

MU TIANZI ZHUAN 穆天子傳

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German *VORBEMERKUNG* [preliminary remark]

Die folgende Einführung in das MU TIANZI ZHUAN in englischer Sprache entstand 2016 im Zusammenhang mit einer geplanten Neuauflage von Michael Loewes (Hg.) *EARLY CHINESE TEXTS: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE*, Berkeley, California: The Society for the Study of Early China & the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993 (Early China special monograph series; no. 2). Dieses Projekt ist aus mir unbekannten Gründen bis heute (Winter/Frühjahr 2020/2021) nicht realisiert worden – allerdings schrieb mir E. L. Shaughnessy schon Anfang Dezember 2016: “I have no idea when that new edition will be published, but I am not going to hold my breath.”

Ziel meiner Einführung ist es, dem interessierten Leser eine leicht lesbare und gleichzeitig fundierte Darstellung über die Besonderheiten des ältesten Reiseberichtes in der chinesischen Literatur zu präsentieren, während die Übersicht über die Fachliteratur am Ende der Einführung dem engagierten Leser den Zugang zu vertiefenden Einzelstudien erleichtern soll.

Ich bin mir leider sicher, daß meine Einführung an nicht nur einer Stelle sprachliche Holprigkeiten im Englischen aufweisen wird. Eigentlich sollte das englische Manuskript meines Lexikonbeitrags noch von einem englischen Muttersprachler überarbeitet werden, aber dazu ist es nicht gekommen und scheint es auch nicht mehr zu kommen. Ich bitte deshalb hier ausdrücklich alle *native speakers* um Nachsicht!

LEGENDS OF [KING] MU, THE SON OF HEAVEN

1. Content

The *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, or *Legends of [King] Mu, the Son of Heaven*, is considered to be the earliest and longest extant travelogue in Chinese literature. It describes the journeys of King Mu of the Zhou Dynasty to the farthest corners of his realm and beyond in the 10th century BC. Harnessing his famous eight noble steeds he visits distant clans and nations such as the Quanrong, Chiwu and Jusou (Qusou), exchanging gifts with all of them; he scales the awe-inspiring Kunlun mountains and meets with legendary Xiwangmu; he watches exotic animals, and he orders his men to mine huge quantities of precious jade for transport back to his capital. The

travelogue ends with a detailed account of the mourning ceremonies during the burial of a favourite lady of the king.

For centuries the question of which genre the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* (abbrev.: MTZZ) belongs to has been heatedly debated. It has been described in Western scholarly works as historical romance, as romantic tale, or as China's first attempt to produce an epic. Hulsewé (*Text in Tombs*, 1965) even suggests that the MTZZ may be a literary religious text with a function similar to the Egyptian Journey of the Dead texts, i.e. it might have been written to serve as a kind of guide-book for the deceased person's way into the netherworld or into paradise. Since the compilation of the *Suishu* 隋書, *Jiu- and Xin-Tangshu* 舊新唐書, Chinese scholars declared the MTZZ to be one of the first representatives of the genre of *qijuzhu* 起居注 – *qijuzhu* being records of a ruler's statements and actions on a daily basis, written down by a court historiographer. On the other hand, the *Songshi* 宋史 (Chap. *Yiwen er* 藝文二) consigns the MTZZ to its section *bieshi* 別史, or “unofficial history”. The *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 classifies the MTZZ as *xiaoshuo*(jia) 小說 (家), “entertaining stories” or “fiction”. Even nowadays, there is no accepted *opinio communis*. Some scholars see the MTZZ as a predecessor to the *shilu* 實錄, or “factual reports” of later times; others place the MTZZ in line with works of the biographical genre *zhuanji* 傳記; and yet others propose to group it with *chuanqi* 傳奇, *yiwen* 異聞 (strange stories, exotic things and places), and so on.

Irrespective of the question of its literary specifics and merits, the MTZZ may be regarded as a treasure house of primary source information on Chinese Bronze Age diplomacy, describing contacts with various clans, ethnic groups, and foreign peoples such as the Ximo 西膜, Qusou (Jusou) 渠搜 (巨蒐), Yilü-Shi 荊閭氏 (Jilü-Shi?), Zhanhan-Shi 鄆韓氏 (Juanhan-Shi?), Gu-zhan-Shi 骨釭氏 (Gugan-Shi?), Chongyong?-Shi 重繯氏 (Zhongyong?-Shi?), etc., from a Zhou dynasty perspective. In addition to that the text contains information on

- mythology and religion (sacrificial ceremonies);
 - aspects of political control in ancient China ('Gafol');
 - archaic economical transactions (tribute and gifts);
 - historical geography and toponymy;
 - the history of Chinese characters
- etc.

After its discovery, the MTZZ quickly captured the attention of the *literati*, who happily borrowed certain *topoi*, quoted phrases even *verbatim*, used easily identifiable references from the ancient travelogue and tried to mould some of their own literary production according to the MTZZ's example as can be demonstrated in literary works penned by Ge Hong 葛洪, Wang Jia 王嘉, Tao Yuanming 陶淵明, Tao Hongjing 陶弘景, Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢, Du Guangting 杜光庭 and others—at least in part in connection with the burgeoning Daoism since Wei and Jin dynasty times, the king's journey to Kunlun and his encounter with Xiwangmu attracting the particular attention of the Daoists of that time.

2. Date of composition and authenticity

The text was discovered by a grave robber in an ancient tomb in Ji county 汲縣 (He'nan province) around 280 AD, a tomb attributed to King Xiang of Wei 魏襄王 or King An Li 安釐王 (ca. 300 BC). However, judging from the other grave goods mentioned, for example, in the *Jinshu* 晉書, attributions with regard to the person buried differing from the traditionally held view cannot to be ruled out completely (cf. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, 2006).

Stored in a grave probably in the Warring States era, the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* thus escaped the burning of books by Qin Shi Huang 秦始皇 in the year 213 BC, as it came back to daylight only around 280 AD. This is one of the reasons why this find was considered a great discovery at the beginning of the Jin 晉 dynasty. A report on the course of events at the time is included in Shu Xi's 束皙 biography in the *Jinshu* 晉書.

While the language of the travelogue does not display extraordinary literary polish, it nevertheless allows a glimpse of its textual age. Analysing linguistic evidence such as grammatical particles, terms pertaining to material culture, titles of office, forms of Chinese characters, *hapax graphomena*, etc., we may conclude with a high degree of certainty that the text was composed during the Warring States Period, it was definitely not written during the early phase of the Western Zhou dynasty. It has to be kept in mind, though, that the time of writing down a text does not automatically serve as proof or disproof of the authenticity and reliability of the events reported in this text.

If one insisted on the text being written down at about the same time as the reported events took place, i.e. in the 10th century BC, one had to face several inconsistencies:

- The indication of the phase of the moon became a standard feature in documents from the era of Kings Zhao and Mu, but it is not mentioned once in King Mu's travelogue.
- Titles of office such as *shishi* 師氏, *xiaochen* 小臣, *gongshe* 弓射 are typical for the time of Kings Zhao and Mu, but they are completely lacking in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*. On the other hand, titles mentioned in the MTZZ are in accordance with bronze inscriptions from Western Zhou times.
- There is neither epigraphic (e.g., oracle bones inscriptions, bronze vessels inscriptions) nor archaeological evidence of far-reaching travels or military campaigns of King Mu to the distant West.
- Presents the king gives away as mentioned in the MTZZ only rarely match the information provided in epigraphic sources of that time. The MTZZ does not contain references to material cultures (Chinese and foreign) which could have only been noticed by a court scribe present during these alleged expeditions – but then again, we are only familiar with the ceremonies of presenting and accepting gifts against the backdrop of a well-functioning royal household in the king's residence, while the MTZZ shows the king travelling far away from his capital.

All claims to the authenticity of the MTZZ are weakened by the obvious dearth of archaeological finds corroborating the far-flung travelogue. Indeed, Shaughnessy (*Sources on Western Zhou History*, 1991) speaks of a general retreat to the capital area in the aftermath of the catastrophic failure of King Zhao's expedition to the South which makes large scale expeditions of his son, King Mu, into the far West —as seemingly described in the MTZZ— rather unlikely. On the other hand, Shaughnessy (*King Mu Bronzes*, 2014) has shown that the names of several persons mentioned in the MTZZ can also be found on excavated Western Zhou bronzes dated to the era of King Mu, persons whose names are not attested elsewhere in the orthodox classical Chinese literature. Quite possibly, the king's travels took him only to places not too far away from his capital and to some outlying parts of his dominion and are to be interpreted as *Gafo*-like expeditions, by later commentators blown out of proportion into impressive travels to foreign lands, covering up the shameful dwindling of the dimensions of the realm in reality, adding some exotic flavour instead — but again, one has to keep in mind that “the mere fact that extraneous and plainly fictitious material has been found in the ... text is not sufficient justification to repudiate the work in its entirety.” (Pankenier, 1983, quoting Dębnicki)

3. Textual history

As reported in the *Jinshu* biography of Shu Xi, King Mu's travelogue and other texts discovered in the old tomb were written on bamboo slips tied together with plain silk cords. These cords had rotted away and the scrolls made up of bamboo slips had fallen apart, so the original sequence of the texts was lost. The grave robber had set an unknown number of these bamboo slips on fire when he pillaged the tomb. When by imperial decree a committee of scholars set about to restore the travelogue and other texts found in the grave they faced three major problems: the unclear sequence of the text fragments; the physical damage to the texts (decayed, broken, and burned bamboo slips) which resulted in a great number of *lacunae* or blanks; the out-of-use form of characters on the bamboo slips, called “tadpole characters” (*kedouzi* 蝌蚪字) as a makeshift term by the scholars, who had been ordered to transcribe the texts on yellow paper into the standard script of their time. Emperor Jin Wu Di 晉武帝 (reigned 265–290 AD) commissioned Xun Xu 荀勗 to preside this group of scholars and scribes, among them He Jiao 和嶠, Zhi Yu 摯虞, Wei Heng 衛恆, He Shao 何劭, and Shu Xi. We only have contradicting information on the length of the original bamboo slips and the number of characters written on each of them, so as a consequence it is impossible to say with certainty how long a specific *lacuna* is, or rather how many characters may have gone lost on any damaged bamboo slip. When restoring and transliterating the travelogue, disagreement seems to have occurred among the scholars. So we read of Xun Xu placing a bamboo slip mentioning the king's sympathy for his retinue during a heavy snowstorm in Chapter I, while Shu Xi is said to have placed this very bamboo slip in Chapter V. At the beginning of Chap. V, it is reported that treasures stolen from the principality Bi 畢 were given back to the ruler of Bi, while the robbery itself is described only in the second part of the chapter. Even more surprising is Guo Pu's 郭璞 (276–324 AD) commentary to the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, outlining King Mu's travels as follows: “In the East, the King climbed the ‘Hall of Giants’; in the West, he enjoyed a banquet at (Xi-)Wangmu's

abode; in the South, his chariot rolled over a bridge formed by turtles and alligators; in the North, he trod on a highway of ‘Piled-up Feathers’.”¹ (Yuan Ke, *Shanhaijing jiaozhu*, 1980) Both the ‘Hall of Giants’ and the ‘bridge built of turtles and alligators’ are not part of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* as we know it today. A text variant which is ascribed to Shu Xi mentions King Mu visiting —a place, person, or deity called— Ditai 帝臺, no longer included in today’s version of the MTZZ either, but referred to in Shu Xi’s biography in the *Jinshu*, and quoted in several poems in later years, e.g. in Yan Yanzhi’s 顏延之 (384–456 AD) poem *Zhebaima Fu* 赭白馬賦. In addition to that, certain names appear in quite different spellings, such as the name of the warrior standing on the right hand side of the king, usually written Tai Bing 泰丙, but also handed down as 囧 囧 (and 𠂔 ‘ 囧 ’²), which led to the assumption of at least two competing editions of the MTZZ at an early stage of the text’s editorial process.

This editorial work was supplemented with commentaries by various members of the imperial committee and others, especially Wang Jie 王接, Wei Heng, Shu Xi, Wang Tingjian 王庭堅, and Xu Xian 續咸, as reported in the *Jinshu*, but none of their commentaries survived to the present day.

A few years before his demise, Guo Pu wrote his commentary to the MTZZ, which makes it the oldest extant commentary, its significance becoming even more obvious when realizing that there was no new study on the MTZZ published for a period of more than 1400 years after Guo Pu’s death.

The title *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* is not attested in ancient Chinese literature. After the text was found in the tomb in Ji county, it was originally given the title *Zhou Wang Youxing [Ji]* 周王遊行 [記], “[Notes on] The travels of the King of Zhou”, comprising five chapters. Among the several dozens of further texts written on bamboo slips discovered in Ji there was —as reported in the *Jinshu*— the independent story of *Zhou Mu Wang meiren Cheng Ji si shi* 周穆王美人盛姬死事 (“The Death of King Mu of Zhou’s Favourite Cheng Ji”), which was added to the travelogue, and the now six-chapter text has been known as *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* 穆天子傳 ever since. According to Zhu Xizu, the text version of Xun Xu had become prevalent already in Jin times, so Guo Pu followed this version when he wrote his commentary, which in turn added to the diffusion of Xun’s version.

Over the centuries, a deplorable and inexplicable loss of text occurred. Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (1105–1180 AD) tells us that the text of the MTZZ comprised 8514 characters at his time. Even when considering the originally differing number of chapters, the damage done to the text by the grave robber, and even conceding competing text editions, one is baffled when reading in Hong Yixuan’s 洪頤煊 (1765–1837) preface to the MTZZ that according to his examination the royal travelogue only numbers 6622 characters: in other words, in the time span from 1170 to 1800 one quarter of the already damaged and incomplete text had additionally gone lost! According to Gu Shi’s 顧實 study, the MTZZ edition of the Tianyige 天一閣 collection from

¹ Yuan Ke (1980), *Shanhaijing jiaozhu*, 479: *dong sheng daren zhi tang* 東升大人之堂, *xi yan Wangmu zhi lu* 西燕王母之廬, *nan li yuan tuo zhi liang* 南轅龜鼃之梁, *bei nie ji yu zhi qu* 北躡積羽之衢.

² Without the base stroke (*henghua* 橫畫) — at the bottom of the character.

the Ming era comprises 6719 characters, including the frequent *lacuna* sign □ and the character for *lacuna*, *que* 缺, while the Japanese scholar Ogawa Takuji 小川琢治 counts 7115 characters, including Xun Xu's preface. If the MTZZ after its discovery had continued to be handed down through the centuries as a book-scroll made of bamboo slips, an accidental further loss of bamboo slips could not be ruled out, but it was committed to paper already by Xun Xu and thus was transmitted to posterity as all other ancient books on paper, so it is very surprising that a full quarter of the text should have vanished without a trace in the second millennium AD alone.

This question is all the more puzzling as the MTZZ was also conveyed to Japan at a rather early date. Liu & Wang (*Shi tan Mu Tianzi Zhuan chuanru Riben*, 2015) have studied the transmission of the MTZZ to Japan and its reception there. It is perplexing to observe the Japanese poets of the 6th – 8th centuries being quite familiar with the MTZZ, but showing no sign at all of having a more complete version of the text at their disposal as we have nowadays, although they lived only round about 400 years later than Xun Xu and approximately the same span of time before Chao Gongwu.

4. Editions of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*

The oldest extant edition of the MTZZ dates only back to the middle or late Ming era, when the royal travelogue was incorporated—together with Guo Pu's commentary—into the section *Dongzhen Bu* 洞真部 of the *DAOZANG* 道藏. Another well-known edition of the MTZZ can be found in the Tianyige 天一閣 collection from the same dynasty (around 1566 AD), an edition which has been used predominantly as standard or reference text for reprints in modern times. Liang Zihan (*Mu Tianzi Zhuan zakao*, 1970) has compiled a detailed survey of the various editions since Ming and Qing dynasty times until the early Republican years.

From earlier times, only a few prefaces to various editions have survived such as Wang Jian's 王漸 (also: Xuanhan 玄瀚) *Xu* 序 from the year 1350 AD (Yuan dynasty). In his preface, Wang Jian gives a short summary of the contents of the MTZZ, not showing any discrepancies to the *textus receptus* we are familiar with today.

Only in the 18th century, we see a renaissance of philological studies on the MTZZ. All modern editions of the MTZZ owe their high niveau to the painstaking efforts of scholars of Qing dynasty times, who apart from their profound textual criticism also produced new text editions of a quality unmatched before. Especially noteworthy among them are Tan Cui 檀萃 (ca. 1775), Hong Yixuan, Huang Pilie 黃丕烈 (1763–1825), Zhai Yunsheng 翟云升 (1776–1858), Chen Fengheng 陳逢衡 (1778–1855), Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1757–1825), and Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908).

Below is enclosed a list of outstanding editions including notes and commentaries from the last several decades:

4.1 *Daozang* 道藏, *Dongzhen Bu* 洞真部, *Jizhuan* 記傳, 第十七函. Photomech. reprint. Taipei: Wenyi Yinshuguan 文藝印書館, 1962.

- 4.2 *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* 穆天子傳, with Guo Pu's commentary, Jin era 晉郭璞注. Reprint from *Sibu Beiyao* 四部備要, Section *Shibu* 史部, on the basis of the Pingjinguang 平津館 edition. Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua Shuju 臺灣中華書局, 1967.
- 4.3 Wei Tingsheng 衛挺生 (1970): *Mu Tianzi Zhuan jinkao* 穆天子傳今考, Engl. title: *A Modern Scientific Study of King Mu's Travels*. 3 vols. Taipei: Zhonghua Xueshuyuan 中華學術院 (The China Academy), Yangmingshan Huagang 陽明山華岡 ("Hwa-kang").
- 4.4 Gu Shi 顧實 (1934, 1990): *Mu Tianzi Zhuan xizheng jiangshu* 穆天子傳西征講疏. Shanghai (1934): Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館. Reprint Peking (1990): Zhongguo Shudian 中國書店.
- 4.5 Wang Daorong 王道榮 (ed.) (1982): *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* 穆天子傳, with Guo Pu's 郭璞 commentary. Taipei: Guangwen Shuju 廣文書局.
- 4.6 Zheng Jiewen 鄭傑文 (1992): *Mu Tianzi Zhuan tongjie* 穆天子傳通解. Ji'nan: Shandong Wenyi Chubanshe 山東文藝出版社.
- 4.7 Tan Chenggeng 譚承耕 & Zhang Yun 張耘 (ed. & punctuation) (1993): *Shanhaijing & Mu Tianzi Zhuan* 山海經 & 穆天子傳. With the commentaries of Guo Pu and Hong Yixuan 洪頤煊. Changsha: Yuelu Shushe 岳麓書社.
- 4.8 Zhu Changping 朱昌平 (ed.) (1997): *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* 穆天子傳. Vol. 24 of *Siku Quanshu Jingpin Wencun* 四庫全書精品文存, 30 vols. Peking: Tuanjie Chubanshe 團結出版社.
- 4.9 Wang Genlin 王根林 et al. (ed.) (1999): *Han Wei Liuchao Biji Xiaoshuo Daguan* 漢魏六朝筆記小說大觀, title of series: *Lidai Biji Xiaoshuo Daguan* 歷代筆記小說大觀. Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.
- 4.10 Song Zhiying 宋志英 & Chao Yuepei 晁岳佩 (Hg.) (2014): *«Mu Tianzi Zhuan» yanjiu wenxian jikan* 《穆天子傳》研究文獻輯刊, Peking: Guojia Tushuguan Chubanshe 國家圖書館出版社, 3 Bde.

5. Translations

5.1 Modern Chinese

- 5.1.1 Liu Xiaowu 劉肖蕪 (1982): *Mu Tianzi Zhuan jinyi* 穆天子傳今譯. *Xinjiang Shehui-Kexue* 新疆社會科學 (Ürümqi 烏魯木齊), 1982.3: 93–101.
- 5.1.2 Wang Tianhai 王天海 (1997): *Mu Tianzi Zhuan quanyi • Yan Danzi quanyi* 穆天子傳全譯 • 燕丹子全譯. Guiyang: Guizhou Renmin Chubanshe.
- 5.1.3 Gao Yongwang 高永旺 (2019): *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* 穆天子傳. Book Series 中華經典名著 • 全本全注全譯叢書. Peking: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局.

5.2 Western languages

- 5.2.1 Eitel, Ernest John (1888): MUH-T' IEN-TSZE CHUEN, or NARRATIVE OF THE SON OF HEAVEN (POSTHUMOUSLY CALLED) MUH. *China Review*, 17: 223–240, 247–258.

5.2.2 Cheng Te-k'un (Zheng Dekun 鄭德坤) (1933/34): The Travels of Emperor Mu. *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JNCBRAS) (Shanghai), 64: 124–142, & JNCBRAS, 65: 128–149.

5.2.3 Mathieu, Rémi (1978): *Le MU TIANZI ZHUAN – Traduction annotée. Étude critique*. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études.

5.3 Japanese

5.3.1 Watanabe Giichirô 渡邊義一郎 (1997): Chûgoku rekidai seiiki kikô sen 中國歷代西域紀行選. Tôkyô: 'Baseball Magazine' Sha ベースボーレ・マガジン 社, 5 & 6–26: Boku Tenshi Den 穆天子傳. (Incomplete)

5.3.2 Kirimoto Tôta 桐本東太, Okamoto Masanori 岡本真則, Mizuno Taku 水野卓, Mori Masashi 森和 et al. (2011/2013/2014/2017): 'Boku Tenshi Den' yakuchûkô 『穆天子傳』 譯注稿. *Shigaku* 史學 (*The Historical Science*), ed. by Mita Shigakukai 三田史學會 (Keiô Gijuku Daigaku 慶應義塾大學 : Tôkyô). Part 1: *Shigaku*, Vol. 80 (2011), No. 4: 101 (377) – 161 (437); Part 2: *Shigaku*, Vol. 82 (2013), No. 1/2: 129–198; Part 3: *Shigaku*, Vol. 83 (2014), No. 2/3: 139 (265) – 165 (291). Part 4: *Shigaku*, Vol. 86 (2017), No. 4: 85 (431) – 126 (472).

5.3.3 Takeda Akira 竹田晃 & Kuroda Mamiko 黒田真美子 et al. (2007): *Boku Tenshi Den • Kan Bu Koji • Shin I Kyô • Sengaikyô* 穆天子傳 • 漢武故事 • 神異經 • 山海經. Vol. 1 of *Chûgoku Koten Shôsetsu Sen* 中國古典小説選, 12 vols. Tôkyô: Meiji Shoten 明治書店, 69–148.

6. Studies published without the text (select titles only)

6.1 In European languages

6.1.1 Allan, Sarah (1991): *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China*. Albany/N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

6.1.2 Bauer, Wolfgang (1974, 1971): *China und die Hoffnung auf Glück. Paradieste, Utopien, Idealvorstellungen in der Geistesgeschichte Chinas*. München: dtv Wissenschaftliche Reihe.

6.1.3 Behr, Wolfgang: *Rhyming in the Mu tianzi zhuan*. Lecture (manuscript): Treizièmes Journées de Linguistique de l'Asie Orientale / Premières Rencontres de l'AELC, 10–11 juin 1999, Paris, ÉHESS-CRLAO.

6.1.4 Dani, A. H. & Masson, V. M. (eds.) (1996, 1992): *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. I: *The dawn of civilization: earliest times to 700 B.C.* Paris: Unesco Publishing.

6.1.5 Frühauf, Manfred W. (1998/99): Einige Überlegungen zur Frage der Datierung und Authentizität des 'Mu tianzi zhuan'. *Oriens Extremus*, 41/1-2: 45–71. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

6.1.6 Frühauf, M. W. (2004): Tribut und Geschenke im *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG), 154/1: 173–200.

6.1.7 Frühauf, M. W. (2008): Chinas ältester Reisebericht: Das *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*. Mechthild Leutner & Klaus Mühlhahn (eds.): *Reisen in chinesischer Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Jahrbuch der Deutschen Vereinigung für Chinastudien 4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 2008, 7–25.

6.1.8 Frühauf, M. W. (2015): Mythologie und Astronomie im *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*. W. Behr, L. Di Giacinto, O. Döring, C. Moll-Murata (eds.): *Auf Augenhöhe – Festschrift zum 65. Geburts-*

tag von Heiner Roetz. Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung, Vol. 38. München: Iudicium, 245–261.

6.1.9 Hsu Cho-yun (Xu Zhuoyun 許倬雲) & Linduff, Katherin M. (1988): *Western Chou Civilization*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

6.1.10 Hulsewé, A. F. P. (1965): Texts in Tombs. *Asiatische Studien* 18-19: 79–89.

6.1.11 Loewe, M. & Shaughnessy, E. L. (eds.) (1999): *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

6.1.12 Pankenier, David W. (1983): *Early Chinese Astronomy and Chronology. The 'Mandate of Heaven' as Epiphany*. Dissertation Stanford University.

6.1.13 Pelliot, P. (1922): L'Étude du Mou T'ien tseu tchouan. *T'oung Pao [Tongbao]* 21: 98–102.

6.1.14 Průšek, Jaroslav (1971): *Chinese Statelets and the Northern Barbarians (1400 – 300 B.C.)*. Prag: D. Reidel Publishing Co., Dordrecht - Holland.

6.1.15 Schuessler, Axel (1987): *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

6.1.16 Shaughnessy, Edward L. (1991 [1992]): *Sources of Western Zhou History – Inscribed Bronze Vessels*. Berkeley / Los Angeles / Oxford: University of California Press.

6.1.17 Shaughnessy, E. L.: (2006): *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*. Albany: The State of New York Press.

6.1.18 Shaughnessy, E. L. (2014): The Mu Tianzi Zhuan and King Mu Bronzes. *Rao Zongyi Guoxueyuan Yuankan 饒宗頤國學院院刊* (Hongkong), Chuangkanhao 創刊號: 55–75.

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