half the character has been reversed.

(b) "𠄎" ( Figure 63A:3/9 ):

The element "𠄎" of the bronze script appears predominantly as "𠄎" (7). The nine variant forms of this graph recorded in the Chin wen pien ( 5:12 ) are no exception: "𠄎", "𠄎" etc. Nor are the 22 variant forms of the graph "𠄎" collected in the same work ( op.cit., 5:12-3 ). The graph "𠄎" as it appears in this inscription is obviously alien to the bronze script, but identical to the stone drum form: "𠄎" and "𠄎" (8). This suggests that the forger has also consulted the stone script.

(c) The character "𠄎" ( Figure 63A:5/4 ) differs from the "𠄎" of the vessel-text ( Figure 63B:4/6 ). It does not resemble any of these ( "𠄎", "𠄎" etc ) collected in the Ku lin ( 22:2054 ) either. Unattested bronze inscriptions have such variants as "𠄎", "𠄎", "𠄎" (9). So far, however, only the first of these

子不事王侯，  
 與世推移。此  
 其所以為士  
 也。士有畫地  
 為限，勢不可  
 入，削木為吏，  
 議不可對。定  
 計於鮮也。未  
 遇刑，士有畫  
 地為限，勢不  
 可入，削木為  
 吏，議不可對。

Figure 63A. The forged lid-text on the Wang tui (望敦).

—Reproduced from the Chün ku (3/1:83-5).



𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎

Figure 63B The unattested vessel-text on the Wang tui (望敦).

—Reproduced from the Chün ku (3/1:83-5).

forms has been documented by genuine materials, viz. the "𠄎" of the Shih shih kuei no.1( Figure 58:4/2 ).

(d) "册" ( Figure 63A:5/7 ).

The Chin wen pien( 2:18-9 ) records 23 variant forms of "册", which, apart from the one in question, can be classed into three main shapes: "𠄎", "𠄎" and "𠄎". They are largely analogous to the "𠄎" recorded in the Ku lin( 12:917-920 ), and to the "𠄎" of the authenticated material( see Figure 58:4/4, 6 ). Therefore, "𠄎", a form confused with "𠄎"( 用 ), in this inscription is a mistaken form( see also Ch'en Meng-chia ibid. ). Unfortunately, Jung Keng has also included it in his Chin wen pien( 2:18-9 ).

(e) "畢" ( Figure 63A:6/2 ).

The character "畢" is composed of "𠄎" and "畢". The Ku lin( 19:1662-3 ) has this form: "𠄎". Unattested bronze inscriptions vary a great deal: "𠄎", "𠄎", "𠄎", "𠄎"(10) etc. Nevertheless, one thing is certain: the lower element "十" has never been distorted into "大" as in the shape "𠄎" in this inscription. It is doubtless an erroneous form( see also Ch'en Meng-chia ibid. ) Unfortunately, it has been recorded in Ting Fo-yen's( 丁佛言 ) Shuo wen ku ch'ou pu pu( 說文古籀補補 ). In view of the structure of the graph "畢", the form "畢" in the vessel-text( Figure 63B:5:5 ) is also wrong. It cannot be verified either by attested or by unattested materials.

(f) "𠄎" ( Figure 63A:6/10 ).

The graph "鐘" is composed of "言" and "絲" (11). Un-attested bronze inscriptions have these variant forms: "𠄎", "𠄎", "𠄎" (12). Fully-attested bronzes have also this form: "𠄎" (13). Nothing like the "𠄎" in this inscription can be seen elsewhere. In the Kochūhen (53:3-4 plus Supplement (補遺) 6:5) a total of 54 variants are recorded. Apart from its occurrence in this questionable inscription, it has not been found to have occurred on any other vessel. Obviously it is a mistaken form. Jung Keng is of the opinion that the short top horizontal stroke of the character is distinctive: "𠄎" develops by the addition of determinatives into "鐘" ( Man: "Southern barbarians" ) and "鐘" ( lüan: "beautiful" ); whereas in the sense of "bells on a horse's harness", the stroke never appears: "𠄎 = 鐘" (14). Barnard also advocates this view (15); but it has been proved wrong by the thoroughly authenticated inscription on the Tso chung-bell (16).

(g) "事" ( Figure 63A:7/2 ).

The words "事" and "使" were non-distinctive ( i.e. having one and the same character ) in ancient times (17). Their hsiao chuan style is "𠄎" ( Ku lin 15:1264-5 ) and their authenticated bronze script form is: "𠄎" (18). Chin wen pien ( 3:18-9 ) records a total of 31 variant forms which are structurally homogeneous with attested form, except for the ones occurring in the Fu ting ( 𠄎 ) and in this inscription: "𠄎". There can be no doubt that it is an erroneous form ( see also Ch'en Meng-chia

ibid.)

(h) "對" ( Figure 63A:7/7 ).

The character "對" has a variety of forms: "𠄎, 𠄎" ( bone script ) (19); "𠄎, 𠄎" ( attested bronze script ) (20). Unattested bronze script forms totalling forty variant forms have been recorded in the Chin wen pien ( 3:6-7 ), and these largely accord with the attested forms. The "small seal script" has yet another two innvated forms: "𠄎" and "𠄎" ( see Ku lin 14; 1118-1120 ). Hsü Shen says the latter was coined by the order of Han Wen Ti ( 漢文帝 ) ( ibid. ). As a matter of fact Hsü was wrong on this point, for this variant existed already in the Shang and Chou periods (21). The graph "𠄎" in this inscription is beyond doubt a copy of the small seal form.

(i) "揚" ( Figure 63A:7/8 ).

In the bone script, the character "揚" has this form: "𠄎" (22). In authenticated bronze script it has various forms: "𠄎" ( Figure 58:8/2 ), "𠄎" (23), "𠄎" (24), "𠄎" (25), "𠄎" (26). Most of the 63 variant forms recorded in the Chin wen pien ( 12:5-6 ) accord with the above, both in structure and in shape, except for a few markedly doubtful ones. For instance, the "hand" element is consistently written in these three forms: "𠄎", "𠄎" and "𠄎", never like that in this inscription: "𠄎". It is an erroneous graph ( see also Ch'en Meng-chia ibid. )

(j) "寶" ( Figure 63A:9/5 ).

Regarding the character "寶", the bone script has this

form: "𠄎" (27). In the bronze script, the character has had added to it the element "缶" which is documented by many attested materials: "𠄎" ( Figure 58:10/7 ), "𠄎" (28), "𠄎" (29), "𠄎", "𠄎" (30). There are 143 variant forms of the character "寶" recorded in the Chin wen pien ( 7:15-7 ). Apart from the questionable twelve, all 131 comprise these four elements: "宀", "貝", "玉", "缶". It is apparent that the element "貝" is one of the essential components of the character "寶". Hsü Shen errs in stating that the ku wen style of "寶" has this form: "𠄎", with the omission of "貝" (31). Now the inscription in question has this form: "𠄎", which is alien to both the bone and the bronze scripts. It is presumably a copy of the unattested, alleged ku wen style: "𠄎" from the Shuo wen with a rearrangement of the elements: "𠄎" ( see also Ch'en Meng-chia ibid. )

Furthermore, only one of the three occurrences of the character "用", i.e. the "𠄎" ( Figure 63A:7/1 ) is correct. The other two: "𠄎" ( Figure 63A:8/5 ) and "𠄎" ( Figure 63A:10/8 ) are doubtful, in view of the structure of the character ( It will be dealt with more fully in this Chapter below ). As to the omission of the character "敢" between the phrases "旨首" and "對揚" in the 7th column, and <sup>the</sup> variation of "其邁年" ( Figure 63A:9/7-8 to 10/1 ) from "望邁年" ( Figure 63B:9/2-4 ) between the lid-text and the vessel-text, they are of less importance. On the basis of the above observations, we must declare at least the lid-text of the Wang tui a fake.

J.2(281) ins. C.M. 165 Ch'i hou hu no.2 (齊侯壺 = ) or

Huan tzu meng chiang hu no.2 (洹子孟姜壺 = : "齊侯[女]器 希喪其鼓 齊侯命夫子乘遽 孟句宗伯聽命于天子曰：'曷則爾期，余不且事女受冊，邇邇受御，爾且濟受御。'齊侯拜嘉命于上 天子用璧玉備[一翻]于大 無 鬻折于鬻 命用璧兩壺八鼎于南宮子用璧二備 玉 = 鬻，鼓鐘[一肆] 齊侯[鼓] 洹子孟姜喪其人民都邑 董宴舞，用從爾大樂，用鑄爾羞銅，用御天子之事。 洹子孟姜(喪其人民都邑 董宴舞，用從爾大樂，用鑄爾羞銅，用御天子之事， 洹子孟姜)用氣嘉命，用旂纛壽，萬年無疆，用御爾事。":

Yün ch'ing kuan ( 2:24 ); Chün ku ( 3/3:23-5 ); Ts'ung ku ( 10:17 ); Liang lei hsüan ( 4:2 ); K'ò chài ( 14:2 ); Chou ts'un ( 5:37 ); Ming wen yen chiu ( 2:62 ); Chai yi chai ( 15:22 ); San tai ( 12:33 ); Hsiao chiao ( 4:100 ); Ta hsi ( t'u 187; lu 256; shih 212 ). The inscription is reproduced in Figure 64B.

There is another hu, whose inscription is largely parallel to this one, but containing 142 characters ( see Figure 64A ). It first appeared in the Hsai mi Catalogue ( 1882 ), and, unlike the one which contains 165 characters, its inscription is comparatively complete. The type and décor of these two hu-vases are likewise homogeneous (32). The one with 142 characters was first known to be in the collection of Mr. Pei ( 貝氏 ) of Soochow. It then passed into the possession of Ts'ao Ch'iu-fang ( 曹秋舫 ), then of Wu P'ing-chai ( 吳平齋 ), and later of Mr. Liu of Lu

Figure 64A. The unattested inscription of 142 characters  
on the Ch'i hou hu no. 1 (齊侯壺一) or Huan tzu  
meng chiaug hu no. 1 (涇子孟姜壺一).

—Reproduced from Ta hsi ( lu 255 ).

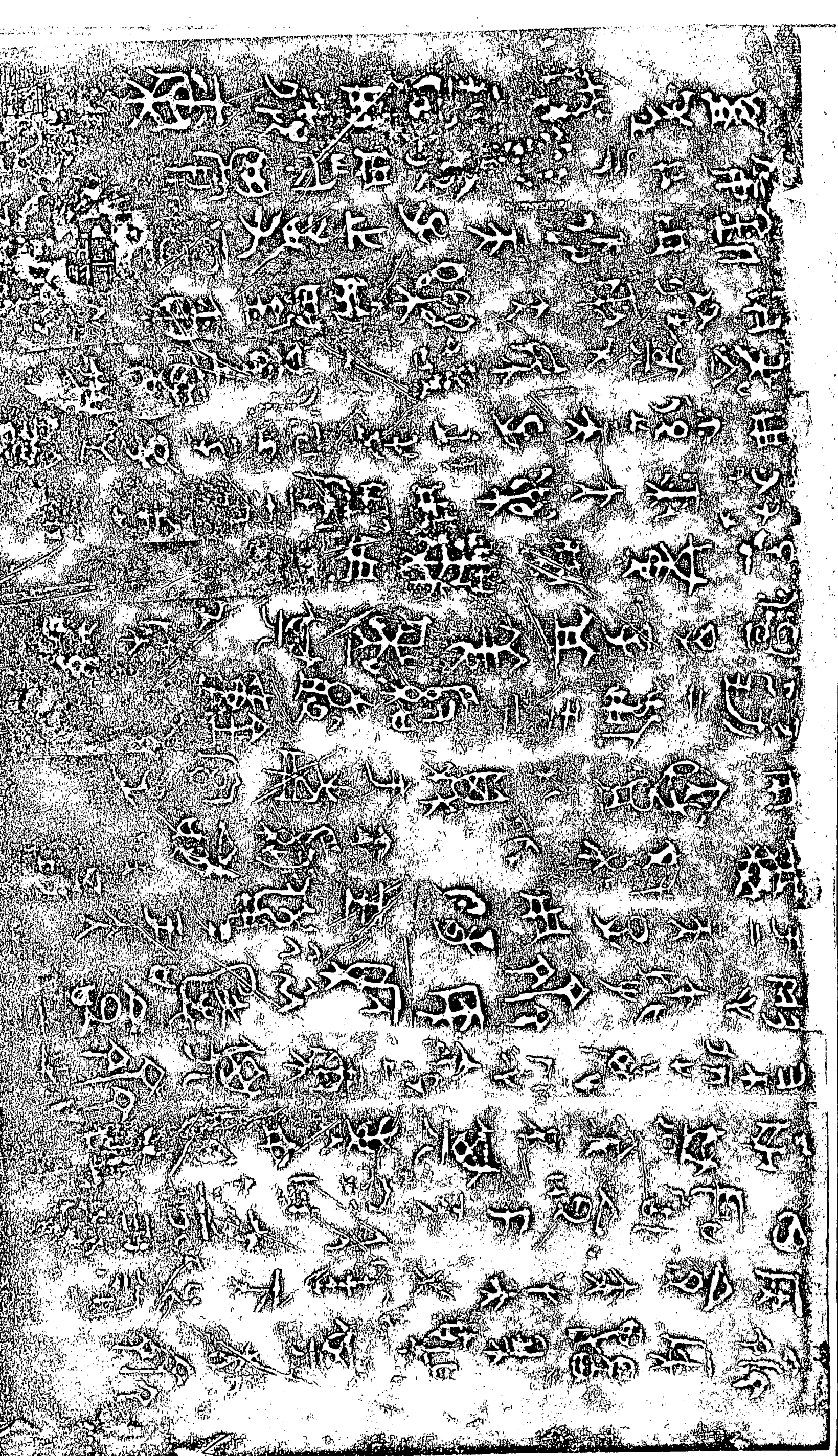






Figure 64B The forged inscription of 165 characters on  
 the Ch'i hou hu no.2 (齊侯壺 = ) or Huan tzu  
meng chiang hu no.2 (桓子孟姜壺 = ).

—Reproduced from Ta hsi ( lu 256 ).



Chiang ( 廬江劉氏 ) (33). From then onwards, its whereabouts has been unknown. The one that carries 165 characters was said to have been first in Juan Yuan's collection, and then it also passed into Wu P'ing-chai's possession (34). Thereafter its whereabouts has also been unknown. Many scholars have studied their inscriptions, made every effort to decipher the characters and assess the historical significance of the contents (35). Although many scholars have noticed the discrepancy of the number of characters between the two inscriptions on the vessels, none of them has any doubt about their authenticity. Kuo Mo-jo, for instance, has been well aware of the fact that this vessel has more characters because there are many mistaken, missing and interpolated characters in its inscription. He remarks, "...in the vessel no.2 ( i.e. the hu in question ), the missing as well as repeatedly interpolated characters are many.....this is due to the fact that the inscription first had a rough draft, which was then transferred to the model or mould. The recording of the text into the mould was done in a perfunctory manner. The calligraphy appears to be somewhat like the cursive writing of the present day. After recording no proof-reading was made, which resulted in the omission of eight characters and the interpolation of 29 characters. It is believed that the vessel was made for an urgent need. Accordingly it was done in such haste." (36). In spite of this, he still considers that these two vessels have a high historical value (37) and includes them in his Ta hsi as standard

vessel for the State of Ch'i. Jung Keng has even gone as far as to base himself upon this questionable vessel and the Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.2 ( which will be dealt with in detail later in this Chapter ) in making the statement that "there are inscriptions which contain interpolations"<sup>(38)</sup>. As far as the authenticity of these identical vessels is concerned, although we are not quite sure about the one with the shorter inscription, the one whose inscription contains 165 characters is definitely forged. This judgement is made on the strength of the following considerations:

(1) Unreliable provenance.

( For details see above ).

(2) Erroneous and omitted characters that make the text meaningless and unintelligible. e.g.

(a) The omission of the character " 女 " ( erroneously read as " 中 " by Wu Te-ch'eng in his K'io chai 14:2 ): a comparative study of the text no.2 ( Figure 64B ) with the text no.1 ( Figure 64A ) reveals that the character " 女 " is missing from the former. However trivial the omission of a single graph may be, it affects the meaning of the text very greatly, because without the graph " 女 ", Lei Ti ( 雷 希 ) will be the name of the Marquis of Ch'i; whereas with the presence of it, Lei Ti will be the name of the Marquis' daughter. Now, in the light of the text no.1 we know for certain that the latter is correct. The forger concerned has been unwise in omitting such an important graph.

(b) The character "大" has been corrupted into "夫" ( Figure 64B:2/3 ); this is clearer if compared with that of the text no.1( Figure 64A:2/5 ). Kuo Mo-jo also equates "大" to "夫" with supporting examples derived from the bone script and an inscription of the Ch'in period<sup>(39)</sup>. However true this may be, it exhibits a discrepancy of wording between these two versions of what is believed to be one text.

(c) "命" ( Figure 64B:2/2, 3/3, 8/7 ).




There are five occurrences of the character "命" in this inscription. The last occurrence( Figure 64B:18/5 ) is only partially legible, and the fourth one "命" ( Figure 64B:8/7 ) is structurally correct. The rest are doubtful: the first one, as illustrated by the rubbing, appears in "命" ( Figure 64B:2/2 ). It may perhaps have been damaged by corrosion. The second one "命" ( Figure 64B:3/3 ) is unlikely to have been damaged, but is probably a mistaken form. As to the third one "命" ( Figure 64B:8/7 ), there cannot be the least doubt that it is an erroneous character. It is interesting to compare these "命" with their counterparts in the text no.1 where they are all structurally correct( This does not mean, however, that we are in favour of the authenticity of the text no.1 ).

(d) The omission of the phrase "一詞" becomes apparent upon comparing it with that of the text no.1( Figure 64A:8/8-9 ). However, the expression to which this phrase relates---viz. "用璧玉備一詞" ( Figure 64A:8/4-9 )---is not complete in the text

no.1 either. This is a result of a comparison with a parallel expression in the text no.1: "用璧=備, 玉=鬻, 鼓鐘一鐸" ( Figure 64A:11/5-6 to 12/1-9 ), where the characters "備, 鬻, 鐸" function as quantity units for the "璧, 玉, 鼓鐘" respectively. Wang Kuo-wei considers "備" to be a synonym of "珎" ( gems placed together ), and "鬻" is regarded as "系" ( bundle ) by Kuo Mo-je<sup>(40)</sup>.

(e) The phrase "一鐸" is also missing from this questionable inscription upon comparing it with that of the text no.1 ( Figure 64A:12/8-9 ).

(f) "備" ( Figure 64B:10/3 ).

The character "備" has not yet been found in bone script, except for the "鬻" element which has several variant forms: "  "(41), "  "(42), "  "(43) etc. However varying the shapes they depict a bag or case in which arrows are kept. Thus they are regarded as the original graph for the word "箠" ( quiver ) and later became interchangeable with "箭" and "服"<sup>(44)</sup>. Regarding the relationship between "箭" and "備", the Ch'ing scholars argued that they are both used to write the word pei meaning "to make ready; to prepare"<sup>(45)</sup>, despite the fact that the latter character stood not for pei ( to prepare ), but pei ( to be cautious ) in Han and pre-Han times<sup>(46)</sup>. So far the graph "備" has not yet been found to have occurred in fully-attested bronze inscriptions. Its occurrence in the unattested materials is not frequent either: the Chin wen pien ( 8:2 ) and Shuo wen ku

chou pu ( 8:1 ) have recorded only two and three occurrences respectively ( all from these Ch'i hou hu-vases ). The Kochūhen ( 31: 41-2 ) has recorded two further <sup>variant</sup> forms: "𠄎" (recorded from a rubbing of an unknown vessel ) and "備" ( occurring in the text on the Jen chin t'u ko 壬斤徒戈 in the Ch'i ku shih Catalogue ). In view of the structure of the graph "備" ( 備 : 从人葡聲 ; 葡, 从用苜省聲 ) (47), they are structurally incorrect. Let us now examine the variant forms of "備" occurring in these two hu-vases: "𠄎" ( Figure 64B:7/8 ) and "𠄎" ( Figure 64A:8/7, 12/2 ) appear to be flawless; whereas "𠄎" ( Figure 64B:10/3 ) of the inscription in question is doubtful because it is not correctly inverted.

(g) The omission of the phrase "既濟" has been brought to our notice by comparing it with that of the text no.1 ( Figure 64A:13/3-4). This phrase is essential in the sentence "齊侯既濟 (成) 涇子孟姜喪" ( The Marquis of Ch'i has completed the mourning for Huan Tzu Meng Chiang ) (48), for it functions as the main verb therein. With the absence of this key verb, the sentence is meaningless. This is a serious mistake that the forger has committed.

(3) The interpolation of 29 characters "喪, 具人民都邑董宴舞, 用從爾大樂, 用鑄爾羞銅, 用御天子之事, 涇子孟姜" ( Figure 64B:15/1 to 18/1 ).

The reason given for this interpolation by Kuo Mo-jo, as mentioned above, is that the recording of text into the mould

was done in a careless and hasty way, and that after recording no proof-reading was made, because the vessel was made for an urgent need. This is plausible only at first sight, and only referring to the rough draft of a document. However, it is incredible that the interpolation, together with the omission, should have occurred to such an important, inscribed document; or that the scribe or founder concerned should have failed to proof-read the text. More unthinkable is the fact that the alleged owner of this vessel—The Marquis of Ch'i—should have accepted such an aberrant, erroneous and indifferent inscription in memory of his beloved consort Huan Tzu Meng Chiang. The only logical explanation of this state of affairs is that the inscription in question is a fake—presumably a later copy of the text no.1.

J.3(282) ins.M.57 Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.2(趙曹鼎二：“佳  
 十又五年五月既生霸，龍王才周新宮王射于射盧史趙襲(曹)  
 易子先虎盧九胃，毋及，趙襲(敢對襲)拜頷首，敢對揚天子休  
 用乍寶鼎，用鄉朋友”)；Chou ts'un( 2:27 )；Cheng  
sung( 3:31 )；Ta hsi( t'u 257；lu 39；shih 69 )；Chi  
wen( 1:25 )；“Shu cheng”( p.1070 )；Hsiao chiao( 3:20 )  
 ；San tai( 4:25 )；T'ung k'ao( 4:50 )；Hsueh pao( Vol.  
 14, no.4, 1956, pp.97-9, pl.1 )；Shang hai( t'u 45；fu  
ts'e 36 )；GSR( K.136 )。

Since its first publication in 1916 by Tsou An( 鄒安 ) in his Chou ts'un Catalogue, this Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.2( Figure 65 ), together with the Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.1( Figure 66 ), has



been highly treasured by many scholars. It is regarded as one of the most important artifacts among vessels hitherto extant. There are two good reasons for this: first, the date—the 15th year ( 十五年 )—therein disproves both the theories that King Kung of Chou reigned for ten years and that the King reigned for twelve years<sup>(49)</sup>; secondly, the occurrence of the two characters “ 龍王 ” makes it a standard vessel of Kung Wang's reign ( 周恭王 ). Thereafter it has been treated as a milestone for the chronology of Western Chou bronzes by such scholars as Kuo Mo-jo, Karlgren, Ch'en Meng-chia, Itō Michiharu ( 伊藤道治 ) etc.<sup>(50)</sup>. However, an inquiry into the content of the inscription text forces us to reject its authenticity. Here are some of the significant results of our inquiry:

(1) Unreliable provenance.

As already stated above, Tsou An was the first to publish this questionable ting-cauldron, but failed to give any information about its discovery. In 1931, Lo Chen-yü recorded it in his Cheng sung ( 3:31 ) Catalogue from a rubbing of unknown source. Since then numerous cataloguers have included this tripod in their albums; yet none has bothered to inquire into its provenance. In 1956, Ch'en Meng-chia stated that it had been in the collection of Wu Ta-ch'eng<sup>(51)</sup>. Nevertheless, we find this statement unacceptable because this vessel was never in Wu's collection<sup>(52)</sup>, nor has it been incorporated in any of Wu's own catalogues: Heng hsüan or K'o chai. The two Ch'üeh ts'ao ting-tripods

are now in the Shanghai Museum and have likewise been published in its catalogue. Here again, no provenance is given. This raises the first point of doubt.

- (2) By the interpolation by repetition of the three characters " 敢對曹 " in the text, the sentence concerned has become syntactically incorrect.

As mentioned above, an interpolation in any piece of writing is evidence of a later addition. In the case of this particular ting-cauldron, there is no exception. It may be argued that, since this vessel was cast in the 15th year of Kung Wang's reign, well after the one which had been cast in the 7th year, it will not be strange if the second vessel should have an interpolation, because these two vessels belonged to the same owner---Ch'üeh Ts'ao. When he cast the second vessel for the same reason of extolling the Emperor's grace, he could naturally have consulted the previous text of somewhat identical nature. In doing so he might have interpolated ~~the~~ repetition of these three characters " 敢對曹 " ( Figure 65:6/5-7 ) in the text for reasons similar to those given by Kue for the interpolation and emission of characters in the text of the Ch'i hou hu no.2 ( see above ). This is unlikely, however, because, firstly, the casting of inscribed bronze ritual vessels or memorial utensils often involved certain important events. Among these the most important was the inclusion of phrases extolling the King's grace and admonishing and bidding one's sons and grandsons forever to use and

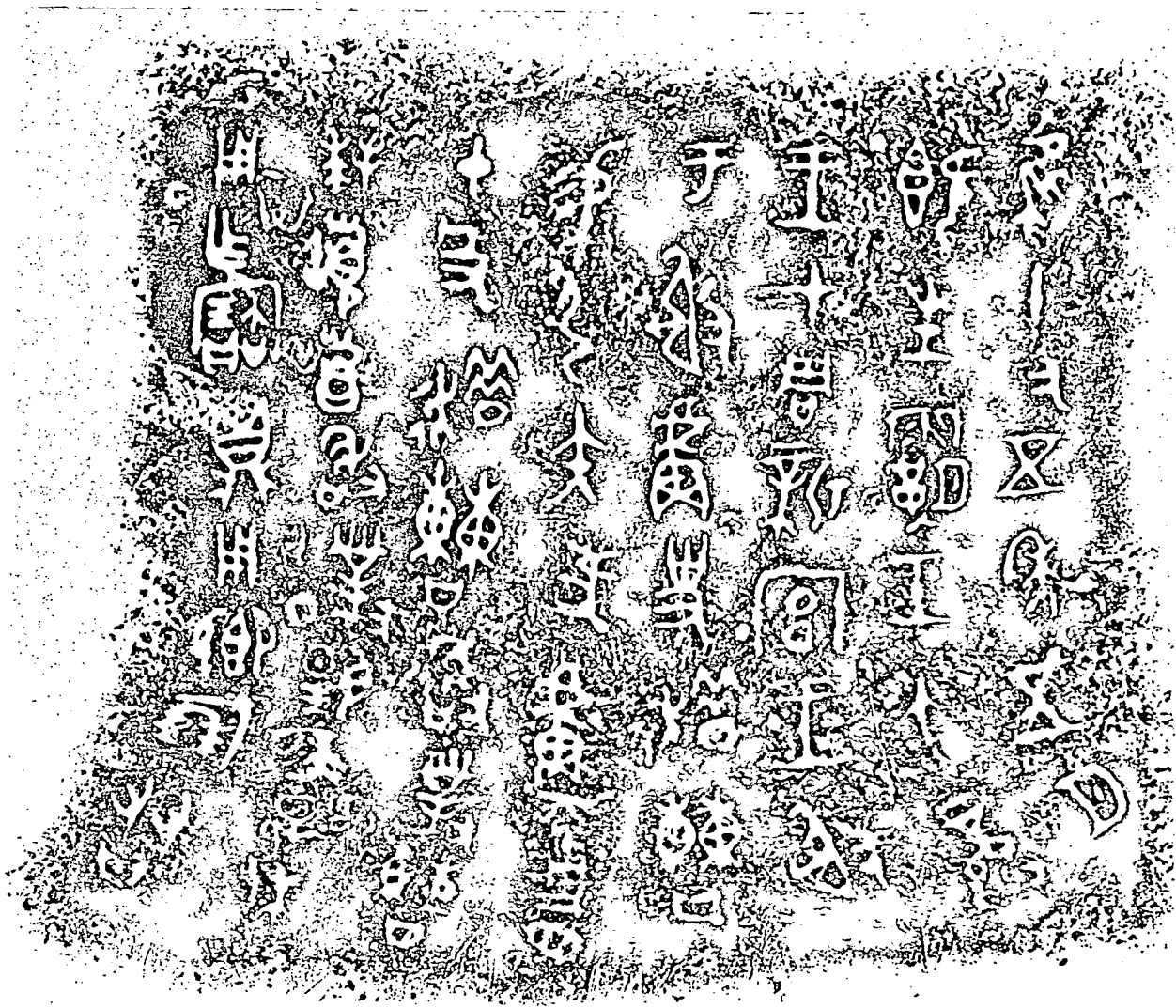


Figure 65 The forged inscription on the Ch'ueh ts'ao  
ting no.2 (趙曹鼎二).

—Reproduced from the Shang hai ( fu ts'e 36 ).



Figure 66 The extant inscription on the Ch'üeh ts'ao  
ting no.1 (趙曹鼎一).

—Reproduced from the Shang hai ( fu ts'e 35 ).

treasure it. We should expect the utmost care and attention to have been given to these matters, so that no interpolation would be allowed to intrude into the inscription. In any case, we should not expect an interpolation to slip into a short and important document of only 57 characters, unless of course it was done by a careless forger. Secondly, one of the main purposes for which this cauldron was cast was to entertain friends and guests (see Figure 65:8/5-8). Even supposing that the founder and owner of the vessel had both failed to discover this glaring interpolation that makes the text syntactically wrong, friends and guests who had been entertained should have noticed them and reported them to the owner for modification. Nevertheless, the interpolation has remained intact. This strongly suggests that the text was not written by the owner, nor was it cast by a responsible founder, and that on no occasion had the vessel been used for entertaining guests. It is highly probable that the cauldron did not belong to Ch'üeh Ts'ao of Chou, but is an imitation by some forger with great technical skill of later date.

### (3) Grammatical peculiarity.

The sentence "史趙曹易了矢, 虎盧九, 冑, 毋受." (Figure 65: 4/4 to 6/2) may be translated "The shih-official, Ch'üeh Ts'ao was awarded a bow and arrows, nine tiger-like spear handles, a helmet, and a bundle of spears." Kuo considers the verb "易" (award) to be in the passive voice (53). Again, regarding the sentence "仲大師右柝=易載, 朱黃, 絃, 鬪之色, 以人事" on the

newly excavated Tso chung (柞鐘), he opines that "the verb '易' here is also in passive voice, and that the sentence should be translated 'Chung Ta Shih assisted Tso; Tso was awarded a leather apron, a red gem girdle-pendant, bells for horse's harness, and to be in charge of the affairs of the farmers in five districts'. As far as bronze inscriptions are concerned, there is no formal difference between active and passive voices. The '柞易' in this inscription, for instance, means 'Tso was awarded'. Strictly speaking, it should run 'The King [sic!] (54) awarded Tso!'" (55). This implies that the normal, regular voice of the verb in bronze texts was active, and that passive voice was unusual. Tang Ch'ing-fan (黨晴梵) supports this view by interpreting the repetition mark following the character "柞" as "仲大師在柞, 易柞...." (Chung Ta Shih assisted Tso and awarded Tso....) (56). This interpretation is proved correct by the fact that Tso had been awarded gifts by Chung Ta Shih, and that he made this set of bells mainly to extol Chung Ta Shih's grace (57). Among hundreds of bronzes studied by Ch'en Meng-chia (58) we find that there are only four cases in which the word "易" is used in the passive voice. They are: 34 Ts'ai tsun (蔡尊) (59); 36 Ch'en ch'ing ting (臣卿鼎) (60); 42 Hsiao tzu sheng tsun (小子生尊) (61) and 80 Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.2 (趙曹鼎二). Although the reliability of the former two is not certain, the Hsiao tzu sheng tsun and the Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.2 are fakes. The inscription on the tsun reads, "小子生易金, 鬱鬯, 用卞設, 寶樽彝"

( Hsiao Tzu Sheng having been awarded copper( 金 ) and Yu spirit made this kuei, the precious and honourable ritual vessel.) The striking fault with this inscription lies in the discrepancy between the vessel-name and the vessel-type---the tsun-wine-beaker is wrongly designated as kuei-food container. Moreover, the inscription is internally contradictory. It repeats the parallel expressions, "用乍設" (made this kuei-container) and "寶樽彝" ( precious and honourable ritual vessel ), which is alien to the regular syntax of bronze texts.

Now, even supposing that the Ts'ai tsun and the Ch'en ch'ing ting are genuine, the most we can say is that the word " 易 " is extremely seldom used in the passive voice even in the unattested bronze texts. As to the fully-attested materials, so far there is only <sup>one</sup> case in which the word " 易 " may be regarded as being used in the passive voice, i.e. the Tse chung text already mentioned above. But it is attributed to a much later date in the Western Chou period<sup>(62)</sup>, and the usage of the word " 易 " is rather uncertain; it can be interpreted either as being in the active voice( see Tang Ch'ing-fan's view ) or in the passive voice( Kuo's opinion ). On the other hand, however, the usage of " 易 " in the active voice was predominant throughout the Western Chou period. Sundry evidence can be adduced. The following are examples of fully-attested materials:

- (1) "Mao Kung awarded my deceased father officials..." ( 孟  
 簋 : "毛公易朕文考且 ...." )<sup>(63)</sup>;

(ii) " [ The King ] awarded you a red sash, a dark brown gem and a beautiful purse." (師旅筭甲 : "男女赤市, 同黃麗般(擊)".) (64);

(iii) " [ I, the King, ] awarded you 15 bronze helmets...." (師旅筭乙 : "儕女十五易登(場登) ....") (65);

(iv) "T'ung Chung rested in the western Palace, and awarded Chi Fu armed guards ( or charioteers ) six [ men ] , four families of servants and three hundred chün of copper." (幾父壘甲 : "同仲宮西宮, 易幾父下筭(于費) 六, 僕四家, 金千鈞. ") (66);

(v) "The King commanded Nieh, Marquis of Oh'ien, saying, ' [ I invest you as ] Marquis of Yi. [ I ] award [ you ] one flask of aromatic spirits; one Shang Yen-boiler; one red bow and one hundred red arrows; ten black bows and one thousand black arrows. [ I ] award [ you ] two hundred ch'uan of land, one hundred and twenty [ ? ] of [ woodland ] , thirty-five towns, and [ one? ] hundred and [ forty? ] [ villages ] . [ I ] award [ you ] seven [ teen? ] clans of King's men resident in Yi. [ I ] award [ you ] count of Cheng [ and ] his retainers [ numbering ] [ one hundred and ] fifty husbandmen. [ I ] award [ you ] six hundred husbandmen, serfs of Yi.' "

矢彝 : "王令虞侯矢曰: '俾侯于宜, 易登(登)造一箇, 商高一箇, 形固一, 形矢百, 旅子十, 旅矢千, 易土畢川二百, 畢川百又, 畢色卅又五, 易才宜王人' "



又七生; 易 栗 口 白 卒 口 口 口 五 十 夫 易 宜 庶 人 六 百 夫 " ) (67).

All the nine occurrences of the verb "award" ( 易 or 儕 in the case of (iii) Shih shih kuei no. 2 ) in the five genuine inscriptions are in the active voice. The most interesting phenomenon is that, except for this questionable vessel, the verb "award" ( 易 ), in all the 15 inscriptions allegedly attributed to the reign of Kung Weng by Kue and Ch'en, is used in active voice:

(vi) " [ The King ] awarded Ch'üeh Ts'ao a sparrow-coloured leather sash, a dark brown gem and bells for horse's harness." ( 趙曹鼎一 : " 易 趙 曹 載 市 同 黃 纒 " ; see Figure 66 ) (68);

(vii) " [ The King ] awarded you a red leather apron, a sash, bells for horse's harness and a banner for [ your ] use." ( 利鼎 : " 易 女 赤 市 纒 旂 用 事 " ) (69);

(viii) " [ I, the King, ] award you red chopines for [ your ] use." ( 師虎段 : " 易 女 赤 帛 用 事 " ) (70);

(ix) " [ The King, ] awarded you a silk garment, a leather apron, a sash, bells for horse's harness and a banner." ( 豆閉段 : " 易 女 載 衣 目 市 纒 旂 " ) (71);

(x) " [ The King ] awarded [ you ] a red sash." ( 師毛父段 : " 易 赤 市 " ) (72);

(xi) " [ The King ] awarded you a leather apron, a sash, a dark-brown gem, a black garment with an embroidered border, a decorated and inscribed dagger-axe and a

banner."(師奎父鼎 : "易女市,同黃,玄衣黼屯,戈瑁載,旂" ) (73);

(xii) " [ The King ] awarded you a red X Y Z, and a banner for [ your ] use." (走設 : "易女赤□□□旂用事" ) (74);

(xiii) " [ The King ] awarded [ you ] one flask of black millet spirits, a black embroidered garment, red chopines, a bronze carriage ( i.e. chariot )...." (卞册吳方彝蓋 : "易矩鬯一卣,玄衮衣,赤舄,金車...." ) (75);

(xiv) "The King commanded Premier Li to award General Chü a red jade and a gem token—one of each, jade rings and stone ornaments—four of each." (師遽方彝 : "王乎宰利易師遽珣,圭一,環章四" ) (76);

(xv) "The King commanded General Cheng to award General Chü ten p'eng-string of cowries." (師遽設蓋 : "王乎師朕易師遽貝十朋" ) (77);

(xvi) "The King commanded Premier Yen to award [ General T'ang Fu ] a bow with ivory ends from Sheng, and arrows with finely cut red feather flights." (師湯父鼎 : "王乎宰雁易威子象弮,矢臺(翦)彤欵(括)" ) (78);

(xvii) "Su presented [ Sung ] with precious stone ornaments, four horses and fine copper." (史公頌設 : "蘇木寶章,馬四匹,吉金" ) (79);

(xviii) " [ The King ] awarded you a black garment with an embroidered border, a red sash, a red gem, bells

for horse's harness, a banner and a bronze bridle for [your]use."(公頌鼎: "男女玄衣素韋, 赤市, 朱黃, 絲, 旂, 攸勒, 用事. ") (80);

(xix) " [ The King ] awarded you blackone flask of black millet spirits, a bronze carriage...."(牧設: "男女鬯一卣, 金車. ...."; see our Figure 56 above) (81);

(xx) " [ The King ] awarded you a red leather apron, a sash and bells for horse's harness, for[your]use."(望設: "男女赤市, 絲, 用事. ") (82).

The above quotations show that the use of the verb "易" (award) in all the 15 inscriptions alleged to be contemporaneous with the inscription in question is active. It is contrary to that of the doubtful inscription which reads, "The shih-official, Ch'üeh Ts'ao was awarded a bow and arrows,...." It is also unthinkable that the same owner, Ch'üeh Ts'ao's style of writing should deviate from his own( i.e. on the ting no.1 ) and from that which predominated at the time. The best explanation is that the text on the ting no.2 was composed by someone of later date.

(4) The investiture is not in line with the institution as known from available material.

The institution of investiture during the Western Chou period has been studied by Ch'en Meng-chia in the light of bronze texts (83). Although not all the materials he employs are fully-attested, the result yielded has in the main been corroborated by scientifically excavated materials. For instance, he states

that three kinds of investiture may be observed in the bronze texts:

- (a) Investitures and gifts by the Kings;
- (b) Orders issued by the Kings to be announced in Ch'eng Chou( 成周 ) by their emissaries;
- (c) Investitures and gifts by the Kings' consorts and by their feudal princes.

The reliability of category (b) is not yet known, but categories (a) and (c) have been substantiated by such genuine inscriptions as the Shih shih kuei no.1 and no.2<sup>(84)</sup>, the Tso chung (85) etc.

According to Ch'en, a complete royal investiture, as recorded in the bronze texts, normally contains the following entries:

- (i) The time and place of investiture;
- (ii) The procedure of investiture: the investee was assisted by a Master of Ceremonies; stood in a proper position, normally facing north; the charge was then read by a shih-official( this procedure was sometimes simplified according to circumstances );
- (iii) The King's charges were usually preceded by phrases such as " 王若曰 ", " 王曰 " or " 曰 ";
- (iv) Having been invested, the investee saluted by raising his joined hands and knocking his head on the ground while extolling the Son of Heaven's grace. This was followed, as a rule, by statements concerning the rea-

son and purpose for which the vessel was cast, the prayer for a long life, and the command to coming generations to treasure and use the vessel for ever<sup>(86)</sup>.

Let us now examine the content of the investiture recorded in this questionable inscription: it is a record of a King's gift, which contains (i) The time and place of investiture; (iv) The statement that, having received the gift, the investee saluted by knocking his head on the ground while extolling the King's grace; and the reason and purpose for which the vessel was cast. It does, however, lack (ii), the procedure of investiture, and (iii), the introductory phrase. This is extremely scarce in unattested bronze documents relating to a king's gift, and not yet found in attested inscriptions. It does not tally with the unattested materials either. The following chart( Figure 67 ) serves to demonstrate this:

All these 15 inscriptions have been attributed to the reign of Kung Wang by both Kuo and Ch'en. What is more interesting as exhibited by the chart is that the investiture conducted by Kung Wang as recorded in this Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.2 is not in accordance with that alleged to have been practised in the same period. Of these 15 inscriptions, 10 are complete records of royal investitures containing four essential entries; 3 include three entries but lack mention of a Master of Ceremonies to assist the investee; 1 also includes three entries but is short of a shih-official to perform the investiture on the King's behalf.

Nevertheless, they do contain three out of four entries. In the case of this questionable inscription, neither has the procedure of investiture been mentioned, nor the investee's being assisted by a Master of Ceremonies; nor is a shih-official mentioned as being present to execute the investiture on behalf of the King. In short, the investiture recorded therein is not in line with the institution as known.

(5) Gift-objects are inappropriately bestowed.

Gifts bestowed by the Kings of Western Chou upon their ministers and their feudal princes etc were of a great variety. Among official costumes were leather aprons, sashes, dark-brown gems, black garments etc; personal ornaments included jade rings, precious stones, scabbard ornaments etc; riding equipment included chariots ( "bronze carriages" 金車 ), horses, bronze bridles, bells for horse's harness, banners etc; beverages included aromatic spirits etc; weapons included bows and arrows, dagger-axes, spears etc. Since attested materials excavated to date are still limited, we cannot yet say for sure what types of gifts were regularly awarded to what ranks of officials, though literary sources seem to suggest that there were clear-cut differences<sup>(87)</sup>. Nevertheless, one thing common to both unattested and fully-attested materials can be observed, namely, that, apart from the inscription in question, under no circumstances did the Western Chou Kings award weapons to their civil servants. While annotating a bronze text, Kuo Mo-jo says, "...In view of the fact that [ he ]

Name of vessel and source of inscription.	(i).Time and place of investiture.	(ii).Time and place of investiture.
1 栒曹鼎一 San tai(4:24)	隹七年十月既生霸， 周般室，大室。	并 立
2 利鼎 Santai(4:27)	隹王九月丁亥， 般室。	并 立

Figure 67 The institution of a royal investiture in the reign of King Kung of Western Chou.

- These are followed by the details of the charge( omitted here ) in all cases except (1) and (8).

Name of vessel and source of inscription.	(i). Time and place of investiture.	(ii). The ceremony of investiture (assistant, position, reading of charge)	(iii). Introductory phrases of the charge*.	(iv). Investee's reactions and dedication of vessel.
1 趙曹鼎一 San tai (4:24)	佳七年十月既生霸 周般室, 大室.	井白入右趙曹 立中廷北鄉		趙曹拜稽首, 敢對揚天子 休, 用下室鼎, 用鄉邇友.
2 利鼎 San tai (4:27)	佳王九月丁亥, 般室.	井白內右利 立中廷北鄉	王乎下命內史册 命利, 曰:....	利拜稽首對揚天子五顯 皇休, 利其萬年孫承室用.
3 師虎敦 San tai (9:29)	佳元年六月既望甲戌 杜室, 大室.	井白內右師虎 立中廷北鄉	王乎內史吳曰... 王若曰....	虎敢拜稽首對揚天子 不承魯休...子孫承室用.
4 豆閉敦 San tai (9:18)	唯王二月既生霸辰 戌寅, 師戲大室.	井白入右豆閉	王乎內史册命豆閉 王曰:....	閉拜稽首敢對揚天子 顯休...册命萬年承室.
5 師毛父敦 Ta hsi (Lu: 60)	佳六月既生霸戌戌 王各于大室	師毛父即立 井白右	內史册命...	對揚王休, 用下室敦, 萬 年承室用.
6 師奎父鼎 San tai (4:134)	佳六月既生霸庚寅 王各于大室	司馬井白右師奎父	王乎內史册册 命師奎父....	奎父拜稽首對揚天子五 顯休, 用下室于利中, 用 百年萬年康子, 孫承室用.
7 走敦 Hsiu chia (12:44)	佳王十又二年三月既 望庚寅之月周各大室	司馬井白(入)右走	王乎下册册(册命) 走....	走敢拜稽首對揚王休走 具, 眾厥子, 孫, 萬年承室用.
8 趙曹鼎二 San tai (4:20)	佳十又五年五月既生 霸壬午韓王才周新室			趙曹敢對曹拜稽首敢 對揚王休...用鄉邇友.
9 望敦 Chün ku (31:85)	佳王十三年六月初吉 戌戌, 王才周康室新 室, 王各大室.	宰朋父右望	王乎史年册命望 ....	望拜稽首敢對揚天子 五顯休...望萬年, 孫承室用.
10 册吳王彝蓋 San tai (6:54)	佳二月初吉丁亥王才周 成大室, 王各廟... 月王二祀(文敘末).	宰朋右册吳入門立 中廷北鄉	王乎史戌册命吳 ....	吳拜稽首敢對揚王休吳 具, 在子孫承室用.
11 師遠方彝 San tai (11:32)	佳正月既生霸丁酉 王才周康室鄉醴		王乎軍利易師遠 ....	師遠拜稽首敢對揚天 子五顯休...百子孫承室.
12 師遠敦蓋 San tai (8:53)	佳王已祀四月既生 霸辛酉王才周新室		王乎師朋易師遠 ....	遠拜稽首敢對揚天子五 顯休...百子孫承室.
13 師湯父鼎 San tai (4:24)	佳十又二月初吉丙午 王才周新室		王乎軍朋易師湯 ....	師湯父拜稽首...具萬年 孫, 子, 承室用.
14 公頌鼎 San tai (4:10)	佳三年五月既生霸甲 戌, 王才周康室 各大室	宰弘右公頌入門立 中廷	王乎史載生册命 公頌, 王曰:....	公頌拜稽首...敢對揚天子 顯皇休...具萬年...承室用.
15 牧敦 Li tai (14:17)	佳王七年三月既生霸 甲寅, 王才周師 父室各大室甲之	公族魚入右牧立 中廷	王乎內史吳册命牧 王若曰...王曰...	牧拜稽首敢對揚王五顯 休...敢其萬年, 孫, 承室用.

\* These are followed by the details of the charge (omitted here) in all cases except (1) and (8).

恭王時代王者之策命制度



was awarded a decorated dagger-axe, [ we ] know that Yüan(袁) was naturally a military officer."<sup>(88)</sup> Again in commenting on a group of newly excavated bronzes, Kuo writes, "This man( i.e. Shih Shih 師旒), since he occupied the post of shih(師), was someone who administered military affairs. The text on the Shih shih kuei no.2 describes military operations. [ It also records that he was ] awarded dagger-axes, shields, helmets and caps etc. All this bears witness to the fact [ that he was a military man.] "<sup>(89)</sup> The statement that weapons are known to have been awarded solely to military officials of the Western Chou is documented by the following unattested bronze texts:

- (i) "Awarded you [ General X ] a decorated dagger-axe.... fifteen red arrows...."(師毀毀: "男女戈瑁, 戣瑁鞞, 彤矢十五, 鐸鐘" )<sup>(90)</sup>;
- (ii) "The King commanded the shih-official(史) Chi to reward General X-Fu, 'Award [ you ] ....a decorated and inscribed dagger-axe...."(師奎文鼎: "王乎內史駒册命師奎文'易載市, 同黃, 玄衣黼屯, 戈瑁戣, 所")<sup>(91)</sup>;
- (iii) "The King commanded Premier Ying to award [ General T'ang Fu ] a bow with ivory ends from Sheng, and arrows with finely cut red feather flights."(師湯文鼎: "王乎宰應易威弓, 象瑁, 矢韋(箭), 彤欵(括)" )<sup>(92)</sup>;
- (iv) "Ssu T'u Nan Chung assisted Wu Hui to enter the door, and stand in the middle of the Hall. The King commanded the shih-official Yu to reward Wu Hui, saying,

'...award you....a decorated and inscribed dagger-axe...' "(無彘鼎：「嗣徒南仲右無彘內門立中建王手史習(友)冊令無彘曰：「...易女...戈瑀戡...」"; see Figure 27 above.) (93);

(v) "The King commanded the shih-official Yü to bestow on Yüan....a decorated and inscribed dagger-axe...."(寰盤：「王乎史滅冊易寰...戈瑀戡...」) (94);

(vi) "The King commanded the chief shih-official to award [ the Chou Ma ] Hsiu....a decorated and inscribed dagger-axe...."(休盤：「王乎作冊尹冊易休玄衣蕭屯，赤市，朱黃，戈瑀戡，彤沙，駟必，綴斝」) (95);

(vii) "Awarded you....a decorated and inscribed dagger-axe and red arrows." (周敦：「易女...戈瑀戡，彤矢」) (96);

(viii) "The King arrived at General Hsi's great hall. Ching Po assisted Tou Pi entering [ the door. ] The King commanded the official to reward Tou Pi. The King said, 'Pi, [ I ] award you....a bow and arrows.' "  
(豆閉殷：「...王各于師戲大室，并白入右豆閉，王乎內史冊命豆閉，王曰：「閉，易女戡衣...弓，矢...」」) (97).

The practice of awarding weapons by the Western Chou Kings only to military men has been testified by fully-attested bronze texts. Examples are as follows:

(ix) "The King said, 'General Shih,....[ I ] award you 15 bronze helmets, a shield with coloured feathers and decorative designs, a decorated and inscribed dagger-

axe....."(師旒簋乙: "王曰: '師旒..... 儕女十五  
号登(場登), 宿生皇畫内, 戈瑯截 駘必彤沙 " ) (98);

(x) "The King commanded the chief shih-official to reward General Chi, ' [ I ] award you....a decorated and inscribed dagger-axe....for your daily use." (師籍弔伯簋: "王乎内史尹氏册命師籍: '男女玄衣黼屯..... 戈瑯截..... 日用事" ) (99);

(xi) "The King commanded Nieh, Marquis of Ch'ien, saying, ' [ I ] award [ you ] ....one red bow, one hundred red arrows, ten black bows, one thousand black arrows!...' (宣侯矢彝: "王令虔侯矢曰: '... 易..... 彤弓一, 彤矢百, 旅矢十, 旅矢千....." ) .

For the provenance of this vessel see Note 67 above. It was partly damaged during its excavation, and since it is highly corroded, many characters in its inscription are obscure. Unfortunately, some of these obscure characters are vital ones. They affect the dating as well as the interpretation of the text to a considerable extent. It is therefore very controversial. For example, the first two columns of the text run:

佳三月, 辰才丁未, □□ 珺王  
成王伐商圖, □ 菁東或圖.

For the two obscure characters in the first column, the words "王省" (the King examined) have been suggested by Kuo Me-jo and T'ang Ian<sup>(100)</sup>, while Ch'en Meng-chia is of the opinion that the two characters record some kind of sacrificial ceremony and

that the text should be punctuated after "Wu Wang" (武王) (101). In the light of the context, Ch'en's suggestion is to be preferred. Thus these two columns of text are statement of events concerning the investee Nieh, Marquis of Yi (formerly of Ch'ien) who had assisted King Ch'eng (102) in the expeditions against the Shang and the states to the east. Barnard supports this view and states that it is justifiable to assume that Yi Hou Nieh took some considerable part in these expeditions against the Shang and the states to the east,—military assistance, no doubt, of sufficient magnitude to warrant the King's presentation of so large an array of gifts (103). Since Nieh, Marquis of Yi, was a military man, it is not strange that his gifts included weapons. Hence, the preceding quotations, both from attested and unattested bronze inscriptions, confirm that among numerous gift-objects from the Western Chou Kings to their ministers, weapons such as bows, arrows, spears, dagger-axes and the like were awarded solely to military officials. There is, however, an exception, where a newly excavated bronze presents a disturbing picture. It is the fu shih li kuei (輔師釐簋) which reads, "王乎乍册尹册令釐曰: '更(賡)乃且考鬲司輔, 載男女載市, 素黃, 纒, 旃' 又 '令余曾(重)乃令, 男女玄衣羔屯, 赤市, 朱黃, 戈, 彤沙(送), 琯載, 祈王, 日用事.'" (104). According to the inscription, the gifts bestowed by the King upon the fu shih li included a decorated and inscribed dagger-axe etc. From our criterion we shall infer that he was a military man. However, this is not so. The post of fu shih (輔師) is

considered by Kuo to be equivalent to fu shih ( 傅師 ) in the Chou li: "Ch'un kuan" ( 周禮:春官 ), whose main duty was as a drummer. Kuo also regards this fu shih Li to have been the owner of the existing Shih li kuei ( 師楚簋 ), whose inscription reads " [ I, the King ] command you to succeed to your late father's post as Hsiao fu ( 輔 = 少傅, Tutor to the Heir-Apparent ) and Ku chung ( 鼓鐘 = 樂師, musician )" (105). Both inscriptions agree in describing fu shih Li or Shih Li as a musician rather than a military man. Why, then, did the King—Li Wang ( 厲王, Kuo's attribution ) award him weapons? This is indeed a disturbing question that seems to invalidate our principle so far established. There is no doubt about the authenticity of the Fu shih li kuei. Nevertheless, the inscription does contain one very unusual feature: both the King's command and the list of gifts are recorded twice in different forms. For example, in the original charge the King commands the chief shih-official to invest Li, saying, "Succeed your late grandfather and your late father as szu-fu ( 司輔 = 輔師 = 傅師 ). [ I ] award you a sparrow-coloured leather sash, a plain gem, bells for horse's harness and a tail-tassel banner." This is repeated, but the gift-objects have changed considerably: "Now I reaffirm your tenure of office and award you a black garment with an embroidered border, a red sash, a red gem, a decorated and inscribed dagger-axe, traces for carriage-harness and 5 banners for your daily use." Kuo explains this unusual phenomenon as follows: this is an unusual double

charge, divided by the word "again" ( 又 ). First, Li Wang commanded Li to succeed to his late grandfather's and late father's previous post and awarded him a sparrow-coloured leather sash, a plain gem, bells for horse's harness and a tail-tassel banner. All these had been recorded in a written order. However, soon after this order had been announced in the presence of the King and the investee, the King felt that the gifts were too mean for his favourite minister, so he promptly offered in addition a revised set of gifts. This was done orally and impromptu. As a result, not only was the quality of the gifts improved ( e.g. the sparrow-coloured sash and plain gem were replaced with a red sash and a red gem ), but the quantity and variety of the gifts were also increased ( e.g. one banner was increased to five and there was the addition of a black garment with an embroidered border, a decorated and inscribed dagger-axe and traces for carriage-harness ). All these point, suggests Kuo, to the fact that Li Wang was an eccentric character who lacked of discipline and acted, not according to regulations, but at the promptings of momentary whims. This being one of the main causes which led to his exile and eventual downfall (106). Now, in regard to this inscription, we can almost say for certain that the second portion of the investiture was unofficial, irregular, and hence non-representative. In other words, the award of a weapon to a musician in this particular case was an exception to the general rule.

Let us now revert to the inscription text on the Ch'üeh ts'ao

ting no.2 and examine the contents of the gift-objects presented to the shih-official Ch'üeh Ts'ao by the King: they include merely weapons, namely, a bow and arrows, 9 tiger-shaped spear-handles, a helmet, and <sup>a</sup> bundle of spears, and nothing else. It is quite foreign to the practice of Western Chou for these sets of weapons to be bestowed by a King upon a civil servant, as Ch'üeh Ts'ao was (107). It may be argued that since Ch'üeh Ts'ao had accompanied the King in an archery contest( see Figure 65:3/6-7 to 4/1-3 ), or in a hunt at a hunting-lodge( as Kuo's interpretation; see Ta hsi: shih 69 ), it would not be surprising if he were awarded a bow and arrows etc. This argument seems logical at first sight, but it is hardly plausible, because the King could easily have had the company of his military officials rather than that of a civil servant for such a martial pursuits. In conclusion, on the basis of the above reasons and points of doubt, we are bound to declare the inscription in question a fake. Only by doing so can the contradictions within the contents of the text be explained. As a corollary, if the inscription should prove to be cast, the vessel itself will likewise be a fake.

Two critical questions arise in consequence of this denunciation. The first is: how many years did Kung Wang reign? For 10 years? 12 years? 20 years? or 25 years? In the light of this inscription Kuo has ruled out the first two calculations( see Ch.1 above ). Ch'en Meng-chia follows in Kuo's footsteps and has

gone even further in deciding firmly on 20 years for Kung Wang's reign<sup>(108)</sup>. Now, since the Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.2 is a fake, the very foundation of Kuo's, Yetts's<sup>(109)</sup>, Ch'en's and others' theories regarding the length of Kung Wang's reign-period has totally collapsed. Hence, the question remains controversial.

The second problem posed as a result of this demncliation is the attribution of bronzes to the reign of Kung Wang. So far there has been no scientifically excavated material to warrant the dating of 15 bronzes( i.e. (3)(1)-(xv) in this Chapter above) to this reign. Their attribution, in the final analysis, is either directly or indirectly based upon the contents of this forged inscription. For instance, Kuo was the first( 1931 ) to discover that the two characters " 韓王 " in the text were the title of Yi Ha( 繫毫 ), son of Mu Wang( 穆王 ), adopted during his lifetime and not a posthumous appellation<sup>(110)</sup>. He then attributes the two ting-cauldrons of Ch'üeh Ts'ao to Kung Wang's reign and regards them as standard vessels---one of the milestones for the chronology of Western Chou bronzes. Since the term "Hsin kung" ( 新宮 ) in this inscription( Figure 65:3/4-5 ) also occurs in the Shih t'ang fu ting, Sung ting and Shih sung kuei, he accordingly attributes them to this reign. Since the name Ching Po( 井白 ; sometimes known as Ssu-ma Ching Po 司馬井白 ) occurring in the Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.1( Figure 66:3/5-6 ) has also been found in the Shih hu kuei, Shih mao fu kuei, Tou pi kuei and Shih X-fu ting, he considers them to be contemporaneous. Having



dated the Shih hu kuei to the reign of Kung Wang, he adds another two---i.e. the Mu kuei and Wu yi ( or Tso ch'e wu fang yi, as Ch'en Meng-chia calls it )---to this reign on the ground that the shih-official Wu ( 內史吳 ) appears on all these vessels<sup>(111)</sup>. In his study of the chronology of Western Chou bronzes, Ch'en Meng-chia applies the same method for attributing bronzes to this reign. For instance, the Master <sup>of</sup> Ceremonies, Ching Po ( 右者 井白 ) occurring in the Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.1 has become the essential clue for his attribution of the following eight vessels to this period: Li ting, shih hu kuei, Tou pi kuei, Shih mao fu kuei, Shih X-fu ting, Tsou kuei ( 走毀 ), Ching po hsien ( 井白 虘 )<sup>(112)</sup> and Ching po chung ( 井白鐘 )<sup>(113)</sup>. The recently excavated bronze, the Chang fu ho-kettle, whose inscription contains, side by side, the title of Mu Wang ( 穆王 ) and the name of Ching Po, does not worry him at all. He opines that Ching Po might possibly have served in the reigns of both Mu Wang and Kung Wang during his lifetime. Similarly, he dates the Wang kuei, Shih chü kuei ( lid ) and Shih t'ang fu ting to this reign by the criterion of the occurrence of "Hsin kang" ( 新宮 ). Since the shih-official Wu of the Shih hu kuei and the Premier Li of the Li ting appeared also in the Tso ch'e wu fang yi ( lid ) and the Shih chü fang yi respectively, he accordingly attributes them to this period<sup>(114)</sup>. In short, the attribution of all these bronzes to the reign of Kung Wang is based upon the forged inscription on the Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.2. This attribution is therefore

unacceptable and all the vessels in this group should be eliminated from Kung Wang's reign. The resulting gap will have to await the excavation of new materials before it can be filled. One thing that is feasible, however, in the meanwhile, is that bronzes whose inscriptions bear the name " 井白 " ( Ching Po ) may be provisionally attributed to the reign of Mu Wang ( 穆王 ) in the light of the fully-attested kettle—the Chang fu ho ( 長由盃 ).

5.2. Inscriptions which can be read only by dislocating characters from one column to the next ( 越行續讀 ) are forged.

Among existing, unattested bronze inscriptions are some whose characters are out of alignment, termed "Inscriptions turning to the right or left" ( 銘文左右轉 ) by Jung Keng (115). The displacements of certain characters take place at the end, sometimes at the beginning of an inscription text. In consequence they make no sense. It is difficult to understand why scholars like Jung Keng and Ch'en Meng-chia should make every effort to explain away this unusual type of inscription instead of suspecting them from the outset. Ch'en has even discovered a way of "reading them by dislocating characters from one column to the next" ( 越行續讀 ) (116). Nevertheless, having scrutinized the texts whose characters are so displaced, we have found that most

of these inscriptions are forged. Examples are as follows:

K.1(283) ins.M.17 Hsiao ch'en fu ting(小.白通鼎 : "小.白  
通即事于西,休仲易通鼎,揚仲皇,作寶" ): Hsieh  
pa( Vol.10, 1955, p.110, pl.14 ).

This cauldron is rather small, only 20 cm in total height, and considerably damaged. The grooves of the character strokes are filled with a black substance, making a rubbing difficult to take. A photograph of its inscription is reproduced in Figure 68. We consider the inscription a fake for the following reasons:

(1) The provenance is doubtful.

According to Ch'en Meng-chia, this ting-cauldron( he calls it "小.白通鼎" and dates it to the reign of Ch'eng Wang ) was bought from an antique shop in the Hulich'ang( 琉璃廠 ) in Peking around 1949. It is now kept in Tsinghua University. There is no evidence that it was ever excavated.

(2) Because of the displacement of the character "鼎" in the second column, the text does not make sense.

Ch'en considers that the text should be read by dislocating the graph "鼎" from the second to the third column as follows:

休 仲 易 通  
揚 仲 皇 作 寶 鼎

After the last character has been shifted from the upper line, the lower line runs smoothly: " [ Fu ] extolling Chung's grace, made this precious ting-cauldron." But now the upper sentence, having had the character "鼎" removed from it, in turn becomes



Figure 68. The forged inscription on the Hsiao ch'en fu  
ting(小.白蓮新 ).

—Reproduced from Hsüeh pao, Vol.10, 1955,  
p.110, pl.14. Character-strokes outlined  
by the present writer.

incomplete: "Hsiu Chung awarded Fu....(?)"—no direct object  
( i.e. gift ) follows the verb "awarded". This is not a matter  
of syntactical simplicity or refinement as Ch'en has suggested  
( ibid. ), but of grammatical incorrectness.

K.2(284) ins.M.28 X-T'ang shu p'an(禁湯叔盤 : "佳正月初  
廿年禁湯叔白蓮錘其傳且萬年無用之疆子。孫永寶 " );  
Hsiao chiao( 9:76; known as "湯叔盤" in this work.);

Iu yi ( no.496 ).

A rubbing of this inscription is reproduced in Figure 69. It runs vertically from left to right, which is not very common among unattested Chou inscriptions, and not yet found in fully attested ones, though it is common in Shang bone texts, though there it is a matter of convenience. Not only is the calligraphy of this text badly executed, but some characters are indeed erroneous. More striking are the displacements of several graphs that make nonsense of the text. In addition, there are other defects which enable us to label this inscription as a fake with substantial certainty:

(1) Lack of provenance.

This inscription was first published in Hsiao chiao ( 1935 ). Neither an illustration of the vessel nor the source of the inscription text has been given. Later, Yü Hsing-wu ( 于省吾 ) recorded it in his Iu yi ( 1957 ). Again, provenance and information of its present whereabouts are lacking. It is therefore of doubtful origin.

(2) By the displacement of the characters "初" and "用之", the text has been so altered that it is impossible to make sense of it.

Quite clearly, the character "初" is missing from the left-hand column ( i.e. the first line of the text ): "佳正月  
日十午". Equally clearly, it has been inserted on the left of the "月" in order to precede "日" to form the compound

"初吉"---the first quarter of the month: "佳正<sup>初</sup>月<sub>己</sub>壬午".  
 Yet, even so, the graph "初" is not properly placed even for this purpose. This practice is comparable to that of drafting a document at the present day: if words are <sup>missing</sup> from the first draft, they may be supplied in a later draft or transcription. It may be argued that even in a genuine piece of writing, a mistake in the transcription, or a misprint in a book or newspaper is sometimes inevitable. However, as far as inscriptions are concerned, the case is quite different, because, first of all, it is a very short document which has to be cautiously impressed or incised first into the model or mould and then cast, or engraved directly into the metal. Secondly, the owner( or customer ) of the inscribed vessel would certainly not be satisfied with a mistake of this kind occurring in the inscription text, for the vessel was intended to be honoured, treasured and used forever by his descendants. All this justifies our say<sup>ing</sup> that such a mistake would not be permitted to occur on a properly founded, genuine inscribed bronze. Indeed, this sort of defect is extremely uncommon even in existing unattested bronze inscriptions. Needless to say, it has not so far been found in thoroughly attested bronze texts.

The last two sentences in the first two columns run:

其萬年無用之

彊子=孫=永寶

No difficulty should be found in reading such customary expressions among Chou bronze texts. However, this very one is an

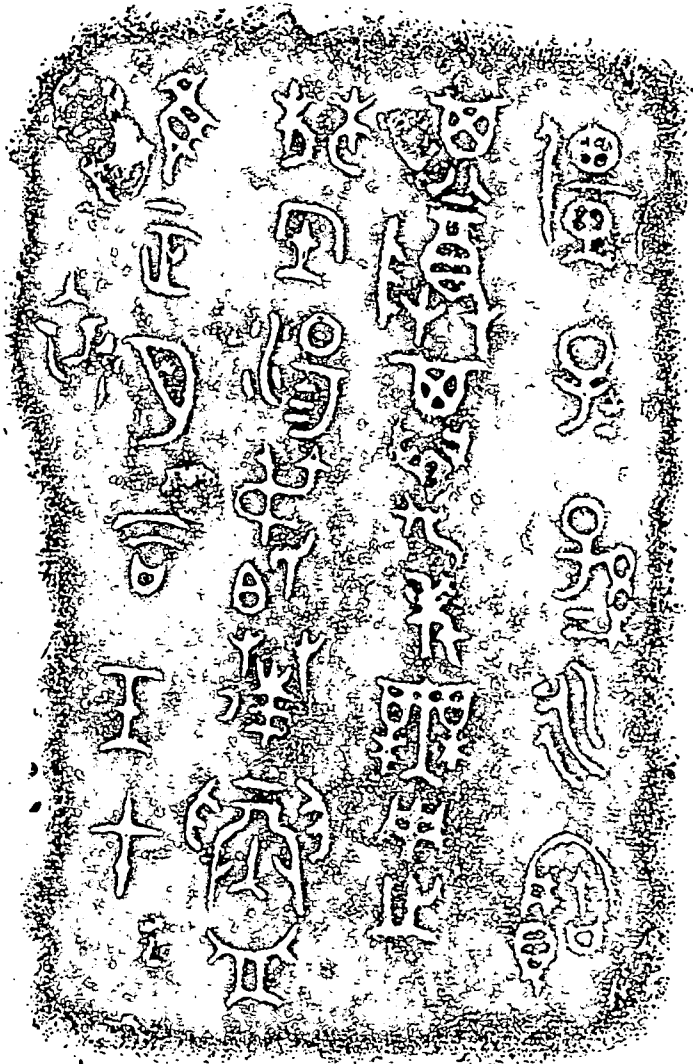


Figure 69 The forged inscription on the X-T'ang shu  
p'an ( 湯叔盤 ).

—Reproduced from the Iu yi ( no.496 ).

exception, for it makes no sense in the first sentence. One may argue, as Ch'en did, that we can read it by dislocating the "用之" from its present context to the end of the text:

其萬年無  
疆子孫永寶用之

Then it will run smoothly: "For a myriad years without end, may [ his ] sons and grandsons forever treasure and use it." But commonsense alone should tell us that no genuine bronze owner ( not to be confused with collectors ) of that period ( or any period, for that matter ) would be willing to pay a high price to have his precious artifact erroneously inscribed in this way. It is evident that this vessel did not really belong to the alleged X-T'ang Shu Pai P'eng ( 紇湯叔白蓬 ), but to someone else of unknown date, and that it has been fraudulently incised.

(3) The vessel-name is lacking in the inscription.

When expressing the purpose for which the vessel was cast, the text reads, " 紇湯叔白蓬鑄其樽 ". Its translation will be something like: "X-T'ang Shu Pai P'eng cast his honourable (?)" The lack of an vessel-name ( or an object ) in the sentence makes it incomplete. It may be argued that the graph "樽" might have been used as a noun—i.e. a variant of "樽" ( tsun-wine-beaker ) in this context. But this is contradicted by the actual vessel-type: p'an-laver. As a matter of fact, the word "樽" is used only as an attributive, e.g. "樽彝", "寶樽設", "寶樽鼎", "樽彝" etc. No exception has yet been found in fully



attested bronze texts.

(4) Several characters are wrongly executed.

(a) The graph "𠄎" ( Fig.69:4/4 ) is obviously an erroneous form. This form of "吉" has never been found in bone script, nor in attested bronze script. None of the 15 "吉" in the Chin wen pien( 2:6 ) has the vertical stroke omitted from its upper element "士". There is only one out of 120 cases in the Kochūhen( 51:15-8 ) in which the character appears as " = ", viz. in the unattested Kuei fu ch'en ting( 歸父辰鼎 ). One further doubtful form out of ten has been collected in the Kochūhen( Supplement 6:2 ) viz. "𠄎" ( 湯依胙華尊 ). The former is easy to confute, as it is indubitably not a variant of "吉", but an ancient form of "下". The latter occurs in a bronze of unreliable authenticity.

(b) The character "年" is erroneously written as "𠄎" ( Fig.69:2/5 ). This graph is composed of a determinative "木" and a phonetic "人" (从木人聲) in both bone and bronze scripts: "𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎". Later a horizontal stroke was added to "𠄎" to give "𠄎" (从木千聲), from which the hsiao chuan style evolved: "𠄎" ( see Ku lin 31:3118-3120 ). The bulk of 281 variant forms of this graph collected in the Kochūhen( 261 in 82: 20-26 plus 20 in the Supplement 9:4 ) accord well with these forms; except for "𠄎" ( 齊奔史喜鼎 in Yün ch'ing kuan ) and "𠄎" ( 史伯頊父鼎 in Chi ku chai ) (117) etc, and for those under the head of "loan words" such as "𠄎" ( 郟王義楚鼎 in

Ch'i ku shih ), "𠄎" (魯伯大父敦 in Chi ku chai), "𠄎" (南人父匜 in Chün ku ), "𠄎" (孫盞 in Ku chien ) etc, which are all very eccentric and, no doubt, are derived from unreliable sources.

(c) The character "用" is also written in an unusual form: "𠄎" ( Fig.69:2/7 ). The forms of this graph in bone script vary to the extent that it is difficult to derive a commonly representative one. Yet in the late Shang and Chou bronze script it became somewhat unified: "𠄎", a form which is said to be composed of two elements: "𠄎" (118). Among 50 variant forms recorded in the Chin wen pien ( 3:25-6 ), 46 tally well with this structure; only 4, namely, "𠄎" (宗周鐘), "𠄎" (湯叔尊), "𠄎" (番君鬲) and "𠄎" (陳公子虜) are doubtful. Apart from the Niao ch'ung shu (鳥虫書) style and the bone style, the majority of 310 variant forms recorded in the Kochūhen ( 29:28-36 plus Supplement 3:23 ) are written in these forms: "𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎" etc, which agree with the structural principle of this character; exceptions are these occurring in the forged text: "𠄎" (119) and in the unattested texts: "𠄎" (父己𠄎 in Yü hua ko ), "𠄎" (父己𠄎 in Ku chien ), "𠄎, 𠄎" (白石父𠄎 in Hsiao t'ang ) etc. Nevertheless, these vessels are of doubtful authenticity, and the forms of the graphs thereon are extremely unusual.

In addition to the above, the character "叔" is aberrantly shaped: "𠄎" ( Fig.69:3/3 ), and, at any rate, could not have been blurred to this extent by corrosion ( cf. "𠄎, 𠄎" etc in Chin wen pien 3:16-7 ). The element "𠄎" ( bow ) in the character

"𠄎" ( Fig.69:1/1 ) is also aberrant. It looks like the element "𠄎" ( man ) ( of. "𠄎", "𠄎", "𠄎" etc in the Kochūhen 28:29-31 plus Supplement 3:20 ). In the vast majority of the occurrences of this element in 108 variant forms of "𠄎", it is distinguished from that of "人". The element "玉" ( jade ) in the graph "𠄎" ( Fig.69:1/7 ) is also incorrect. It needs another horizontal stroke to complete it: "王".

K.3(285). ins.M.11 X-Tso fu chia kuei ( 梓作父甲毀 : " 父甲寶毀 義 孝 邁 年 孫 子 寶 " ); San tai ( 7:22; it is known as " 父甲毀 " in this work ); T'ung k'ao ( 5:93, pl.52 ).

The rubbing of this inscription is reproduced in Figure 70.

The inscription consists of:

- (a) " 父甲寶毀 " ( Made [ this ] precious vessel for Father Chia ). A subject is needed;
- (b) " 義 ". Whatever this character is, it cannot be connected either with what precedes or with what follows;
- (c) " 邁年 " ( for ten thousand years );
- (d) " 孫子 ". An impossible inversion of " 子孫 " ( sons and grandsons );
- (e) " 寶 " ( treasure.... ). An object is needed.

Comment is hardly needed on such a pathetic jumble of fragments. Yet Jung Keng reasons that the character " 梓 ", which should precede the character " 父 " has been shifted to the left of the " 父 " (120). Such negligent treatment of this indispensable

character in an inscription text by the founder would be quite inexcusable. There can be no doubt that the inscription is a later addition by some careless forger.

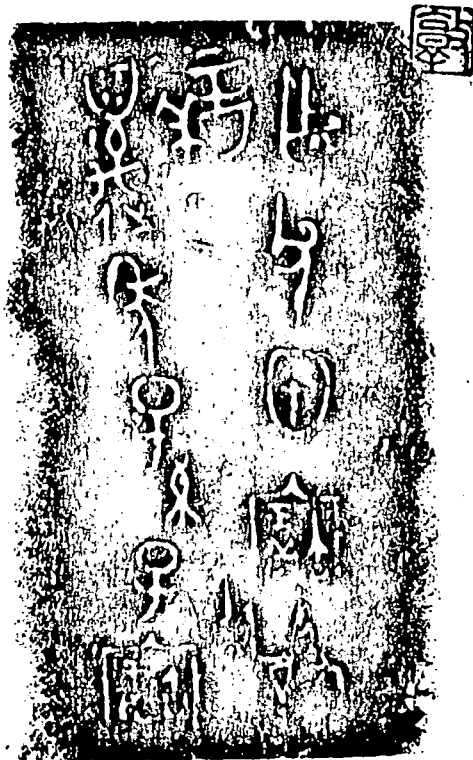


Figure 70 The forged inscription on the X-Tso fu chia kuei ( 移作父甲既 ).

—Reproduced from the San tai ( 7:22 ).

K.4(286) ins.M.11 X-Y-Po-Z-tsun(月清伯遠尊): San tai

(.11:31); T'ung k'ao( 5:93 ). The inscription text

runs as follows:

月清白遠下阜彝  
清寶旅尊

The last character "彝" in the first line has been mislocated, which makes the text unreadable. Jung Keng( T'ung k'ao 5: 93 ) suggests that it can be read by dislocating the graph "彝" from the first line to the end of the second line. This is, however, an unfounded assumption as far as bronze inscriptions are concerned( for reason see above ). Moreover, the character "考" is wrongly written. According to the Shuo wen, this character is composed of the determinative "耂" and the phonetic "丂"( 考省, 丂聲; see Ku lin 36:3765-66 ). It seldom occurs in the bone script( 1 occurrence recorded in Chin Hsiang-hen's 金祥恆 Hsi chia ku wen pien 續甲骨文編 8:14 ) yet a high frequency of occurrence can be seen in the bronze texts. It appears in these forms: "耂" and "耂" in fully-attested inscriptions(121), which confirms Hsi Shen's definition. The form "耂" appearing in this inscription is very unusual. Neither the determinative "耂" nor the phonetic "丂" agrees with the standard form, or even with the bone script form. We cannot but regard this inscription text as a forgery.

K.5(287) ins.C.M.9( 1. ) Nei kung kuei(内公設: 盖銘:

"内公下鑄從設永寶用"): Ku chien( 27:8-10 );

Cheng sung ( 5:13 ); San tai ( 7:20 ); T'ung k'ao ( 5:93 ).

Three vessels, also known as "周太公敦", bearing this inscription are recorded in the Imperial Ch'ing Catalogues. They all belong to the same vessel-type, differing only slightly in décor. Their inscriptions are located in the lids. Jung Keng, having renamed them "周芮公簋", regards them as genuine. Now, let them tell their own stories: the first vessel ( Ku chien 27:8 ) bears an inscription of nine characters which runs:

夙  
用  
夙  
用  
夙  
用  
夙  
用  
夙  
用

The last characters in the first two columns, i.e. "夙" and "用" appear in a reversed form. Nothing is wrong with this, since ancient scribes enjoyed some freedom in this respect. Yet, as far as this inscription is concerned, it is a question of correctness or otherwise. The forms of the graph "夙" occurring among bronze texts vary so greatly that a common form is not easy to select<sup>(122)</sup>. Nevertheless, "夙" is markedly erroneous, because none of the 78 variant forms in the Chin wen pien ( 3:22-23 ) tallies with it. Moreover, the placement of the two elements is illogical: carrying a ladle, the hand element is not picking anything from the container, but facing the other way round. The character "從" is also wrongly written as "夙". This graph does not exist in the bone script; yet its root "夙" does: "夙"

ㄅㄛ, ㄈㄨ " ( Hsü chia ku wen pien 8:8-9 ). The bronze script has this form: "從" ( Chin wen pien 8:5 ), which can be structurally substantiated both by the hsiao chuan form: "從" (123) and the k'ai shu form: "從". None of these warrants the one in question.

The second vessel bears an identical inscription ( Ku chien 27:9 ), yet running in a slightly different way:

繪	靈	肉
夙	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎

Here again, there are three characters, viz. "靈", "繪" and "夙" appearing in a reversed form. No flaw can be found with them in respect of structure. Yet the character "𠄎" has been mislocated, which undermines the meaning of the text so greatly that it becomes nonsense. This is definitely not the type of inscription that the alleged owner of the vessel, the Duke of Nei, would have wanted.

The third vessel carries an obscure inscription ( Ku chien 27:10 ) of 4 visible characters and 2 partially visible ones. It runs as follows:

𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎
𠄎	𠄎	𠄎

This inscription lacks a maker's name. It cannot have been lost by corrosion or abrasion, because there is no space for it in the proper location. And nothing could be more serious than omit-

ting the owner's name from the text when inscribing a vessel. In addition to this, the characters "鑄", "段" and "寶" are all very badly formed. There is little doubt that it is also a fake.

K.6(288) ins.C.M.11 Po to fu hu( 伯父壺 ): Ku chien (19:9; known as "周黎伯壺" in this Catalogue ); Cheng sung( 7:28 ); San tai( 12:10 ).

Jung Keng( "List", p.847 ) has renamed it "周弁口伯父壺", and labelled it "genuine". This is to be questioned. Let us examine the inscription text illustrated in Figure 71:

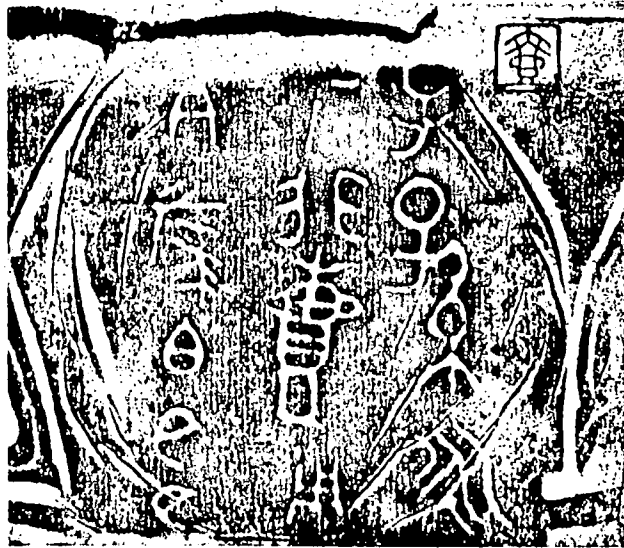


Figure 71 The forged inscription on the Po to fu hu ( 伯父壺 ).

—Reproduced from the San tai( 12:10 ).



The text runs vertically from left to right. Apart from three characters, viz. "A", "𠄎" ( Fig.71:3/1-2 ) and "𠄎" ( Fig.71:2/1 ), which are undecipherable, the rest of the text presents no difficulty in reading. It may be transcribed as follows:

A 𠄎 白 多  
 𠄎 非 壺 用  
 子 孫 永

But the text makes no sense at all since the character "用" has been mislocated. Moreover, the graph "非" is wrongly executed. "行" appears in bone script as "𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎" (124) etc, in bronze script as "𠄎, 𠄎" (125) and "𠄎, 𠄎" (126) etc, but never in the form occurring in this questionable inscription. The forger has unwisely chosen the wrong model—i.e. "非" (127)—for it. There is no doubt that it is a fake.

5.3. Inscriptions which can be read only by interchanging two or more successive characters ( 銘文顛倒 ) are forged.

There exists a group of unattested bronze inscriptions whose characters run in a reversed order in the middle of sentences. This is the outcome of careless copying from existing texts. For instance, a tsun-wine-beaker bears an inscription reading " 乙 父 " ( see below ); also vessels bearing inscriptions on both the

vessel-bodies and the lids may have a lid-text reading "父丁子", whereas the vessel-text reads "丁父子" (see also below), or a lid-text which reads "孫乙丁" while the vessel-text reads "乙孫丁" (see also below). These eccentric inscriptions are termed "逆讀" ("to be read backwards") by Lo Chen-yü<sup>(128)</sup> and by Wang and Lo<sup>(129)</sup>. In support of this, Jung Keng has gone a step further and says that "if we do not read it by dislocating words from inappropriate to appropriate positions, it almost makes no sense."<sup>(130)</sup> All these arguments are quite futile, since such reversals could occur only if the text is not meant to be read, but is only for decorative purposes, or if it has been connected by an illiterate forger. The bone texts are well-known as being liberal in both the physical appearance of the script<sup>(131)</sup> and in the direction of writing. Even in one and the same piece of inscribed bone or shell, divination texts running in various directions can be observed<sup>(132)</sup>. Texts run in both directions, i.e. from right to left or from left to right, and individual characters appearing in both obverse and reverse forms in the same inscription can also be observed in bronze texts<sup>(133)</sup>. Two independent passages of writing running in opposite directions on one and the same piece of silk have been excavated from a Ch'u tomb of the Warring States period<sup>(134)</sup>. Yet in no case have we found in a genuine piece of writing words or phrases that have been mislocated in the manner described above. It is very likely that, especially in cases where both the vessel-body and the lid

are inscribed, the type of inscription in question are later additions in imitation of an earlier existing one. Examples are as follows:

L.1(289) ins.G.M.11 X-Chao chia li ( 舉肇家鬲 : " 舉肇家鑄卞(鬲)其水子孫寶 " ): T'ao hsü ( 1:48; it is known as " 舉肇家鬲 " in this Catalogue ); Chou ts'un ( 2:79 ); Hsiao ehiao ( 3:67 ); San tai ( 5:28; it is known as " 稱肇家鬲 " in this work ).

This inscription, illustrated in Figure 72, contains eleven characters in three columns. Two of the characters, viz. " 舉 " ( Fig.72:1/1 ) and " 鬲 " ( Fig.72:2/2 ), are indecipherable. Yet it is not impossible to infer the significance they convey. The former will be either a place-name or a family name. In either case it will function as a subject in this context. The latter seems to be a pictograph depicting a round-shaped vessel, probably a hsien-steamer, in which food is being cooked over a fire at the base. The head may denote putting in or taking out food from the vessel. However it may be interpreted, its function as a noun( i.e. a vessel-name ) in this context is beyond doubt. The rest of the characters pose no problem in decipherment. However, the text as a whole makes no sense at all. For example, the character " 水 " ( Fig.72:2/4 ) is normally followed by " 寶 " but here it has been dislocated. The occurrence of " 鑄 " ( cast ) immediately preceding " 卞 " ( made ) is unusual in unattested bronze texts, and unknown in fully-attested ones, though there



Fig 72

Figure 72 The forged inscription on the X-Chao chia li

(鑄肇家鬲).

—Reproduced from the San tai ( 5:28 ).

is a dissyllabic compound "鑄作" ( casting ) in modern Chinese. "鑄" might have been used as a personal or place name ( e.g. 鑄子叔簋, 鑄公簋, 鑄侯求鐘 ), but then it would contradict the "鑄" in this context. Now, supposing "鑄" to be a personal name and "鑄" a place name, the sentence "鑄肇家鑄" may be translated "X originated his family ( or fief ) [ from ] Chu". This is unlikely, however, because a place name is, as a rule, introduced by a preposition meaning "in" or "at" ( 才 = 在 ; 于 )

in bronze texts. Whatever the interpretation, this sentence is either illogical or grammatically incorrect. It is clearly a falsely composed text( see Ch.3 above ).

L.2(290) ins.M.13 Chu lai chui li ( 龜來佳鬲 : " 龜來佳  
下鬲萬壽覺其年無疆用 " ): Cheng sung( 4:7-8 );  
San tai( 5:29 ).

This inscription, illustrated in Figure 73, contains thirteen characters inscribed on the rim of a li-cauldron. It runs in a circle along the rim. The text makes no sense at all in spite of the fact that none of the graphs is unidentifiable. Lo Chen-yü comments, "The characters on this li-cauldron have been mislocated. They should run as ' 龜來佳作鬲, 其眉壽, 萬年無疆用 ' . "(135). Although the jumbled text has been skilfully "reconstructed", it still does not read well: the finally reconstructed sense is "Chu Lai Chui made this ts'ai-petty tripod, may he live for a myriad years without end," leaving the graph "用" ( use ) untranslated. However, this character has never been used to make a complete sentence by itself in bronze texts. Nor has it any linkage whatsoever with the subject--- 龜來佳 in this context. Lo's argument is unacceptable.

Inscriptions on the rim of this li-vessel type are of two kinds: one occupies only a part of the rim-circle, since the text is a short one, e.g. the Chi nai mu li( 姬葬母鬲 ), Lu hou li( 魯侯鬲 ), Cheng ching shu hu fu li( 秉井叔萇父鬲 ), Lu chi li( 魯姬鬲 ) etc<sup>(136)</sup>. Fully-attested examples are the Pe yang

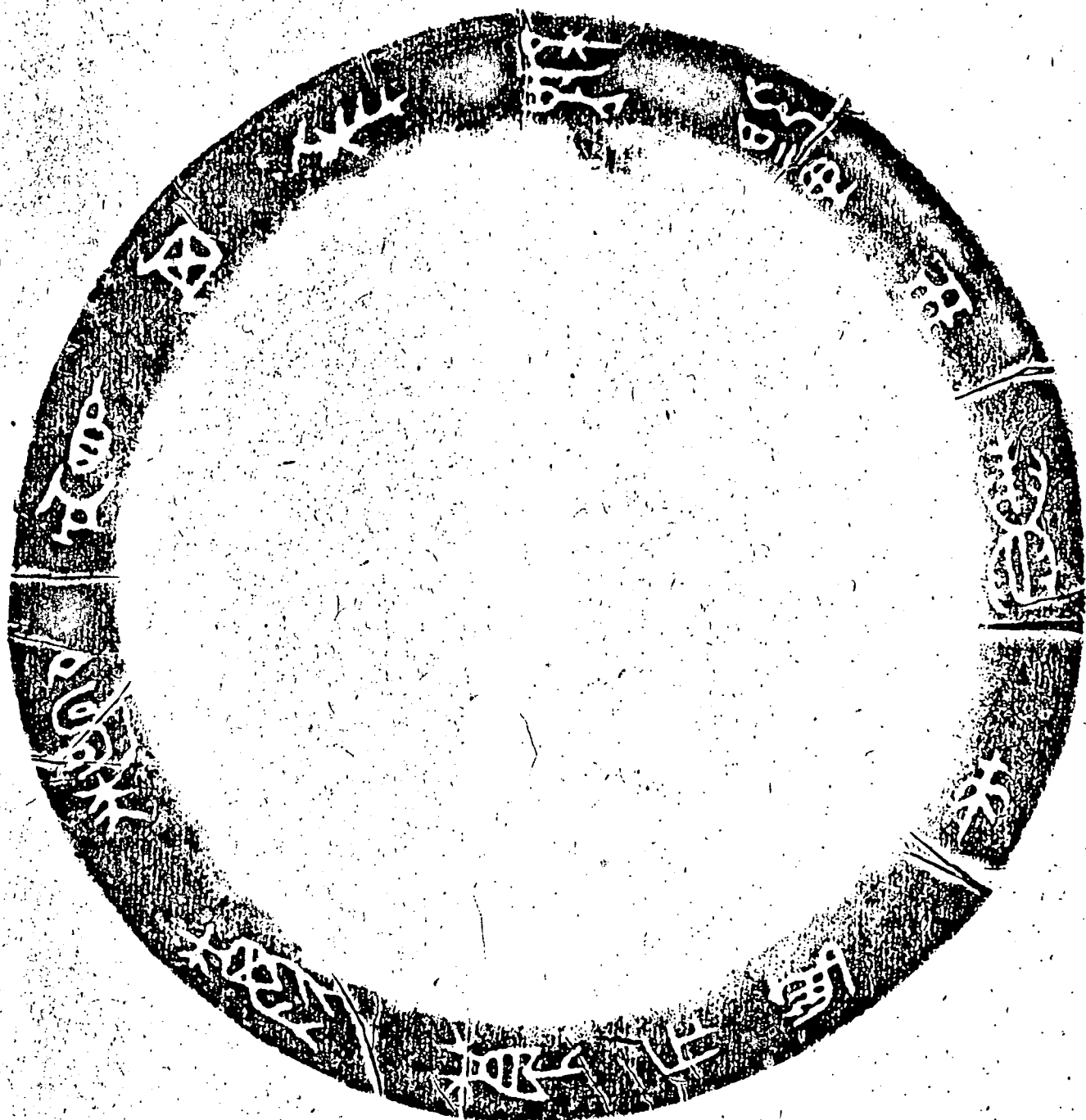


Figure 73 The forged inscription on the Chu lai chui  
11( 甬來佳鬲 ).

—Reproduced from the San tai ( 5:29 ).

fu li (伯庸父鬲) (137) and the Po pang fu li (伯邦父鬲) (138).

The other is a longer text which occupies the whole rim of the vessel. Unattested examples are Lu po yü fu li (魯白愈父鬲), Chu po li (鬲白鬲), Chu yü fu li (鬲友父鬲) etc (139). No fully-attested example is available so far. Nevertheless, both kinds run in a way comparable to that of the Han mirrors (140), that is, vertically downwards, irrespective of whether they run clockwise or anticlockwise. None has been found to be disordered as the inscription in question is. Such an inscription would definitely not be something that Chu Lai Chui would be delighted to have. That this inscription did not belong to Chu is certain. It must be a later addition.

L.3 [ see H.16(274) in Ch.4, p.412 above ]<sup>(141)</sup> ins.M.14( v. and 1. ) Nei ta tzu pe hu (內天子白壺 ; "內天子白卡鑄寶壺蓋子孫永用享" ): the inscriptions on this vessel are reproduced in Figures 74A and 74B.

This vessel is inscribed both on the vessel-body and on the lid. The lid-text( Figure 74A ) runs in three columns, while the vessel-text( Figure 74B ) runs in four columns. The calligraphy of the former is lively and refined, while that of the latter is less so. But this does not necessarily carry great weight so far as their authenticity is concerned. The last character of the first column and the first character of the second column in the lid-text are obscure because of corrosive effect. Nevertheless,



Figure 74A The forged lid-text of the inscription on the Nei ta tzu po hu (内天子白壺).

—Reproduced from the San tai ( 12:13 ).



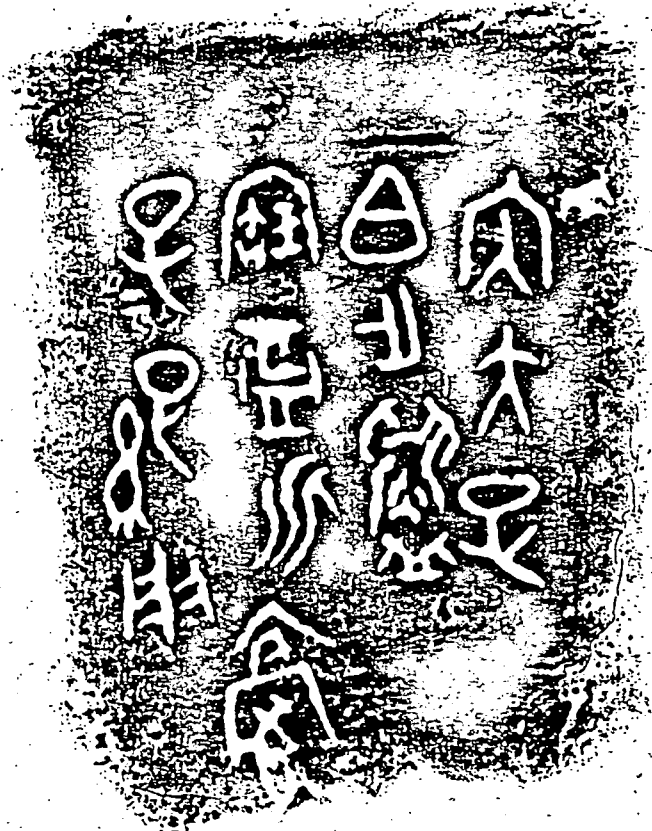


Figure 74B The forged vessel-text of the inscription on the Nei ta tzu pe hu (内天子白壺 ).

—Reproduced from the San tai ( 12:14 ).

we can identify them with "乍" and "鑄" respectively in the light of the vessel-text ( Fig.74B:2/2-3 ). As just stated above, the occurrence of "乍" ( made ) and "鑄" ( cast ) as immediate constituents is alien to Shang or Chou phraseology. And so is the expression "萬子孫永用享" ( a myriad sons and grandsons forever use for offering sacrifices ) in the lid-text ( Fig.74A:

2/4 to 3/1-5 ). It is obvious that characters such as "年無疆" must have been expunged in the course of the composition of the text by the forger. As for the vessel-text, not only are the characters "卩" ( Fig.74B:2/2 ), "𠄎" ( Fig.74B:3/1 ), "𠄎" ( Fig.74B:3/2 ), "𠄎" ( Fig.74B:3/4 ) and "𠄎" ( Fig.74B:4/3 ) incorrectly and badly written, but the sentence "永享子孫用" makes no sense whatsoever. In comparison with the lid-text, the character "𠄎" has been dislocated from the fourth to the third column. However, this text has been so badly composed that in whichever column this character "享" occurs, it would not improve the grammar in the least.

L.4(291) ins.G.M.22 Ch'i ch'en man fu no.1 (齊陳曼簋一 : "齊陳曼(曼)不敢[廌]康肇肇理德,作皇考獻叔饒[逸]永保用[匡]簋" ); (Kue's interpretation is followed here, see Ta hsi ( shih 216 ); Ku chien ( 29:6-7; it is known as "周饒簋" in this work ); Cheng sung ( 6:33 ); Ku kung ( p.7 ); San tai ( 10:19 ); Ta hsi ( t'u 140; lu 258; shih 216 ). The rubbing of this inscription is reproduced in Figure 75A. For the reasons for our denunciation see discussion under the next vessel.

L.5(292) ins.G.M.22 Ch'i ch'en man fu no.2 (齊陳曼簋二 : "齊陳曼(曼)不敢逸康肇肇(勤)理德,作皇考獻叔饒(鬻)永保用[匡]簋" ); Chün ku ( 2/3:17-8 ); Ching wu ( 3:83 ); K'o chai ( 15:8 ); Ch'i ku shih ( 5:23 ); Chou ts'un ( 3:126 ); Chui yi chai ( 8:28 ); San tai ( 10:20 ); Hsiao

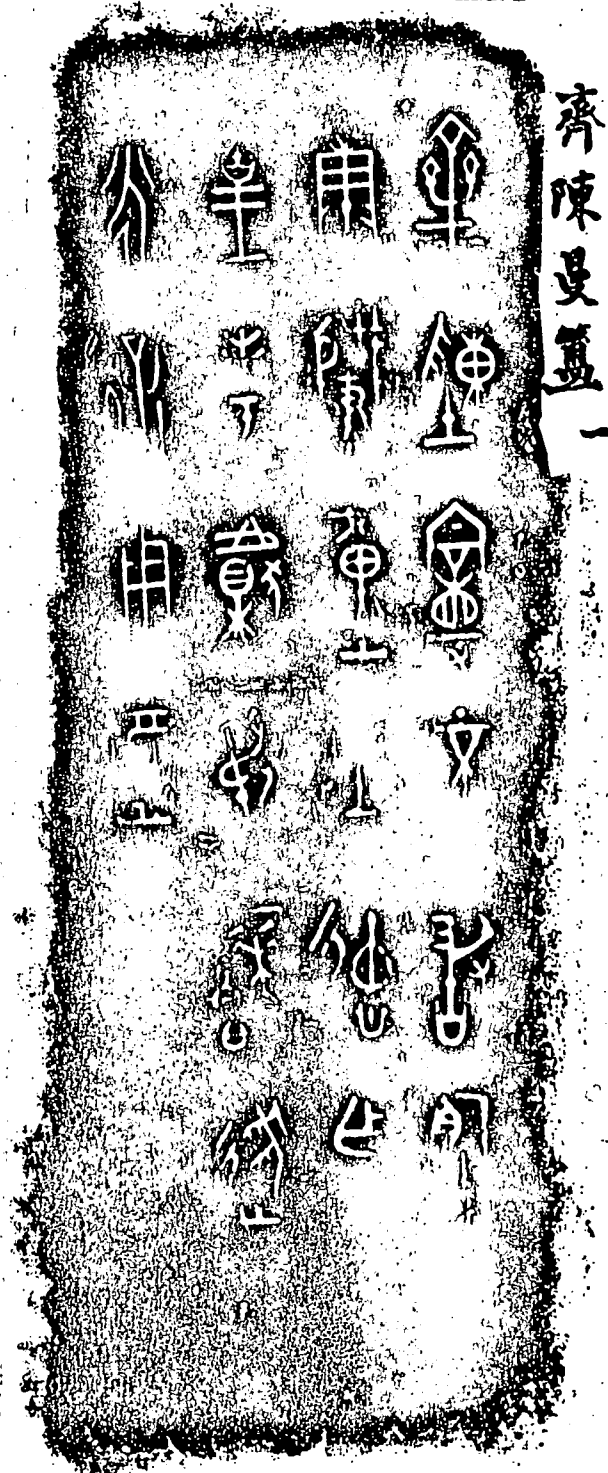


Figure 75A The forged inscription on the Ch'i eh'en man fu no.1 (齊陳曼簠一).

—Reproduced from the Ta hsi ( lu 258 ).

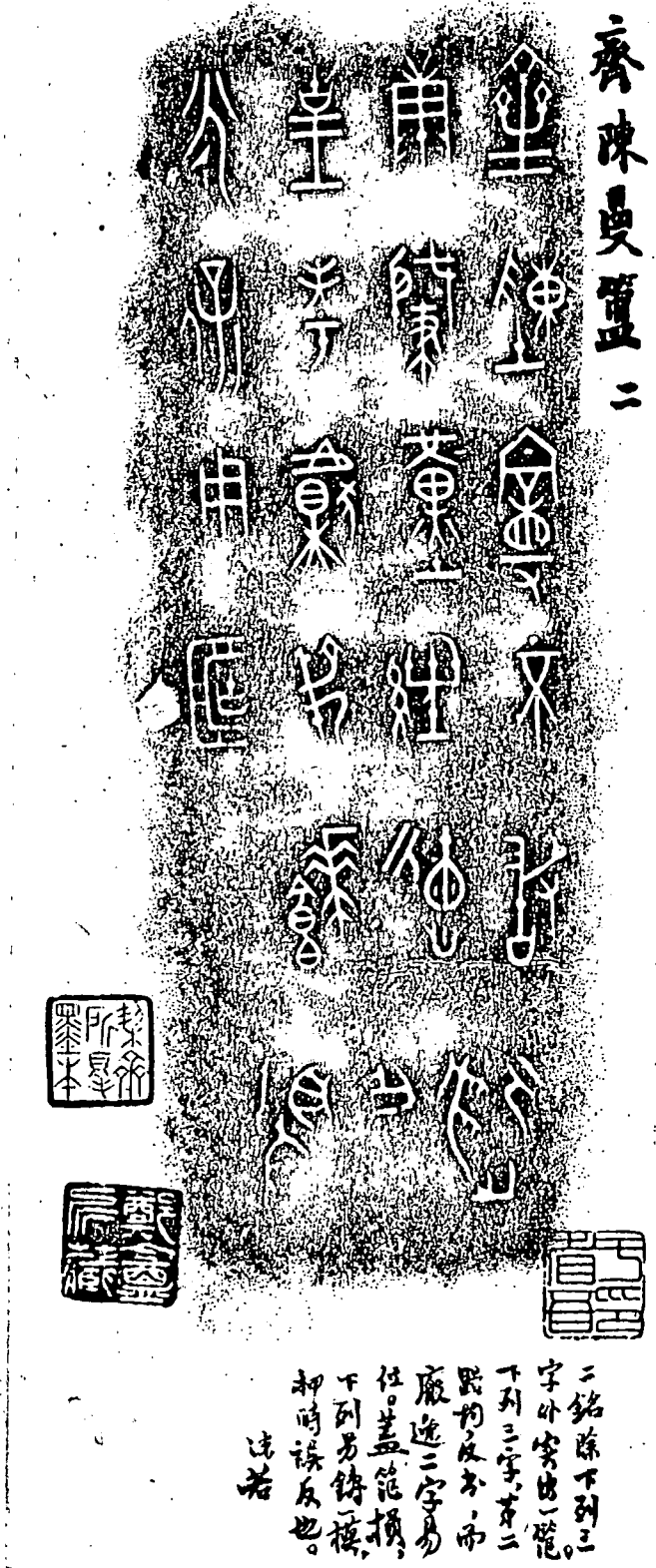


Figure 75B The forged inscription on the Ch'i ch'en man fu no.2 (齊陳曼簋二).

—Reproduced from the Ta hsi ( lu 258 ).

chiao( 9:15 ); Ta hsi( lu 258; shih 216 ); GSR( K.285 ).



This second inscription, illustrated in Figure 75B, resembles, except for the final characters of the first three columns, the first one to the extent that they could be from one and the same mould. The reasons for the difference in the final characters of the first three lines between these two inscriptions has been given by Kuo, "These three characters in the second vessel ( i.e. Fig.75B:1/6, 2/6, 3/6 ) all appear in a reversed form. Of them the two characters "廢逸" have been dislocated and have exchanged their positions [ sic! ] (142), because [ in the process of casting ] , the [ lower part of the ] mould was damaged, and a [ partial ] mould was made [ to replace it. ] It was impressed mistakenly in a reversed form."(143) A reversed form of characters caused by a wrong impression on the mould is probable. Yet a second replacement for, or a second correction of the erroneous partial mould is still possible. Now, the fact that the last characters of the first and the third columns of the inscription no.1( Fig.75A:1/6, 3/6 ) have been dislocated, and that only the last three characters of the first three columns of the inscription no.2( Fig.75B:1/6, 2/6, 3/6 ) appear in a reversed form cannot but arouse suspicion. We can be fairly certain that these would not be the kind of inscriptions which Ch'en Man of Ch'i would be willing to pay for and have cast on his precious vessels. Our interpretation is this; inscription no.1 was presumably copied from an already existing inscription text some time

in the early 18th century before it passed to the Imperial Ch'ing repository; inscription no.2 was cast in imitation of inscription no.1 either by taking a rubbing from it or by making an inscription piece-mould out of it some time in the 19th century before it was recorded in the Chün ku Catalogue. In doing so, the forger, having discovered that the characters "廠" and "逸" in the model text had been mislocated, made an alteration by cutting off the lower part of the inscription mould and replacing it with a modified one. This is how these characters came to be reversed. This assumption is well supported by the fact that the suspicious model text, i.e. inscription no.2 ( Fig.75A ) came to light first in 1751( Ku chien ); whereas the identical text which is alleged to have belonged to the same owner——i.e. inscription no.2( Fig.75B ), appeared 144 years later( Chün ku 1895). This state of affairs also violates Hsü Chung-shu's criterion (I)( see 4.6.(19) above ).

Another point which arouses our suspicion is that the occurrence of the term "汽般"( steam basin ) contradicts the vessel-name( 盆 ) occurring in the same texts( Figures 75A and 75B ) and indeed the vessel-type( 簋 ) as well. This fault sprang presumably from the fact that the text had been copied from a text originally inscribed on a p'an type of vessel, and after finding that it did not suit the fu-square dish, the forger added the character " 𠩺 " at the end. This was ingenious, but also foolish, since it is alien to bronze text phraseology. Wu Shih-fen

(吳式芬) argues that the character "般" in the text does not refer to the vessel-type, but specifies the function of the vessel; and that the character "匡" at the end does not link with "永保用", but is used independently to name the vessel. (144). Such an argument is not convincing. In regard to the function of the vessel, the word "饌" (steam) has already denoted it clearly. The presence of "盤" or "簋" has little to do with it. If the vessel-type is a square dish (and indeed it is), why did the genuine composer of the text not use "饌" or "簋" in place of "饌盤"? As for the character "匡", whether it has any linkage with the clause "永保用" or not, its function is not clear in this context. The assertion that it was used alone to name the vessel is again not in accordance with the grammar of bronze texts.

A third dubious feature is that the characters "般" (Fig. 75A:1/6) and "逸" (Fig. 75A:3/6) have been mislocated, which makes the phrases "般康" and "饌逸" sheer nonsense. Unfortunately, Jung Keng ("List", p. 833) has labelled it as a genuine text, and Kuo (Ta hai shih 216) avoids annotating these phrases entirely. However, fine the craftsmanship of the characters, these two vessels both bear faulty inscription texts.

L.6(293) ins.M.3 X-fu yi tsun (  父乙尊 : "  乙父" );  
Hsi yi ( 5:16 ); Cheng sung ( 7:4 ); Wang and Io's List  
 ( 3:34 ); Jung's "List" ( p. 868 ) has erroneously labelled it as genuine; Pao yün lou ( p. 102 ); San tai

( 11:7 ).

It was definitely not the convention of the Shang or Chou to address their deceased fathers as "乙父", but as "父乙" ( see also 5.3. above ).

L.7(294) ins.M.3( v. and l.) Fu ting tzu ho( 父丁子盂 : 盂 : "父丁子" ; 盂 : "丁父子" ) : Hsü yi( 14:24 ); Cheng sung( 8:40 ); Pao yün lou( p.89 ); Jung's "List" ( p.850 ) has renamed it "商父丁子盂" but regards it as genuine; San tai( 14:4 ).

In the case of the lid-text, illustrated in Figure 76A, the placing of a clan-name at the end of a personal name is contrary to Shang and Chou practice( see Ch.4 above ). In the case of the vessel-text, illustrated in Figure 76B, the mislocation of characters is even worse. There is no doubt that they are both forged.



Figure 76A. The forged lid-text of the inscription on the Fu ting tzu ho( 父丁子盂 ).

—Reproduced from the San tai( 14:4 ).



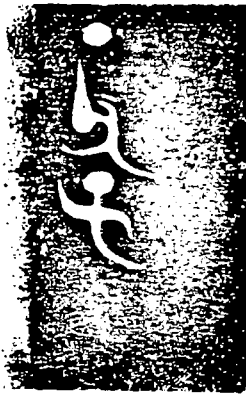


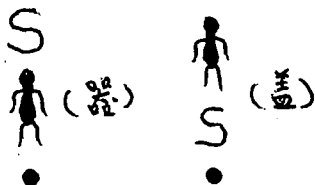
Figure 76B The forged vessel-text of the inscription on the Fu ting tzu he (父丁子盞).

—Reproduced from the San tai (14:4).

L.8(295) ins.M.3( v. and l.) Tzu san ting tui (子孫丁敦 : 盞 : "孫子丁"; 器 : "子孫丁") : Ts'ung ku (1:15).

Both the lid and the vessel texts are forged, since the characters "且" or "父", normally used to address a deceased grandfather or father respectively, are absent in these texts (see also discussion of the next vessel below).

L.9(296) ins.S.3( v. and l.) Chi ting tui (乙丁敦 : 盞 : "孫乙丁"; 器 : "乙孫丁") : Li tai (5:6 or 5:57-58) ; K'ao ku t'iu (3:31) ; Hsiao t'ang (p.51) ; Pe ku t'iu (16:22). The inscriptions run as follows:



Both texts contain the same characters, yet they run in a different order. The characters "乙" and "丁" are two of the "ten stems" (十天干) which were commonly used as "temple names" (廟號) for deceased ancestors by the Shang and Chou peoples, especially by the Shang Kings. They are preceded, as a rule, by characters such as "且" or "父". As far as this vessel is concerned, such characters are missing. In addition to this, it is also contrary to the practice of the Shang or Chou to have marked the day during which the sacrifice was offered by two stems (i.e. the 乙 and 丁) as suggested by Hsieh Shang-kung (145). The mislocation of the character "人" also makes nonsense of the texts.

L.10(297) ins.M.45( v. and 1. ) Man kuei (滿毀: "唯六月毀生霸柔子壬命滿眾叔帝父歸吳姬燮器曠賓滿章一馬滿吳姬賓帛眾, 滿對揚天子休用尔膚毀季姜"): San tai ( 8:50 ).

The dislocation of the name of the dedicatee "季姜" from an upper to a lower position is serious enough not only to challenge the ownership of the vessel, but also to make the sentence concerned meaningless. In

addition to this, the character "辛" is erroneously written as "𠂇", which is in fact the element "𠂇" of the character "新" (146).

5.4. Inscriptions consisting of normal columns alternating with inverted columns ( 銘文順逆行 ) are forged.

This refers to a very unusual type of arrangement involving a much more drastic dislocation of whole columns. Apart from the title-deeds of the T'ang period (147) and the literary game known as "Reversible poems" ( 回文詩 ) (148) which could be read in either direction, Chinese documents, irrespective of the medium on which they are written, run in parallel columns or lines and in the same direction. As has already been stated above, in one and the same piece of silk manuscript, though passages run in various directions, columns or lines run parallel within each separate passage or paragraph. No other example of a bronze inscription has been found to have run in such a way that, within one piece of writing, one column runs from top to bottom, while the next column runs upside down from bottom to top. Unlike comparatively light and portable media, <sup>such</sup> as paper or silk, bronzes are such ponderous objects that they would be extremely difficult and inconvenient to read if inscribed in this way. However, a false ingot of silver bearing an inscription of this kind has been recorded in the Hsiao chiao Catalogue ( 13:105 ), viz. the

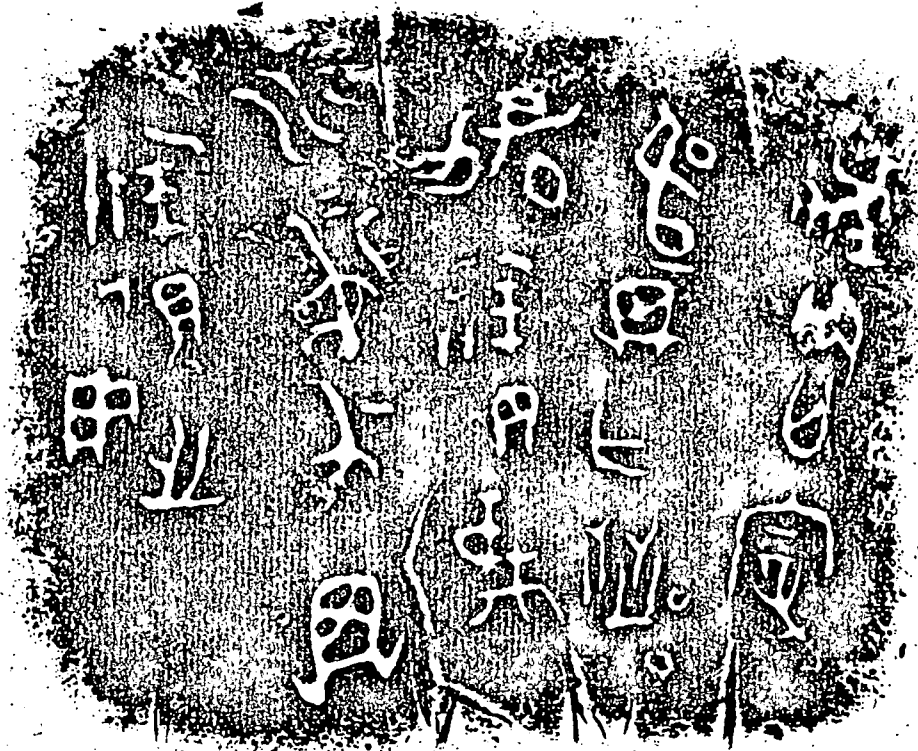
Wei chou huo hsiang hsing yin ting ( 協周霍祥興銀錠 ). It is amazing to find that there existed in P'an Tsu-yin's collection (149) a ting-triped bearing an inscription of this sort:

M.1(298) ins.M.19 Pao ting ( 寶鼎 : "□□宰□乍其□□寶彝  
其子孫永寶用之" ): Yi ts'ung ( 9:44 ); Cheng sung  
( 3:11-2; it is known as "□□宰鼎" in this Catalogue ); San tai ( 3:42 ); T'ung k'ao ( 5:93, pl.54 ).

This inscription, illustrated in Figure 77, contains 19 characters in five columns, of which the first, third and fifth columns run downwards in the normal way; whereas the second and fourth columns are inverted, except for the third character "乍" in the second column. It may be deciphered as follows:

The five undeciphered characters, each replaced by a square, are indecipherable owing to their very indifferent and aberrant composition rather than to the fact that they are really rare or difficult to identify. The partly obscure character "匕" ( Fig. 77:2/3 ) can be identified with "匕" ( 乍 ) in its upright form in view both of its physical appearance and of the textual content. Another partly obscure graph ( Fig.77:3/3 ) which has been deciphered as "首" by Lo Chen-yü, will be better identified with "彝" purely on account of the formal resemblance.

氏角盧日札



寶鼎文順逆相間詳羅

Figure 77 The forged inscription on the Pao ting (寶鼎).

—Reproduced from the Yi ts'ung ( 9:44 ).

However, neither decipherment affects the meaning of the text. On the other hand, several of such characters as are clearly decipherable give grounds for suspicion:

- (a) The forms of "寶" occurring in the 3rd and 5th column have the "王" element on the right, which is unusual; the "貝" appears in two strange forms, one looking very modern; in both cases the "缶" has been reduced to little more than a straight line; despite their different locations, both of the "寶" have been damaged

in the same way, which might of course be coincidental, though it does arouse the suspicion that the same damaged model was used for both;

- (b) The bottom element of the top character in the third column again looks very modern in style;
- (c) The "系" element of the "孫" in the fourth column can hardly be equated with a fragment of any known form of this element;
- (d) The final "之" (之) has been dislocated to such an extent that it is not clear whether it is intended to precede or to follow the "用". Yet Lo Chen-yü says,

"The inscription contains five lines running upside down against one another. The calligraphy is done in such a rough and perfunctory manner that many characters are undiscernible. This is an extraordinary object among ancient bronzes."<sup>(150)</sup> In spite of the amazement he feels, Lo includes this "exciting" (奇) inscription in both his Cheng sung and San tai Catalogues. Jung Keng (151) has gone as far as to base his inscriptional study on this faulty inscription and establish a theory that "there are inscriptions running downwards and upwards as between columns" (銘文有順逆行者). Here we have yet another example of experts being deceived even by a badly forged inscription.

5.5. Inscriptions containing the emblematic character chü( 𠄎 or 𠄏 ) and occurring in a context alien to the traditional contexts are forged.

For the reasons for this see 4.6.(15).(IV).(iii)( i.e. pp.362-369 ) above. Forged examples are E.3(184) to E.38(219) listed therein.

Notes: Chapter Five

1. See Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng(章學誠), Chiao ch'ou t'ung yi(校  
邇通義).
2. See Lü (née Wu) T'iao-yang(呂吳調陽), Shang chou shih  
ming, Ch.3.
3. See Note 2 above.
4. See Chün ku( 3/1:83 ).
5. See Li tai chu lu chi chin mu(歷代著錄書目), Peking,  
1939, p.604.
6. "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai no.6", p.99.
7. For authentic examples see Figure 58:1/7, 2/9, 3/7 above.
8. See Kuo Mo-jo, Shih ku wen yen chiu(石鼓文研究), 1939,  
1951, ( 1:13, 17-21 ); ( 2:1,2,5,14,25,39,40,42 ); Ch'iang  
Yün-k'ai( 強運開 ), Shih ku shih wen(石鼓釋文), 2 Vols.,  
1932, ( 1:2,4,14,15 ); see also Na Chih-liang( 那志良 ),  
Shih ku t'ung k'ao(石鼓通考), Taipei, 1958, pp.215-6, 218,  
226, 238, 256.
9. See Chin wen pien( 5:5 ).
10. Chin wen pien( 4:8 ).
11. See Shuo wen chieh tzu chu(說文解字注), annotated by  
Tuan Yü-ts'ai( 段玉裁 ), with a concordance by Ong Tee-wah  
( 翁世華 ), The Yi Wen Press, Taipei, 1964, ( 3A:98 ),  
[ abb. Shuo wen ] .
12. Chin wen pien( 3:4-5 ).



13. The Tso chung (柞鐘), see Fu feng, pls.24-28.
14. Chin wen pien (3:4-5).
15. See "Some Remarks on the Authenticity....", pp.234-6.
16. See Fu feng, pls.24-28.
17. See Wu Ta-ch'eng (吳大澂), Shuo wen ku chou pu (說文古籀補); and also Chin wen pien (3:18).
18. See Figure 58:7/5 and also Fu feng, pls.24-28.
19. See Yin ch'ü shu ch'i ch'ien pien (殷墟書契前編), (4.36.4) and Kuei chia shou ku wen tzu (龜甲獸骨文字), (2.25.10) respectively.
20. See Figure 58:8/1 and Fu feng, pls.24-28, respectively.
21. See also Yen Chang-fu (嚴章福), Shuo wen chiao yi yi (說文校義議); Tuan Yü-ts'ai (段玉裁), Shuo wen chieh tzu chu (說文解字注); Cheng Chih-t'ung (鄭知同), Shuo wen shang yi ts'an pen (說文商義殘本); Miao K'uei (苗夔), Shuo wen sheng ting (說文聲訂); Wu Ta-ch'eng (吳大澂), Shuo wen ku chou pu (說文古籀補); Lin Yi-kuang (林義光), Wen yüan (文源); and Jung Keng, Chin wen pien (3:6-7).
22. See Shang Ch'eng-tso, Yin ch'ü wen tzu lei pien (殷墟文字類編), (4:3).
23. See "Epigraphical Notes...." pl.3:6/8.
24. See op.cit., the lid-text of Shih shih kuei no.1, pl.5:8/3.
25. See op.cit., Meng kuei (孟篋), pl.2:4/1.
26. See Fu feng, pls.24-28.
27. See Yin ch'ü shu ch'i ch'ien pien, (6.31.3); Sun Hai-po (孫

海波) says that the character depicts the picture of a "house" (宀) in which cowrie and jade are kept ( see Chiakü wen pien 7:15 ). Shang Ch'eng-tso identifies the element "非" with "朋" ( Yin ch'ü wen tzu lei pien 7:12 ), which is the quantity-unit of cowries.

28. See "Epigraphical Notes....", pl.3:7/2, p.7.
29. See op.cit., Po liang fu kuei (伯梁父簋), pl.2:3/4.
30. See Fu feng, Yu fu kuei no.2 (友父簋乙), pl.15.
31. See Ku lin ( 32:3239-3240 ).
32. See Ta hsi ( t'u 186-7 ).
33. See Chui yi chai ( 13:27 ); Chou ts'un ( 5:36 ).
34. See Chui yi chai ( 13:22 ).
35. For example, see Sun Yi-jiang (孫詒讓), Ku chou yi lun (古籀遺論), Yenching University Press, (3:42-4); Kuo's Ming wen yen chiu ( 2:62 ) and Ta hsi ( shih 212 ) etc.
36. Ming wen yen chiu, pp.59-60, 67.
37. See op.cit., p.71.
38. T'ung k'ao, p.96.
39. See Fu tz'u t'ung tsuan (卜辭通纂), ( no.229, K'ao shih p.49 ); Ming wen yen chiu ( 2:64 ); Ta hsi ( shih 213 ); Lo Chen-yü, Yin ch'ü shu ch'i ch'ien pien ( 4.7.6 ).
40. See Wang's Kuan t'ang chi lin: "Shih chüeh p'eng" (覲堂集林: 釋珏朋), Ch.3; Kuo's Ming wen yen chiu ( 2:69 ); Ta hsi ( shih 213 ).
41. See Liu O (劉鶚), T'ieh yün ts'ang kuei (鐵雲藏龜).

- (2:4); Lo Chen-yü, Yin ch'ü shü ch'i eh'ien pien ( 5.9.5 ).
42. See Lo op.cit., ( 5.10.1 ); Wang Kuo-wei, Chien shou t'ang so ts'ang yin ch'ü wen tzu ( 殷周堂所藏殷虛文字 ) ( 44.13 ).
43. See Yeh Yü-san ( 葉玉森 ), T'ieh yün ts'ang kuei shih yi ( 鐵雲藏龜拓遺 ) ( 2:1 ); Lo op.cit., ( 5.9.4 ); also Sun Hai-po Chia ku wen pien ( 3:25 ).
44. See Sun Yi-jang, Ku chou yi lun ( 3:42-44 ); Chin wen pien ( 3:26 ).
45. See Hsü Hao ( 孫滌 ), Shuo wen chieh tzu chu chien ( 說文解字注箋 ); Wang Yü-shu ( 王玉樹 ), Shuo wen chan tzu ( 說文拓字 ); Tuan Yü-ts'ai ( 段玉裁 ), Shuo wen chieh tzu chu ( 說文解字注 ); also Ku lin ( 16:1392-3 ).
46. See Ku lin ( 34:3527 ).
47. See Ku lin ( 34:3527 ) and ( 16:1392-3 ) respectively.
48. Kuo's ( ibid. ) interpretation is followed here.
49. See Ch.1 above and also Shang hai ( fu ts'e 36 ).
50. See Kuo's Ta hsi ( k'ee shih ); Karlgren's "Yin and Chou,..."; Ch'en's "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai"; Itō's "Shinshutsu Sei-shū Kimbun Hennen no Shomondai" ( 新出西周金文編年の諸問題 ), Shirin, Vol.41, no.4, 1958, pp.64-75.
51. See "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai no.6", pp.97-9.
52. See K'oe chai ts'ang ch'i mu ( 憲齋藏器目 ).
53. See Ta hsi ( shih 69 ) and Shang hai ( fu ts'e 36 ). The <sup>two</sup> obscure characters ( Fig.65:5/6-7 ) are identified with "九, 青" by the Shang hai. The character "†" ( Fig.65:6/1 ) has

been incorrectly identified with "十" (ten) by Kuo (cf. " | " (十) in the same text), but with "母" by the Shang hai, which is preferable.

54. It was Chung Ta Shih who made the award.
55. Fu feng, pp.2-6.
56. As quoted by Tuan Shao-chia( 段紹嘉 ) in his "Fu feng ch'i chia ts'un ch'u t'u hsi chou ch'ing t'ungch'i chien chieh" ( 扶風齊家村出土西周青銅器簡介 ), in Fu feng, pp.7-10.
57. See Fu feng, pls.24-29.
58. See "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai".
59. See Shu cheng( 1.25 ) or Hsüeh pao( Vol.10, p.120 ).
60. See Ch'eng ch'iu kuan( p.4 ); San tai( 3:4 ).
61. See Ku chien( 8:43 ).
62. Tuan Shao-chia( 段紹嘉 ) dates it to the period of the Kung Ho regency; Kuo attributes it to the reigns of Yi Wang( 夷王 ) and Li Wang( 厲王 )( see ibid. )
63. See Kuo "Epigraphical Notes...", pp.2-3.
64. Kuo's interpretation is followed here; see op.cit., pp.4-6; Ta hsi( shih 68-9 ); see also our Figure 58 above.
65. Kuo's interpretation is followed; see "Epigraphical Notes..." p.6.
66. Kuo's interpretation is largely followed here; except for "下采" as "干貴" ( meaning 執盾之車兵 ) by Tuan Shao-chia( see Fu feng, pp.2-8 ).

67. See Kuo "Nieh kuei ming k'ao shih" ( 吳 毀 銘 考 釋 ), Hsüeh pao, Vol.11, no.1, 1956, pp.7-9; Barnard "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of Western Chou Date", MS, Vol.17, 1958, pp.12-46; etc. The English translation here is by Barnard, with considerable revisions.
68. The inscription is recorded in: Chou ts'un( 2:26 ); Cheng sung( 3:30 ); Ta hsi( t'u 256; lu 38; shih 68 ); Chi wen( 1:25 ); Hsiao chiao( 3:20 ); San tai( 4:24 ); Hsüeh pao( Vol. 14, no.4, 1956, pp.88-91 ).
69. Kuo's interpretation is followed here; see Ta hsi( shih 73 ); Chin ts'ung( p.231 ). The inscription is recorded in: Chou ts'un( 2:26 ); Cheng sung( 3:33-4 ); San tai( 4:27 ); Hsiao chiao( 3:23 ); Ta hsi( lu 62; shih 79 ); Hsüeh pao( op.cit., p.91.)
70. The inscription is recorded in: Chün ku( 3/2:58 ); Ching wu( 1:58 ); K'o chai( 11:7 ); Chou ts'un( 3:16 ); San tai( 9:29 ); Hsiao chiao( 8:80 ); Ta hsi( lu 58; shih 73 ); Hsüeh pao( op.cit., pp.91-3 ).
71. The inscription is recorded in: Ch'i ku shih( 4:15 ); K'o chai( 10:10 ); Chou ts'un( 3:26 ); San tai( 9:18 ); Hsiao chiao( 8:65 ); Kuan chia( 1:25 ); Ta hsi( lu 60; shih 77 ); Hsüeh pao( op.cit., pp.93-4 ).
72. This inscription appears in: Li tai( 14:3 or 14:143 ); Hsiao t'ang( p.52 ); Po ku t'u( 17:21 ); Chi wen( 3:4 ); Ta hsi( t'u 87; lu 60; shih 76 ); Hsüeh pao( op.cit., pp.94-5 ).

73. This inscription appears in: Chün ku( 3/2:9-10 ); Yün eh'ing kuan( 4:20-21 ); K'o chai( 4:26-8 ); Ch'ang an( 1:5 ); Heng hsüan( p.13 ); Chou ts'un( 2:23 ); San tai( 4:34 ); Hsiao chiao( 3:26 ); Chi wen( 1:24-5 ); Ta hsi( t'u 11; lu 61; shih 78 ); Hsüeh pao( op.cit., pp.95-6 ).
74. This inscription appears in: Häu chia( 12:44 ); Ta hsi( t'u 88; lu 61; shih 79 ); Hsüeh pao( op.cit., pp.96-7 ).
75. This inscription appears in: Chi ku chai( 5:34-6 ); Chün ku( 3/2:20 ); Ch'i ku shih( 5:18-20 ); K'o chai( 13:8 ); Chou ts'un( 3:101 ); Chui yi chai( 18:29 ); San tai( 6:56 ); Hsiao chiao( 7:51 ); Chi wen( 2:16 ); Ta hsi( lu 58; shih 74); Hsüeh pao( op.cit., pp.99-101 ).
76. This inscription appears in: K'o chai( 13:9 ); Chou ts'un( 3:103 ); Chui yi chai( 18:24 ); San tai( 11:31 ); Hsiao chiao( 5:39 ); T'ung k'ao( p.604 ); Hsüeh pao( op.cit., pp. 101-3 ). The Shuo wen has failed to record the character "璠". Takata( Kochūhen 7:18 ) identifies it with "璠", which is a kind of jade of a deep red colour( Ku lin 6:166-7 ). "璠, 璠" may be considered as its synonyms.
77. This inscription appears in: Chi ku chai( 6:15 ); Chün ku( 3/1:40-1 ); P'an ku lou( 2:33 ); Heng hsüan( p.39 ); K'o chai( 11:21 ); Ch'i ku shih( 4:7-8 );( 16:35 ); Chou ts'un( 3:36 ); San tai( 8:53 ); Hsiao chiao( 8:41 ); Ta hsi( lu 69; shih 83 ); Hsüeh pao( op.cit., p.103 ).
78. This inscription appears in: Ch'ang an( 1:16 ); Chün ku( 3/1;

35-36 ); K'o chai ( 4:28 ); Chou ts'un ( 2:28 ); Shan chai ( li eh'i 2:80 ); Shan t'u ( p.35 ); San tai ( 4:24 ); Hsiao chiao ( 3:19 ); Ta hsi ( t'u 8; lu 39; shih 70 ); Chi wen ( 1:25 ); Hsüeh pao ( op.cit., pp.104-5 ). Sun Yi-jang's ( Ku chou yi lun 3:10 ) and Kue Mo-jo's ( Ta hsi; shih 70-1 ) interpretations are followed here.

79. This inscription appears in: Ku chien ( 27:16-7 ); Chün ku ( 3/1:53-6 ); Liang lei hsüan ( 6:35-8 ); Yün eh'ing kuan ( 3:31-2 ); K'o chai ( 10:15-8 ); Heng hsüan ( pp.27-8 ); Ch'i ku shih ( 4:8-9; 16:36 ); Cheng sung ( 6:5 ); Ch'ing yi ko ( 1:38 ); Ts'ung ku ( 2:15-8 ); Ch'eng eh'iu kuan ( p.20 ); Ching wu ( 2:15 ); Chou ts'un ( 3:32-34 ); Chi wen ( 3:24 ); San tai ( 9:8-10; 4:26 ); Hsiao chiao ( 8:52-8 ); Ta hsi ( t'u 84-5; lu 40-43; shih 71 ).

80. This inscription appears in: Hsü chia ( 1:28-32 ); Chi ku chai ( 4:32-5 ); Chün ku ( 3/3:3-7 ); K'o chai ( 4:23-5 ); Ch'i ku shih ( 2:17-21 ); Cheng sung ( 3:36-8 ); Chou ts'un ( 2:18 ); Chi wen ( 1:22 ); San tai ( 4:38 ); Hsiao chiao ( 3:31 ); Ta hsi ( t'u 10; lu 45-6; shih 72 );

81. This inscription appears in: Li tai ( 14:17-9 or 14:143 ); K'ao ku t'u ( 3:24-5 ); Ku shen ( 7:17-22 ); Chi wen ( 3:11-2 ); Ta hsi ( t'u 66; lu 59; shih 75 );

82. This inscription appears in: Chün ku ( 3/1:83-5 ); Yün eh'ing kuan ( 3:48-9 ); Ta hsi ( lu 62; shih 80 ); Chi wen ( 3:18 ); Hsüeh pao ( op.cit., p.99 ).

83. See "Hsi chou t'ung eh'i tuan tai no.3", Hsüeh pao, Vol.11, 1956, pp.98-110.
84. See Kuo "Epigraphical Notes....".
85. See Fu feng.
86. See Note 83 above.
87. For instance, Li chi: "Fu Tsao", Ch.XI(25) reads, "Les genouillères d'un prince étaient de cuir rouge, celles d'un grand préfet de cuir blanc, celles d'un officier ordinaire de cuir gris-brun comme la tête du moineau." (禮記玉藻: 釋君朱, 大夫素, 士爵韋). (27) reads, "Un officier qui portait un seul emblème représenté sur ses vêtements, avait des genouillères couleur garance et une agrafe noire pour les pierres de prix suspendues à sa ceinture, celui qui portait deux emblèmes sur ses vêtements avait des genouillères incarnates et une agrafe noire pour les pierres de prix suspendues à sa ceinture. Celui qui portait trois emblèmes sur ses vêtements avait des genouillères incarnates et une agrafe couleur pe-lure d'oignon pour les pierres de prix de sa ceinture." (一命緝鞞幽衡; 再命赤鞞幽衡; 三命赤鞞蔥衡). Commentary: "Les ministres d'État des princes des trois premières classes 公侯伯 portaient trois emblèmes représentés sur leurs vêtements, leurs grands préfets deux, leurs officiers ordinaires un. Les ministres d'État des princes des deux dernières classes 子男 portaient deux emblèmes sur leurs vêtements, leurs grands préfets un; leurs officiers ordinaires n'en



avaient pas. (周禮), Loy. Ch. 111, page 273." Translated by  
Couvreur, Li Ki--Mémoires Sur les Bienséances et les Céré-  
monies, 1950, pp. 701-3; see also Sun Hsi-tan (孫希旦),  
Li chi chi chieh (禮記集解), Kuo hsueh chi pen ts'ung shu,  
Vol. 2, p. 55.

88. Ta hsi ( shih 126 ).

89. "Epigraphical Notes....", p. 4.

90. This inscription appears in: Li tai ( 14:15-7 or 14:154 );  
Hsi k'iao ( 5:6-7 ); Hsiao t'ang ( p. 53 ); Fe ku t'u ( 16:27-30 );  
Hsi chia ( 12:34-5 ); Ku shen ( 6:4-6 ); Shang chou wen shih  
yi ( 2:14 ); Ta hsi ( t'u 72; lu 98; shih 114 ).

91. See Note 73 above.

92. See Note 78 above. All the owners of the preceding three  
vessels occupied posts known as shih shih (師氏), which was  
obviously a military post. It had nothing to do with civil  
service. In the Chou li (周禮:地官), the post of shih  
shih is stated as having been responsible both for the civil  
and military services. Kuo suggests that this is due to alter-  
ations of the text made by Liu Hsin (劉歆, see "Epigraphi-  
cal Notes....", p. 4.)

93. This inscription appears in: Chi ku chai ( 4:27-30 ); Chünku  
( 3/2:8-9 ); K'o chai ( 4:22-3 ); Ch'i ku shih ( 2:10-4 );  
Chin so ( 1:29 ); Ts'ung ku ( 2:2-11; 10:11-2 ); Ta hsi ( t'u  
24; lu 143; shih 151 ); Chau ts'un ( 2:23 ); San tai ( 4:34 );  
Hsiao chiao ( 3:27 ). Regarding the post which the owner of

this vessel, Wu Hui, held when he was being invested, we have no knowledge. Yet the Master of Ceremonies, Nan Chung (南仲), who assisted Wu Hui during his investiture, was a great General according to the Shih ching (詩經: 出車, 常武). Thus we have reason to believe that Wu Hui must have had something to do with military affairs. But the inscription on the Wu hui ting poses a problem: Nan Chung bore the title Ssu t'u (司徒), which in the Chou Dynasty was the post of Minister for Education. This, of course, by no means prevented him from becoming a Master of Ceremonies concurrently. However, it goes counter to what has been described in the Shih ching, that he was a general involved in a battle against the Hsien-yün (玁狁) tribes. Kuo ( Ta hsi: shih 68-9 ) has entirely ignored this problem when dealing with this inscription. But we shall not inquire into this question in this context either. It will receive attention in due course.

94. This inscription appears in: Chi ku chai ( 8:9 ); Chin ku ( 3/2 :22 ); Ch'i ku shih ( 18:25 ); Chou ts'un ( 4:4; two vessels are recorded in this Catalogue, the second of which is regarded as forged by Kuo in his Ta hsi; Table of Contents, p.8 ); San tai ( 17:18 ); Hsiao chiao ( 9:81 ); Ta hsi ( t'u 158; ku 117; shih 126 ). Kuo says, "This Yüan was the same man as that recorded on the Shih yüan kuei (師寰毀). That inscription describes Yüan as leading an army to attack and punish Hwai Yi (淮夷). Having gained merit by killing and capturing

- enemies.... [ he ] was awarded a decorated dagger-axe. [ We ] therefore know that he was a military man officer." ( ibid. )
95. This inscription appears in: Cheng sung ( 10:30 ); Chou ts'un ( 3:27 ); Sen tai ( 17:18 ); Hsiao chiao ( 9:79 ); Ta hsi ( lu 143; shih 152 ). The owner of this vessel, Hsiu, held a post called tsou-ma ( 走馬 ), which, Kue says, was equivalent to tsou-ma ( 趣馬 ), a high military post under the Fa-szu-ma ( 大司馬 ) according to the Chou li ( 周禮 ) ( ibid. ) Hence, the tsou-ma Hsiu was a military officer.
96. This inscription appears in: K'ao ku t'u ( 3:15-6 ); Li tai ( 14:6-9 or 14:154-5; the vessel is known as "宰辟父敦" in this catalogue ); Hsiao t'ang ( pp.56-8 ); Po ku t'u ( 16:41-6 ); Ku shen ( 7:8-10 ); Chi wen ( 3:19 ).
97. For the provenance of this inscription see Note 71 above. Of what sort of position the owner of this vessel, Tou Pi, held, we have no knowledge. However, since his investiture took place in General Hsi's great Hall, we have reason to believe that Tou Pi must likewise have been a military man under General Hsi.
98. See "Epigraphical Notes....", pp.4-8.
99. See Ying Hsin ( 應新 ) and Tzu Ching ( 子敬 ), "Chi shan hsi lan t'ien hsien ch'u t'u ti hsi chou t'ung kuei" ( 記陝西藍田縣出土的西周銅簋 ), Wen wu, Vol.1, 1966, pp.4-6.
100. See Kue "Nieh kuei ming k'ao shih", Hsueh pao, Vol.11, no.1 1956, pp.7-9; T'ang Ian, "Yi hou nieh kuei k'ao shih" ( 宜侯

矢毀未釋), Hsüeh pao, Vol.12, 1956, pp.79-83.

101. See "Yi hou nieh kuei ho t'a ti yi yi" (宜侯矢毀和它的意義), Wen ts'an, Vol.5, 1955, pp.63-4; "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai no.1", Hsüeh pao, Vol.9, 1955, p.165.
102. Kuo (ibid.), Ch'en (ibid.) and Ch'en Pang-fu (陳邦福, "Nieh kuei ming k'ao shih" 矢毀銘考釋, Wen ts'an, Vol.5, 1955) attribute it to Ch'eng Wang's reign, which has recently been supported by Itō Michiharu (伊藤道治) (see "Shin-shutsu sei-shū kimbun hennen no shomondai" 新出西周金文編年の諸問題, Shirin, Vol.41, no.4, 1958, pp.64-75). However, T'ang Ian (ibid.) dates it to the reign of K'ang Wang (康王).
103. See Barnard, loc.cit. in Note 67 above.
104. See Kuo Mo-jo "Fu shih li kuei k'ao shih" (輔師簋考釋), Hsüeh pao, Vol.20, 1958, pp.1-4.
105. See ibid. and Ta hsi (shih 149).
106. See "Fu shih li kuei k'ao shih", p.3.
107. Ch'en Meng-chia says, "From the second vessel [ i.e. the inscription in question ] we know that its maker was a shih-official." ( See "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai no.6", p.89.)
108. See Hsi chou nien tai k'ao (西周年代考), Commercial Press, 1945; "Shang yin yü hsia chou ti nien tai wen t'i" (商殷與夏周的年代問題), Li shih yen chiu (歷史研究), Vol.2, 1955; "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai nos.1-6" Hsüeh pao, Vols.9-14, 1955-6.

109. See A.C. Moule and W.P. Yetts, The Rulers of China, London, 1957; see especially Yetts's Introduction, pp.xvii-xviii.
110. See Ta hsi( shih 69 ). Wu Ch'i-ch'ang failed to notice this in 1929 and dated the vessel to Li Wang's(厲王 ) reign( see "Shu cheng", YJGS, No.6, 1929, p.1070.)
111. See Ta hsi( shih 68-78 ).
112. See Senoku( 1:4 ); T'ung k'ao( 188 ); San tai( 5:5 ).
113. See Chui yi chai( 2:2 ).
114. See "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai no.6", pp.88-105; see also Itō Michiharu ibid.
115. See T'ung k'ao, p.93.
116. See "Hsi chou t'ung ch'i tuan tai no.2", p.10.
117. Regarding this vessel, Takata Tadasuke says, "I fear that this vessel is a fake. The character style of its inscription is not trustworthy. I keep it here for a reference."  
( Kachūhen 82:24 ).
118. See Ku lin( 16:1389-90 ).
119. It occurs in the Po ho fu tsun( 白齋木父尊 ) recorded in: Ku chien( 8:26 ); Chien ku( 3:25 ); see also Jung's "List" ( p.871 ).
120. See T'ung k'ao( 5:93 ).
121. See Kuo "Epigraphical Notes....", Figures 1 and 4, pls.II, XI; Fu feng, pls.III and IV. cf. "𠄎" in Chin wen pien( 8: 9-10 ), except for "𠄎", which is from an unreliable source
122. See Chin wen pien( 8:3; 12:17-8 ).

123. See Shuo wen chieh tzu chu, p.390( 8A:43 ).
124. Chia ku wen pien( 2:26 ).
125. Chin wen pien( 2:17 ).
126. Kochühen( 64:26-7 ).
127. See Chin wen pien( 11:7 ).
128. See Cheng sung( 7:4 ).
129. See their list( 3:34 ).
130. T'ung k'ao( 5:96 ).
131. See T'ung k'ao( 5:91 ).
132. See Tung Tso-pin "Shang tai kuei pu chih t'ui ts'e"( 商代龟卜之推測 ), An yang fa chieh pao kao, Vol.1, 1929, pp. 59-130; "Ta kuei szu pan k'ao shih"( 大龟四版考释 ), Op.cit., Vol.3, pp.423-441; Hu Kuang-wei( 胡光炜 ), Chia ku wen li( 甲骨文例 ), 1928. This work has been criticised by Tung in his "Shang tai kuei pu chih t'ui ts'e", pp.119-123.
133. See T'ung k'ao( 5:91 ).
134. See Ts'ai Chi-hsiang( 蔡季襄 ), Wan chou tseng shu k'ao( 晚周增书考 ), 1944, Lithograph edition; Ch'en P'an( 陳槃 ), Hsien ch'ien liang han pe shu k'ao( 先秦两汉帛书考 ), Academia Sinica, Vol.24, pp.185-196; Chiang Hsüan-yi( 蒋玄伯 ), Ch'ang sha( 长沙 ), Vol.2, 1950, pl.27; Jao Tsung-yi( 饶宗颐 ), "Ch'ang sha ch'u t'u chan kuo tseng shu hsün shih"( 长沙出土战国增书新释 ), Journal of Oriental Studies, Hong Kong, Vol.1, pl.1, pp.69-84; Tung

Tso-pin "Lun ch'ang sha ch'u t'u chih tseng shu" (論長沙出土之譜書); Sueji Umehara (梅原未波), "Kinji shutsugen no monji shiryō" (近時出現の文字資料), Shodō Zenshū (書道全集), Vol.1, 1954, p.36; Noel Barnard, "A Preliminary Study of the Ch'u Silk Manuscript—A New Reconstruction of the Text." MS, Vol.17, 1958, pp.1-11; An Chih-min (安志敏) and Ch'en Kung-jou (陳公柔), "Ch'ang sha chan kuo tseng shu chi ch'i yu kuan wen t'ii" (長沙戰國譜書及其有關問題), Wen wu, Vol.9, 1963, pp.48-60; Shang Ch'eng-tso, "Chan kuo ch'u pe shu shu lileh" (戰國楚帛書述略), Wen wu, Vol.9, 1964, pp.8-20.

135. Cheng sung ( 4:8 ).

136. See San tai ( 5:16-28 ).

137. See "Epigraphical Notes....", pl.15.

138. See Hu feng, pl.7.

139. See San tai ( 5:31-40 ).

140. See W.P. Yetts, The Eumergopoulos Collections, Vol.2, pls. B.14, B.20, B.21, B.23-26; see also pp.53-57; Karlgren "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions", BMFEA, Vol.6, 1934, pp.9-79.

141. We deal repeatedly with this vessel in this context in order to give further support for Hsu Chung-shu's judgement. Yet this would not affect our serial number.

142. This occurs, not in the second vessel, but actually in the first vessel ( i.e. Figure 75A:1/6, 3/6 ).

143. Ta hsi( lu 258 ). See also the lower part of Figure 75B.
144. See Chün ku( 2/3:17 ).
145. See Lí tai( 5:6 or 5:58 ).
146. See Chin wen pien( 14:6 ); also cf. the bone script "  $\bar{\Psi}$  ",  
 $\bar{\Psi}$  " in the Hsü chia ku wen pien( 14:16 ) and the bronze  
script "  $\bar{\Psi}$  " in the Chin wen pien( 14:15-6 ).
147. See T'ung k'ao( 5:93 ).
148. See Wen hsin tiao lung( 文心雕龍:明詩 ).
149. See Cheng sung( 3:12 ).
150. Cheng sung( 3:12 ).
151. T'ung k'ao( 5:93 ).



## Chapter Six: Conclusion

The later copying of Shang and Chou bronzes in China has been an open secret. It has commonly, though not often openly, been practised for at least two and a half millennia. The scope and scale of imitation and forgery have been immense, and many types of vessels have been falsely inscribed. Existing unattested bronzes certainly include many made or forged at various periods in imitation of ancient models. These later copies of archaic-style bronzes fall into five categories:

- (1) Vessels which are clearly marked with a date-mark as being of later manufacture: examples are imitated bronze vessels cast by imperial command in the Cheng-ho reign-period ( 1111-1118 ) of the Sung and in the Hsuan-te reign-period ( 1426-1435 ) of the Ming. Being for the most part distinguished by "Cheng-ho" ( 政和 ) and "Hsuan-te" ( 宣德 ) date-marks, these replicas present little or no difficulty. Many of the Hsuan bronzes are really fine pieces, and they have been highly prized ever since.
- (2) Vessels without a date-mark, yet containing internal evidence of later manufacture in the form of the style of the script, personal names, place-names etc. Examples are the Han copies of ancient ritual vessels, the Sung, Yuan and Ming officials' imitations etc. Having

honestly been intended as replicas, as indicated by reasonable internal evidence, these copies present no difficulty either.

- (3) Vessels made by imperial command during the Sung and Yüan Dynasties, but lacking internal evidence of date of manufacture. The imitated vessels in this category present an extremely intricate problem to scholars. We have only literary evidence for their existence; though apparently manufactured in large quantities, only a few vessels attributed to the Sung and Yüan Dynasties appear in the existing catalogues, which suggests that many Sung and Yüan vessels have subsequently been wrongly attributed to an earlier date.
- (4) Vessels which have been altered (a) by the addition of an inscription purporting to be of early date; (b) by erasure of inscriptional evidence of their actual date; (c) by the addition of an artificial patina or (d) by transforming a vessel into a different type of vessel etc. Vessels of this class cover a wide period. Together with vessels belonging to the following class, these vessels have posed us great problem.
- (5) Vessels which were possibly made with intent to deceive. Examples of this class, belonging with most members of class (4) and labelled as fakes throughout this paper, can be traced back as far as the Ch'un-ch'iu, in the

time of Duke Hsi of Lu ( 658-626 B.C. ). With the melting down of all unofficial weapons and metal objects by the command of Ch'in Shih-huang, the Ch'in enjoyed a period of freedom from forgery. Following the accidental discovery of bronze ritual vessels from "the mountains and the rivers" in the Han Dynasty, forgers and imitators successfully demonstrated their skill. There is no documentary evidence for the forgery of bronzes during the Sui and T'ang Dynasties, yet the faking of fine green porcelain and an iron ang-basin are on record. This implies that the forgery of bronzes, along with the faking of other objects, in these periods was very probable. Although no information of fraud by bronze forgers in the Sung Dynasty is available, all Sung catalogues include a certain number of fakes, which runs counter to the traditional and long-prevailing belief that the Sung catalogues contain no fakes. The fact that there was a mass-production of bronze ritual vessels in the Yuan Dynasty, whereas very few of them can be seen on record nowadays, is a cause for suspicion on the part of any serious collector, art-historian, paleographer or the like. As just stated above, officially imitated bronze vessels of the Hsüan-te reign-period of the Ming Dynasty ( class (1) ), present little difficulty to scholars. However, the removal

of the Hsüante or other date-marks by forgers, resulting in a wholesale disappearance of these vessels, strongly challenges the attribution, reliability and authenticity of a large proportion of the vessels attributed to the Shang and Chou by all Ch'ing and contemporary cataloguers and scholars. The activities of the Ch'ing forgers and their collusion with experts in a joint effort to produce excellent bronze artifacts poses a serious problem to students of ancient Chinese bronzes. As active as their Ch'ing predecessors were forgers emerging under the Republic. Owing to a worldwide demand for ancient Chinese bronzes at that time, many of these forgers made a fortune out of their secret enterprises. This suggests that many foreign collections inevitably contain fakes.

A new phase of faking ancient Chinese bronzes originating from the middle Ch'ing ( i.e. the Ch'ien-lung reign-period 1763-1795 ) onwards was the later addition of forged inscriptions to non-inscribed attested and unattested vessels. Short texts on inscribed vessels have also been elongated with additional passages. In general, these fraudulently incised inscriptions are formally poor or erroneously executed, yet some of the examples are particularly fine. Hence, the craftsmanship of the incision must not be applied alone as a touch-stone for the determination of bronzes. Epigraphical evidence, therefore, plays an important

role in judging the status of an alleged inscribed ancient bronze. In doing so, we should employ scientifically excavated materials as a means of control wherever possible. In order to avoid any inadvertent use of forgeries, these thoroughly attested materials should form the main basis of future studies in this field. The danger of the misuse of forgeries has been revealed by our detection of the forgery of the inscriptions on the famous Mao kung ting (毛公鼎), Ch'üeh ts'ao ting no.2 (趙曹鼎二), Wang tui (望叔), Ch'i ch'en man fu (齊陳曼簋), I-t'ang shu p'ian (伊堂湯叔盤) and many others. This misuse of forged inscrip-tional materials by scholars has already undermined the studies of the Western Chou in general, and particularly the chronology of the Western Chou by Wu Ch'i-ch'ang, Kuo Mo-jo, Karlgren, Ch'en Mang-chia, Yetts and others, the periodization of Western Chou bronzes by Wu Ch'i-ch'ang, Kuo, Ch'en, Karlgren, Itō Michiharu and others, the historical and linguistic studies of Western Chou by Wang Kuo-wei, Tung Tso-pin, Jung Keng, Takata Tadanuke, Debson and others. It is high time to call a halt to this trend, and for this reason we repeatedly emphasize that the study of ancient Chinese bronzes should be based upon properly attested materials. On the other hand, in regard to the general corpus of unattested existing bronzes both in current collections and in published catalogues, an attempt should be made to classify them under three heads, namely,

(1) Obvious forgeries;

- (2) Inscriptions or bronzes which exhibit no obvious signs of forgery, i.e. their script, language and contents of inscription and their type and décor are in agreement with the attested materials;
- (3) Doubtful inscriptions and vessels, i.e. those not clearly belonging to the preceding two categories.

From the aesthetic point of view, whichever class these vessels belong to, they may be regarded as works of art in their own right, for indeed some obvious forgeries are of excellent quality. Nevertheless, they must not be used except on the understanding that they are of indeterminate date. Vessels and inscriptions belonging to class (2) may be used as secondary materials for comparative purposes, because, unlike scientifically controlled excavated objects, no one is strictly qualified to label any of them "genuine". Further evidence for the genuineness of individual vessels in this category may well accumulate in the future, but it is unlikely that we can <sup>ever be</sup> 100% certain of their authenticity.

In determining the status of an inscribed ancient bronze, the identification of the method by which the inscription has been made is of great significance, because the status of an inscribed vessel may be judged by the nature of the inscription it carries. Technically speaking, there are three kinds of inscriptions, viz. cast, incised and incrustated. The Shang and Chou bronze inscriptions are mostly cast. From the Ch'un-ch'iu

onwards, incised and inlaid inscriptions emerged. This of course did not mark the disappearance of cast inscriptions from then on. It is possible to distinguish cast inscriptions from those that are incised. Usually the grooves of well cast characters are narrower on the top but wider at the bottom. Cast inscriptions are generally characterised by their rather corpulent and fleshy strokes with reasonable depth, whereas carved characters have slimmer strokes whose grooves are shallower; and inlaid characters appear flush with the surface of the vessel.

As far as the physical appearance of the epigraphy is concerned, however, four kinds of inscriptions can be observed in bronzes:

(1) Yin wen ( 陰文 ) or Intaglio characters:

This is the type of character whose strokes are grooves engraved below the metal surface. The depth of the grooves varies according to the breadth of the strokes and to the size of the graph. In general, the bigger the size and the fatter the strokes of the characters, the deeper is the groove. In most cases the grooves of cast characters are deeper than those of incised ones.

(2) Yang wen ( 陽文 ) or Rilievo characters:

This is the kind of character whose strokes stand in relief on the surface or on the base of the vessel but seldom inside the belly. The height of the protrusion ranges approximately from 0.05 to 0.3 cm. Some of the

attested bronzes bearing rilievo characters excavated to date belong to the Shang period. Imitated bronzes cast in the Hsüante reign-period of the Ming Dynasty mostly carry rilievo characters. This type of character can only be achieved by means of casting, but is susceptible of removal from the vessel body by forgers.

(3) Yin yin yang wen (陰印陽文) or Seal-impressed rilievo characters:

This is the type of inscription in which the spaces between and surrounding the character strokes are depressed, as with intaglio characters, into the surface or base of the vessel so that the character stands in relief but is at the same time flush with the surface or base of the vessel. It differs from the characters on a seal in that the seal-characters appear in mirror-reversed fashion, while seal-impressed rilievo characters are normal (non-reversed) in their physical appearance. When stamped on paper in ink, mirror-reversed text results. Such characters are often encircled by a round, square or oval border. This kind of inscription rarely occurs on unattested Shang or Chou bronzes and not at all on attested ones, whereas it appears on many Hsüan bronzes. It may be achieved by means of casting, incision or die-stamping.

(4) Hsiang ch'ien wen (鑲嵌文) or Inlaid-characters:



This is the type of inscription incrustated with silver or gold into the surface of the vessel. It is a traditional belief that inlaid-characters occurred in the legendary Hsia bronzes; objects purchased from Anyang, bearing inlaid inscriptions have been regarded as being of Shang origin; however, so far we have fully-attested examples attributable only to the Chankuo period.

Having taken cognizance of the earlier studies on the question of forgery, we found that the bulk of the criteria for the determination of the status of bronzes and of inscriptions established to date are relatively ineffective and seldom have scholars applied them to more than a very small percentage of available inscribed bronzes. Apart from the work done by Jung Keng and Barnard, who have employed practical scientific methods on this problem, "the very basis of investigations done over the 900 years of Chin shih hsüeh", in Barnard's words, "is largely what may be described as dilettantism."<sup>(1)</sup> Recently, new scientific methods have been developed for the study of ancient bronzes. The first was "New Scalogram Analysis Method as Applied to the Study of Ancient Chinese Bronzes", a contribution by Prof. V. Elisséeff to the Avery Brundage Symposium at San Francisco, on 29th August, 1966. The contents of this paper have not yet been published. It is hoped that the result of such a scalogram analysis would throw some light on the intricate problem of ancient Chinese bronzes. We wholeheartedly welcome the publication of

this paper. Another new method was introduced by Thomas Meley in the article "The Jaser's Bright Magic"<sup>(2)</sup> soon afterwards. The author claims that the laser light "can bore holes through steel in the wink of an eye, detect art frauds, make three dimensional photographs, subdue some cancers" ( op.cit., pp. 860-4 ), and that "a laser instrument known as a microprobe permits quick and easy analysis of any object without damaging it. The test object goes under a microscope through which is focused a laser beam of controlled power. The laser beam vaporizes an infinitesimal amount of material--as little as a millienth of an ounce--leaving an inconspicuous crater. The vaporized material, heated further by an electric spark, rises in a plume whose light is 'read' by a spectrograph. This instrument breaks down the light into a rainbow, or spectrum of its component colours and photographs it. Lines on this spectrum, like fingerprints, identify the chemical elements in the object being tested." ( op.cit., pp. 868-870 ). According to Meley, the laser beam has been used to uncover a faked portrait of a Flemish woman from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts purporting to be a 16th century painting. It has also revealed an unsuspected coating of an arsenic-silver alloy on a bronze bull east 4000 years ago in Anatolia ( ibid. ) While it would be premature at this stage to pin our hopes too firmly on this new process, it would at least give us better information on the chemical composition of the metal, the patina and earthy adhesions. The greatest obstacle to its use would

probably be the reluctance of owners to allow their vessels to be "microprobed", however little damage would result.

Meanwhile, criteria for determining the status of existing published or extant vessels scattered throughout the world, which are inaccessible for testing by scientific processes, and especially for determining the status of inscriptions, are indispensable to collectors, art-historians, palaeographers, linguists and scholars in general. After scrutinizing the existing criteria established by connoisseurs and appraisers from the Sung period onwards, we have been able to assess the usefulness and effectiveness of some of them, and establish in addition some new ones. We shall record under four heads such of these criteria as we find acceptable, with revision where necessary, followed by the name of the first writer known to have put forward each criterion.

(A) Criteria for determining the status of non-inscribed bronzes:

- (1) Bronzes that are made in an eccentric type deviating from the traditional ones are forged (Ti Ch'ienien 翟耆年).
- (2) Bronzes whose types do not look antique are forged (Jung Keng 容庚).
- (3) Animal-like sacrificial beakers such as elephant-beakers, chicken-beakers, swan-beakers and duck-beakers and the like are to be regarded with

suspicion( Jung Keng ).

- (4) Decorations which do not seem old are all forged ( Jung Keng ).
- (5) Nine out of ten of the vessels of Shang and Chou which are gilded or silvered are to be regarded with suspicion( Jung Keng ).
- (6) Vessels that are made by altering one type of vessel into another and that have discrepancies among their types are forged( Jung Keng ).
- (7) Vessels whose types do not tally well with their decorative motifs are forged( Jung Keng ).
- (8) Bronzes which are made by one and the same person, but which appear at times( i.e. the publication of two catalogues in which they are included ) far apart, are, particularly the ones that appear in the later catalogue, to be suspected( Hsi Chung-shu 徐中舒 ).

(B) Criteria for determining the status of inscribed bronzes:

- (1) Bronzes that carry tool marks around or inside the inscribed area may have been fraudulently incised ( Chao Hsi-ku 趙希鵠 ).
- (2) Bronzes with rilievo inscriptions attributable to the Three Dynasties on other criteria are to be treated with suspicion( Chao Hsi-ku ).

- (3) Inscriptions appearing on forged vessels are also forged( Ch'en Chieh-ch'i 陳介祺 ).
- (4) Excavated vessels with inscriptions whose character grooves have no adhering dust or corrosion, or where the nature of the patina in the inscribed area differs from that of the vessel body, may have been fraudulently incised. Authentic inscriptions have a thick layer of dust accumulated inside the character grooves( Ch'en Chieh-ch'i ).
- (5) Series of identical vessels of unreliable provenance which carry the same inscription should be regarded with suspicion( H. Maspero ).
- (6) Bronzes whose inscriptions are an elongation, summary or modification of the inscriptional texts recorded in the Sung catalogues are all forged( Jung Keng ).
- (7) Bronzes whose inscriptions are a copy of the Sung inscriptional texts from one type of vessel on to another, with or without erasure or alteration are all forged( Jung Keng ).
- (8) Vessels whose types do not accord well with their inscriptions in terms of period are all fakes:
- (a) Vessels of a comparatively later period with Shang-style inscriptions are all forged;
- (b) Vessels whose types belong to a comparatively

... early period with inscriptions of a later period are all forged( Jung Keng ).

- (9) Vessels of types which are not in agreement with the contents or nature of their inscriptions are all forged( Jung Keng ).
- (10) In the case of a number of vessels, not belonging to one person, time or locality but having the same style of writing( especially when this has certain individual peculiarities ), only one or two may be considered as originals( i.e. those after which the other vessels have been imitated ), while the rest may well be regarded as faked( Hsü Chung-shu ).
- (11) Bronzes which are not inscribed in the proper location or whose inscriptions do not run in a regular, conventional order are forged( Hsü Chung-shu ).
- (12) Inscriptions on bells, whichever form they may take, run, as a rule, vertically from top to bottom in regular sequence from the column on the right to the column on the left. Those that run against this principle are faked( Hsü Chung-shu; cf. (C). (6) below ).

(C) Criteria for determining the status of inscriptions:

- (1) Inscriptions containing sentences from the Shih ching and the Shu ching may be forged( Chang Chih-tung 張之洞 ).

- (2) Incomplete inscriptions that read "made this precious and honourable vessel" ( 作寶博彝 ), "to send you [ this present of ] a vessel" ( or " [ to make this vessel on the occasion of ] marrying a daughter" ( 命女彝 ), without recording the name of the maker or owner of the vessel, are faked ( Ch'ien Chieh-ch'í ).
- (3) Inscriptions whose characters are wrongly formed and whose phraseology is faulty are forged ( Ch'ien Chieh-ch'í ).
- (4) Inscriptions identical to those recorded in the Sung catalogues, regardless of whether the vessel-type corresponds or not, are to be regarded with the gravest suspicion ( Jung Keng; cf. (9) below ).
- (5) Inscriptions whose sentences sound alien to those of traditional inscriptions are all forged ( Jung Keng ).
- (6) Inscriptions that do not occupy the proper location on the vessel, or that do not run in a proper direction are forged ( Jung Keng ; cf. (B).(12) above).
- (7) Inscriptions that read "Chü" ( 夨 , 夨 or 夨 ) followed by a vessel-name are forged ( Jung Keng ).
- (8) Inscriptions which read, e.g. " 作伯父博彝 " ( made the elder uncle's honourable vessel ) and thus do not sound ancient enough are all forged ( Jung ).

- (9) Inscriptions whose character-styles resemble those of the later editions of the Sung catalogues are forged( Shang Ch'eng-tso 商承祚 ).
- (10) Inscriptions whose texts are composed by assembling sentences from several different inscriptions are forged( Shang Ch'eng-tso ).
- (11) Inscriptions which are fabricated by expunging characters or phrases from lengthy inscriptions are forged( Shang Ch'eng-tso ).
- (12) Inscriptions that are imitations of other inscriptions, on an enlarged or reduced scale, are faked( Shang Ch'eng-tso ).
- (13) Should there be a variation in style between the vessel-text and the lid-text on a vessel, one or the other must be a fake( Shang Ch'eng-tso ).
- (14) Western Chou style incised inscriptions should often be regarded, in the first place, with strong suspicion( N. Bernard ).
- (15) Inscriptions containing interpolations( 衍文 ) are mostly forged( The present writer ).
- (16) Inscriptions which can be read only by dislocating characters from one column to the next( 越行讀 ) are forged( The present writer ).
- (17) Inscriptions which can be read only by interchanging two or more successive characters( 銘文顛倒 )



are forged( The present writer ).

(18) Inscriptions consisting of normal columns alternating with inverted columns( 铭文川顺逆行 ) are forged( The present writer ).

(19) Inscriptions containing the emblematic character "Chü"( 𠄎 or 𠄏 ) and occurring in a context alien to the traditional contexts are forged( The present writer ).

(D) A criterion possibly applicable to vessels and inscriptions as a whole( but falling outside the scope of this paper ).

(1) Vessels whose artistic standard falls well outside the established range( whether above or below ) are to be regarded with suspicion( The present writer ).

#### Notes: Chapter Six

1. See "Some Remarks on the Authenticity of a Western Chou Style Inscribed Bronzes", MS, Vol.18, 1959, pp.224-5.
2. See The National Geographic, Vol.130, no.6, Dec. 1966, pp.858-881, especially pp.868-870.

Appendix: List of Fraudulently Inscribed Bronzes  
Recorded in Existing Catalogues and  
Detected by the Present Writer in  
Chapters Four and Five.

A. The Sung Repertories:

1. Hsiao t'ang: ( p.21 汗沔陰宮鼎 ); ( p.24 " ㄌ 林 " );  
( p.26 " S 林 " ); ( p.27 " 乍寶彝 " ); ( p.  
29 " 乍寶彝 " ); ( p.33 " 乍寶博彝 " );  
( p.35 父舉卣 ); ( p.36 史卣 ); ( p.51 己丁  
敦 ); ( p.71 父癸匝 ); ( p.72 文姪匝 );  
( p.94 " 乍寶彝 " ).
2. Hsü k'ao: ( 4:16 " 乍寶博彝 " ); ( 5:6 伯和敦 ).
3. K'ao ku t'u: ( 3:31 己丁敦 ); ( 4:20 " 乍寶彝 " ); ( 4:  
21 " 乍寶博彝 " ); ( 5:14 癸舉 ).
4. Li tai: ( 1:10 or 1:22 " 乍寶 " ); ( 2:3 or 2:29 " 乍寶  
博彝 " ); ( 2:6 or 2:31 " S 林 " ); ( 2:8 or 2:  
33 " 乍寶彝 " ); ( 3:2 or 3:37 or 3:15 史卣 );  
( 3:4 or 3:39 " F Y " ); ( 3:6 or 3:41 " 乍寶  
博彝 " ); ( 4:50 " 林 " ); ( 5:4 or 5:56 " 卣 林  
" ); ( 5:6 or 5:57-8 己丁敦 ); ( 5:10 or 5:61  
且戊匝 ); ( 11:1 " ㄌ 林 " ); ( 12:2 or 12:124  
" 乍寶彝 " ); ( 12:3 or 12:125 or 12:111 " 乍寶  
博彝 " ); ( 12:5-6 or 12:127 父癸匝 ); ( 12:7-  
8 or 12:129 文姪匝 ); ( 18:8-9 汗沔陰宮鼎 ).

5. Po ku t'u: ( 5:23-5 汗沔陰宮鼎 ); ( 7:3-4 "乙夬" );  
 ( 8:7-8 "S夬" ); ( 8:14, 22-4 "乍寶彝" );  
 ( 9:26-8 "乍寶博彝" ); ( 10:16-7 文舉卣 );  
 ( 10:18 史卣 ); ( 16:22 乙丁敦 ); ( 20:29-  
 30 父癸匝 ); ( 20:33-4 文姬匝 ).

B. The Ch'ing Repertories:

6. Ch'ang an: ( 1:30 子罕 ).
7. Chi chih: ( 3:37 "乍寶彝" ); ( 3:39 "乙夬" ).
8. Chi ku chai: ( 1:7 "帝女彝" ); ( 1:24-5 史彝 ); ( 1:  
 26 "乍寶博彝" ); ( 2:2 "乍且博彝" );  
 ( 2:12 庚觶 ); ( 2:20 "帝女彝" ); ( 3:2-  
 3 郑邢叔安寶鐘 ); ( 4:6-7 周公鼎 );  
 ( 5:8 "乍寶用" ); ( 5:19 手執中觚 );  
 ( 5:22 "乍博彝" ); ( 5:23 伯彝 ); ( 5:23  
 伯旅彝 ); ( 6:1 "乍寶斝" ); ( 6:4 遣小  
 子師敦 ); ( 6:26-7 仲駒敦 ); ( 7:7-9  
 曾伯裘簋 ); ( 7:25 "乍寶彝子其永寶" );  
 ( 8:1 "乍寶盤" ); ( 8:18 公戈 ).
9. Ch'i ku shih: ( 1:4 伯鼎 ); ( 2:41-51 毛公鼎 ); ( 5:5  
 子尊 ); ( 5:16 "乍寶彝" ); ( 5:17 "乍  
 寶博彝" ); ( 5:23 齊陳曼簋 ); ( 5:25-  
 29 曾伯裘簋 ); ( 6:1-2 "帝女彝" );  
 ( 6:5 "乍寶博彝" ); ( 6:24 叔觚 ); ( 7:  
 7 亦爵 ); ( 7:28 乙公爵 ); ( 8:7 亞吳盤  
 ); ( 8:15 狝季子白盤 ); ( 9:6-8 子仲鐘 );

( 9:10-11 虞編鐘 ); ( 16:1-2 " 帝女彝 " );  
( 16:24-5 仲駒敦 2 vls ); ( 16:25-6 遣小  
子鞞敦 ); ( 17:9 伯彝 ); ( 17:19 伯其父  
簋 ); ( 18:16 齊侯壺 二 ); ( 18:20 " 乍  
寶彝子其永寶 " ).

10. Chin so: ( 1:28 周公鼎 ); ( 1:34 " S 叔 " ); ( 1:35 伯  
彝 ); ( 1:38 伯旅彝 ); ( 1:48 遣小子鞞敦 );  
( 1:83 汗沔陰宮鼎 ); ( 2:110 公戈 );

11. Ching wu: ( 1:1 析子孫父己盃 ); ( 1:30 仲駒父鼎 );  
( 1:36 峯鼎 ); ( 1:44 " 乍寶彝 " ); ( 1:45  
尹父丁尊 ); ( 2:26 " 乍寶彝 " ); ( 2:32  
伯彝 ); ( 2:35 " 乍寶彝 " ); ( 2:37 " 乍寶  
尊彝 " ); ( 2:66 " 帝女彝 " ); ( 2:72 屠鼎 );  
( 2:83 齊陳曼簋 ).

12. Ch'ing ai t'ang: ( p.15 " 乍旅車 " ); ( p.18 令仲鐘 ).

13. Ch'ing yi ko: ( 1:19 " 帝女彝 " ); ( 1:21 子璋鐘 );  
( 1:40 遣小子鞞敦 ).

14. Chün ku: ( 1/1:3 峯鼎 ); ( 1/1:6 庚觶 ); ( 1/1:6 手執  
中彝 ); ( 1/1:12 手執中尊 ); ( 1/1:14 手執  
中觚 ); ( 1/1:16 叔觚 ); ( 1/1:16 孫觚 );  
( 1/1:39 辛峯卣 ); ( 1/1:46 公戈 ); ( 1/2:2-  
3 伯鼎, 2 vls ); ( 1/2:3 " 乍尊彝 " ); ( 1/2:  
6 " 乍寶彝 " ); ( 1/2:6 " 乍尊彝 " ); ( 1/2:9  
伯彝 ); ( 1/2:15 乙公爵 ); ( 1/2:16 子觚 );  
( 1/2:30 " 乍寶彝 " ); ( 1/2:30 " 乍旅車 " );

( 1/2:33 " 帝女彝 " ); ( 1/2:35 " 卣室彝 ",  
 2 vls ); ( 1/2:36 " 卣室斝 " ); ( 1/2:37 " 帝  
 女彝 " ); ( 1/2:39 " 帝女彝 " ); ( 1/2:43 " 帝  
 女彝 " ); ( 1/2:53 伯旅彝 ); ( 1/2:54 " 卣  
 室博彝 " ); ( 1/2:58 彭女斝 ); ( 1/2:75-  
 76 " 卣室博彝 ", 2 vls ); ( 1/2:79 " 子孫父  
 斝 " ); ( 1/2:82 " 卣且博彝 " ); ( 1/3:30 朕  
 敦 ); ( 2/1:1-3 周公鼎 ); ( 2/1:13 " 卣室彝  
 子其永室 " ); ( 2/1:58 周公鼎 ); ( 2/1:84  
 匡公匜 ); ( 2/2:7 遣小子鞞敦 ); ( 2/2:  
 71+72 魯伯大父敦 ); ( 2/3:15 伯其父簋 );  
 ( 2/3:17-8 齊陳曼簋 ); ( 2/3:33 釐伯鐘 );  
 ( 2/3:41 畢魚敦並蓋 ); ( 3/1:83-5 望敦蓋 );  
 ( 3/2:11-2 曾伯柔簋, 2 vls ); ( 3/2:37-49 魏  
 季子白盤 ); ( 3/3:23-5 齊侯壺 = ); ( 3/3:  
 51+63 毛公鼎 ) .

15. Erh pai: ( p.1 庚解 ); ( p.3 史觚 ).

16. Heng hsüan: ( p.20 " 卣室鼎 " ); ( p.67 " 卣室彝 " );  
 ( p.74 " 林父卣 " ).

17. Huai mi: ( Ch.1 史尊 ); ( Ch.1 舉鼎 ); ( 2:2 周公鼎 );  
 ( 2:12 匡公匜 ); ( 2:16 齊侯壺 = ).

18. Hsü chia: ( 1:5-7 周文王鼎 ); ( 1:9 伯和鼎 ); ( 1:  
 19 史鼎 ); ( 1:26 魯鼎 ); ( 1:40 子孫鼎 );  
 ( 2:11 " 子卣父 " ); ( 2:12 周子鼎 ); ( 2:  
 13-4 舉鼎, 2 vls ); ( 2:18 " 卣室鼎 " );

( 2:23 萬年鼎 ); ( 2:34 周乳鼎 ); ( 5:10 子尊 ); ( 5:17 " 乍旅彝 " ); ( 5:25 " 乍室尊彝 " ); ( 5:26 史尊 ); ( 5:50 " 乍彝 " ); ( 6:31 叔方彝 ); ( 7:2 " 乍室尊彝 " ); ( 7:3-4 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 7:8 子彝 ); ( 7:11 子孫室彝 ); ( 7:16 仲駒彝 ); ( 7:24 " 乍彝 " ); ( 8:8 仲駒卣 ); ( 8:11 " 乍父 " ); ( 8:12 子卣 ); ( 8:14 " 帝女彝 " ); ( 8:43 " 室尊彝 " ); ( 9:56 未方壺 ); ( 11:17 叔觶 ); ( 11:19 庚觶 ); ( 11:20 癸觶 ); ( 11:21 孫觶 ); ( 12:4 叔卣 ); ( 12:28-30 仲駒敦 , 3 vls ); ( 13:27 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 13:28 子卣 ); ( 13:30 " 帝女彝 " ); ( 14:6 " 其永室用 " ); ( 14:35 季姬卣 ); ( 15:5 父甲盤 );

19. Ku chien: ( 1:7 癸鼎 ); ( 1:16 癸鼎 ); ( 2:1-5 周文王鼎 ); ( 2:11-3 魯鼎 ); ( 3:7 奉鼎 ); ( 3:8 奉鼎 ); ( 3:16-8 文鼎 , 3 vls ); ( 3:24 史鼎 ); ( 3:35 子鼎 ); ( 4:20 " 子孫永室用 " ); ( 5:3 " 尊彝 " ); ( 5:4 " 乍室尊彝 " ); ( 5:5 " 子孫永室用 " ); ( 6:29 " 乍室尊彝 " ); ( 8:6-7 父丁尊 , 2 vls ); ( 8:18 乙公尊 ); ( 8:19-21 乙公尊 ); ( 8:21-2 萬壽尊 ); ( 8:26-30 伯和尊 , 3 vls ); ( 9:2 " 乍六 " ); ( 9:4 奉尊 ); ( 9:6 史尊 ); ( 9:12-3 仲駒尊 ); ( 9:21 子尊 ); ( 9:22 子尊 ); ( 10:2-4

" 乍旅彝 " ); ( 10:13 " 乍宝彝 " ); ( 10:14  
 " 乍宝彝 " ); ( 12:7 " 乍宝彝 " ); ( 12  
 :8 " 葛中彝 " ); ( 12:32 鲁伯大父敦 );  
 ( 13:20 公彝 ); ( 13:21 伯尊 ); ( 13:22 伯彝  
 ); ( 13:30 叔彝 ); ( 13:37 史彝 ); ( 14:4-7  
 " 乍宝彝 " ); ( 14:12 " 永宝用 " ); ( 14:29:  
 " 永宝用 " ); ( 15:15-6 伯和卣 ); ( 16:7 叔  
 卣 ); ( 16:23 周史卣 ); ( 17:1 " 乍宝彝  
 " ); ( 17:3 " 乍宝彝 " ); ( 17:4 " 乍宝  
 " ); ( 17:5 " 乍宝彝 " ); ( 17:8 " 乍宝彝 " );  
 ( 17:9 " 乍 " ); ( 18:2 " 乍宝用 " ); ( 18:3  
 " 乍宝彝 " ); ( 19:5 白父壺 ); ( 19:  
 6-7 召仲考父壺 ); ( 19:9 黎伯壺 ); ( 19:  
 17 公壺 ); ( 19:18 " 子孫-宝用 " ); ( 23:  
 8 丁亥尊 ); ( 23:9 孝尊 ); ( 23:38 己岸觚 )  
 ; ( 23:43-4 史觚, 2 vls ); ( 24:7 叔觚 );  
 ( 24:8 孫觚 ); ( 26:19 伯觶 ); ( 26:21 子觶 )  
 ; ( 27:8-10 内公斝 ); ( 28:11 仲貳斝 );  
 ( 28:14 子斝 ); ( 28:19 " 乍宝斝 " ); ( 29:  
 6-7 周鍊簋 ); ( 29:17 " 子孫-永宝用 " );  
 ( 30:7 叔鬲 ); ( 30:9 木鬲 ); ( 31:6 伯鬲 );  
 ( 31:45 " 乍宝用 " ); ( 32:6 伯匜 ); ( 32:7-  
 8 伯和匜 ); ( 32:12 利匜 ); ( 32:15 子匜 );  
 ( 32:16 子孫匜 ); ( 36:25 " 永宝用 " );

20. Ku shen: ( 1:6 癸鼎 ).

21. Liang lei hsüan: ( 2:5-6 史觚 ); ( 2:15-6 庚解 );  
( 4:2 or 5:2 齐侯壺二 ).
22. Shang chou shih ming: ( Ch.3 望敦盖 ).
23. T'ao chai: ( 1:19 举鼎 ); ( 1:21 "5 丹" ); ( 1:44 "乍宝璋彝" ); ( 1:52 "乍彝" );
24. T'ao hsü: ( 1:48 举摩家鬲 ); ( Pu yi:5 "乍旅彝" ).
25. Ts'ung ku: ( 1:15 子孫丁敦 ); ( 2:19-21 曾伯霏簋 );  
( 3:13 "帝女彝" ); ( 5:4 遣小子郭敦 );  
( 6:41 鲁白大父敦 ); ( 9:6 "乍宝彝" );  
( 10:17 齐侯壺二 ); ( 10:31-5 魏季子白盤 );  
( 12:17-8 遣小子郭敦 ); ( 16:18-30 毛公鼎 ).
26. Yi lin: ( "用乍宝彝" ); ( 史尊 ); ( 叔爵 ); ( 鹿钟 ).
27. Yün ch'ing kuan: ( 1:6 举卣 ); ( 2:10-11 子丁钟 );  
( 2:24 齐侯壺二 ); ( 3:10-11 伯其父簋 ); ( 3:48-9 望敦盖 ); ( 4:37 "帝女彝" ); ( 4:39 "乍宝璋子其永宝" );  
( 4:50 匡公卣 ); ( 5:23 "乍宝彝" );  
( 5:23-4 兮仲钟 ); ( 5:29-30 周钟 ).

C. The Catalogues and Works published since 1912:

28. ACB: ( Pls. 37b, 39b "乍宝彝"; see also p.75.)
29. Cheng hsü: ( 1:8 举鼎 ); ( 1:17 乍宝鼎 ); ( 1:28 白鹿彝 );  
( 1:29 "4 丹" ); ( 1:32 "乍宝彝" );



(1:33 "乍室毀"); (1:33 "乍博彝");  
(1:35 文毀); (2:5 史尊); (2:17 白乍室  
博彝卣); (2:27 子觚); (2:27 史觚);  
(2:32 "乍博"); (3:7 "己夊"); (3:8 "乍博  
"); (3:19 子刀形盤).

30. Cheng pu: (1:10 刺觀日辛鼎); (1:20 "乍博彝");  
(1:23 "白乍旅彝"); (1:32 "乍室博彝");  
(2:15 史觚); (2:20 "乍簠").

31. Cheng sung: (1:1 "永室用"); (1:7 兮仲鐘); (1:  
8-9 戲編鐘); (1:10-11 克鐘); (1:14-5  
子璋鐘, 2 vls); (2:3 史鼎); (2:17 白  
旅鼎); (2:18 "乍室鼎"); (2:19 貞鼎  
); (2:32 非放鼎); (2:42 "乍室鼎子孫=  
永室用"); (3:7 永日白鼎); (3:11-2 □  
□宰鼎); (3:20-1 姬鬯鼎); (3:21 郟  
王卣量鼎); (3:31 趙曹鼎 =); (4:7-8  
趙來佳卣); (4:12-3 永中無龍卣,  
2 vls); (4:30 象形且辛毀); (4:33 "  
乍室彝"); (4:33 白彝); (4:37 "乍室  
博彝"); (5:2 "乍室毀"); (5:8 "白乍  
毀"); (5:13 內公毀); (5:14 "乍室毀  
具子孫萬年永室"); (6:33 齊陳曼簠 -);  
(7:4 夔父乙尊); (7:10 "乍室博彝");  
(7:28 白父乙尊); (7:29-30 內天子白  
壺); (8:5-6 "乍彝"); (8:11 丁母卣);

( 8:14 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 8:17-8 " 乍室尊彝  
" ); ( 8:40: 父丁子盃 ); ( 9:24 白乍彝  
" ); ( 10:4. " 父·林 " ).

32. Cheng t'u: ( 1:30 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 1:47 叔觚 ); ( 1:51  
史觚 ).

33. Ch'eng ch'iu kuan: ( 1:8 姪鬲鼎 ); ( 1:9 " 乍尊彝 " );  
( 1:10 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 1:28 父丁  
尊 ).

34. Chi wen: ( 1:1-5 毛公鼎 ); ( 1:25 趙曹鼎 = ); ( 1:  
34 刺鼎 ); ( 1:38 邾王卣量鼎 ); ( 2:11 公伐  
邾鉶 ); ( 3:18 望敦盖 ); ( 3:37 遣小子敦 )  
; ( 4:1 曾伯柔簋 ); ( 4:19-20 召仲考父壺 )  
; ( 4:26-7 魏季子白盤 ).

35. Chien ku: ( 1:12-3 周文王鼎 ); ( 1:14 乙公鼎 ); ( 1:  
19-20 伯鼎 ); ( 1:21-22 伯鼎 ); ( 1:24 子  
鼎 ); ( 1:26 魯鼎 ); ( 1:33 奉鼎 ); ( 1:34  
" 室尊 " ); ( 3:25-6 伯和尊 ); ( 3:34-5 " 帝  
女彝 " ); ( 3:36-7 " 子孫乍室 " ); ( 4:6-7  
" 乍室彝 " ); ( 6:13 伯彝 ); ( 7:6 伯室卣 );  
( 7:7 伯卣 ); ( 7:12 子卣 ); ( 8:3-5 召仲考  
父壺, 2 vls ); ( 8:6-7 仲駒壺 ); ( 10:16-  
18 子觚, 3 vls ); ( 10:22-3 未觚, 2 vls );  
( 10:24 " 父史 " ); ( 11:4 子觶 ); ( 11:4 孫  
觶 ); ( 12:11 伯觶 ); ( 12:14 " 乍室彝 " );  
( 12:53-4 仲駒匜 ); ( 12:55 智匜 ); ( 13:1

立戈盤)。

36. Chin ling hsüeh pao: ( p.268 尹父丁尊 )。
37. Chin ts'ung: ( pp.258-9 毛公鼎 )。
38. Chinese Art: ( Vol.1, Figures 49 and 50, Bushell Bowl or Chin hou p'an 晉侯盤 )。
39. Chou ts'un: ( 1:27 克鐘 ); ( 1:49 魯公伐陳鐘 );  
( 1:50 子璋鐘, 2 vls ); ( 1:59 戲編鐘 );  
( 1:62-3 兮仲鐘 ); ( 1:64 兮仲編鐘 );  
( 2:1-4 毛公鼎 ); ( 2:27 趙曹鼎二 );  
( 2:30 魯公伐陳鼎 ); ( 2:36 姬鼎 ); ( 2:60 周公鼎 ); ( 2:66 伯鼎 ); ( 2:79 罍簠象鬲 ); ( 2:91 "乍室彝" ); ( 3:55 罍簠敦並蓋 ); ( 3:71 魯伯大父敦 ); ( 3:87 遣小子鞞敦 ); ( 3:91 "白乍設" ); ( 3:99 "乍室彝" ); ( 3:99 "乍室設" ); ( 3:116 叔彝 ); ( 3:117 "乍室彝" ); ( 3:119-120 曾伯鞶簠, 2 vls ); ( 3:126 齊陳曼簠 ); ( 3:128 伯其文簠 ); ( 3:144 王子申簠 ); ( 4:3 魏孝子白盤 ); ( 4:10 鄆道盤 ); ( 4:19 "〇彝" ); ( 4:32 "乍廼" ); ( 4:28-9 匡公廼 ); ( 4:38-9 庚午盃 ); ( 5:17 叔觶 ); ( 5:21 "乍室尊" ); ( 5:21 "乍旅車" ); ( 5:22 "乍室尊彝" ); ( 5:23 "乍室彝" ); ( 5:37 齊侯壺 ); ( 5:106-107 伯室卣 ); ( 5:108 "乍室尊彝" ); ( 5:112 "帝女彝" ); ( 5:113 "乍室" );

( 5:114 事卣 ); ( 5:117 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 5:120 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 5:127 乙公爵 ); ( Pu yi:2 " 乍室鼎 " ) .

40: Chui yi chai: ( 1:25 虢编钟 ); ( 1:26-9 兮仲钟, 3 vls ); ( 1:29 兮仲编钟 ); ( 2:10 公伐邠钟 ); ( 2:13 子璋钟 ); ( 2:22 " 子孫父癸 " ); ( 3:9 " 帝女彝 " ); ( 3:19 周公鼎 ); ( 4:7-8 乙公鼎 ); ( 5:10-11 举鼎 ); ( 5:20 叔鼎 ); ( 7:1 父戊尊形盤 ); ( 7:1 姪形父辛盤 ); ( 7:14 魏季子白盤 ); ( 8:17-21 曾伯鞮簋 ); ( 8:28 齐陳曼簋 ); ( 10:2 执中卣 ); ( 10:6 辛卣 ); ( 10:11 丁卣 ); ( 11:14 " 帝女彝 " ); ( 11:15 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 11:15-7 " 乍室博彝 " ); ( 11:18 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 11:28 伯卣 ); ( 13:1 子丁父甲壺 ); ( 13:22 齐侯壺 ); ( 14:1 齐子匜 ); ( 14:13 匜公匜 ); ( 16:2 史觚 ); ( 16:6 交文子觚 ); ( 16:26 叔觚 ); ( 16:30 " 帝女彝 " ); ( 17:5 史尊 ); ( 17:18 叔尊 ); ( 18:16 " 乍旅彝 " ); ( 19:13 叔爵 ); ( 21:10 " 叔卣 " ); ( 22:26 乙父爵 ); ( 24:8 叔觶 ); ( 24:19 " 乍旅 " ); ( 24:22 子卣 ); ( 25:2 " 帝女匜 " ); ( 30:12 公戈 ) .

41. EAO: ( MGD 毛公鼎 ).
42. Fu chai: ( 1:1 屠鼎 ); ( 1:3 虞编钟 ); ( 1:4 兮仲钟 );  
; ( 1:11 伯鼎 ); ( 2:17 " 乍乙公尊 " ); ( 3:  
1 曾伯震簋 ).
43. GSR: ( K.120 ); ( K.136 ); ( K.157 ); ( K.167 ); ( K.180  
); ( K.223 ); ( K.236 ); ( K.258 ); ( K.285 );  
( K.310 ); ( K.342 ).
44. Hai wai: ( t'u 3; shih 1 刺殿鼎 ); ( t'u 40; shih 6  
丁叔卣 ); ( t'u 50-1; shih 8 " 乍乙公尊 " );  
( t'u 76; shih 12 " 乍乙公尊 " ); ( t'u 133;  
shih 22 兮仲钟 ); ( t'u 136; shih 22 虞编钟 ).
45. Hung, David's collection: ( Chi yueh ting-cauldron 卣月鼎 ).
46. Hsiao chiao: ( 1:3 " 永保用 " ); ( 1:4 虞钟 ); ( 1:9  
女理母钟 ); ( 1:23 虞作釐伯钟 );  
( 1:25-7 兮仲作乙白钟, 3 vls ); ( 1:28 虞  
作乙白钟, 2 vls ); ( 1:64 或作孝白钟 );  
( 2:1 斧鼎 ); ( 2:3-4 史鼎, 3 vls );  
( 2:9 " 5 叔 " ); ( 2:10 " 帝女彝 " ); ( 2:  
22 伯鼎, 3 vls ); ( 2:22 伯鼎 ); ( 2:23  
" 乍尊彝 " ); ( 2:23 " 永保用 " ); ( 2:23  
" 乍尊彝 " ); ( 2:53 " 乍尊彝子: 孫: 永保  
用 " ); ( 2:58 " 乍尊彝 " ); ( 2:98 郟王  
卣鼎 ); ( 3:2 姬鼎 ); ( 3:6 緡鼎 or 師  
緡文鼎 ); ( 3:20 趙曹鼎 = ); ( 3:47-  
51 毛公鼎 ); ( 3:52 " 帝女彝 " );

( 3:67 蟹 啟家 禹 ); ( 3:76 永 中 燕 龍 禹 );  
 ; ( 3:80 白 X-文 禹 ); ( 3:88 " 乍 室 葬 " );  
 ( 4:6 史 自 ); ( 4:12-3 " 帝 女 葬 " ); ( 4:  
 13 " 乍 室 " ); ( 4:33-4 " 乍 室 博 葬 " );  
 ( 4:36 伯 室 自 ); ( 4:81 內 大 子 白 壘 );  
 ( 4:100 齊 侯 壘 = ); ( 5:2 史 尊, 4 vls );  
 ( 5:5 " 乍 旅 尊 " ); ( 5:8 父 乙 厄 尊 );  
 ( 5:12 " 乍 旅 葬 " ); ( 5:12 " 乍 室 葬 ",  
 4 vls ); ( 5:13 " 乍 室 博 " ); ( 5:13 乍 父  
 乙 史 尊 ); ( 5:16 " 乍 室 博 葬 " ); ( 5:  
 45-6 子 觚, 2 vls ); ( 5:47-8 史 觚, 4 vls )  
 ( 5:48 叔 觚 ); ( 5:52-3 " 帝 女 葬 " ); ( 5:  
 60 " 乍 室 葬 " ); ( 5:68-9 子 解, 2 vls );  
 ( 5:69 叔 解 ); ( 5:87 伯 解 ); ( 6:9 叔 爵,  
 3 vls ); ( 6:9 未 爵, 3 vls ); ( 6:44 " 妣  
 母 " ); ( 6:50 乙 公 庚 爵 ); ( 6:57 " 妣  
 母 " ); ( 6:59 乙 公 爵 ); ( 6:81 " 乍 室 葬 "  
 ); ( 6:84 子 尊 ); ( 7:8 " 乍 葬 " ); ( 7:9  
 象 形 且 辛 斝 ); ( 7:10 " 妣 乙 母 " );  
 ( 7:15-7 白 乍 葬, 9 vls ); ( 7:17 " 乍 博 葬 "  
 ); ( 7:17-8 " 乍 室 葬 " ); ( 7:18 " 乍 旅 斝 "  
 ); ( 7:22 " 用 乍 室 葬 " ); ( 7:23 " 乍 室 博  
 葬 " ); ( 7:27 文 葬 ); ( 7:60 " 乍 室 斝 " );  
 ( 7:60-1 " 乍 室 葬 " ); ( 7:67 白 乍 室 用  
 博 斝 ); ( 8:25 單 尊 作 皇 且 益 公 斝 );

( 9:6 王子申簋 ); ( 9:15 齐陳景簋 );  
 ( 9:17 白其父麇簋 ); ( 9:22-3 曾伯霁  
 簋 ); ( 9:29 郑义姜父簋 ); ( 9:59 匡公  
 作姜来匝 ); ( 9:68 " 〇 匝 " ); ( 9:68  
 亞燕盤 ); ( 9:68 商子盤 ); ( 9:69 子荷  
 貝父乙盤 ); ( 9:75 郭造盤 ); ( 9:76  
 湯叔盤 ); ( 9:82-3 魏季子伯盤 );  
 ( 9:103 " 乍 博彝 " ).

47. Hsü yi: ( 1:3 庚鼎 ); ( 1:4-5 周文王鼎 ); ( 1:16 乙  
 公鼎 ); ( 1:19 伯和鼎 ); ( 1:21-22 史鼎, 2  
 vls ); ( 1:37 伯鼎 ); ( 1:39 " 子子=孫室用 " );  
 ( 1:40 " 子=孫=永室用 " ); ( 1:46 女鼎 );  
 ( 1:49 " 常女彝 " ); ( 5:6 伯和尊 ); ( 5:7-8  
 公仲尊 ); ( 5:9-10 仲和尊 ); ( 5:11 子尊 )  
 ; ( 5:14 子尊 ); ( 5:16 " 乙父 " ); ( 5:21  
 " 乙举 " ); ( 5:24 " 常女彝 " ); ( 6:25 乙公彝  
 ); ( 6:26 伯彝 ); ( 6:27 伯彝 ); ( 6:40 " 史乍  
 父室博彝子 " ); ( 6:40 史彝 ); ( 7:1-2  
 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 7:3 " 乍室博彝 " ); ( 7:4-5  
 " 乍室彝 " ); ( 7:6 室彝 ); ( 8:6 仲和卣 );  
 ( 8:11 子卣 ); ( 8:13-4 " 常女彝 " ); ( 8:34  
 举彝 ); ( 8:34 仲和彝 ); ( 8:35-6 " 子=孫=  
 乍室用 " ); ( 12:18-22 仲和斝, 5 vls ); ( 13:  
 10 " 子=孫=乍室用 " ); ( 13:13 仲和觶 );  
 ( 13:15 子觶 ); ( 13:16 " 子=孫=乍室用 " );

- ( 13:19 "帝女彝" ); ( 14:24 父丁子盃 );  
 ( 14:42 仲駒匝 ); ( 15:1 仲駒盤 ).
48. Hsüeh pao: ( Vol.10, 1955, p.110, pl.14 1. 自逋鼎 );  
 ( Vol.14, no.4, 1956, pp.97-9, pl.1 趙曹鼎  
 二 ).
49. K'o chai: ( 1:5-6 兮仲鐘 ); ( 2:5-7 子璋鐘, 2 vls );  
 ( 2:8 子璋編鐘 ); ( 2:11-2 虢編鐘 ); ( 4:  
 2-10 毛公鼎 ); ( 6:18 伯鼎 ); ( 7:10 伯敦 );  
 ( 7:11 "乍室彝", 3 vls ); ( 8:15-9 虢季  
 子白盤 ); ( 12:4 遺小子鞞敦 ); ( 12:22  
 "乍室敦" ); ( 13:7 "乍室彝" ); ( 13:19  
 父乙尊 ); ( 13:24 叔尊 ); ( 14:2 齊侯壺  
 二 ); ( 15:2 曾伯霽簋 ); ( 15:8 齊陳曼  
 簋 ); ( 16:2 "〇夙", 2 vls ); ( 16:2 子荷  
 貝父乙盤 ); ( 18:21 "乍室博彝" ); ( 21:  
 13 子帶, 2 vls ); ( 22:10 乙公尊 ).
50. Ku kung: ( p.7 齊陳曼簋 ).
51. Lu yi: ( no.496 虢季湯叔盤 ).
52. Meng wei: ( hsü:12 王子申簋 ); ( hsü:14 白其父虞簋 ).
53. Ming wen yen chiu: ( 1:87 公代卸鐘 ); ( 2:62 齊侯壺  
 二 ).
54. Pao yün lou: ( pp.13-4 史鼎 ); ( p.64 魯伯大父敦 );  
 ( p.89 父丁子盃 ); ( p.97 商子盃蓋 );  
 ( p.102 夔父乙尊 ).



55. San tai: ( 1:1 "永宝用" ); ( 1:12-3 令仲钟 , 3 vls ); ( 1:15 令仲钟 ); ( 1:17 乙白钟 , 2 vls ); ( 1:18 乙白钟 , 2 vls ); ( 1:23 支钟 ); ( 1:27-31 子璋钟 , 6 vls ); ( 2:1 子鼎 ); ( 2:4-5 史鼎 , 5 vls ); ( 2:6-7 "夔" , 6 vls ); ( 2:7 "夔" , 2 vls ); ( 2:11 "夔" ); ( 2:11 "夔" ); ( 2:12 "夔" ); ( 2:23 伯鼎 ); ( 2:31-2 "鬲" , 2 vls ); ( 2:33 白旅鼎 ); ( 2:33 贞鼎 ); ( 2:33-4 "乍旅鼎" , 4 vls ); ( 2:34 "乍宝鼎" , 4 vls ); ( 3:7 非放鼎 ); ( 3:18 "乍宝鼎子孫永宝用" ); ( 3:27 刺斿鼎 ); ( 3:35 永鼎 ); ( 3:42 宝鼎 ); ( 4:9 郟王量鼎 ); ( 4:25 趙曹鼎二 ); ( 4:46 毛公鼎 ); ( 5:3-4 "乍宝彝" , 2 vls ); ( 5:14 "乍宝彝" ); ( 5:14 "乍尊彝" ); ( 5:18 "乍宝彝子其永宝" ); ( 5:28 稱尊家鬲 ); ( 5:29 龜來佳鬲 ); ( 5:35-6 永中鬲 , 2 vls ); ( 5:41 白文鬲 ); ( 6:4 "夔" 彝 ); ( 6:10 "乍彝" ); ( 6:12 "夔" ); ( 6:19 "乍宝彝" , 6 vls ); ( 6:19 "乍尊彝" ); ( 6:19 "乍旅彝" , 2 vls ); ( 6:23 "用乍宝彝" ); ( 6:26 "乍宝尊彝" , 3 vls ); ( 7:4-5 "乍尊彝" , 3 vls ); ( 7:5 "乍宝斿" , 6 vls ); ( 7:5 "乍旅斿" ); ( 7:11 文斿 ); ( 7:13 白斿 ); ( 7:20 内公斿 ); ( 7:22 "乍父甲斿" );

(7:24 " 乍室博毀 孫子 = 貝萬年用 " );  
 (8:2 魯伯大父敦); (8:26 畢羞毀); (8:  
 50 蕭毀); (10:8 王子申簋); (10:18 白其  
 父簋); (10:19-20 齊陳曼簋, 2 vls.); (10:  
 26 曾伯霽簋); (11:1 史尊, 6 vls.); (11:2  
 未尊); (11:7 夬乙尊); (11:12 " 乍旅彝  
 "); (11:13 " 乍室彝", 2 vls.); (11:13 乍父乙  
 尊); (11:17 " 乍室博彝", 4 vls.); (11:31  
 月 潘伯遠尊); (12:10 伯父壺); (12:  
 13-4 內 大子壺); (12:33 齊侯壺二);  
 (12:36 史卣, v. & 1.); (12:38 未卣); (12:  
 58 " 乍室彝"); (12:58 " 齊女彝", 2 vls.);  
 (12:59 " 乍旅彝"); (12:59 " 乍宗彝");  
 (13:8-9 " 乍室博彝", 7 vls.); (13:47 子尊)  
 ; (13:50 " 齊女"); (14:4 父丁子盃); (14:  
 :14 史觚, 7 vls.); (14:17 未觚); (14:21 " 父  
 史"); (14:27 未觚); (14:27 " 齊女彝");  
 (14:32 子觚, rilievo inscription); (14:34 未  
 觚); (14:39 " 乍博"); (14:39 " 乍斝");  
 (14:49 白觚); (15:12 未爵, 3 vls.); (15:13  
 庚爵); (15:13 父爵); (15:25 " 齊女");  
 (15:26 丁舉爵); (15:28 " 出城"); (15:39  
 " 乍博"); (16:26 " 乍乙公"); (17:1 " 齊女  
 ", 2 vls.); (17:1 葵盤); (17:1 子刀形盤);  
 (17:13 齊公匜); (17:19 齊孝子白盤).

56. Senoku: ( Tsun " 乍 宝 博 彝 " ); ( Yu " 乍 宝 博 彝 " );  
 ( Yu " 夙 夷 " ); ( Chung 兮 仲 钟 ); ( Chung  
 虞 编 钟 ); ( I:3 Ting 刺 良 肇 鼎 ).
57. Senoku Besshū: ( 2: 虞 编 钟 ); ( 10: 虞 编 钟 ).
58. Shan chai: ( Li ch'i 1:30 夙 鼎 ); ( — 1:32 " 永 保 用 " );  
 ( — 1:35 父 己 举 鼎 ); ( — 1:76 豳 鼎 or  
 師 雉 父 鼎 ); ( — 2:74 徐 王 卣 量 鼎 ); ( —  
 3:15 " 帚 女 彝 " ); ( — 3:25 永 日 中 盃 龍 鬲 );  
 ( — 4:5 子 觚 ); ( — 4:6 史 觚 ); ( — 4:46-  
 47 子 觶, 3 vls ); ( — 4:84 伯 觶 ); ( — 6:  
 26 " 夙 父 彝 " ); ( — 6:29 乙 公 爵 ); ( —  
 7:17 象 形 且 辛 斝 ); ( — 7:21 " 乍 肇 斝 " );  
 ( — 7:53 " 乍 宝 斝 " ); ( — 7:68 魯 白 大 父  
 斝 ); ( — 8:38 逯 公 匜 ); ( — 8:48 辛 父  
 戊 盤 ); ( — 9:10 曾 伯 栗 簠 ); ( Yüeh ch'i  
 17 弋 女 鬲 母 钟 ); ( —:19-20 子 璋 钟, 2 vls ).
59. Shang hai: ( t'u 45; Fu ts'e 36 趙 曹 鼎 = ).
60. Shina(Nihon): ( 2:121 " 乍 宝 博 彝 " ).
61. "Shu cheng": ( pp.1078-1080; pp.1121-1122 伯 叔 斝 );  
 ( p.1070 趙 曹 鼎 = ).
62. Shuang wang: ( 郑 井 叔 钟 ).
63. Sung chai: ( t'u 3; shih 2 " 乍 宝 鼎 " ); ( t'u 8; shih  
 5 文 斝 ).
64. Ta hsi: ( t'u 23; lu 131; shih 135 毛 公 鼎 ); ( t'u 37;  
lu 164; shih 159 徐 王 卣 量 鼎 ); ( t'u 118; lu 227

; shih 196 仲姬匱); ( t'u 132; lu 207;  
shih 186 曾伯鞶簠); ( t'u 140; lu 258; shih  
216 齊陳曼簠, 2 vls ); ( t'u 146; lu 266; shih  
226 匡公匜); ( t'u 152; lu 88; shih 103 虢  
季子白盤); ( t'u 187; lu 256; shih 212 齊侯壺  
= ); ( t'u 251-3; lu 194-8; shih 179 子璋鐘,  
5 vls ); ( t'u 257; lu 39; shih 69 趙曹鼎 = );  
( lu 62; shih 80 望敦蓋); ( lu 96; shih 112  
克鐘四 ) .

65. Tsun ku chai: ( 3:17 匡公匜 ).
66. T'ung k'ao: ( 1:498:G11; 2:500; G953 虢編鐘 ); ( 4:50  
趙曹鼎 = ); ( 5:93, pl.52 紉作父甲匱 );  
( 5:93 月 ( 清伯送尊 ); ( 5:93 內公匱 );  
( 5:93, pl.54 室鼎 ).
67. Wu ying tien: ( p.75 仲弓匱 ); ( p.102 芮大子白壺 );  
( p.147 "永室用" ).
68. Yi ts'ung: ( 6:71 鄭井叔鐘, 2 vls ); ( 9:44 室鼎 );  
( 20:1 汝妻母鐘 ).
69. "Yin and Chou": ( A.164 象形辟壽 ); ( A.206 文姬匜 );  
( A.251 "S 夆" 鼎 ); ( A.253 舉鼎 );  
( A.256 舉鼎 ); ( A.265 祭舉尊 );  
( A.268 "夆 乙 夆" ); ( A.279 "乙 夆" );  
( A.305 "S 夆" ); ( B.83 趙曹鼎 = );  
( B.96 虢編鐘 ); ( B.124 虢編鐘 );  
( B.125 虢編鐘 ); ( B.132 仲弓敦 );  
( B.140 永日中無龍鼎 ); ( B.143 毛公鼎

); ( B.165 拜放鼎 ); ( B.202 望敦 );  
 ( C.46 ); ( C.56 内公毁 );  
 ( C.57 白父壺 ); ( C.61 芮太子白  
 壺 ); ( C.89 龜來佳鬲 ); ( C.96 魯白  
 大父毁 ); ( C.97 魯伯大父毁 ); ( C.128  
 徐王量鼎 ); ( C.141 曾伯鞶簠 );  
 ( C.155 匱子孟姜壺 = ); ( C.161 齊陳  
 曼簠 - ); ( C.186 匡公匜 ); ( C.266  
 乙公鼎 ); ( C.270 齊陳曼簠 = );  
 ( C.278 子璋鐘 ); ( C.292 甗白京鼎 );  
 ( D.1 汝鯉母鐘 ); ( D.8 辛中姬鼎 ;  
 Karlgren remarks " D.7 and D.8 may be sus-  
 pected of being spurious, since they have  
 中 instead of 仲 " ); ( D.16 姬鞶鼎 );  
 ( D.25 内公毁 ); ( D.61 刺斝見日辛鼎 );  
 ( D.101 遣小子鞶敦 ); ( D.111 白乍舞  
 解 ); ( E.33 伯其父簠 ); ( ... )

70. Yin hsü: ( 1:11 " 乙丹 " ); ( 1:76 丁丹卣 ); ( 2:18  
 " 出栒 " ); ( 2:27 " 丹父卣 " ); ( 2:31 " 丹父  
 栒 " ); ( 2:33 丁举爵, 2 vls ); ( 2:42 丁举  
 觚, 2 vls ); ( 2:45 " 夙 | 夙 " ); ( 2:67 " 丹  
 乙丹 " ); ( 2:74 " 〇栒 " ).

71. Yints'un: ( 1:1 举鼎 ); ( 1:22 " 丹乙丹 " ); ( 2:2  
 叔爵 ); ( 2:13 " 丹父卣 " );

( 2:17 " 身父母 " ); ( 2:24 史觚, 4 vls );  
( 2:24 叔觚 ); ( 2:26 叔解 ); ( 2:34 父乙  
盤 ); ( 2:34 父戊盤 ); ( 2:34 父癸盤 ) .

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### (1) Abbreviations.

- AIMME: American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers.
- BMFEA: Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities
- BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
- CYYY: Chung Yang Yenchiu Yuan Lishih Yüyen Yenchiuso ( Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica ).
- EAC: Early Archaic Chinese.
- GHA: Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift.
- GSR: Grammata Serica Recensa.
- HCCC: Huang ch'ing ching chieh.
- HJAS: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
- ins.: inscriptions.
- JA: Journal Asiatique.
- JIS: Journal of the Institute of Science.
- JNCBRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society( North China Branch ).
- JRAI: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
- JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- MCB: Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques.

MS: Monumenta Serica.  
OIZ: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.  
SBE: Sacred Books of the East Series.  
SKCS: Szu k'u ch'üan shu.  
SKCS/CC: Szu k'u ch'üan shu chenpen ch'uchi.  
SPFY: Szu pu pei yao.  
SPTK: Szu pu ts'ung k'an.  
TOCS: Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society.  
TP: T'oung Pao.  
TSCC: Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng.  
TSCC/CP: Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng ch'u pien.  
vls.: vessels.  
YJCS: Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies.



(2) Abbreviated Titles of Repertories, Treatises,  
and Articles Quoted.

1. ACB : Ancient Chinese Bronzes( W. Watson ).
2. An yang : An yang fa chüeh pao( Academia Sinica: 安陽發掘報告 ).
3. Bronze Casting : Bronze Casting and Bronze Alloys in Ancient China( Noel Barnard ).
4. Ch'ang an : Ch'ang an huo ku pien( 劉喜海: 長安發掘 ).
5. Cheng hsü : Cheng sung t'ang chi ku yi wen hsü pien( 羅振玉: 貞松堂集古遺文續編 ).
6. Cheng pu : Cheng sung t'ang chi ku yi wen pu yi ( 羅振玉: 貞松堂集古遺文補遺 ).
7. Cheng sung : Cheng sung t'ang chi ku yi wen ( 羅振玉: 貞松堂集古遺文 ).
8. Cheng t'u : Cheng sung t'ang chi chin t'u ( 羅振玉: 貞松堂吉金圖 ).
9. Ch'eng ch'iu kuan : Ch'eng ch'iu kuan chi chin t'u ( 孫壯: 徵秋館吉金圖 ).
10. Chi chih : Chi chin chih ts'un ( 李光庭: 吉金志存 ).
11. Chi ku chai : Chi ku chai chung ting yi ch'i k'uan chih( 阮元: 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識 ).
12. Chi wen : Chi chin wen lu( 吳闓生: 吉金文錄 ).

13. Ch'i ku shih : Ch'i ku shih chi chin wen shu  
(劉心源: 奇觚室吉金文述 ) .
14. Chien ku : Ning shou chien ku  
(吳詩正等: 寧壽鑑古 ) .
15. "Chien pieh" : "Lun ku t'ung eh'i chih chien pieh"  
(徐中舒: 論古銅器之鑑別 ) .
16. Ch'ih tu : Lu chai eh'ih tu (陳介祺: 簠齋尺牘 ) .
17. Chin so : Chin shih so (馮寧鵬馮寧鶴: 金石索 ) .
18. Chin ts'ung : Chin wen ts'ung k'ao  
(郭沫若: 金文叢考 ) .
19. Ching wu : Ching wu hsin shih yi eh'i k'uan eh'ih  
(朱善旂: 敬吾心室彝器款識 ) .
20. Ch'ing ai t'ang : Ch'ing ai t'ang chia ts'ang chung ting  
yi eh'i k'uan eh'ih fa t'ieh (劉喜海: 清愛堂家藏鐘鼎彝器款識法帖) .
21. Ch'ing yi ko : Ch'ing yi ko so ts'ang ku eh'i wu wen  
(張建濟: 清儀閣所藏古器物文) .
22. Chou ts'un : Chou chin wen ts'un (鄒安: 周金文存) .
23. Chui yi chai : Chui yi chai yi eh'i k'ao shih  
(方濬益: 綴遺齋彝器考釋 ) .
24. Chün ku : Chün ku lu chin wen  
(吳式芬: 撫古錄金文) .
25. "Epigraphical Notes..." : "Epigraphical Notes on a group of  
Bronzes Unearthed at Changchiap'o,  
Ch'angan, Shensi." (郭沫若: 長安縣  
張家坡銅器群銘文匯釋 ) .

26. Erh pai : Erh pai lan ting chai shou ts'ang chin shih chi (吳雲: 二百蘭亭齋收藏金石記)。
27. Fu chai : Fu chai chi ehin lu (鄧寶: 籟齋古金錄)。
28. Fu feng : Fu feng ch'i chia ts'un eh'ing t'ung ch'i eh'ün (陝西省博物館·陝西省文物管理委員會: 扶風齊家村青銅器群)。
29. Fu shou cha : Ch'en fu chai pi chi fu shou cha (陳介祺: 陳簠齋筆記附手札)。
30. Hai wai : Hai wai chi chin t'u lu (容庚: 海外古金圖錄)。
31. Heng hsüan : Heng hsüan so ehien so ts'ang chi chin lu (吳大澂: 恆軒所見所藏古金錄)。
32. Huai mi : Huai mi shan fang chi chin t'u (曹載奎: 懷米山房古金圖)。
33. Hsiao chiao : Hsiao chiao ching ko chin shih wen tzu (劉倬智: 小校經閣金石文字)。
34. Hsiao t'ang : Hsiao t'ang chi ku lu (王球: 嘯堂集古錄)。
35. Hsü chia : Hsi ch'ing hsü chien chia pien (梁詩正等: 西清續鑑甲編)。
36. Hsü k'ao : Hsü k'ao ku t'u (佚名: 續考古圖)。
37. Hsü yi : Hsi ch'ing hsü chien yi pien (梁詩正等: 西清續鑑乙編)。

38. Hsüeh pao : K'ao ku hsüeh pao  
(考古學報雜誌社:考古學報 ) .
39. Jung's "List" : "A Classified List of Authentic and Forged, Lost and Extant Bronzes (with Inscriptions) as Recorded in the Imperial Catalogues of the Antiquities in the Palace." (容庚:西清室文真偽存佚表) .
40. Kanka : Kankarō Kikkinzu  
(梅原未治:冠帶樓古金圖) .
41. K'o chai : K'o chai chi ku lu  
(吳大澂:憲齋集古錄) .
42. Ku chien : Hsi ch'ing ku chien  
(梁詩正等:西清古鑑) .
43. Ku lin : Shuo wen chieh tzu ku lin  
(丁福保:說文解字詁林) .
44. Ku shen : Ku wen shen (劉心源:古文審) .
45. Kuan chia : ( See Kanka ) .
45. Li tai : Li tai chung ting yi ch'i k'uan chi fa t'ieh (薛尚功:歷代鐘鼎彝器款識法帖) .
46. Liang lei hsüan : Liang lei hsüan yi ch'i t'u shih  
(吳寧:兩壘軒彝器圖釋) .
47. Lu yi : Shang chou chin wen lu yi  
(于省吾:商周金文錄遺) .
48. Meng p'o shih : Meng p'o shih huo ku ts'ung pien  
(鄒嘉祺:夢坡室獲文叢編) .

49. Meng wei : Meng wei ts'ao t'ang chi chin t'u  
(羅振玉: 夢邨草堂吉金圖)。
50. Ming wen yen chiu : Yin chou ch'ing t'ung ch'i ming wen  
yen chiu(郭沫若: 殷周青銅器銘文研究)。
51. P'an ku lou : P'an ku lou yi ch'i k'uan ehieh  
(潘祖蔭: 攀古樓彝器款識)。
52. Pao yün lou : Pao yün lou yi ch'i t'u lu  
(容庚: 寶蘊樓彝器圖錄)。
53. Po ku t'u : Hsüan ho po ku t'u lu  
(王黼等: 宣和博古圖錄)。
54. San tai : San tai chi chin wen ts'un  
(羅振玉: 三代吉金文存)。
55. Senoku : Senoku seishō(濱田耕作: 泉屋清賞)。
56. Senoku besshū : Senoku seishō besshū  
(濱田耕作: 泉屋清賞別集)。
57. Sung chai : Sung chai chi chin t'u lu  
(容庚: 頌齋吉金圖錄)。
58. Shan chai : Shan chai chi chin lu  
(劉沅智: 善齋吉金錄)。
59. Shan t'u : Shan chai yi ch'i t'u lu  
(容庚: 善齋彝器圖錄)。
60. Shang chou shih ming: Shang chou yi ch'i shih ming  
(呂吳調陽: 商周彝器釋銘)。
61. Shang hai : Shang hai po wu kuan ts'ang ch'ing  
t'ung ch'i(上海博物院館藏青銅器)。

62. Shih erh chia : Shih erh chia chi chin t'u lu  
(商承祚: 十家古金圖錄)。
63. Shih liu : Shih liu ch'ang le t'ang ku eh'i k'uan  
ehh k'ao (錢坫: 十六長樂堂古器款  
識考)。
64. Shih yi : Shang chou wen shih yi  
(吳東發: 商周文拾遺)。
65. Shina : Shina kodō seikwa  
(梅原末治: 歐美蒐諸支那古銅精華)。
66. Shina (Nihon) : Shina kodō seikwa (Nihon)  
(梅原末治: 日本蒐諸支那古銅精華)。
67. Shou cha : Pao yi yüan shou cha  
(鮑康: 鮑臆園手札)。
68. "Shu cheng" : "Chin wen li shuo shu cheng"  
(吳其昌: 金文錄朔疏證)。
69. Shuang wang : Shang wang mi chai chin shih t'u lu  
(鄧安: 雙王鈔金不圖錄)。
70. Ta hsi : Liang chou chin wen tz'u ta hsi t'u lu  
k'ao shih (郭沫若: 兩周金文辭大系  
圖錄考釋)。
71. T'ao chai : T'ao chai chi chin lu  
(端方: 陶齋吉金錄)。
72. T'ao hsi : T'ao chai chi chin hsi lu  
(端方: 陶齋吉金續錄)。
73. T'ung hsün : K'ao ku t'ung hsün (袁吉通訊)。

74. T'ung k'ao : Shàng ch'ou yi ch'i t'ung k'ao  
(容庚: 商周彝器通考)。
75. T'ung lun : Yin ch'ou ch'ing t'ung ch'i t'ung lun  
(容庚、張其持: 殷周青銅器通論)。
76. Tsun ku chai : Tsun ku chai so chien chi chin t'u ch'u  
chi (黃濬: 尊古齋則見古金圖初集)。
77. Ts'ung ku : Ts'ung ku t'ang k'uan chih hsüeh  
(徐同柏: 從古堂款識學)。
78. Wang and Lo's List: San tai ch'in han chin wen chu lu piao.  
(王國維、羅福頤: 三代秦漢金文著錄表)。
79. "Wei tzu yen chiu": "Wei tai yi ch'i wei tzu yen chiu"  
(商承祚: 古代彝器仿字研究)。
80. Wen ts'an : Wen wu ts'an k'ao tzu liao  
(文物參考資料)。
81. Wu ying tien : Wu ying tien yi ch'i t'u lu  
(容庚: 武英殿彝器圖錄)。
82. Yi lin : Yi lin kuan chi chin t'u chin  
(丁麟年: 棧林館吉金圖識)。
83. Yi ts'ung : Yi shu ts'ung pien (藝術叢編)。
84. "Yin and Chou" : "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes"  
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85. Yin hsü : Hsü yin wen ts'un (王辰: 續殷文存)。
86. Yin ts'un : Yin wen ts'un (羅振玉: 殷文存)。
87. Yün ch'ing kuan : Yün ch'ing kuan chin wen  
(吳榮光: 筠清館金文)。

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