MONUMENTA SERICA MONOGRAPH SERIES
LXXI

Editor: ZBIGNIEW WESOŁOWSKI, S.V.D.

Sankt Augustin

HU BAOZHU

Believing in Ghosts and Spirits
The Concept of *Gui* in Ancient China

Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

MONUMENTA SERICA MONOGRAPH SERIES

—LXXI—

Hu Baozhu

Believing in Ghosts and Spirits

The Concept of *Gui* in Ancient China

Institut Monumenta Serica • Sankt Augustin

Sumptibus Societatis Verbi Divini (S.V.D.)

Cover: Foreground: two ancient written forms of *gui* 鬼 in oracle bone script (HY352, HJ 21092). The right script can also be transliterated as *kui* 媿. Background: 210 traditional characters with the radical *gui* selected from various dictionaries.

Copy editors: BARBARA HOSTER, DIRK KUHLMANN, ZBIGNIEW WESOŁOWSKI

Cover and layout: JOZEF BIŠTUŤ

Arnold-Janssen-Str. 20
53757 Sankt Augustin, Germany
Fax: +49-2241-237486
E-mail: institut@monumenta-serica.de
www.monumenta-serica.de

First published 2021
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2021 Monumenta Serica Institute

The right of Hu Baozhu to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested.

ISBN: 978-0-367-62634-1 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-11004-0 (eBook)
ISSN 0179-261X

Typeset by Monumenta Serica Institute

Dedicated to
Fr. Roman Malek S.V.D. (1951–2019)
In Memoriam

Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	xiii
Preface (Roderich Ptak)	xv
Chronological Table of Chinese History	xvii
Conventions	xviii
Abbreviations	xix
Keys to the Tables	xxi
A Note on the Translation of the Character <i>Gui</i>	xxiii
 Introduction	 1
 Chapter One: The Preliminary Understanding of <i>Gui</i>	 9
1.1 <i>Erya</i> : <i>Gui</i> 鬼 as <i>Gui</i> 歸	10
1.2 <i>Shuowen jiezi</i>	12
1.2.1 A Phonetical Perspective	13
1.2.2 A Specific Description	14
1.2.3 A Philosophical Understanding	15
1.2.4 The Character <i>Gui</i> in Context	16
1.2.4.1 A “Semantic Field”	16
1.2.4.2 A Phonetic-based Field	25
1.2.4.3 Other Characters Broadly Related to <i>Gui</i>	26
1.2.5 A Summary Table	27
1.3 <i>Guangya</i>	28
1.4 <i>Yupian</i>	29
1.5 <i>Kangxi zidian</i>	32
1.6 <i>Hanyu da zidian</i>	35
1.7 Concluding Remarks	37
 Chapter Two: The Original Meaning of the Character <i>Gui</i> : An Examination of <i>Jiaguwen</i> and <i>Jinwen</i>	 39
2.1 A Brief Review on the <i>Shuowen</i> ’s Notion of <i>Gui</i>	39
2.2 The Primitive Understanding of <i>Gui</i>	41
2.2.1 The Character <i>Gui</i> Itself and Its Early Written Forms	41
2.2.1.1 Oracle Bone Script	41
2.2.1.2 Bronze Script	43
2.2.1.3 Scripts on Bamboo Slips and Silk	44
2.2.1.4 Qin Script (<i>Qinzhuan</i> 秦篆)	45
2.2.2 The Character <i>Gui</i> Itself in the Course of the Evolution	45
2.2.2.1 <i>Si</i> 厶: A Later-added Component	46
2.2.2.2 <i>Fu</i> 畐 and <i>Ren</i> 冫	46
2.2.2.3 A Multilayered Pictograph	49

2.3 The Character <i>Gui</i> in Context.....	50
2.3.1 Oracle Bone Inscriptions	50
2.3.1.1 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 魂).....	50
2.3.1.2 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 鬼).....	52
2.3.1.3 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 鬼).....	54
2.3.1.4 A Special Script <i>Guiri</i> 𠩺 (<i>guiri</i> 鬼日)	54
2.3.2 Bronze Inscriptions	55
2.3.2.1 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 魂)	55
2.3.2.2 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 鬼).....	55
2.3.2.3 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 鬼).....	55
2.3.2.4 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 鬼)	56
2.3.2.5 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 鬼 or <i>wei</i> 畏).....	56
2.3.2.6 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 鬼)	56
2.3.3 Bamboo or Silk Texts.....	57
2.3.3.1 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 魂)	57
2.3.3.2 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 鬼 or <i>wei</i> 畏)	60
2.3.3.3 The Script <i>Gui</i> 𠩺 (<i>gui</i> 鬼)	60
2.3.4 The Layers of Meanings of the Character <i>Gui</i>	63
2.4 Concluding Remarks	64
 Chapter Three: What's in a Character? Definition and Variegated Characteristics of <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Zuozhuan</i> and <i>Liji</i>.....	 67
3.1 A Preliminary Setting: <i>Gui</i> and <i>Shen</i>	68
3.2 The Character <i>Gui</i> in Selected Documents Other Than the <i>Zuozhuan</i> and <i>Liji</i>	71
3.2.1 <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Yijing</i>	71
3.2.1.1 <i>Gui</i> as Guifang	72
3.2.1.2 <i>Gui</i> as Ghosts/Spirits.....	72
3.2.1.3 <i>Gui</i> as Knowledgeable Beings	73
3.2.1.4 <i>Guishen</i> as a Way of <i>Yinyang</i> 陰陽.....	73
3.2.2 <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Shijing</i>	75
3.2.2.1 <i>Gui</i> as Invisible Beings	75
3.2.2.2 <i>Gui</i> as Guifang	75
3.3 The Character <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Zuozhuan</i>	76
3.3.1 Layers of Meanings of the Character <i>Gui</i>	77
3.3.1.1 <i>Gui</i> as Unlicensed Ghosts/Spirits	77
3.3.1.2 <i>Gui</i> as Ancestors	78
3.3.1.3 <i>Gui</i> as Ancestors in Need of Sacrifices	78
3.3.1.4 <i>Gui</i> as Causes of Diseases.....	79
3.3.1.5 <i>Gui</i> as Evil Spirits	81
3.3.1.6 <i>Gui</i> as Referring to a Place	83

3.3.1.7 <i>Gui</i> as Divine Witnesses	84
3.3.2 Layers of Meanings of the Phrase <i>Guishen</i>	84
3.3.2.1 Who and What Are <i>Guishen</i> ?	84
3.3.2.1.1 <i>Guishen</i> as Ancestors	84
3.3.2.1.2 <i>Guishen</i> as Local Spirits or Gods	87
3.3.2.1.3 <i>Guishen</i> as a Punisher	88
3.3.2.1.4 <i>Guishen</i> as an Assistant	88
3.3.2.1.5 <i>Guishen</i> as Divine Witnesses	89
3.3.2.2 <i>Guishen</i> , Humans and the States	90
3.3.2.2.1 <i>Guishen</i> and Virtues	90
3.3.2.2.2 A Sincere Attitude	94
3.3.2.2.3 The Will of <i>Guishen</i> and the Duty of Human Beings	95
3.4 The Character <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Liji</i>	96
3.4.1 Layers of Meanings of the Character <i>Gui</i>	97
3.4.1.1 <i>Gui</i> and Human Death	97
3.4.1.1.1 Only Dead Humans Can Be Identified as <i>Gui</i>	97
3.4.1.1.2 <i>Gui</i> and Its Related Practices	98
3.4.1.1.2.1 <i>Gui</i> as Indicating the Beginning Stage of the Dead	98
3.4.1.1.2.2 A Ritual of Repose	98
3.4.1.1.2.3 Sacrificial Vessels for the Dead	99
3.4.1.2 <i>Gui</i> as Ancestors	100
3.4.1.2.1 A Ritual Perspective	100
3.4.1.2.2 Relations to the Ancestors	102
3.4.1.2.3 Being Hierarchically Treated Lower Than the Spirits of Heaven	103
3.4.1.3 <i>Gui</i> as <i>Po</i> 魄 – a Philosophical Explanation	104
3.4.1.4 <i>Gui</i> as an Earthly Force or Power	105
3.4.1.5 <i>Gui</i> as the Name of a Place or Region	106
3.4.2 Layers of Meanings of the Compound Phrase <i>Guishen</i>	106
3.4.2.1 <i>Guishen</i> : Who They Are and How They Function	106
3.4.2.1.1 <i>Guishen</i> as Ghosts/Spirits	106
3.4.2.1.2 <i>Guishen</i> as Ancestors	106
3.4.2.1.3 <i>Guishen</i> as Spirits of Hills and Rivers	107
3.4.2.1.4 <i>Guishen</i> as <i>Yinyang</i>	108
3.4.2.1.5 Characteristics of <i>Guishen</i>	110
3.4.2.2 <i>Guishen</i> , Humans, and the States	111
3.4.2.2.1 <i>Guishen</i> and Rituals or Sacrifices	111
3.4.2.2.1.1 A Reverent Attitude	111
3.4.2.2.1.2 Purposes of Offering Sacrifices	113
3.4.2.2.2 <i>Guishen</i> and Propriety	115

3.4.2.2.3	<i>Guishen</i> and Music	116
3.4.2.2.4	<i>Guishen</i> and Governing	117
3.5	Concluding Remarks	119
Chapter Four: Confucian, Daoist, and Mohist Perspectives on the Concept of <i>Gui</i>		125
4.1	<i>Gui</i> in the <i>Lunyu</i> : A Confucian Perspective	126
4.1.1	The Meanings of the Character <i>Gui</i>	126
4.1.1.1	The Problem of “ <i>qi gui</i> ” 其鬼: With Whom Is <i>Gui</i> Associated?	126
4.1.1.2	Serving People as a Prerequisite for Serving Ghosts/Spirits	128
4.1.2	The Meanings of the Compound Phrase <i>Guishen</i>	129
4.1.2.1	<i>Guishen</i> as Ancestors: A Filial Relation	129
4.1.2.2	<i>Guishen</i> as Ghosts/Spirits: An Appropriate Relation	130
4.1.3	Two Critical Texts	132
4.1.3.1	Things That Confucius Did Not Say	132
4.1.3.2	Things That Confucius Might Be Uncertain about	133
4.1.4	A Brief Note on Confucius’ Religious Attitude	134
4.2	<i>Gui</i> in the <i>Zhuangzi</i> : A Daoist Perspective	134
4.2.1	The Character <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Laozi</i>	135
4.2.2	The Meanings of the Character <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Zhuangzi</i>	137
4.2.2.1	<i>Gui</i> Neither Being the Source of Creation Nor <i>Di</i> 帝 (the Supreme God)	137
4.2.2.2	<i>Gui</i> as a Kind of Spiritual Entity in Harmony with the Sages	138
4.2.2.3	<i>Gui</i> as Spiritual Beings: Auspicious or Inauspicious?	139
4.2.2.4	Respecting Ghosts/Spirits: A Unessential Attitude to the Way of <i>Dao</i> ...	141
4.2.2.5	<i>Gui</i> as the One Who Punishes	142
4.2.2.6	<i>Gui</i> as the Deceased: A Figurative Expression	143
4.2.2.7	The Matter of the Existence of <i>Gui</i>	145
4.2.3	The Meanings of the Compound Phrase <i>Guishen</i> in the <i>Zhuangzi</i>	147
4.2.3.1	<i>Guishen</i> as Ghosts/Spirits	147
4.2.3.2	<i>Guishen</i> as Ghosts/Spirits: A Figurative Expression	147
4.2.4	A Brief Note on Zhuangzi’s Cosmological Approach	149
4.3	<i>Gui</i> in the <i>Mozi</i> : A Mohist Perspective	150
4.3.1	Ghosts/Spirits: A Conceptual Presentation	151
4.3.1.1	Three Kinds of <i>Gui</i>	151
4.3.1.1.1	<i>Tiangui</i> 天鬼: The Ghosts of Heaven	152
4.3.1.1.2	<i>Shangdi</i> : The Lord on High/the Supreme Lord	153
4.3.1.1.2.1	<i>Shangdi guishen</i> 上帝鬼神: The Supreme Lord and the Ghosts and Spirits	154
4.3.1.1.2.2	<i>Shangdi shanchuan guishen</i> 上帝山川鬼神: The Supreme Lord and the Ghosts and Spirits of Mountains and Rivers	155
4.3.1.1.3	The Ghosts/Spirits of Deceased Humans	156

4.3.1.2 The Proof of the Existence of the Ghosts/Spirits	157
4.3.1.2.1 The Existence of Ghosts/Spirits: A Primary Recognition	158
4.3.1.2.2 Are There Truly Ghosts/Spirits?.....	159
4.3.1.2.2.1 What the Ordinary People Had Seen and Heard....	159
4.3.1.2.2.2 What the Sages of the Past Believed	162
4.3.1.2.2.3 On the Efficacy of Ghosts/Spirits	164
4.3.1.3 Related Issues Concerning Ghosts/Spirits.....	165
4.3.1.3.1 A Skeptical View on the Existence of Ghosts/Spirits	165
4.3.1.3.2 The Problem of <i>Guishen zhi ming</i> 鬼神之明	167
4.3.1.3.2.1 Concerning the Intelligence of Ghosts/Spirits.....	167
4.3.1.3.2.2 A Further Question on the Text <i>Guishen zhi ming</i> .	168
4.3.1.4 Debates on Names (<i>ming</i> 名) and Reality (<i>shi</i> 實).....	169
4.3.2 Ghosts/Spirits: A Ritual Perspective.....	170
4.3.3 Ghosts/Spirits: A Sociopolitical Approach.....	171
4.3.3.1 A Sage-king Model of Government	171
4.3.3.2 A Utilitarian-oriented Government	173
4.3.4 A Brief Note on the Importance of Ghosts/Spirits.....	176
4.4 Concluding Remarks	177
Chapter Five: Folk-oriented Usages of <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Rishu</i> Manuscript	181
5.1 The <i>Rishu</i>	181
5.2 The Character <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Rishu</i> apart from the “Jie” Section.....	182
5.2.1 <i>Gui</i> as Referring to the Name of a Lunar Constellation	182
5.2.2 <i>Gui</i> as Referring to Ghosts/Spirits	183
5.2.3 <i>Gui</i> as Referring to Ancestors Who Are the Source of Sickness.....	184
5.2.4 <i>Gui</i> as Referring to Those Who Have Low Status.....	187
5.2.5 <i>Gui</i> as Referring to Intelligent Ghosts/Spirits	188
5.2.6 <i>Gui</i> as Referring to Ghosts/Spirits Who Are the Cause of Misfortune.....	188
5.3 The Character <i>Gui</i> in the “Jie” Section.....	189
5.3.1 Humans and the Realm of Ghosts/Spirits	189
5.3.2 Kinds of Spiritual Entities Human Beings Have to Face	201
5.3.3 Human Beings under Attack	202
5.3.4 Various Objects That Can Help Humans.....	203
5.3.5 The Outcome of Human Interactions with Ghosts/Spirits, Gods, and Demons....	204
5.4 Concluding Remarks	204
Conclusion	207
Appendix I: Table of the Radical <i>Gui</i> and Its Related Characters	213
Appendix II: <i>Gui</i>-related Oracle Bone Inscriptions	221
Appendix III: Investigation: Annotated Translation of the “Jie” 詁 Section	229
Bibliography	243

Index with Glossary	271
List of Tables	
Table 1: Possible Connotations of <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Shuowen</i>	28
Table 2.1: <i>Gui</i> in the Form of Oracle Bone Script	42
Table 2.2: <i>Gui</i> in the Form of Bronze Script	44
Table 2.3: <i>Gui</i> in the Form of Bamboo and Silk Script	45
Table 2.4: Meanings of <i>Gui</i> Presented in Early Excavated Materials	63
Table 3: Four Different Dimensions of the Character <i>Gui</i>	119
Table 4: Similarities and Differences in the Meanings of <i>Gui</i> in the <i>Lunyu</i> , <i>Zhuangzi</i> , and <i>Mozi</i>	177
Table 5: The Variety of Ghosts/Spirits in the “Jie” Section	190

Acknowledgments

The current book is a revised edition from a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Department of Asian Studies of Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München in 2017. Although it has been a long and painstaking process of writing the thesis and revising this volume, certainly I have received various kinds of assistance from the people who care about me.

My first thanks go to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Roderich Ptak, who has supported me in many ways. His professional judgement, insightful thoughts, and critical comments are greatly appreciated. He has guided me into an adventurous world of discovering and rediscovering, examining and reexamining a part of my own culture with which I thought I was familiar. The journey was certainly both demanding and rewarding. Now I appreciate the richness of Chinese culture more profoundly. Yet Prof. Ptak is not only a knowledgeable mentor but also a wonderful friend. We have shared countless happy moments both in and outside the classroom. At times when I was much cast down because of my slow progress in writing, his patience and encouragement have carried me through. I am grateful for his academic guidance as well as his accompaniment.

My second thanks go to James Liebner, Dominic Niu, and Stephen Wang, the three Divine Word Missionaries who assisted me in smoothing out all the writing parts. Their readiness and support should be heartily acknowledged.

My sincere thanks would also go to the staff both at the Institute of Sinology in Munich and the Monumenta Serica Institute for their constructive comments, advice, and assistance. In particular, I am full of gratitude to Prof. Dr. Zbigniew Wesolowski, Dr. Barbara Hoster, Dr. Dirk Kuhlmann, and Fr. Jozef Bištuf in the process of revising, editing, formatting, and publishing this book.

Special thanks also go to a long list of people who have provided me with constant assistance and encouragement, including the circle of family, colleagues, friends, and confreres from the SVD German Province. They are very supportive. Of course I am indebted to them and would like to again express my deepest appreciation and gratitude to all of them.

Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Preface

Already in very early times people began wondering about things that they could not fully understand. They undertook efforts to classify and name such phenomena and they also thought about the forces and agents behind them. In this way, the unexplainable gradually became more transparent and more structured in the mind of man, at least partially. However, in certain contexts, images and stories would turn the mysterious into highly complex affairs. Rituals and ceremonies, embedded in religious beliefs, simple cosmologies and even philosophical systems, grew around the things which ordinary humans feared and respected, dreamt of, avoided or hoped to encounter for a multitude of reasons. For many of us these spheres are imagined worlds, for the ancient people they probably were quite real.

One “element” – or perhaps I should better say, several “elements” – in the spiritual zones observed by of our forefathers bear(s) the denotation *gui* 鬼. We frequently find that term in old texts associated with the Shang, Zhou and even later periods. Indeed, all kinds of *gui* appear on oracle bones and bamboo slips, in bronze inscriptions and of course in what scholars conventionally define as the received works. Traditional dictionaries and other sources suggest that native English speakers may simply call these *gui* “spirits,” “ghosts,” “devils” or “demons,” while German speakers often choose the translations “Geist,” “Dämon,” “Kobold,” “Gnom,” “Teufel,” etc. There is nothing wrong with that, but admittedly we rarely consider the relevant semantics and variegated contextual patterns in which the Chinese term appears. In a sense, this is the starting-point for Hu Baozhu’s study.

One central idea of his work is to show that the concept of *gui* changed in the course time. In fact, the semantic dimensions were much more complex than we tend to think. This becomes particularly evident if one also considers certain other characters and especially those which graphically derived from or are somehow related to the character *gui*. Again, many of these “symbols” appear in old scripts, unearthed by archaeologists, and in such important books as the *Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字. Hu spent much time and effort to collect, categorize and interpret the relevant material. Truly, this was a Sisyphean task. The results are admirable. They combine phonetic, graphic, ceremonial, religious, local, ethnic, social and other perspectives. Readers will be grateful for these systematic and eye-opening insights into an “archetypical” issue which, so far, few scholars have tried to master from the bird’s-eye view.

Naturally, it took some time for this book to assume its present shape. During that process, Hu Baozhu and I often came together to discuss certain points and ideas. It quickly became clear to me that the author had widely pushed open the door to a “new” world which deserved thorough examination. Yet, these discussions also revealed that it would be difficult to find a suitable frame or filter for absorbing and giving a proper place to the many things we had been talking about. The final matrix which Hu has chosen to use for his book, I think, is a very suitable and balanced one. It combines many things, without being overloaded by theories or models. On the contrary, it is a straightforward and well-organised

account that enables scholars of diverse fields to look into the mental strata of China's remote past.

At the same time, this book has multi-functional properties. One can read it as a monograph, guided by semantic and other tools; it may also serve as a kind of special reference work, almost similar to a dictionary; it tells us something about social conventions, shamanism, philosophical and other key texts, and above all, it adds fresh ideas to the ongoing discussion of related concepts such as *shen* 神 and *hunpo* 魂魄. More importantly, it is apt to become the basis for many more studies on *gui*-related themes. Here we may think of popular narratives, poems and plays written in later periods. We need a platform to deal with the many *gui* creatures encountered in these and other textual sources; Hu's book, I am sure, will be of great help in that regard.

Clearly, our image of China's past would be very incomplete without paying attention to the supernatural. Considering the presence of diverse *gui* in traditional texts and the visual arts, one could be tempted to speak of a *gui*-guided stratum in China's ancient culture – a stratum that went through many silent adjustments, changes, or even transformations. However, there is more to say: The evolution of *gui*-related terms and things goes on and on, as Hu Baozhu tells us in his introduction. There are negative and positive aspects; in some regions the syllable *gui* regularly appears in adverbial phrases, to express exaggerations (similar phenomena also appear in other languages), and very often people use the term in jokes and humorous contexts. Moreover, as we all know, there are *xiaogui* 小鬼, *jiugui* 酒鬼, and many other manifestations. Perhaps one may say, at a certain point in time speakers of diverse Han-Chinese tongues have begun to secularize the expression *gui* in many ways. All this shows that it should be possible to carry on the debate to new horizons.

In rounding off my remarks, I may state that it was a great pleasure for me to see the birth of this book, how the author gradually brought to light unknown things, carefully and with much patience. Although many of the “old” *gui* will escape our attention and remain hidden in dense fog, probably forever – due to the nature of old documents, unsolvable linguistic and other questions – Hu Baozhu has taken us a great step forward, in the right direction. Therefore, thinking of the many happy conversations we had in Munich and elsewhere, my sincere thanks to him for inviting me to write a short preface for this excellent and stimulating book.

Roderich Ptak
Munich, May 2020

Chronological Table of Chinese History

Xia 夏	ca. 21st c. – 16th c. B.C.
Shang 商	16th c. – 11th c. B.C.
Zhou 周	11th c. – 256 B.C.
Xi Zhou 西周 (Western Zhou)	ca. 1046–770 B.C.
Dong Zhou 東周 (Eastern Zhou)	770–221 B.C.
Chunqiu 春秋	
(Spring and Autumn Period)	770–476 B.C.
Zhanguo 戰國	
(Warring States Period)	475–221 B.C.
Qin 秦	221–206 B.C.
Han 漢	206 B.C. – A.D. 220
Xi Han 西漢 (Western Han)	206 B.C. – A.D. 8
Wang Mang 王莽	9–23
Dong Han 東漢 (Eastern Han)	25–220
Liuchao 六朝 (Six Dynasties)	220–589
Sanguo 三國 (Three Kingdoms)	220–280
Xi Jin 西晉 (Western Jin)	265–317
Dong Jin 東晉 (Eastern Jin)	317–420
Nanbeichao 南北朝	
(Southern and Northern Dynasties)	420–589
Sui 隋	581–618
Tang 唐	618–907
Wudai 五代 (Five Dynasties)	907–960
Song 宋	960–1279
Bei Song 北宋 (Northern Song)	960–1127
Nan Song 南宋 (Southern Song)	1127–1279
Liao 遼 (Kitan)	916–1125
Jin 金 (Jurchen)	1115–1234
Yuan 元 (Mongols)	1279–1367
Ming 明	1368–1644
Qing 清 (Manchu)	1644–1911
Republic of China 中華民國	1912
	(since 1949 in Taiwan)
People's Republic of China	
中華人民共和國	since 1949

Conventions

1. Chinese characters are provided along with the *pinyin* Romanization at their first appearance in the text and notes. In case of different words with same Romanized representations appearing adjacent to each other, the original characters are also provided, for example, *gui* 鬼 and *gui* 歸.
2. Unless otherwise noted, the pronunciation *gui* refers to the character *gui* 鬼.
3. The transcriptions from oracle bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions and bamboo slips are mostly kept faithful to the original with minimum adaptations. For example, in some cases, only variants are kept instead of their original characters.
4. English translations provided for written Chinese materials are mine unless otherwise acknowledged.
5. Standard tone marks will be employed in Chapter One but only for individual characters either in the *gui*-section of reference books or having *gui* as a written element. The tone marks are also found in Appendix I.
6. The Wade-Giles system used in original quotations and translations will be kept except for names of persons or places which will be converted into the *pinyin* Romanization. If necessary, some minimum adaptations both to the original Chinese texts and their respective English translations have been made.
7. Chinese authors' names are kept in the way they prefer. Mostly these names are written in the *pinyin* Romanization and arranged according to the standard Chinese order, that is, first the family name and then the given name. For convenience the full name of a Chinese author in *pinyin* is given in footnotes while Western authors and editors will be mentioned only by their last names. This convention also applies to Japanese and Korean names.
8. For the citation of Chinese classics, besides page numbers of modern editions a traditional citation is provided. Both *juan* 卷 (sections or chapters) and traditional pagination will be indicated along the rearranged pages. For instance, the citation, ZYZY, *j.* 2, 31b-32a (p. 59), means that "p. 59" is a modern rearrangement while "*j.* 2, 31b-32a" refers to the pages from "b" (the left hand) of page 31 to "a" (the right hand) of the page 32 in the section two.

Abbreviations

<i>BB</i>	<i>Jiaguwen heji bubian</i> 甲骨文合集補編
char.	character(s)
<i>CQZZZY</i>	<i>Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi</i> 春秋左傳正義
<i>CQZZZ</i>	<i>Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu</i> 春秋左傳注
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Jiaguwen heji</i> 甲骨文合集
<i>HT</i>	<i>Huaiteshi deng suocang jiagu wenji</i> 懷特氏等所藏甲骨文集
<i>HY</i>	<i>Yinxu Huayuanzhuang Dongdi jiagu</i> 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨
<i>HYDZD</i>	<i>Hanyu da zidian</i> 漢語大字典
<i>j.</i>	<i>juan</i> 卷
<i>KXZD</i>	<i>Kangxi zidian</i> 康熙字典
<i>LJJJ</i>	<i>Liji jijie</i> 禮記集解
<i>LJZY</i>	<i>Liji zhengyi</i> 禮記正義
<i>LYJS</i>	<i>Lunyu jishi</i> 論語集釋
<i>LYZY</i>	<i>Lunyu zhengyi</i> 論語正義
<i>LYZS</i>	<i>Lunyu zhushu</i> 論語注疏
<i>MSZY</i>	<i>Maoshi zhengyi</i> 毛詩正義
<i>MZJG</i>	<i>Mozi jigu</i> 墨子集詁
<i>MZXG</i>	<i>Mozi xiangu</i> 墨子閒詁
pron.	pronunciation(s)
<i>QJRSJS</i>	<i>Qinjian rishu jishi</i> 秦簡日書集釋
<i>QT/SZQTQ</i>	<i>Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji tuxiang jicheng</i> 商周青銅器銘文暨圖像集成
<i>QJRSJZSZ</i>	<i>Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu jiazhong shuzheng</i> 睡虎地秦簡日書甲種疏證
<i>QJRSYJ</i>	<i>Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu yanjiu</i> 睡虎地秦簡日書研究
r.	reigned
<i>SHDQMZJ</i>	<i>Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian</i> 睡虎地秦墓竹簡
<i>Shuowen/SW</i>	<i>Shuowen jiezi fu jianzi</i> 說文解字附檢字
<i>SWJZGL</i>	<i>Shuowen jiezi gulin</i> 說文解字詁林
<i>SWJZYZ</i>	<i>Shuowen jiezi yuezhu</i> 說文解字約注
<i>SWJZZ</i>	<i>Shuowen jiezi zhu</i> 說文解字注
<i>XT</i>	<i>Xiaotun Nandi jiagu</i> 小屯南地甲骨
<i>Yupian/YP</i>	<i>Songben Yupian</i> 宋本玉篇
<i>YG</i>	<i>Yingguo suocang jiagu ji</i> 英國所藏甲骨集
<i>YPJS</i>	<i>Yupian jiaoshi</i> 玉篇校釋
<i>ZGCZS</i>	<i>Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu</i> 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書
<i>ZYZY</i>	<i>Zhouyi Zhengyi</i> 周易正義

*ZZJQ**Zhuangzi jiaoquan* 莊子校詮*ZZJS**Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋*ZZZS**Zhuangzi zhushu* 莊子注疏

Keys to the Tables

- : characters listed in the *gui* section in the *Shuowen*
- : characters not listed in the *gui* section in the *Shuowen*
- x: same characters or similar meanings found in different sources
- *: no similar meanings found in different sources
- ?: no clear pronunciation or no available information
- #: no clear meanings
- [X]: one character missing
- [XX]: two characters missing
- [...]: a blank space or an uncertain number of characters are missing
- (): an identified phonetic character
- [trans. A] or [trans. B]: a dispute on the translation of a term

Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

A Note on the Translation of the Character *Gui*

Since we are dealing with the subject of *gui* 鬼 in the settings of Chinese culture and religions, it is natural and essential to briefly mention how and in what way the character *gui* has been translated into English and other European languages, before we get our feet wet on our further studies. Along with the arrival of Christian missionaries in the Yuan dynasty, the study of the Chinese language became imperative, especially from the end of the sixteenth century onward. Linguistic references and dictionaries in European languages were gradually written, compiled and edited according to certain philological systems in order to meet the urgent needs of the newcomers at that time.¹ Due to its religious and secular usage, the character *gui* undoubtedly needed to be learned and clarified. In the following, some examples from various dictionaries and lexicons published in the past 200 years are selected and chronologically arranged in reference to the translation of *gui*. In particular, much detailed information on *gui* is taken from materials roughly dated before or around 1900, since the later reference books have been greatly influenced by the earlier ones. Although materials in this short note are not comprehensive but the tip of the iceberg, a glimpse at the translation of *gui* can be caught, and one can thus observe how the concept of *gui* has been commonly perceived and explained in foreign languages.

The *Dictionnaire chinois, français et latin* 漢字西譯 edited by Chrétien Louis Joseph de Guignes (1759–1845) and published in 1813 is the first printed dictionary explaining Chinese words in Western languages. The character 鬼 with the pronunciation *koùey* is translated into both French and Latin as follows: “Clef des mânes et des génies: génie, mânes, âme. Clavis manium et geniorum: genius, manes, anima; homo defunctus, hominum manes, hominum genii; phantasma, spiritus, umbra, daemon; cognomen.”² The character *gui* is marked with the ordinal number 194 among the 214 radicals. Roughly it refers in French to meanings such as “genie,” “spirits” and “soul,” and in Latin to the implications of a departed spirit, a deity, a soul, a dead person, a phantom, a shadow, and a demon.

In 1823, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* by Robert Morrison (1782–1834), probably the first major Chinese–English dictionary, was published. The character *gui* is listed as the 194th radical and pronounced as *kwèi*. Basically it points to a spiritual state of a departed person. Here Morrison employs a special verb “return” to indicate the meaning that a person does not perish upon death, but would rather return to a previous state of existence, although in an other-worldly form. Thus *gui* is translated as “spirits,” “ghosts,” “demons” or “devils.” Besides the religious dimension of the word, it refers to one of the zodiacal con-

¹ For concise information on the Western study of the Chinese language in the Ming and Qing dynasties, see Wesolowski 2009, pp. 89–121; Liu – Wang 2018, pp. 102–108.

² De Guignes 1813, p. 889. Also see Compagnie de Jésus 1877, p. 689; de Guignes 1853, p. 976. Note that there was a scandal over the authorship of this latter dictionary by de Guignes, saying a considerable part of the book was copied from the manuscript of Basilio Brollo da Gemona (1648–1704). See Yang Huiling 2011, pp. 118–125.

stellations, a country or a region, and even a bird. It could be also used as a surname.³

In 1892, *A Chinese-English Dictionary* by Herbert A. Giles (1845–1935) was put into print for the first time and in 1912, its second edition came out. It lists several local dialects on the word *gui*, i.e., *kwai*, *kwei*, *kwi*, *ki* and *cü*. Besides referring to spirits or spiritual beings such as ghosts, goblins and bogies, *gui* especially points to devils who are “popularly depicted as skeletons in all but the features, which are hideous and repulsive.” The dictionary continuously states with a sort of descriptive tone and emphasizes the negative side of being a *gui*. “[Devils] may be either clothed or unclothed; their bodies throw no shadow, and they are fond of dark corners. There are said to be both good and bad *kuei*, but it is around the latter that most popular superstitions have gathered.”⁴

Similarly, *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* by Samuel Wells Williams (1812–1884) published in 1896 provides a detailed explanation colored with a certain kind of fantasy as follows:

Kwei: formed of a demon's head on a man's legs, with 𠂇 crafty added to denote its guile; it forms the 194th radical of characters relating to devils.

The spirit of a dead man before it is enshrined in the hall; a manes, that which the soul turns to at death; a ghost, a goblin, an apparition, a specter; a devil; a horrid repulsive object, a sordid wretch; foreigners are so stigmatized, because (so the Cantonese say) their blue eyes suggested the malice, and their shrill voices resembled the plaintive cry of ghosts; foreign, as a lock, or any other thing made abroad.⁵

Here the word *gui* is depicted as a rather unpleasant or dangerous being, although people were aware of its characteristics both good and bad. There was a growing tendency for scholars in the past somehow to perceive the character *gui* as something harmful and offensive.

In addition to its various pronunciations in dialect, as mentioned above, in *A Chinese and English Dictionary* by P. Poletti (1846–1915) published in 1907, the sound *kuei* with the third tone is recorded as the pronunciation of the character *gui* in accordance with the Beijing dialect. This dictionary just simply points to a religious dimension of *gui*. First of all, it refers to ghosts, spirits, demons or devils; secondly, to manes; thirdly, to a specter or an apparition.⁶

To this end, the character *gui* in these earlier dictionaries is basically interpreted with a variety of words such as, just to name a few, “ghosts,” “spirits,” “demons,” “devils,” “souls,” “manes,” “apparitions,” “spooks,” “phantoms,” “goblins,” “specters,” and “monsters.” The religious significance of the word is the

³ Morrison 1815–1823, Vol. III, Part I, p. 788.

⁴ Giles 1964, vol. 1, p. 813.

⁵ Williams 1896, vol. 1, p. 482. Note that some slang but extremely offensive terms such as *guizi* 鬼子 (devils) and *yang guizi* 洋鬼子 (foreign devils) are employed. They particularly referred to foreign invaders from the end of Qing dynasty until the mid-20th century.

⁶ Poletti 1907, p. 389.

primary meaning of *gui*. Other meanings and denotations, i.e., being the name of a region, a person, a bird or a constellation derive from its religious connotation.⁷ Later dictionaries understand the meanings of *gui* pretty much the same way as the earlier ones do and would thus choose similar words to translate the character or to express its central characteristics. *Chinese Characters Explained* 漢字分解 (1967),⁸ *A Chinese-English Dictionary* 漢英詞典 (1978),⁹ *Chinesisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* 漢德詞典 (1985),¹⁰ *Grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise* 利氏漢法辭典 (2001),¹¹ *A New Century Chinese-English Dictionary* 新世紀漢英大詞典 (2002)¹² and *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* (2015)¹³ are such good examples providing several possible layers of meanings of the character *gui*. Each reference book mainly explains it in a religious sense. It signifies a ghost, a spirit, an apparition or something alike. Thus the primary concern in the issue of the translation of *gui* lies in understanding its religious meanings in a given context and then selecting its equivalent words or phrases, if there are, in Western languages. Grammatically, such translational words are nouns since the part of speech of *gui* is a countable noun. And as one cannot tell based on the character *gui* itself whether it is used in a singular or plural form, its translation could be singular as well as plural.

In fact, however, the character *gui* also functions as an adjective. Although the earlier dictionaries, as mentioned above, give little attention to this function, contemporary reference books often remind a reader of this particular usage. Some adjective words such as “stealthy,” “surreptitious,” “sinister,” “terrible,” “damnable,” “clever,” “smart,” “quick,” “dishonest,” “improper,” “furtive,” “ghostly,” “eerie,” “uncanny,” “inhuman,” “hidden,” “secret(ive),” and “covert” could be an appropriate translation of the character *gui* in accordance with its context.¹⁴

In addition, frequently the character *gui* is jointly used with *shen* 神. The combination of these two words results in the two compound phrases, *guishen* 鬼神 and *shengui* 神鬼, but the former is more common than the latter. Regardless of

⁷ See also, e.g., Williams 1856, p. 203; Douglas 1899, pp. 250-251; Baller 1900, p. 270.

⁸ See Keelan 1967, p. 506.

⁹ See Han-Ying cidian bianxiezhu 1978, pp. 255-256.

¹⁰ See Gasde 1985, vol. 1, p. 378. Accordingly, the character *gui* is translated into German, i.e., firstly, “Seele, Geist, Gespenst, Teufel; teuflisch, verteufelt; -süchtiger”; secondly, “dunkle Machenschaften, Gaunerei, List, Betrug, betrügerisch”; thirdly, “umgangssprachlich schlau, pfiffig, listig, durchtrieben, raffiniert”; lastly, “eines der 28 Tierkreissternbilder.”

¹¹ See Instituts Ricci 2001, vol. 3, p. 941. Note that this reference book provides archeological findings to each Chinese character, if possible. Concerning the character *gui*, its explanations are based on sources from archeology, traditional texts and lexicons.

¹² See Hui Yu 2002, p. 605.

¹³ See Kroll 2015, pp. 147-148.

¹⁴ See Han-Ying cidian bianxiezhu 1978, pp. 255-256; Hui Yu 2002, p. 605; Kroll 2015, p. 148.

the difference in their rhetorical placement, both phrases can be treated identically. Since people often seem to acknowledge that the character *gui* is the counterpart of *shen*, the term *guishen* is translated in many cases as “ghosts and spirits,” “ghosts and gods,” “devils and gods” or “good and evil spirits,”¹⁵ whereas *shengui* as “spirits and ghosts,” “gods and ghosts,” or “deities and devils.” However, both terms *gui* and *shen* could truly denote spirits, supernatural beings and spiritual entities without emphasizing their moral disposition. Regardless of how different the word *gui* is from *shen*, the joint term *guishen* or *shengui* is a generic name. In addition, there is a relatively new term employed for both ghosts and spirits, that is, “extrahuman(s).”¹⁶ This term designates all kinds of spiritual beings.

In the present study, the character *gui* will be understood and used in a traditional sense, as the title of this thesis indicates. The character *gui* was invented much earlier than the character *shen* as can be deduced from the archeological research and both characters, *gui* and *shen*, were either used interchangeably or treated as an archetype for all spiritual beings or for a philosophical explanation in ancient China, which the reader will see in the following chapters. For convenience, both “ghosts” and “spirits” are considered as the English translation of the character *gui* and of the compound phrase *guishen* as well. In particular, a reader will come across expressions like “a ghost/spirit” and “ghosts/spirits” in some parts of the study. It only means that both are equally possible translations of the character *gui*, unless notified otherwise. For the translation of the compound phrase *guishen* or *shengui*, the expression “ghosts and spirits” is preferably employed.

¹⁵ See Giles 1964, vol. 1, p. 813; Hui Yu 2002, p. 605; Hanying cidian bianxiezhu 1978, p. 256.

¹⁶ This term can be traced back to Agehananda Bharati. For a brief discussion, see Winslett 2016, pp. 38-77; Poo Mu-chou 2004, vol. 1, p. 173.

Introduction

Once upon a time there was a traveler drawing for the King of Chi. “What is the hardest thing to draw?” asked the King. “Dogs and horses are the hardest.” “Then what is the easiest?” “Devils and demons [*guimei* 鬼魅] are the easiest. Indeed, dogs and horses are what people know and see at dawn and dusk in front of them. To draw them no distortion is permissible. Therefore they are the hardest. On the contrary, devils and demons have no shapes and are not seen in front of anybody, therefore it is easy to draw them.”¹

This anecdote is taken from the classical book *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 written by Han Fei 韓非 (ca. 281–233 B.C.). People at the time understood that beings like devils, demons, ghosts, or spirits were not made up of tangible materials, and one’s naked eyes were not able to perceive and then identify them. Their appearances and behaviors were subject to the power of human imagination. This narrative indicates that, in other words, people at the time had a certain knowledge of ghosts and spirits, but this thinking was so primitive and vague, and the images of these spiritual beings, if there were, thus tended to be too subjective. To the people of the time, this was indeed a period of knowing, forming, reshaping, and revising their knowledge of anything about otherworldly entities.

In recent times, movies, video games, TV drama series and books on the theme of otherworldly life and beings have flooded people’s homes in China. Even the young have been overwhelmed by exciting graveyard stories as well as romantic fairy tales about immortals and deities. Apparitional stories from well-known books like the *Liaozai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異 (Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio) written by Pu Songling 蒲鬆齡 (1604–1715), the *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West) written by Wu Cheng’en 吳承恩 (ca. 1500 – ca. 1582) and the *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義 (Investiture of the Gods) compiled by Lu Xixing 陸西星 (1520 – ca. 1601)² are reproduced again and again in various modern media. An army of collections of ancient literary writings about ghosts, spirits, gods and demons have been reprinted. For a better circulation and accessibility, more and more influential texts written in the form of traditional Chinese characters have been rearranged and adapted in simplified Chinese characters or translated from the classical Chinese (*guwen* 古文) into the modern language or the vernacular (*baihua* 白話).

Meanwhile, a number of general studies in the field of supernatural beings have been conducted in the past thirty years. There are, to name a few, *Zhongguo gui wenhua* 中國鬼文化 (1991) by Xu Hualong 徐華龍, *Xian gui yao ren zhiguai chuanqi xinlun* 仙鬼妖人志怪傳奇新論 (1992) by Yu Rujie 俞汝捷, *Youming wangguo: Gui zhi mi* 幽冥王國——鬼之謎 (1992) by Wang Zhaohong 王昭洪,

¹ Liao W.K. 1959, vol. 2, p. 41.

² See Goodrich, vol. 1, pp. 991-994. The authorship of the fiction is however in dispute. For brief information, see Liu Yanyan 2007, pp. 59-61, and 2009, pp. 81-85; Li Yihui 2012, pp. 110-116.

Xu Wangsheng 徐旺生 and Yi Hua 易華, *Zhongguo guishen jingguai* 中國鬼神精怪 (1992) by Wu Kang 吳康, Peng Chongwei 彭崇偉 and Xu Xu 徐徐, *Guishen de moli: Han minzu de guishen xinyang* 鬼神的魔力——漢民族的鬼神信仰 (1992) and *Zhongguo gudai guishen wenhua suyuan* 中國古代鬼神文化溯源 (1992) both by Wang Jinglin 王景琳, *Zhongguo gudai guishen wenhua daguan* 中國古代鬼神文化大觀 (1992) by Yin Feizhou 尹飛舟, *Zhongguo de gui* 中國的鬼 (1993) by Huang Zexin 黃澤新, *Guiyu shijie: Zhongguo chuantong wenhua dui gui de renshi* 鬼域世界——中國傳統文化對鬼的認識 (1993) by Lin Liming 林禮明, *Shenmi de guihun shijie: Zhongguo guiwenhua tanmi* 神秘的鬼魂世界——中國鬼文化探秘 (1993) by Lai Yasheng 賴亞生, *Gui wenhua* 鬼文化 (1995) by Huang Shenghua 黃盛華 and Zhou Qiyun 周啟雲, *Zhongguo de guixi* 中國的鬼戲 (1997) by Xu Xianglin 許祥麟, *Gui shijie: Zhongguo diyibu guixue quanshu* 鬼世界——中國第一部鬼學全書 (1998) by Xi'erniao 西爾梟 (also known as Ding Xiaohu 丁曉禾), *Shiheng de jingshen jiayuan: Zhongguo minjian linghun, guishen, mingyun xinyang de yanjiu yu piping* 失衡的精神家園——中國民間靈魂、鬼神、命運信仰的研究與批評 (2002) by Yao Zhouhui 姚周輝, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (2004) by Richard von Glahn, and *Guishen* 鬼神 (2004) by Yue Juanjuan 岳娟娟 and Gu Yingxin 顧迎新. These books treat whatever is related to the theme of *gui* as a necessary part of Chinese culture and then attempt to provide a comprehensive view on this particular social phenomenon.

Certainly, many specialized researches are also conducted on the same subject but with a focus on a specific topic or a designated time period. These are, for instance, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (1988) by Stephen F. Teiser, *Peking Paper Gods: A Look at Home Worship* (1991) by Anne S. Goodrich, *T'ien-fei hsien-sheng lu: Die Aufzeichnungen von der manifestierten Heiligkeit der Himmelsprinzessin* (1992) translated and commented by Gerd Wadow, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (1995) by Paul R. Katz, *In Search of Personal Welfare: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion* (1998) by Poo Mu-chou, *Redefining History in Pu Sung-ling's World, 1640–1715* (1998) by Chun-shu Chang and Shelley Hsueh-lun Chang, *Exorcism and Money: The Symbolic World of the Five-Fury Spirits in Late Imperial China* (2003) by Guo Qitao, “*Gui*” *zhi lailu: Zhongguo de jiamian yu jili* “鬼”之來路——中國的假面與祭禮 (2005) by Hiroda Ritsuko 廣田律子, *Guimei shenmo: Zhongguo tongsu wenhua cexie* 鬼魅神魔——中國通俗文化側寫 (2005) edited by Poo Mu-chou 蒲慕洲, *The Phantom Heroine: Ghost and Gender in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Literature* (2007) by Judith T. Zeitlin, *Wugui yu yinsi: Chujian suojian fangshu zongjiao kao* 巫鬼與淫祀——楚簡所見方術宗教考 (2010) by Yan Changgui 晏昌貴, *Daoist Exorcism: Encounters with Sorcerers, Ghosts, Spirits, and Demons: The Secret Teaching of Esoteric Daoist Magic* (2012) by Jerry Alan Johnson, *Das Tianfei niangma zhuan des Wu Huanchu* (2014) by Cai Jiehua 蔡潔華, *Minjian xinyang yu Mingmo Qingchu huaben xiaoshuo zhi shenmi xushi* 民間信仰與明末清初話本小說之神異敘事 (2017) by

Yang Zonghong 楊宗紅, and *Die Welt des Herrn Missmut Xuan Ding (1832 – 1879) und sein Yeyu qiudeng lu* (2018) by Sheng Yang 盛洋.

Moreover, cross-cultural studies on the relevant topic of spirits and ghosts have been also carried out. These include, among others, *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions* (2009) edited by Poo Mu-chou, *The Anthropology of Religion, Charisma and Ghosts: Chinese Lessons for Adequate Theory* (2010) by Stephan Feuchtwang, and *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China* (2012) edited by Paul Williams and Patrice Ladwig.

Immersed among these scholarly studies both from the East and the West, one may feel that a discussion of supernatural entities is an everlasting topic in the setting of Chinese culture. However, if we are told that both the world where those so-called spiritual beings are said to be living in and the studies on their appearances, behaviors and identities which have been done so far are based on something imaginary and illusionary, how will we respond? Besides a knowing smile, a wry perplexity or a sense of wonder, there must be something profound beyond the power of human imagination. Truly, this imagination can lead people into a world of fantasy. Without human experiences grounded in real life, however, such a human ability will end up nowhere near to its height. People's fervent interests in spiritual beings as well as in their living world ultimately point to some fundamental human experiences.

“China originally believed in *guishen* 鬼神 (ghosts and spirits),” once said Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936), a highly recognized figure in the field of modern Chinese literature.³ Here the act of believing is not about human imagination but rather about their heartfelt emotions, their accumulated knowledge and wisdom, and their way of life striving for something unchangeable beyond this world which is tangible and contingent. For example, the ancient Chinese people, just like other primitive peoples who lived in other parts of the world, formed a doctrine of animism. They believed that all natural objects including human beings would have a kind of “spirit,” “soul” or “something pure and condensed” in them. When they acknowledged certain powers or forces which these spiritual entities might have obtained, all sorts of sacrifices, prayers, and rituals were offered for human protection. To this end, Edward B. Tylor (1832–1917), a well-known English anthropologist, might provide us with a relevant explanation. When one was in the state of sleep dreaming something fantastic about the self, when one underwent a near-death experience due to some heart or breathing problems, or when one hopelessly faced the departure of loved ones, all these experiences would naturally make this person believe in the existence of the soul, spirit or something beyond the material world.⁴ When people realized that something mysterious did exist beyond their physical body and also their surrounding material world, and when the immortality of souls or whatever form of their existence had been kept alive in belief, some ideas about supernatural beings or the thought of *guishen* would be gradually acknowledged and formulated.

³ Lu Xun 2005, p. 317.

⁴ See Tylor 1896, pp. 343–345. Also see Yao Zhouhui 2002, pp. 1–11.

The belief in souls and spirits of things in fact has a long tradition in the Chinese culture. Humans, animals, plants, and even stones have their own independent souls or spirits. The phenomenon of believing in these kinds of material entities and energies leads to the particular atmosphere of Chinese religious culture. On the whole, the rituals on deities or *guishen*, the views on life and death, the moral regulations on human behaviors and social activities, all have a deep root in this belief and thus constitute the Chinese religious landscape.⁵

Although the thought on various supernatural beings such as ghosts, spirits, demons, apparitions and specters could be considered as a kind of religious expression, it is truly a cultural phenomenon and heritage for Chinese people. To understand Chinese culture and its religions, it is therefore necessary to call for a serious consideration of these spiritual phenomena.

The subject of this study, as the title shows, is the concept of *gui* 鬼 or, in an English expression, the idea of ghosts/spirits in ancient China. Linguistically, the Chinese character *gui* is a generic term referring to a variety of spiritual beings, and because of this, its usage is certainly ambiguous, particularly when it was used in ancient literature or documents. The objective goal is thus to see how the concept of *gui* originated and continually evolved through its usage in ancient times so that some clarifications can be drawn. For example, nowadays the character *gui* often points to demonic, malevolent and monstrous beings, and thus it stands in opposition to the character *shen* 神 which is also a general name for the range of spiritual beings who are nothing but holy, benevolent, and moral. However, the original written form of *gui* appeared much earlier in the Chinese writing system than the character *shen*. And in ancient China, these two characters could be used interchangeably. All of this will be shown in the following chapters of the study. Therefore, my intention is mainly to focus on the original formation of the character *gui* embedded in the script itself as well as its semantic significances in progress revealed in the religious culture of ancient China.

When dealing with a concept and its usage in a particular time and culture, obviously, one cannot avoid the issue of linguistic principles and procedures of inquiry in a particular sphere, and certainly this is not an easy task. Chinese writing is not ideographic but indeed semanto-phonetic or, as Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, a renowned palaeographer, prefers to call it, “morphemo-syllabic.”⁶ Like other mature languages, it has two aspects, i.e., phonetic and semantic. However, unlike European languages based on an alphabetic order, the nature of Chinese language is manifested through characters. And a character in a normal case consists of one or more graphic symbols which in turn serve as basic morphemes expressing both meaning and sound.⁷ This distinguishable characteristic together with the main intention of the present study would, to a great extent, lead us not to work on the level of theoretical linguistics but, specifically, on the character *gui* itself. To this

⁵ See Ma Changyi 1999, pp. 90-144; Yao Zhouhui 2002, pp. 1-8; Lai Yasheng 1993, pp. 1-5.

⁶ See Qiu Xigui 2000, pp. 22-26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-22.

end, William G. Boltz could give a clue as to the overall frame of this study. Speaking of the origin and development of writing, he simply employs two terms, the *material* and the *linguistic*. He states,

The former refers to the origin and history of a script seen as a physical object, where attention is focused on the script's outward appearance. This would include consideration of the patterns of evolution of the script's shape, how those shapes were affected by the kinds of materials available for writing, what methods were used in the physical act of writing, and consideration of the artistic qualities of the various graphic forms. The time and external circumstances of a script's first appearance, and the changing context of its use, would also constitute an important part of the material history of writing ... [The latter refers to] an account of the origin and evolution of a script seen in terms of its relation to language, i.e., how the script is structured and operates in its primary function as a graphic representation of speech.⁸

Since this study is basically about the Chinese character *gui* and its layers of meanings employed by the ancient Chinese people, the external approach which Boltz indicates in his explanation of the *material* history of writing will be taken as a preference. And all the data such as archeological findings and textual documents are the materials to which we have to pay much attention. This priority does not mean that the *linguistic* approach will be totally ignored, because there is no clear cut between these two aspects. A script's external history often serves as a direct platform for its internal structure and development such as the *grammatonomic* history of writing.⁹ Thus, in the present study, the character *gui* will be principally studied based on concrete materials and texts, on the one hand; and in a limited way, however it appears to be, it will be explored in a large textual context to see how this character itself functions as a part of speech, on the other hand. Therefore, the reader will not explicitly find answers to questions related to syntax, morphology and other compositional issues, but read a broad range of materials through which one can observe, figure out patterns, and even draw some conclusions.

Considering that the investigation of this current study roughly covers a vast period from the late Shang dynasty down to the beginning of the Han dynasty, furthermore, the selection of certain materials or textual documents for the sake of research poses a serious challenge. This is actually the hardest part of this work, as the materials being relevant to the theme of *gui* are quite numerous. All the data and materials presented in the study will only serve to exemplify a certain view of the character *gui*. Thus the way of selection might appear to be loose, less logical, or without a holistic approach. Because of the limitations of the chosen materials, I admit, the present work will only represent the first attempt at an initial understanding of *gui* and definitely further research into the same subject needs to be taken up in other places.

⁸ Boltz 1994, pp. 9-10.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10. Here the adjective *grammatonomic* refers to a theoretical study of writing such as the linguistic history of Chinese writing.

Specifically, this study is composed of five chapters. The way of presentation employed is rather simple. Basically, only those materials and texts containing the character *gui* will be thoroughly looked at. Since a large number of relevant texts and passages are introduced, on the one hand, if necessary, a brief note on the background of a chosen text will be given; on the other hand, they have to be arranged in accordance with their usage of the word *gui*. Some passages contain a similar meaning of the character *gui* and will be thus grouped together; certainly, some others need to be handled individually due to their different usages. When these relevant passages on the theme of *gui* are listed and, in particular, piled up one after another due to the similar usage of *gui*, it is challenging to study them one after another without interrupting the flow of the writing. However, I am afraid that this phenomenon cannot be avoided one way or another. All the relevant texts and passages are worth investigating. The purpose of my study is after all to reach a conclusion about the general usage of *gui* and its possible changes in expression in the course of time.

The first chapter deals with the character *gui* and its usage presented in various dictionaries and reference books. Since *gui* is not only treated as a full character but also as a radical in a dictionary, other related characters under the section of *gui* will be briefly examined, too. This part of the study serves as a background reading and thus offers a general view on the character *gui*. The second chapter takes the reader back to the beginning of the formation of Chinese writing in the time of Shang as well as the early possible usages of the character *gui* in the following Zhou dynasty and even later periods. Since the written form of the character *gui* by the end of the Zhanguo period at the latest was different from its earlier appearance in shape, ideally the attempt in this chapter is to see the original script *gui* at the time of its invention and its usage at the earliest stage of the development. Fortunately, archeological findings can provide some relevant materials on its origin and usage, although they are somewhat fragmentary. In the process, this part will be precisely devoted to those archeologically excavated textual materials such as oracle bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions as well as manuscripts inscribed on bamboo slips. The reader will see how the present shape of the character *gui* had evolved from the older form of the script. Yet one has to acknowledge that the actual formation of the original script *gui* will remain unknown, and whatever a researcher has to say on this matter is but a kind of experimental supposition.

In the following third and fourth chapters, the character *gui* is extensively studied in context. All contextual materials and documents are taken from the period of Chunqiu as well as that of Zhanguo. This long range of roughly 550 years is very critical in the history of China. It is a period of forming and reforming, developing and redeveloping, ordering and reordering in every aspect of Chinese culture. In view of the usage of *gui* in this period, these two chapters will not focus on the linguistic differences each state or region had at the time, e.g., in a system of writing, local vernaculars, textual forms, and even idioms, but on the possible layers of meanings and connotations the character *gui* would acquire in a given context. In the third chapter, concretely, the majority of textual examples

are taken from the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo's Commentary) and the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites), since these two received works possess ample *gui*-related passages and may thus provide more clues to the later formation of the character *gui*. In the fourth chapter, the materials are principally chosen from three traditions, namely Confucian, Daoist, and Mohist, and their representative works, the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects), the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book of Zhuangzi) and the *Mozi* 墨子 (Book of Mozi), will be our primary focus. Taking the selected materials about local histories, etiquette, and the history of ideas and thinkers into consideration, my intent is to specify the meanings of *gui* in a more ordered manner.

The fifth chapter, the last part of the present study, will center on the *Rishu* 日書 (Day Book or Calendar) which was unearthed in December 1975 from the tomb #11 at Chengguan Shuihudi 城關睡虎地, Yunmeng 雲夢 county, Hubei 湖北 province. This particular text is certainly of great interest to the reader. It was a popular guide in ancient China consulted by common people for their daily life. They were taught how to cope with unusual things or even harmful ghost/spirits and gods. From an ordinary perspective, the *Rishu* consequently offers a seemingly deviating picture of *gui* which is very different from what this study presents in the third and fourth chapters. Such an image of supernatural beings can thus be a supplement to the whole formation of *gui*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Note: (1) This list includes Chinese classics, reference books, annotated or compiled editions and commentaries. (2) Excavated manuscripts and compiled materials are highlighted with an asterisk. These include collections of unearthed materials, e.g., their original texts, inscriptions and transcriptions, indexes as well as related reference books.

- **Buci tongzuan* 卜辭通纂 (Comprehensive Compilation of Oracle Bone Inscriptions). By Guo Moruo 郭沫若. *Guo Moruo quanji: Kaogu bian* 郭沫若全集——考古編. 10 vols. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1982–1992.
- **Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成 (Great Collection of Bamboo Strips and Silk Books from the Han Tomb at Mawangdui, Changsha). Ed. Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭. 7 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014.
- Ciyuan* 辭源 (Chinese Etymology Dictionary). Ed. Guangdong, Guangxi, Hunan, Henan Ciyuan xiudingzu he Shangwu yinshuguan bianjibu 廣東、廣西、湖南、河南辭源修訂組和商務印書館編輯部. Revised ed. 4 vols. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979–1990.
- Chunqiu Guliang zhuan zhushu* 春秋谷梁傳注疏 (Guliang's Commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*). *Shisanjing zhushu fu jiaokan ji*, vol. 6, pp. 5119–5325.
- Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (Correct Meaning of Zuo's Commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*). *Shisanjing zhushu fu jiaokan ji*, vol. 5.
- Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (A Commentary to the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*). Ed. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻. 4 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995.
- Du zhuan yi cun zashuo* 讀篆臆存雜說 (Miscellaneous Thoughts on the Elimination of Seal Characters in Conjecture). By Wu Jinzhang 吳錦章. *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, vol. 242. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002, pp. 29b–32a (580–582).
- Erya gulin* 爾雅詁林 (Comprehensive Collection of Commentaries to the *Erya*). Ed. Zhu Zuyan 朱祖延. 3 vols. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996.
- Erya zhushu* 爾雅注疏 (Commentary and Subcommentary on the *Erya*). Comm. by Guo Pu 郭璞 and Xing Bing 邢昺. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999.
- Futang leigao* 弗堂類稿 (Categorized Manuscripts from the Buddha Hall). By Yao Hua 姚華. *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan xubian* 近代中國史料叢刊續編, vol. 20. Ed. Shen Yunlong 沈雲龍. Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1974.
- Guangya* 廣雅 (Expanded *Erya*). By Zhang Ji 張揖. *Jingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 221. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1986, pp. 425–469.

- Guangya shuzheng* 廣雅疏證 (The *Guangya* Explained and Annotated). Comm. by Wang Niansun 王念孫. 7 vols. *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1939.
- Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu* 韓非子新校注 (A New Proofreading and Annotation to the *Hanfeizi*). Ed. Chen Qiyu 陳奇猷. 2 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000.
- Hanyu da zidian* 汉语大字典 (Great Compendium of Chinese Characters). Ed. Hanyu da zidian bianji weiyuanhui 汉语大字典编辑委员会. 2nd ed. 9 vols. Wuhan – Chengdu: Chongwen shuju – Sichuan cishu chubanshe, 2010.
- Hou Hanshu jijie* 後漢書集解 (Collected Commentaries to the *Hou Hanshu*). Comp. by Fan Ye 范曄 and Comm. by Wang Xianqian 王先謙. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984.
- **Inkyo bokuji sōrui* 殷墟卜辭綜類 (Comprehensive Classification of the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins). By Shima Kunio 島邦男. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1967.
- **Jiagu jinwen zidian* 甲骨金文字典 (Dictionary of Oracle-Bone and Bronze Characters). Ed. Fang Daxin 方達鑫, Chang Zhengguang 常正光, and Peng Yushang 彭裕商. Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1993.
- **Jiagu wenxian jicheng* 甲骨文獻集成 (A Great Collection of Documents on Oracle-Bone Inscriptions). Ed. Song Zhenhao 宋鎮豪 and Duan Zhihong 段志洪. 40 vols. Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2001.
- **Jiagu wenzi gulin* 甲骨文字詁林 (Comprehensive Collection of Commentaries to the Oracle-Bone Characters). Ed. Yu Xingwu 于省吾. 4 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999.
- **Jiagu wenzi jishi* 甲骨文字集釋 (Collected Annotations to Oracle-Bone Characters). Ed. By Li Xiaoding 李孝定. 8 vols. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1970.
- **Jiaguwen bian* 甲骨文編 (A Compilation of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions). Ed. Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965.
- **Jiaguwen cipu* 甲骨文詞譜 (A Concordance to Oracle-Bone Vocabularies). Ed. Zhu Qixiang 朱歧祥. 5 vols. Taipei: Liren shuju, 2013.
- **Jiaguwen heji* 甲骨文合集 (Collected Oracle-Bone Inscriptions). Ed. Guo Moruo 郭沫若 and Hu Houxuan 胡厚宣. 13 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977–1982.
- **Jiaguwen heji bubian* 甲骨文合集補編 (Supplement to *Jiaguwen heji*). Ed. Peng Bangjiong 彭邦炯, Xie Ji 謝濟, and Ma Jifan 馬季凡. 7 vols. Beijing: Yuwen chubanshe, 1999.
- **Jiaguwen heji shiwen* 甲骨文合集釋文 (Transcriptions of *Jiaguwen heji*). Ed. Hu Houxuan 胡厚宣. 4 vols. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1999.

- **Jiaguwen jiaoshi zongji* 甲骨文校釋總集 (A Revised and Annotated General Collection of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions). Ed. Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎 and Shen Jianhua 沈建華. 20 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2006.
- **Jiaguwen xingyi jishi* 甲骨文形義集釋 (Collected Explanations to the Forms and Meanings of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions). By Liu Kaitian 劉開田 and Chen Jing 陳靖. Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 2007.
- **Jiaguwen zidian* 甲骨文字典 (Dictionary of Oracle-Bone Characters). Ed. Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒. Chengdu: Sichuan cishu chubanshe, 1989.
- Jin shu* 晉書 (The Book of Jin). Ed. Fang Xuanlong 房玄齡 *et al.* 10 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- **Jinwen bian* 金文編 (A Compilation of Bronze Characters). Ed. Rong Geng 容庚. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.
- **Jinwen changyong zidian* 金文常用字典 (Dictionary of Frequently Used Bronze Characters). Ed. Chen Chusheng 陳初生 and Ceng Xiantong 曾宪通. Xi'an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1987.
- **Jinwen gulin* 金文詁林 (Comprehensive Collection of Commentaries to Bronze Characters). Ed. Zhou Fagao 周法高. 16 vols. Hong Kong: Xianggang Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1974–1975.
- **Jinwen gulin bu* 金文詁林補 (Supplement to the *Jinwen gulin*). Ed. Zhou Fagao. 8 vols. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1983.
- **Jinwen wenxian jicheng* 金文文獻集成 (A Great Collection of Documents on Bronze Inscriptions). Ed. Liu Qingzhu 劉慶柱, Duan Zhihong 段志洪, and Feng Shi 馮時. 47 vols (including index). Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2005.
- **Jinwen xubian* 金文續編 (Supplement to the *Jinwen bian*). Ed. Rong Geng. Shanghai: Shiji chubanshe, 2000.
- **Jinwen yinde: Chunqiu Zhanguo juan* 金文引得——春秋战国卷 (An Index to Bronze Characters: Chunqiu and Zhanguo Periods). Ed. Huadong shifan daxue Zhongguo wenzi yanjiu yu yingyong zhongxin 华东师范大学中国文字研究与应用中心. Nanning: Guangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002.
- **Jinwen yinde: Yin Shang Xi Zhou juan* 金文引得——殷商西周卷 (An Index to Bronze Characters: Yinshang and Western Zhou Dynasties). Ed. Huadong shifan daxue Zhongguo wenzi yanjiu yu yingyong zhongxin. Nanning: Guangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001.
- **Jinwen zongji* 金文總集 (General Collection of Bronze Inscriptions). Ed. Yan Yiping 嚴一萍. 10 vols. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1983.
- Jiyun fu suoyin* 集韻附索引 (Collected Rhymes with an Index). By Ding Du 丁度. 2 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985.
- Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 (Kangxi Dictionary). By Zhang Yushu 張玉書 and Chen Tingjing 陳廷敬. Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2002.

- Kangxi zidian tongjie* 康熙字典通解 (A General Explanation to the Kangxi Dictionary). Ed. Zhang Liwei 张力伟 *et al.* 3 vols. Changchun: Shidai wenyi chubanshe, 1997.
- **Kinbun tsushaku* 金文通釋 (Comprehensive Explanations of Bronze Inscriptions). Ed. Shirakawa Shizuka 白川靜. 54 vols. Kobe: Hakutsuru bijutsukan, 1962–1984.
- Laozi Daodejing Laozi benyi* 老子道德經老子本義 (Laozi's Treatise on the Dao and Its Virtue: The Original Meaning of the *Laozi*). Comm. by Wang Bi 王弼 and Wei Yuan 魏源. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1986.
- Liji jijie* 禮記集解 (A Collection of Explanations to the *Liji*). By Sun Xidan 孫希旦. 3 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989.
- Liji xunzuan* 禮記訓纂 (A Compiled Exegesis to the *Liji*). By Zhu Bing 朱彬. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995.
- Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義 (Correct Meaning of the *Liji*). *Shisanjing zhushu fu jiaokan ji*, vol. 4.
- Lunheng jiaoshi fu Liu Pansui jijie* 論衡校釋附劉盼遂集解 (Revised and Annotated *Lunheng* with Collected Commentaries Compiled by Liu Pansui). By Huang Hui 黃暉. 4 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990.
- Lunyu jishi* 論語集釋 (Collected Explications of the *Lunyu*). By Cheng Shude 程樹德. 4 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990.
- Lunyu zhushu* 論語注疏 (A Commentary on the *Lunyu*). *Shisanjing zhushu fu jiaokan ji*, vol. 7, pp. 5329–5509.
- Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (Correct Meaning of Mao's Commentary on the *Shijing*). *Shisanjing zhushu fu jiaokan ji*, vol. 2.
- **Mawangdui jianbo wenzibian* 馬王堆簡帛文字編 (Compilation of Bamboo and Silk Characters from Mawangdui). Ed. Chen Songchang 陳松長. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001.
- Mozi jigu* 墨子集詁 (A Collection of Annotations on the *Mozi*). By Wang Huanbiao 王煥鑣. 2 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005.
- Mozi jiaozhu* 墨子校注 (*Mozi*: Proofread and Annotated). By Wu Yujiang 吳毓江. Comp. by Sun Qizhi 孫啟治. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993.
- Mozi xiangu* 墨子閒詁 (Interlinear Annotations on the *Mozi*). By Sun Yirang 孫詒讓. Comp. by Sun Qizhi. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001.
- **Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (yi)* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡 (一) (Warring States Bamboo Slips Held at the Qinghua University, Series One). Ed. Li Xueqin 李學勤. Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2010–2013.
- **Qinjian Rishu jishi* 秦簡日書集釋 (Collected Annotations to the *Rishu* from Qin Bamboo Slips). By Wu Xiaoqiang 吳小強. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2000.
- **Shang Zhou jinwen moshi zongji* 商周金文摹釋總集 (A General Collection of Reproductions of Bronze Inscriptions from the Shang–Zhou and Their Transcriptions). Ed. Zhang Guiguang 張桂光 and Qin Xiaohua 秦曉華. 8 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010.

- **Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji tuxiang jicheng* 商周青銅器銘文暨圖像集成 (Complete Collection of the Shang–Zhou Bronze-Vessel Inscriptions and Their Images). Ed. Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮峰. 35 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012.
- **Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan* 商周青銅器銘文選 (Selected Inscriptions from the Shang–Zhou Bronze Vessels). Ed. Ma Chengyuan 馬承源. 4 vols. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986–1990.
- **Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (er)* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (二) (Chu Warring States Bamboo Books Held at the Shanghai Museum, Series Two). Ed. Ma Chengyuan. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.
- **Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (san)* (Chu Warring States Bamboo Books Held at the Shanghai Museum, Series Three). Ed. Ma Chengyuan. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003.
- **Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (si)* (Chu Warring States Bamboo Books Held at the Shanghai Museum, Series Four). Ed. Ma Chengyuan. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004.
- **Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (wu)* (Chu Warring States Bamboo Books Held at the Shanghai Museum, Series Five). Ed. Ma Chengyuan. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005.
- **Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (qi)* (Chu Warring States Bamboo Books Held at the Shanghai Museum, Series Seven). Ed. Ma Chengyuan. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008.
- **Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (1–5) wenzibian* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (1–5) 文字編 (Compilation of Chu Warring States Bamboo Books Held at the Shanghai Museum for the Series 1 to 5). Ed. Li Shoukui 李守奎, Qu Bing 曲冰, and Sun Weilong 孫偉龍. Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe, 2007.
- Shisanjing zhushu fu jiaokan ji* 十三經注疏附校勘記 (A Compound Commentary to the Thirteen Classics with Some Notes to the Collation). Edition from the 20th year (1815) of Jiaqing 嘉慶 which is based on the Song dynasty version. Coll. by Ruan Yuan 阮元. 7 vols. Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1971.
- **Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu jiazhong shuzheng* 睡虎地秦簡日書甲種疏證 (A Detailed Commentary on the *Rishu I* from Qin Bamboo Slips at Shuihudi). By Wang Zijin 王子今. Wuhan: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003.
- **Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu yanjiu* 睡虎地秦簡日書研究 (A Study on the *Rishu* from Qin Bamboo Slips at Shuihudi). By Liu Lexian 劉樂賢. Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1994.
- **Shuihudi Qinjian wenzi bian* 睡虎地秦簡文字編 (Compilation of Qin Bamboo Slip Characters from Shuihudi). Ed. Zhang Shouzhong 張守中. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994.
- **Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (Bamboo Strips from the Qin Tomb at Shuihudi). Ed. Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990.

- Shuowen bushou quanshi* 說文部首鉅釋 (Annotations to the Radicals from the *Shuowen*). By Kang Yin 康殷. Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe, 1992.
- Shuowen jiezi fu jianzi* 說文解字附檢字 (Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters with an Appendix to the Character Index). By Xu Shen 許慎. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963.
- Shuowen jiezi gulin* 說文解字詁林 (Comprehensive Collection of Commentaries to the *Shuowen jiezi*). Ed. Ding Fubao 丁福保. 20 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988.
- Shuowen jiezi kaozheng* 說文解字考正 (Examinations and Corrections to the *Shuowen jiezi*). By Dong Lianchi 董蓮池. Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe, 2004.
- Shuowen jiezi tanyuan* 說文解字探原 (Exploring the Sources of the *Shuowen jiezi*). By Luo Junti 羅君惕. 10 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013.
- Shuowen jiezi xinding* 說文解字新訂 (Newly Edited *Shuowen jiezi*). Ed. Zang Kehe 臧克和 and Wang Ping 王平. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000.
- Shuowen jiezi xizhuan* 說文解字系傳 (Extensive Notes to the *Shuowen jiezi*). By Xu Kai 徐鍇. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Shuowen jiezi yizheng* 說文解字義証 (Verified Meanings of the *Shuowen jiezi*). By Gui Fu 桂馥. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Shuowen jiezi yuezhu* 說文解字約注 (A Restricted Commentary to the *Shuowen jiezi*). By Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽. 4 vols. Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009.
- Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 (A Commentary on the *Shuowen jiezi*). By Duan Yucai 段玉裁. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981.
- Shuowen shili* 說文釋例 (An Explanatory Guide to the *Shuowen*). By Wang Yun 王筠. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Shuowen tongxun dingshen* 說文通訓定聲 (The *Shuowen*: Comprehensively Explained and Phonologically Defined). By Zhu Junsheng 朱駿聲. Wuhan: Wuhan guji shudian, 1983.
- Shuowen wubai sishi bushou zhengjie* 說文五百四十部首正解 (Correct Explanations of the 540 Radicals of the *Shuowen*). By Xu Fu 徐復 and Song Wenmin 宋文民. Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2003.
- Shuowen xinfu kao, xukao, zhaji* 說文新附考、續考、札記 (Verifying the Characters Newly Added to the *Shuowen*, Re-verifying, and Reading Notes). By Niu Shuyu 鈕樹玉. 2 vols. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939.
- Songben Yupian* 宋本玉篇 (Song Edition *Jade Chapters*). Comm. by Gu Yewang 顧野王 and Chen Pengnian 陳彭年. Beijing: Beijingshi Zhongguo shudian, 1983.
- Wang Li gu Hanyu zidian* 王力古漢語字典 (Wang Li's Dictionary of Ancient Chinese Characters). Ed. Wang Li 王力 *et al.* Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000.

- Xiaoxue dawen, Shuowen bushou junyu* 小學答問、說文部首均語 (Questions and Answers Concerning *Philological Studies of Characters* and The Radicals of the *Shuowen* Equally Explained). By Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (also known as 章太炎, 1869–1936). *Zhangshi congshu* 章氏叢書. Ed. Zhang Jianyin 章見伊. Hangzhou: Zhejiang tushuguan jiaokan 浙江圖書館校刊, 1917–1919.
- **Xin Jiaguwen bian* 新甲骨文編 (A New Compilation of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions). Ed. Liu Zhao 劉釗, Hong Yang 洪颺, and Zhang Xinjun 張新俊. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2009.
- **Xin Jinwen bian* 新金文編 (A New Compilation of Bronze Characters). By Dong Lianchi. 3 vols. Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 2011.
- Xinben huzhu Songben Guangyun* 新本互注宋本廣韻 (A New, Inter-Explanatory Edition to the Broad Rhymes according to the Song Version). By Yu Naiyong 餘廼永. Revised ed. 3 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2000.
- **Xinbian jiaguwen zidian* 新編甲骨文字典 (Newly Revised Dictionary of Oracle-Bone Characters). By Liu Xinglong 劉興隆. Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe, 1993.
- Xinbian xiandai Hanyu cidian* 新編現代漢語詞典 (Newly Compiled Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese). Ed. Ou Shaoting 歐少亭 *et al.* 2 vols. Yanji: Yanbian renmin chubanshe, 2002.
- Xinhua zidian fu sijiao haoma jianzibiao* 新华字典附四角号码检字表 (New Chinese Character Dictionary Supplemented with the Four-Corner Method). Ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院語言研究所. 10th ed., enlarged version. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2004.
- **Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (Complete Collection of the Yin-Zhou Bronze Inscriptions). Ed. Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所. 18 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984.
- **Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng shiwen* 殷周金文集成釋文 (Transcriptions of *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*). Ed. Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所. 6 vols. Hong Kong: Xianggang Zhongwen daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo, 2001.
- **Yinxu buci zonglei* 殷墟卜辭綜類, see *Inkyo bokuji sōrui*.
- **Yinxu buci zongshu* 殷墟卜辭綜述 (A Comprehensive Overview of the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins). By Chen Mengjia 陳夢家. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988.
- **Yinxu jiagu keci leizuan* 殷墟甲骨刻辭類纂 (Concordance of the Carved Oracle-Bone Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins). Ed. Yao Xiaosui 姚孝遂 and Xiao Ding 肖丁. 3 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989.
- **Yinxu jiagu keci moshi zongji* 殷墟甲骨刻辭摹釋總集 (A General Collection to the Reproduction of the Carved Oracle-Bone Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins and Their Transcriptions). Ed. Yao Xiaosui and Xiao Ding. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988.

- **Yinxu jiagu keci moshi zongji jiaoding* 殷墟甲骨刻辭摹釋總集校訂 (A General Collection to the Reproduction of the Carved Oracle-Bone Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins and Their Transcriptions: A Revision). By Bai Yulan 白于藍. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2004.
- **Yinxu jiaguwen moshi quanbian* 殷墟甲骨文摹釋全編 (Reproduction of the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins and Their Transcriptions: A Complete Compilation). By Chen Nianfu 陳年福. 10 vols. Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2010. [It collects, for example, *Jiaguwen heji*, *Jiaguwen heji bubian*, *Xiaotun nandi jiagu* 小屯南地甲骨 (Oracle Bones from Nandi, Xiaotun), *Yingguo suocang jiagu ji* 英國所藏甲骨集 (Oracle Bone Collections in Great Britain), *Huaiteshi deng suocang jiagu wenji* 懷特氏等所藏甲骨文集 (Oracle Bone Collections by the White Family and Others), and *Yinxu Huayuanzhuang Dongdi jiagu* 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨 (Oracle Bones from the Yin Ruins at Dongdi, Huayuanzhuang).]
- Yupian jiaoshi* 玉篇校釋 (Revised and Annotated *Jade Chapters*). By Hu Jixuan 胡吉宣. 6 vols. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989.
- Zhengzi tong* 正字通 (Mastering Correct Characters). By Zhang Zilie 張自烈. *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, vols. 234 and 235. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.
- Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏 (A Commentary on the *Zhouli*). *Shisanjing zhushu fu jiaokan ji*, vol. 3, pp. 1361-2030.
- Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義 (Correct Meaning of the *Yijing*). *Shisanjing zhushu fu jiaokan ji*, vol. 1, pp. 13-227.
- Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Collected Commentaries on the *Zhuangzi*). By Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩. 3 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961.
- Zhuangzi jiaoquan* 莊子校詮 (A Collation and Annotation to the *Zhuangzi*). By Wang Shumin 王叔岷. 3 vols. Taipei: Lexue shuju, 1999.
- Zhuangzi zhushu* 莊子注疏 (A Commentary and Subcommentary on the *Zhuangzi*). Comm. by Guo Xiang 郭象 and Cheng Xuanying 成玄英. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011.

Secondary Sources

Note: (1) This list includes modern works in Chinese, translations of Chinese sources into European languages, reference books and dictionaries, as well as other Sinological materials in European languages. (2) Internet sources are not listed below but only appear in the footnotes.

Adamek, Piotr. 2015. *A Good Son Is Sad if He Hears the Name of His Father: The Tabooing of Names in China as a Way of Implementing Social Values*. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 66. Sankt Augustin – Leeds: Monumenta Serica Institute – Maney Publishing.

- Ames, Roger T. – David L. Hall. 1998. "Chinese Philosophy." In: Edward Craig (ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. 10 vols. London – New York: Routledge, vol. 2, pp. 315-328.
- Baldrian-Hussein, Farzeen. 2008. "Hun and Po 魂魄: Yang Soul(s) and Yin Soul(s); Celestial Soul(s) and Earthly Soul(s)." In: Fabrizio Pregadio (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. 2 vols. London – New York: Routledge, vol. 1, pp. 521-523.
- Baller, Frederick William. 1900. *An Analytical Chinese-English Dictionary: Compiled for the China Inland Mission*. Shanghai: China Inland Mission and American Presbyterian Mission Press.
- Benfey, Theodore. 1866. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary with References to the Best Editions of Sanskrit Authors and Etymologies and Comparisons of Cognate Words Chiefly in Greek, Latin, Gothic and Anglo-Saxon*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Bodde, Derk. 1975. *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty 206 B.C. – A.D. 220*. Princeton, NJ – Hong Kong: Princeton University Press – The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- Boltz, William G. 1993. "Shuo wen chieh tzu 說文解字." In: Loewe 1993a, pp. 429-442.
- . 1994. *The Origin and Early Development of the Chinese Writing System*. New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society.
- Brindley, Erica. 2009. "'The Perspicuity of Ghost and Spirits' and the Problem of Intellectual Affiliations in Early China." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129 (2009) 2, pp. 215-236.
- Brooks, A. Taeko. 2003-2004. "Heaven, Li, and the Formation of the Zuozhuan 左傳." *Oriens Extremus* 44 (2003-2004), pp. 51-100.
- Cai Fanglu 蔡方鹿 *et al.* 1990. *Qi 氣*. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue.
- Cai Jiehua 蔡潔華. 2014. *Das Tianfei niangma zhuan des Wu Huanchu*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Cai Renhou 蔡仁厚. 1993. *Mojia zhexue 墨家哲學*. Taipei: Dongda.
- Campany, Robert Ford. 1996. *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Cao Huajie 曹花杰. 2013. "Taiping guangji jingguai gushi muti yanjiu" 太平广记精怪故事母题研究. M.A. thesis, Jimei daxue (Xiamen).
- Cao Zhenyu 曹振宇. 2010. "Chujian guishen zhi ming yu Mojia guanxi" 楚简鬼神之明与墨家关系. *Mozi yanjiu luncong 墨子研究论丛* 9 (2010), pp. 556-571.
- Ceng Zhenyu 曾振宇. 2001. *Zhongguo qilun zhexue yanjiu 中国气论哲学研究*. Jinan: Shandong daxue.
- Chan Wing-Tsit 陳榮捷. 1963. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Chang Chun-shu – Shelley Hsueh-lun Chang. 1998. *Redefining History: Ghosts, Spirits, and Human Society in Pu Sung-ling's World, 1640-1715*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

- Chang, Ruth H. 2000. "Understanding *Di* and *Tian*: Deity and Heaven from Shang to Tang Dynasties." *Sino-Platonic Papers* 108 (2000), pp. 1-54.
- Chang Tsung-Tung 張聰東. 1970. *Der Kult der Shang-Dynastie im Spiegel der Orakelschriften: Eine paläographische Studie zur Religion im archaischen China*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Chang Yuzhi 常玉芝. 2010. *Shangdai zongjiao jisi* 商代宗教祭祀. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.
- Chao Fulin 晁福林. 1995. "Chunqiu shiqi de guishen guannian ji qi shehui yingxiang" 春秋时期的鬼神观念及其社会影响. *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 1995/5, pp. 20-35.
- . 2018. "Xian-Qin shiqi gui, hun guannian de qi yuan ji tedian" 先秦时期鬼、魂观念的起源及特点. *Lishi yanjiu* 2018/3, pp. 4-20.
- Chen Bo 陳波. 2003. "'Gui' zi yongfa de fazhan ji dui Hanyu cihui de yingxiang" 「鬼」字用法的发展及对汉语词汇的影响. *Wuhan ligong daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 武汉理工大学学报(社会科学版) 16 (2003) 3, pp. 326-330.
- Chen Chun 陳淳. 1986. *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained: The Beixi ziyi* 北溪字義. Trans. by Chan Wing-Tsit. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chen Fuhua 陈复华 – He Jiuying 何九盈. 1987. *Guyun tongxiao* 古韵通晓. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.
- Chen Guying 陳鼓應. 1978. *Laozi jinzhū jīnyī jī pīngjiē* 老子今注今譯及評介. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan.
- . 2016. *The Philosophy of Life: A New Reading of the Zhuangzi*. Trans. by Dominique Hertzner. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Chen Jue 陳珏. 1999. "'Shooting Sand at People's Shadow': *Yingshe* as a Mode of Representation in Medieval Chinese Literature." *Monumenta Serica* 47 (1999), pp. 169-207.
- Chen Lai 陈来. 2001. *Gudai sixiang wenhua de shijie: Chunqiu shidai de zongjiao, lunli yu shehui sixiang* 古代思想文化的世界——春秋时代的宗教、伦理与社会思想. Beijing: Sanlian shudian.
- . 2017. *Gudai zongjiao yu lunli: Rujia sixiang de genyuan* 古代宗教与伦理——儒家思想的根源. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.
- Chen Mengjia 陳夢家. 2005. "Xi Zhou tongqi duandai (si)" 西周銅器斷代(四). In: *Jinwen wenxian jicheng*, vol. 38, pp. 284-286.
- Chen Yuehong 陈跃红 – Xu Xinjian 徐新建 – Qian Yinyu 钱荫榆. 1991. *Zhongguo nuo wenhua* 中国雒文化. Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe.
- Cheng, Anne [Cheng Ailan 程艾藍]. 1993a. "Ch'un ch'iu 春秋, Kung yang 公羊, Ku liang 穀梁 and Tso chuan 左傳." In: Loewe 1993a, pp. 67-76.
- . 1993b. "Lun yü 論語." In: Loewe 1993a, pp. 313-323.
- Cheng Bangxiong 程邦雄. 1997. "'Gui' zi xingyi qiantan" 「鬼」字形义浅探. *Huazhong ligong daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 华中理工大学学报(社会科学版) 1997/3, pp. 102-104.

- Childs-Johnson, Elizabeth. 1995. "The Ghost Head Mask and Metamorphic Shang Imagery." *Early China* 20 (1995), pp. 79-92.
- Ching, Julia. 2000. *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cho Yong Jun 趙容俊. 2003. *Yinshang jiagu buci suojian zhi wushu* 殷商甲骨卜辭所見之巫術 (References to Shamanism in the Shang Dynasty Oracle Bones). Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe.
- Cline, Erin M. 2014. "Religious Thought and Practice in the *Analects*." In: Olberding 2014, pp. 259-291.
- Coblin, W. South. 1983. *A Handbook of Eastern Han Sound Glosses*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- . 1993. "Erh ya 爾雅." In: Loewe 1993a, pp. 94-99.
- Compagnie de Jésus. 1877. *Dictionarium linguae Sinicae Latinum cum brevi interpretatione Gallica, ex radicum ordine dispositum*. Ho Kien Fou: In missione catholica S.J.
- Cook, Constance A. 2006. *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Cook, Scott (ed.). 2003. *Hiding the World in the World: Uneven Discourse on the Zhuangzi*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Crone, Thomas. 2014. "Der Begriff *min* 民 in Texten der Westlichen Zhou-Dynastie (1050–771 v.Chr.)." *Orientierungen* 26 (2014) 1, pp. 33-53.
- . 2016. "The Semantic Change of the Word *min* 民 in Texts of the Eastern Zhou Period (771–221 BC)," *Asiatische Studien* 70 (2016) 3, pp. 675-699.
- Cui Zhenhua 崔振华 – Li Dongsheng 李东生. 1993. *Zhongguo gudai lifa* 中国古代历法. Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe.
- de Guignes, Chrétien Louis Joseph (ed.). 1813. *Dictionnaire chinois, français et latin* [*Hanzi xi yi*] 漢字西譯. Paris: De l'Imprimerie Impériale.
- . 1853. *Dictionarium Sinico-Latinum* [*Han-Yang zidian*] 漢洋字典. Hong Kong: Typis missionis de propaganda fide.
- Defoort, Carine. 2016. "The Gradual Growth of the Mohist Core Philosophy: Tracing Fixed Formulations in the *Mozi*." *Monumenta Serica* 64 (2016) 1, pp. 1-22.
- Defoort, Carine – Nicolas Standaert (eds.). 2013. *The Mozi as an Evolving Text: Divergent Voices in Early Chinese Thought*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- DeWoskin, Kenneth J. – J.I. Crump (trans.). 1996. *In Search of the Supernatural: The Written Record*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Ding Sixin 丁四新. 2007. "Lun Chujian *Guishenpian* de guishenguan ji qi xuepai guishu" 論楚簡鬼神篇的鬼神觀及其學派歸屬. In: Guo Qiyong 郭齊勇 (ed.), *Rujia wenhua yanjiu* 儒家文化研究. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, vol. 1, pp. 399-422.
- Douglas, Carstairs. 1899. *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular of Spoken Language of Amoy with the Principal Variations of the Chang-Chew and Chin-Chew Dialects*. London: Publishing Office of the Presbyterian Church of England.

- Du Zhengsheng 杜正勝. 2002. "Gudai wuguai zhi yanjiu: Yizhong xintaishi he wenhuashi de tansuo" 古代物怪之研究——一種心態史和文化史的探索. *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 104 (2002) 1, pp. 1-14; 104 (2002) 2, pp. 1-15; 104 (2002) 3, pp. 1-10.
- Durrant, Stephen – Wai-ye Li – David Schaberg (trans.). 2016. *Zuo Tradition Zuo Zhuan* 左傳: *Commentary on the "Spring and Autumn Annals."* Seattle – London: University of Washington Press.
- Eno, Robert. 2009. "Shang State Religion and the Pantheon of the Oracle Texts." In: Lagerwey – Kalinowski 2009, vol. 1, pp. 41-102.
- Falkenhausen, Lothar von. 1995. "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China: The Wu Officials in the *Zhou Li*." *Early China* 20 (1995), pp. 279-300.
- Fang Junji 方俊吉. 1985. *Liji zhi tiandi guishenguan tanjiu* 禮記之天地鬼神觀探究. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe.
- Fang Pingquan 方平權. 1986. "Shilun fanqie yiqian de zhuyin" 試論反切以前的注音. *Yunmeng xuekan* 云夢學刊 1986/1, pp. 66-70.
- . 1989. "Pikuang bushi zuizao de zhuyin fangfa" 譬況不是最早的注音方法. *Gu Hanyu yanjiu* 古漢語研究 2 (1989) 1, pp. 44-46.
- Feuchtwang, Stephan. 2010. *The Anthropology of Religion, Charisma and Ghosts: Chinese Lessons for Adequate Theory*. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Fischer, Paul. 2012. *Shizi: China's First Syncretist*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Forke, Alfred (trans.). 1907. *Lun-Heng: Philosophical Essays of Wang Chung*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Fraser, Chris. 2016. *The Philosophy of the Mozi: The First Consequentialists*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Frazer, James George. 1990. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. 1st ed. 1922. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gao Heng 高亨. 1943. *Chongding Laozi zhenggu* 重訂老子正詁. Shanghai: Kaiming shudian.
- Gao Ming 高明. 1996. *Zhongguo guwenzi xue tonglun* 中國古文字學通論. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.
- Gasde, Horst-Dieter (ed.). 1985. *Chinesisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch [Han-De cidian]* 漢德詞典. 2 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Gibas, Piotr. 2017. "Mozi and the Ghosts: The Concept of Ming 明 in Mozi's 'Minggui' 明鬼." *Early China* 40 (2017), pp. 89-123.
- Giles, Herbert A. 1964. *A Chinese-English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. revised and enlarged. 2 vols. New York: Paragon.
- Glahn, Richard von. 2004. *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press.

- Goldammer, Kurt. 1960. *Die Formenwelt des Religiösen: Grundriss der systematischen Religionswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner.
- Goldin, Paul Rakita. 2001. "The Thirteen Classics." In: Victor H. Mair (ed.), *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 86-96.
- . 2011. "Why *Mozi* Is Included in the Daoist Canon or, Why There Is More to Mohism than Utilitarian Ethics." In: R.A.H. King – Dennis Schilling (eds.), *How Should One Live? Comparing Ethics in Ancient China and Greco-Roman Antiquity*. Berlin – Boston: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 63-91.
- Gong Min 龚敏. 2009. "'Gui' zi ganqing secail he yufa yiyi de yanbian" 「鬼」字感情色彩和语法意义的演变. *Dongjing wenxue* 东京文学 2009/3, pp. 62-63.
- Goodrich, Anne S. 1991. *Peking Paper Gods: A Look at Home Worship*. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 23. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag.
- Goodrich, L. Carrington – Chaoying Fang (eds.). 1976. *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644* [Mingdai mingren zhuan] 明代名人傳. 2 vols. New York – London: Columbia University Press.
- Graham, Angus Charles (trans.). 1960. *The Book of Lieh-tzū: A New Translation*. London: John Murray.
- . 1978. *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science*. Hong Kong – London: The Chinese University Press – The School of Oriental and African Studies.
- . 1986. *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking*. Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies.
- . 1989. *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*. La Salle, IL: Open Court.
- . 1993. "Mo tzu 墨子." In: Loewe 1993a, pp. 336-341.
- Grundmann, Joern Peter. 2017. "The Term *min* 民 as a Political Concept in Western Zhou Thought." *Rao Zongyi guoxueyuan yuankan* 饒宗頤國學院院刊 2017/4, pp. 111-135.
- Guo Mengzhen 郭梦真. 2013. "Guishen mingcheng he zongjiao wenhua: Lüetan Zhongguo guishen mingcheng suo yunhan de zongjiao wenhua" 鬼神名称和宗教文化——略谈中国鬼神名称所蕴含的宗教文化. *Jiannan wenxue (Jingdian yuedu)* 剑南文学 (经典阅读) 2013/5, pp. 158-159.
- Guo Qitao. 2003. *Exorcism and Money: The Symbolic World of the Five-Fury Spirits in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.
- Guo Rui 郭瑞. 2003. "Shuowen, Yupian, Wanxiang mingyi bushou zhi bijiao fenxi" 说文、玉篇、万象名义部首之比较分析. *Zhongguo wenzi yanjiu* 中国文字研究 4 (2003), pp. 191-193.
- Hall, David L. – Roger T. Ames. 1995. *Anticipating China: Thinking through the Narratives of Chinese and Western Culture*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1995.

- Han, Christina. 2012. "Cremation and Body Burning in Five Dynasties China." *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 55 (July 2012), pp. 1-22.
- Han-Ying cidian bianxiezu 汉英词典编写组 (eds.) 1978. *A Chinese-English Dictionary* 汉英词典. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan.
- Hao Zhennan 郝振楠. 2008. "Rishu suojian Qinren gui guannian shulun" 日书所见秦人鬼观念述论. In: Ge Zhiyi 葛志毅 (ed.), *Zhongguo gudai shehui yu sixiang wenhua yanjiu lunji* 中国古代社会与思想文化研究论集. Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, vol. 3, pp. 52-69.
- Harper, Donald. 1985. "A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century B.C." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45 (1985) 2, pp. 459-498.
- . 2017. "Daybooks in the Context of Manuscript Culture and Popular Culture Studies." In: Harper – Kalinowski 2017, pp. 91-137.
- Harper, Donald – Marc Kalinowski (eds.). 2017. *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- He Dewei 何德威. 2013. "Zuozhuan guishen guannian xinlun" 左传鬼神观念新论. M.A. thesis, Nanjing daxue.
- He Jiuying 何九盈 – Hu Shuangbao 胡双宝 – Zhang Meng 张猛. 1995. *Zhongguo Hanzi wenhua daguan* 中国汉字文化大观. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.
- Heidegger, Martin. 1967. *Sein und Zeit*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Henderson, John B. 1984. *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hirakawa Akira 平川彰 (ed.) 1997. *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary* 佛教漢梵大辭典. Tokyo: The Reiyukai.
- Hirota Ritsuko 广田律子. 2005. "Gui" zhi lailu: *Zhongguo de jiamian yu jili* 「鬼」之来路——中国的假面与祭礼. Trans. by Wang Rulan 王汝澜 and An Xiaotie 安小铁. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Höchsmann, Hyun – Yang Guorong. 2007. *Zhuangzi*. New York: Longman.
- Huang Junlang 黄俊朗. 1983. "Lunyu bayi pian 'ji ruzai' zhang shiyi" 論語八佾篇「祭如在」章釋義. In: Guoli Zhengzhi daxue Zhongwenxi suo 國立政治大學中文系所 (eds.), *Hanxue lunwenji: Lunyu zhuanhao* 漢學論文集——論語專號. Taipei: Wenshizhe, pp. 37-44.
- Huang Ren'er 黄人二. 2009. "Shangbo cang jian diwu ce guishen zhiming yu Mozi minggui: Jianlun zhujian muzhu de xuepai wenti" 上博藏簡第五册鬼神之明與墨子明鬼——兼論竹簡墓主的學派問題. In: Fang Yong 方勇 (ed.), *Zhuzi xuekan* 諸子學刊. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, vol. 2, pp. 267-278.
- Huang Shenghua 黄盛华 – Zhou Qiyun 周启云. 1995. *Gui wenhua* 鬼文化. Beijing: Zhongguo jingji chubanshe.

- Huang Tianshu 黃天樹. 2006. "Yinxu jiaguwen guiri bushuo" 殷墟甲骨文鬼日補說. In: *Huang Tianshu guwenzi lunji* 黃天樹古文字論集. Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, pp. 237-239
- Huang Zexin 黃澤新. 1993. *Zhongguo de gui* 中國的鬼. Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe.
- Hui Yu 惠宇 (ed.). 2002. *A New Century Chinese-English Dictionary [Xin shiji Han-Ying da cidian]* 新世紀漢英大詞典. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.
- Hulsewé, A.F.P. 1985. *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal and Administrative Rules of the 3rd Century B.C. Discovered in Yunmeng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province, in 1975*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hunter, Michael – Martin Kern (eds.). 2018. *Confucius and the Analects Revisited: New Perspectives on Composition, Dating, and Authorship*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Les Instituts Ricci (eds.). 2001. *Le Grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise [Lishi Han-Fa cidian]* 利氏漢法辭典. 7 vols. Paris – Taipei: Desclée de Brouwer – Instituts Ricci.
- Johnson, Jerry Alan. 2012. *Daoist Exorcism: Encounters with Sorcerers, Ghosts, Spirits, and Demons. The Secret Teaching of Esoteric Daoist Magic*. Monterey, CA: The Temple of the Celestial Cloud.
- Johnston, Ian (trans.). 2010. *The Mozi: A Complete Translation*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Jones, Stephen. 2010. *In Search of the Folk Daoists of North China*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Kang Yin 康殷. 1983. *Guwenzi xue xinlun* 古文字學新論. Beijing: Rongbaozhai.
- Karlgren, Bernhard. 1950. *The Book of Odes*. Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.
- . 1957. *Grammata Serica Recensa*. Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.
- Katz, Paul R. 1995. *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Keelan, F.X. 1967. *Chinese Characters Explained [Hanzi de fenjie]* 漢字的分解. Taizhong: Guangqi chubanshe.
- Keightley, David N. 1978. *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China*. Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- . 2014. *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Kern, Martin. 2009. "Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shijing* and the *Shangshu*: The Evolution of the Ancestral Sacrifice during the Western Zhou." In: Lagerwey – Kalinowski 2009, vol. 1, pp. 143-200.
- Kohn, Livia. 2014. *Zhuangzi: Text and Context*. St. Petersburg, FL: Three Pines Press.

- Koo Yung Hoi 具隆會. 2013. *Jiaguwen yu Yin Shang shidai shenling chongbai yanjiu* 甲骨文與殷商時代神靈崇拜研究. Beijing Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.
- Kroll, Paul W. 2015. *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Kubin, Wolfgang (comm. and trans.). 2017. *Lie Zi: Von der Kunst, auf dem Wind zu reiten*. Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder.
- Kudo Motoo 工藤元男. 2010. *Shuihudi Qinjian suojian Qindai guojia yu shehui* 睡虎地秦簡所見秦代國家與社會. Trans. by Hirose Kunio 廣瀨薰雄 and Cao Feng 曹峰. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- Lagerwey, John – Marc Kalinowski (eds.) 2009. *Early Chinese Religion. Part One: Shang Through Han (1250 B.C. – 220 A.D.)*. 2 vols. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Lagerwey, John – Lü Pengzhi (eds.). 2010. *Early Chinese Religion. Part Two: The Period of Division (220–589 A.D.)*. 2 vols. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Lai Guolong. 2015. *Excavating the Afterlife: The Archaeology of Early Chinese Religion*. Seattle – London: University of Washington Press.
- Lai Yasheng 賴亞生. 1993. *Shenmi de guihun shijie: Zhongguo guiwenhua tanmi* 神秘的鬼魂世界——中國鬼文化探秘. Beijing: Renmin Zhongguo chubanshe.
- Lan, Conrado Eggers. 1995. “Body and Soul in Plato's Anthropology.” *Ketos* 1995/8, pp. 107-112.
- Lao Xinghua 勞醒華. “Qiantan gushu zhong zi, ci de zhuyin, niyin fangfa” 淺談古書中字、詞的注音、擬音方法. *Qian dongnan minzu shizhuan xuebao* 黔东南民族師專學報 20 (2002) 2, pp. 68-69.
- Lau, D.C. (trans.). 1983. *Confucius, The Analects* (Lun yü). Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Legge, James (trans.). 1966a. *The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Confucianism: The Li Ki, Part III: I-X*. 1st ed. London, 1885. Reprint. Delhi – Varanasi – Patna: Motilal Banarsidass.
- (trans.). 1966b. *The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Confucianism: The Li Ki, Part IV: XI-XLVI*. 1st ed. London, 1885. Reprint. Delhi – Varanasi – Patna: Motilal Banarsidass.
- (trans. and ed.). 1992a. *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5: *The Chun Tsew with the Tso Chuen*. 1st ed. London, 1872. 2nd ed., revised. Taipei: SMC Publishing.
- (trans. and ed.). 1992b. *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4: *The She King or the Book of Poetry*. 1st ed. London, 1871. 2nd ed., revised. Taipei: SMC Publishing.
- (trans. and ed.). 1992c. *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2: *The Works of Mencius*. 1st ed. London, 1894. 3rd ed. Taipei: SMC Publishing.
- Li Shixiao 李世曉. 2010. “Handai de Huchi hanba huaxiang yanjiu” 漢代的虎吃早魃圖像研究. *Nandu xuetan* (Nanyang shifan xueyuan renwen shehui kexue xuebao) 南都學壇 (南陽師範學院人文社會科學學報) 30 (2010) 6, pp. 139-140.
- Li Wanchun 李萬春. 1992. *Hanzi yu minsu* 漢字與民俗. Kunming: Yunnan jiaoyu chubanshe.

- Li Xueqin 李学勤. 2005. "Xiao Yu Ding yu Xi Zhou zhidu" 小孟鼎与西周制度. In: *Jinwen wenxian jicheng*, vol. 28, pp. 258-260.
- Li Yihui 李亦辉. 2012. "Cong cihuaben dao kanben: Lun Fengshen yanyi de chengshu, banben ji bianzhe wenti" 从词话本到刊本——论封神演义的成书、版本及编者问题. *Suzhou daxue xuebao (Zhhexue shehui kexue ban)* 苏州大学学报 (哲学社会科学版) 2012/5, pp. 110-116.
- Li Yiyuan 李亦園. 1995. "Zhongguo wenhua zhong xiao chuantong de zai renshi" 中國文化中小傳統的再認識. *Xiandai yu chuantong* 現代與傳統 8 (1995), pp. 16-24.
- Li You-Sheng. 2010. *The Ancient Chinese Super State of Primary Societies: Taoist Philosophy for the 21st Century*. Bloomington, IN: Author House.
- Lian Shaoming 连劭名. 2001. "Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu ji Jie pian buzheng" 睡虎地秦简日书及诂篇补证. *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 2001/1, pp. 30, 78-79.
- Liang Guozhen 梁国真. 1999. "Shangdai de tianshen chongbai, zuxian chongbai ji qi xiangguan wenti" 商代的天神崇拜、祖先崇拜及其相关问题. In: Zhang Guangming 张光明 (ed.), *Xia Shang Zhou wenming yanjiu* 夏商周文明研究. Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, pp. 401-421.
- Liao Wen-Kuei (trans.). 1939. *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu* 韓非子: *A Classic of Chinese Legalism*. 2 vols. London: Arthur Probsthain.
- Lin Fushi 林富士. 2005. "Shi mei: Yi Xian-Qin zhi Liu-Chao shiqi de wenxian ziliao weizhu de kaocha" 釋魅——以先秦至六朝時期的文獻資料為主的考察. In: Poo Mu-chou 2005a, pp. 109-134.
- Lin Liming 林礼明. 1993. *Guiyu shijie: Zhongguo chuantong wenhua dui gui de renshi* 鬼蜮世界——中国传统文化对鬼的认识. Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe.
- Lin Yin 林尹. 1974. *Wenzixue gaishuo* 文字學概說. 3rd ed. Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju.
- Liu Lexian 刘乐贤. 1993. "Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu de neirong, xingzhi ji xiangguan wenti" 睡虎地秦简日书的内容、性质及相关问题. *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yanjiushengyuan xuebao* 中国社会科学院研究生院学报 1993/1, pp. 67-74.
- . 1994. *Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu yanjiu* 睡虎地秦简日书研究. Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe.
- Liu Ming 刘明. 2005. "Kongzi guishenguan de zai fenxi" 孔子鬼神观的再分析. *Huabei shuili shuidian xueyuan xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 华北水利水电学院学报 (社会科学版) 21 (2005) 2, pp. 58-60.
- Liu Shantao 刘善涛 - Wang Xiao 王晓. 2018. "Han wai yuwen cishu bianzuan sibainian" 汉外语文辞书编纂四百年 (1575-1950). *Guoji Hanxue* 国际汉学 14 (2018) 1, pp. 102-108, 205.
- Liu Shufen 劉淑芬. 2005. "Zhonggu sengren de famo wenshu" 中古僧人的伐魔文書. In: Poo Mu-chou 2005a, pp. 135-173.

- Liu Tseng-kuei 劉增貴. 2001. "Qinjian *Rishu* zhong de chuxing lisu yu xinyang" 秦簡日書中的出行禮俗與信仰. *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 72 (2001) 3, pp. 503-541.
- Liu Xiang 劉翔 *et al.* 1989. *Shang – Zhou guwenzi duben* 商周古文字讀本. Beijing: Yuwen chubanshe.
- Liu Xiaogan (ed.). 2015a. *Dao Companion to Daoist Philosophy*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- . 2015b. "Zhuangzi's Philosophy: A Three Dimensional Reconstruction." In: Liu Xiaogan 2015a, pp. 193-219.
- Liu Yanyan 劉彥彥. 2007. "Lun *Fengshen yanyi* de zuozhe" 論封神演義的作者. *Huabei shili shuidian xueyuan xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 華北水利水电学院学报 (社会科学版) 23 (2007) 2, pp. 59-61.
- . 2009. "*Fengshen yanyi* yanjiu zongshu" 封神演義研究綜述. *Ningxia shifan xueyuan xuebao (Shehui kexue)* 寧夏師範學院学报 (社会科学) 30 (2009) 2, pp. 81-85.
- Liu Yue 劉躍. 2010. "*Liji* tianrenguan yu guishenguan chutan" 禮記天人觀與鬼神觀初探. *Lianyungang shifan gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* 連雲港師範高等專科學校学报 2010/1, pp. 21-25.
- Liu Zhao 劉釗. 2004. "Tan Qinjian zhong de guiguai" 談秦簡中的鬼怪. In: *id.* (ed.), *Chutu jianbo wenzi congkao* 出土簡帛文字叢考. Taipei: Wunan tushu, pp. 137-146.
- . 2006. *Guwenzi gouxingxue* 古文字構形學. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe.
- . 2012. "Shuo ji" 說魅. *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 83 (2012) 4, pp. 122-128.
- Liu Zhongyu 劉仲宇. 1997. "Wumei, rengui yu shenqi: Zhongguo yuanshi chongbai tixi xingcheng de lishi gouchen" 物魅、人鬼與神祇——中國原始崇拜體系形成的歷史鉤沉. *Zongjiao zhexue* 宗教哲學 11 (1997) 3, pp. 16-35.
- Loewe, Michael. 1988. "The Almanacs (*jih-shu*) from Shui-hu-ti: A Preliminary Survey." *Asia Major* 1 (1988) 2, pp. 1-27.
- (ed.). 1993a. *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*. Berkeley, CA: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies.
- . 1993b. "*Shih ching* 詩經." In: Loewe 1993a, pp. 415-423.
- Loewe, Michael – Edward L. Shaughnessy (eds.). 1999. *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowe, Scott. 1992. *Mo Tzu's Religious Blueprint for a Chinese Utopia: The Will and the Way*. Lewiston – Queenston – Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Lu Xun 魯迅. 2005. *Lu Xun quanji: Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe he Han wenxueshi gangyao* 魯迅全集——中國小說史略和漢文學史綱要. Vol. 9. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

- Luo Chunrong 骆春榕. 2012. “*Liji suojian guiguannian bianxi*” 礼记所见鬼观念辨析. *Changjiang daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 长江大学学报 (社会科学版) 35 (2012) 4, pp. 6-7.
- Luo Jianjin 罗见今. “*Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu Xuange pian goucheng jiexi*” 睡虎地秦简日书玄戈篇构成解析. *Ziran bianzhengfa tongxun* 自然辩证法通讯 37 (2015) 1, pp. 65-70.
- Ma Changyi 馬昌儀. 1999. *Zhongguo linghun xinyang* 中國靈魂信仰. Taipei: Yunlong chubanshe.
- Maeder, Erik W. 1992. “Some Observations on the Composition of the ‘Core Chapters’ of the *Mozi*.” *Early China* 17 (1992), pp. 27-82.
- Mair, Victor H. (trans.). 1994. *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Makeham, John. 1997. “The Earliest Extant Commentary on *Lunyu*: *Lunyu Zheng shi zhu*.” *T’oung Pao* 83 (1997) 4-5, pp. 260-299.
- Martzloff, Jean-Claude. 2016. *Astronomy and Calendars: The Other Chinese Mathematics 104 BC – AD 1644*. Heidelberg – Berlin: Springer.
- Mei Liangyong 梅良勇 – Yu Min 余敏. 2010. “*Mozi shengsiguan tanwei*” 墨子生死观探微. *Mozi yanjiu luncong* 9 (2010), pp. 353-365.
- Mei Liangyong – Yu Shilan 俞世兰. 2013. “*Mozi de zongjiaoguan yanjiu*” 墨子的宗教观研究. *Mozi yanjiu luncong* 10 (2013), pp. 374-383.
- Mei Yi-Pao [梅貽寶]. 1929. *The Ethical and Political Works of Motse*. London: Arthur Probsthain.
- Møllgaard, Eske. 2005. “Zhuangzi’s Notion of Transcendental Life.” *Asian Philosophy* 15 (2005) 1, pp. 1-18.
- Morrison, Robert. 1815–1823. *A Dictionary of Chinese Language*. 3 parts. Macao: The Honorable East India Company’s Press.
- Needham, Joseph. 1956. *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 2: *History of Scientific Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ogiwara Unrai 荻原雲來 (ed.). 1988. *Hanyi duizhao Fan-He dacidian* 漢譯對照梵和太辭典. 2 vols. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe.
- Olberding, Amy (ed.). 2014. *Dao Companion to the Analects*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Otto, Rudolph. 1936. *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*. Trans. by John W. Harvey. 1st. ed., 1923. London: Oxford University Press.
- Overmyer, Daniel L. – David N. Keightley – Edward L. Shaughnessy – Constance A. Cook – Donald Harper. 1995. “Chinese Religions – The State of the Field. Part I: Early Religious Traditions: The Neolithic Period through the Han Dynasty (ca. 4000 B.C.E. to 220 C.E.).” *Journal of Asian Studies* 54 (1995) 1, pp. 124-160.

- Overmyer, Daniel L. – Gary Arbuckle – Dru C. Gladney – John R. McRae – Rodney L. Taylor – Stephen F. Teiser – Franciscus Verellen. 1995. “Chinese Religions – The State of the Field. Part II: Living Religious Traditions: Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam and Popular Religion.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 54 (1995) 2, pp. 314-395.
- Pine, Red (trans.). 1996. *Lao-Tzu's Taoteching with Selected Commentaries of the Past 2,000 Years*. San Francisco: Mercury House.
- Pines, Yuri. 2002. *Foundations of Confucian Thought: Intellectual Life in the Chunqiu Period, 722–453 B.C.E.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- . 2009. “Chinese History Writing between the Sacred and the Secular.” In: Lagerwey – Kalinowski 2009, vol. 1, pp. 315-340.
- Poletti, P. 1907. *A Chinese and English Dictionary [Hua-Ying wanzidian] 華英萬字典: Arranged According to Radicals and Sub-Radicals, Containing 12,650 Chinese Characters with the Pronunciation in the Peking Dialect*. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press.
- Poo Mu-chou 蒲慕洲. 1993a. *Muzang yu shengsi: Zhongguo gudai zongjiao zhi xingsi* 墓葬與生死——中國古代宗教之省思. Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe.
- . 1993b. “Popular Religion in Pre-Imperial China: Observations on the Almanacs of Shui-Hu-Ti.” *T'oung Pao* 79 (1993), pp. 225-248.
- . 1993c. “Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu de shijie” 睡虎地秦簡日書的世界. *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 62 (1993) 4, pp. 623-675.
- . 1998. *In Search of Personal Welfare: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- . 2004. “The Concept of Ghost in Ancient Chinese Religion.” In: John Lagerwey (ed.), *Religion and Chinese Society: Ancient and Medieval China*. 2 vols. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, vol. 1, pp. 173-191.
- (ed.). 2005a. *Guimei shenmo: Zhongguo tongsu wenhua cexie* 鬼魅神魔——中國通俗文化側寫. Taipei: Maitian.
- . 2005b. “Zhongguo gudai gui lunshu de xingcheng (Xian-Qin zhi Handai) 中國古代鬼論述的形成 (先秦至漢代)” . In: *id.* 2005a, pp. 19-40.
- (ed.). 2009a. *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- . 2009b. “Ritual and Ritual Texts in Early China.” In: Lagerwey – Kalinowski 2009, vol. 1, pp. 281-313.
- Puett, Michael J. 2002. *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-divinization in Early China*. Cambridge, MA – London: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute.
- . 2003. “‘Nothing Can Overcome Heaven’: The Notion of Spirit in the *Zhuangzi*.” In: Cook 2003, pp. 248-262.
- . 2009. “Combining the Ghosts and Spirits, Centering the Realm: Mortuary Ritual and Political Organization in the Ritual Compendia of Early China.” In: Lagerwey – Kalinowski 2009, vol. 2, pp. 695-720.
- Qian Fu 钱萋. 2000. *Nuosu shi* 傜俗史. Nanning: Guangxi minzu chubanshe.

- Qian Zhongshu 錢鐘書. 1998. *Limited Views: Essays on Ideas and Letters*. Selected and translated by Ronald Egan. Cambridge, MA – London: The Harvard University Asia Center.
- Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭. 2000. *Chinese Writing [Wenzixue gaiyao]* 文字學概要. Trans. by Gilbert L. Mattos and Jerry Norman. Berkeley, CA: The Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.
- Rao Zongyi (Jao Tsung-I) 饒宗頤. 1978. “Shendao sixiang yu lixing zhuyi” 神道思想與理性主義. *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 49 (1978) 3, pp. 489-513.
- Rao Zongyi – Zeng Xiantong 曾憲通. 1982. *Yunmeng Qinjian Rishu yanjiu* 雲夢秦簡日書研究. Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe.
- Redmond, Geoffrey. 2017. *The I Ching (Book of Changes): A Critical Translation of the Ancient Text*. London – New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Reiter, Florian C. (ed.). 2011. *Exorcism in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Riegel, Jeffrey K. 1993. “Li chi 禮記.” In: Loewe 1993a, pp. 293-297.
- Roth, H.D. 1993. “Chuang tzu 莊子.” In: Loewe 1993a, pp. 56-66.
- Sangren, Paul Steven. 1984. “Great Tradition and Little Traditions Reconsidered: The Question of Cultural Integration in China.” *Journal of Chinese Studies* 1 (1984) 1, pp. 1-24.
- Schuessler, Axel. 2007. *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- . 2009. *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Schwartz, Benjamin Isadore. 1985. *The World of Thought in Ancient China*. Cambridge, MA – London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Shaughnessy, Edward L. 1991. *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford: University of California Press.
- . 1993. “I ching 易經.” In: Loewe 1993a, pp. 216-228.
- (ed.). 1997. *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*. Berkeley, CA: The Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Studies, University of California.
- . 2006. *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Shen Chien-shih 沈兼士. 1936. “An Essay on the Primitive Meaning of the Character 鬼.” Trans. by Ying Ch’ien-li. *Monumenta Serica* 2 (1936) 1, pp. 1-20.
- Shen Gang 沈剛. 2009. “Shuihudi Qinjian Rishu suojian de Qinshi minjian xinyang huodong tanwei” 睡虎地秦簡日書所見的秦時民間信仰活動探微. *Xi’an caijing xueyuan xuebao* 西安財經學院學報 22 (2009) 1, pp. 89-92.
- Shen Yucheng 沈玉成 (trans.). 1981. *Zuozhuan yiwen* 左傳譯文. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981.

- Sheng Yang 盛洋. 2018. *Die Welt des Herrn Missmut: Xuan Ding (1832–1879) und sein Yeyu qiudeng lu*. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag.
- Simon, Rainald (trans.). 2015. *Shijing: Das altchinesische Buch der Lieder*. Stuttgart: Reclam Verlag.
- Slingerland, Edward (trans.). 2003. *Confucius, Analects: With Selections from Traditional Commentaries*. Indianapolis – Cambridge: Hackett.
- Smith, Adam. 2010. “The Chinese Sexagenary Cycle and the Ritual Origins of the Calendar.” In: John M. Steele (ed.), *Calendars and Years II: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient and Medieval World*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 1-37.
- Solomon, Bernard S. 2013. *On the School of Names in Ancient China*. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 64. Sankt Augustin – Nettetal: Steyler Verlag.
- Sterckx, Roel. 2013. “Mozi 31: Explaining Ghosts, Again.” In: Defoort – Standaert 2013, pp. 95-141.
- Strassberg, Richard E. (ed. and trans.). 2002. *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas [Shanhai jing] 山海經*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press.
- Sun Yanfang 孙艳芳. 2006. “Hanzi de zhuyin jianshi” 汉字的注音简史. *Kejiao wenhui* 科教文汇 2006/2, pp. 78-79.
- Sutton, Donald S. 2003. *Steps of Perfection: Exorcistic Performers and Chinese Religion in Twentieth-Century Taiwan*. Cambridge, MA – London: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Teiser, Stephen F. 1988. *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Thorp, Robert L. 2006. *China in the Early Bronze Age: Shang Civilization*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Tomiya Itaru 富谷至. 2007. *Mujian zhujian shushuo de gudai Zhongguo: Shuxie cailiao de wenhuashi* 木简竹简述说的古代中国——书写材料的文化史. Trans. by Liu Hengwu 刘恒武. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe.
- Tylor, Edward B. 1896. *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization*. New York: D. Appleton.
- Van Auken, Newell Ann. 2016. *The Commentarial Transformation of the Spring and Autumn*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Van Norden, Bryan W. (ed.). 2002. *Confucius and the Analects: New Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Vávra, Dušan. 2017. “Skilful Practice in the *Zhuangzi*: Putting the Narratives in Context.” *Asian Studies* 5 (2017) 1, pp. 195-219.
- Vogelsang, Kai. 2011. “From Anecdote to History: Observation on the Composition of the *Zuozhuan*.” *Oriens Extremus* 50 (2011), pp. 99-124.
- Wagner, Rudolf G. 2003. *A Chinese Reading of the Daodejing: Wang Bi's Commentary on the Laozi with Critical Text and Translation*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Walf, Knut. 2010. *Westliche Taoismus-Bibliographie (WTB): Western Bibliography of Taoism*. 6th ed. Essen: Die Blaue Eule.

- Wang E 王鐸. 2007. *Liji chengshu kao* 礼记成书考. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Wang Guowei 王國維. 1994. “Guifang kunyi xianyun kao” 鬼方昆夷獫狁考. In: *Congshu jicheng xubian* 叢書集成續編. 180 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, vol. 27, pp. 1013-1022 (1a-19b).
- Wang Hanna 王寒娜. 2006. “Cong Hanzi kan Zhongguo gudai guishen wenhua” 从汉字看中国古代鬼神文化. *Wenjiao ziliao* 文教资料 2006/22, pp. 73-75.
- Wang Jinglin 王景琳. 1992a. *Guishen de moli: Han minzu de guishen xinyang* 鬼神的魔力——汉民族的鬼神信仰. Beijing: Sanlian shudian.
- . 1992b. *Zhongguo gudai guishen wenhua suyuan* 中国古代鬼神文化溯源. Beijing: Nongcun duwu chubanshe.
- Wang Kai 王凯 – Zhang Lei 张磊. 2009. “Mozi guishenguan tanjiu” 墨子鬼神观探究. *Mozi yanjiu luncong* 8 (2009), pp. 744-754.
- Wang Li 王莉. “Shuo ‘gui’: ‘Gui’ zi de yuyi yu zhexue yiyi” 说「鬼」——「鬼」字的语义与哲学意义. *Dazhong wenzi* 大众文艺 2010/10, pp. 91-92.
- Wang Ning 王寧 (ed.). 2008. *Zhang Taiyan Shuowen jiezi shouke biji: Zhang Taiyan jiangshou. Zhu Xizu, Qian Xuanton, Zhou Shuren jilu* 章太炎說文解字授課筆記——章太炎講授. 朱希祖、錢玄同、周樹人記錄. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Wang Zhaohong 王昭洪 – Xu Wangsheng 徐旺生 – Yi Hua 易华. 1992. *Youming wangguo: Gui zhi mi* 幽冥王国——鬼之谜. Taiyuan: Shanxi gaoxiao lianhe chubanshe.
- Wang Zhongnan 王仲男 – Fang Huanhai 方环海. 2004. “Xifang Hanxue zhong Hanzi zhuyin yipie” 西方汉学中汉字注音一瞥. *Hanzi wenhua* 汉字文化 120 (2014) 4, pp. 40-48.
- Watson, Burton (trans.). 2003. *Mozi: Basic Writings*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . (trans.). 2013. *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wädwö, Gerd. 1992. T'ien-fei hsien-sheng lu: *Die Aufzeichnungen von der manifestierten Heiligkeit der Himmelsprinzessin*. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 29. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag.
- Wen Xiaoling 温晓玲. 2013. “Zuozhuan zhiguai yanjiu” 左传志怪研究. M.A. thesis. Hebei shifan daxue (Shijiazhuang).
- Wesołowski, Zbigniew (Wei Siqi 魏思齊). 2009. “Xifang zaoqi (1152–1814) Hanyu xuexi he yanjiu: Ruogan sikao” 西方早期（1552–1814 年間）漢語學習和研究——若干思考. *Hanxue yanjiu jikan* 漢學研究集刊 8 (2009), pp. 89-121.
- Wilder, George Durand – James Henry Ingram. 1922. *Analysis of Chinese Characters*. Peking: North China Union Language School.
- Wilhelm, Richard. 1950. *The I Ching or Book of Changes*. Trans. by Cary F. Baynes. 2 vols. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Wilkinson, Endymion. 2000. *Chinese History: A Manual*. Revised and enlarged edition. Cambridge, MA – London: Harvard University Asia Center.

- Williams, Paul – Patrice Ladwig (eds.). 2012. *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China*. New York – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, Samuel Wells. 1856. *A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect*. Canton: The Office of the Chinese Repository.
- . 1896. *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* [Han-Ying yunfu] 漢英韻府. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press.
- Winslett, Justin. 2016. “Speaking of Gods: The Discourse of the Extrahuman in Early Chinese Texts.” *Journal of the British Association for Chinese Studies* 5 (2016), pp. 38-77.
- Winter, Marc. 1998. “... und Cang Jie erfand die Schrift”: Ein Handbuch für den Gebrauch des Shuo Wen Jie Zi. Bern – Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Wong, Eva. 1995. *Liehtzu: A Taoist Guide to Practical Living*. Boston – London: Shambhala Publications.
- Wu Chung. 2008. *The Wisdom of Zhuangzi on Daoism: Translated with Annotations and Commentaries*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Wu Guanghua 吴光华 (ed.). 2002. *Chinese Characters Dictionary with English Annotations* [Hanzi Yingshi da cidian] 汉字英释大词典. Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong daxue chubanshe.
- Wu Huifang 吴蕙芳. 2005. *Wanbao quanshu: Ming Qing shiqi minjian shenghuo shilu* 萬寶全書——明清時期民間生活實錄. 2 vols. Yonghe District, New Taipei City: Hua Mulan wenhua gongzuofang.
- Wu Kang 吴康 – Peng Chongwei 彭崇伟 – Xu Xu 徐徐 (eds. and comps.). 1992. *Zhongguo guishen jingguai* 中国鬼神精怪. Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe.
- Wu Shizhou 吴十洲. 2004. *Liang Zhou liqi zhidu yanjiu* 两周禮器制度研究. Taipei: Wunan tushu – Zhonghua fazhan jijin guanli weiyuanhui.
- Wu Tianming 吴天明. 1998. “Shi wu” 释物. *Peixun yu yanjiu: Hubei jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao* 培训与研究——湖北教育学院学报 1998/4, pp. 29-30.
- Xi Erxiao 西尔梟. 1998. *Gui shijie: Zhongguo diyibu guixue quanshu* 鬼世界——中国第一部鬼学全书. Beijing: Dazhong wenyi chubanshe.
- Xi Wenqin 郗文倩. 2005. “You Chunqiu guishen gainian kan Kongzi de guishen guan” 由春秋鬼神概念看孔子的鬼神观. *Chengde minzu shizhuan xuebao* 承德民族师专学报 25 (2005) 3, pp. 55-57.
- Xiao Qunzhong 肖群忠. 2002. *Zhongguo xiaowenhua yanjiu* 中國孝文化研究. Taipei: Wunan tushu.
- Xiao Xiangming 肖向明 – Yang Linxi 杨林夕. 2007. “Gudai wenxue ‘gui’ wenhua zhi liubian” 古代文学「鬼」文化之流变. *Xueshu jie* 学术界 2007/2, pp. 246-255.
- Xie Qiyang 解启扬. “Mozi shengsiguan chuyi: Jian yu Ru Dao erjia bijiao” 墨子生死观刍议——兼与儒道二家比较. *Mozi yanjiu luncong* 9 (2010), pp. 469-478.
- Xu Fuchang 徐富昌. 1993. *Shuihudi Qinjian yanjiu* 睡虎地秦簡研究. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe.

- Xu Hualong 徐华龙. 1991. *Zhongguo gui wenhua* 中国鬼文化. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe.
- Xu Xianglin 许祥麟. 1997. *Zhongguo de guixi* 中国的鬼戏. Tianjin: Tianjin jiaoyu chubanshe.
- Xu Yini 徐旖旎. 2018. “Lun Zuozhuan zhong guishen guannian de benzhi qingxiang” 論左傳中鬼神觀念的本質傾向. *Guowen tiandi* 國文天地 34 (2018) 1, pp. 69-77.
- Yan Changgui 晏昌貴. 2010. *Wugui yu yinsi: Chujian suojian fangshu zongjiao kao* 巫鬼與淫祀——楚簡所見方術宗教考. Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe.
- . 2017. “Daybooks and the Spirit World.” In: Harper – Kalinowski 2017, pp. 207-248.
- Yang Chaoming 杨朝明 – Song Lilin 宋立林 (eds.). 2009. *Kongzi jiaoyu tongjie* 孔子家语通解. Jinan: Qilu shushe.
- Yang Hua 楊華. 2007. *Xinchu jianbo yu lizhi yanjiu* 新出簡帛與禮制研究. Taipei: Taiwan guji chubanshe.
- Yang Huadong 杨华东. 2010. “Zuozhuan duozai guishen bushi zaiyi yuyan de yuanyin” 左传多载鬼神卜筮灾异预言的原因. *Zunyi shifan xueyuan xuebao* 遵义师范学院学报 12 (2010) 6, pp. 49-53.
- Yang Huiling 杨慧玲. 2011. “Hanzi xiyi kaoshu” 汉字西译考述. *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中国典籍与文化 77 (2011) 2, pp. 118-125.
- Yang Qinghu 杨清虎. 2015. “Mei yu meili ciyi tanyuan” 魅与魅力词义探源. *Jimei daxue xuebao (Zhaxue ban)* 集美大学学报 (哲学版) 18 (2015) 2, pp. 114-118.
- . 2016. “Mei yu feimei tedian bianxi” 魅与非魅特点辨析. *Mudanjiang daxue xuebao* 牡丹江大学学报 25 (2016) 4, pp. 6-7, 10.
- Yang Rur-Bin 楊儒賓. 2003. “From ‘Merging the Body with the Mind’ to ‘Wandering in Unitary Qi 氣’: A Discussion of Zhuangzi’s Realm of the True Man and Its Corporeal Basis.” In: Cook 2003, pp. 88-127.
- Yang Zonghong 杨宗红. 2017. *Minjian xinyang yu Mingmo Qingchu huaben xiaoshuo zhi shenxi xushi* 民间信仰与明末清初话本小说之神异叙事. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe.
- Yao Zhouhui 姚周辉. 2002. *Shiheng de jingshen jiaoyuan: Zhongguo minjian linghun, guishen, mingyun xinyang de yanjiu yu piping* 失衡的精神家园——中国民间灵魂、鬼神、命运信仰的研究与批评. Nanning: Guangxi renmin chubanshe.
- Yin Feizhou 尹飞舟. 1992. *Zhongguo gudai guishen wenhua daguan* 中国古代鬼神文化大观. 2 vols. Nanchang: Baihuazhou wenyi chubanshe.
- Yu Da 俞达. 2013. “Liji zhong de guishenguan yanjiu” 礼记中的鬼神观研究. *Yuncheng xueyuan xuebao* 运城学院学报 32 (2013) 4, pp. 52-54.
- Yu Rujie 俞汝捷. 1992. *Xian gui yao ren zhiguai chuanqi xinlun* 仙鬼妖人志怪传奇新论. Beijing: Zhongguo gongren chubanshe.
- Yu Shaohong 余少红. 2009. “Shuo ‘gui’ ‘fu’” 說「鬼」「𩺰」. *Ningxia daxue xuebao (Renwen kexue ban)* 宁夏大学学报 (人文社会科学版) 31 (2009) 1, pp. 12-17.

- Yue Juanjuan 岳娟娟 – Gu Yingxin 顾迎新. 2004. *Guishen* 鬼神. Jinan: Shandong huanbao chubanshe.
- Yunmeng shuihudi Qinmu bianxiezuzhu 云梦睡虎地秦墓编写组. 1981. *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu* 云梦睡虎地秦墓. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Zang Kehe 臧克和. 1995. *Shuowen jiezi de wenhua shuojie* 说文解字的文化说解. Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe.
- Zeitlin, Judith T. 2007. *The Phantom Heroine: Ghost and Gender in Seventeenth Century Chinese Literature*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Zhai Jiangyue 翟江月 (trans.). 2008. [*Zhanguo ce*] 战国策. *Records on the Warring States Period*. Library of Chinese Classics: Chinese-English. 3 vols. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe.
- Zhai Jiangyue – Mou Aipeng 牟爱鹏 (trans.). 2010. *Huainanzi* 淮南子. Library of Chinese Classics: Chinese-English. 3 vols. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe.
- Zhai Tingjin 翟廷晋. “Lun Kongzi de tianming guishenguan” 论孔子的天命鬼神观. In: Zhongguo Kongzi jijinhui 中国孔子基金会 (ed.), *Kongzi danchen 2540 zhounian jinian yu xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* 孔子诞辰 2540 周年纪念与学术讨论会论文集. Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, pp. 1316-1329.
- Zhang Fa 张法. 2018. “Zhongguo yuangu zongjiao guannian de chuxing, yanjin yu tese: Cong gui-shen-ling dao shen-gui-guai” 中国远古宗教观念的初型、演进与特色——从鬼-神-灵到神-鬼-怪. *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社会科学战线 2018/4 (274), pp. 45-54.
- Zhang Jun 张君. 2011. “Xiandai Hanyu han ‘gui’ ciyu ciyi de yinyu fenxi” 现代汉语含「鬼」词语词义的隐喻分析. *Xinjiang jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao* 新疆教育学院学报 27 (2011) 3, pp. 80-83.
- Zhang Qiongwen 張瓊文. 2012. “Shuihudi Qinjian *Rishu* wushu wenhua yanjiu” 睡虎地秦簡日書巫術文化研究. Ph.D. diss., Guoli Zhengzhi daxue (Taipei).
- Zhang Shanwen 张善文 – Fu Huisheng 傅惠生 (trans.). 2008. [*Zhouyi*] 周易. *The Zhou Book of Change*. Library of Chinese Classics: Chinese-English. 2 vols. Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe.
- Zhang Xiancheng 張顯成 (ed.). 2013. *Qinjian zhuzi suoyin fu yuanwen ji jiaoshi* 秦簡逐字索引附原文及校釋. 2 vols. Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe.
- Zhang Yongshan 张永山. 2000. “Cong buci zhong de Yi Yin kan min busi feizu” 从卜辞中的伊尹看民不祀非族. *Guwenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 22 (2000), pp. 1-5.
- Zhang Yue 张悦. 2013. “Mei yu zhimei: Daojiao wenxian zhong de jingmei sixiang” 魅与治魅——道教文献中的精魅思想. *Yunnan shehui kexue* 云南社会科学 2013/3, pp. 146-150.
- Zhao Zhentao 赵甄陶 – Zhang Wenting 张文庭 – Zhou Dingzhi 周定之 (trans.). 1999. [*Mengzi*] 孟子. *Mencius*. Library of Chinese Classics: Chinese-English. Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe.

- Zheng Chunyan 郑春燕. 2005. "Hanyu de 'shen' 'gui' wenhua jidian" 汉语的「神」「鬼」文化积淀. *Jinhua zhiye jishu xueyuan xuebao* 金华职业技术学院学报 5 (2005) 3, pp. 84-87.
- Zheng Huisheng 郑慧生. 1998a. "Shangdai de renshen" 商代的人神. In: *id. Jiagu buci yanjiu* 甲骨卜辞研究. Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, pp. 39-60.
- . 1998b. "Shangdai buci sifang shenming, fengming yu houshi chun xia qiu dong sishi zhi guanxi" 商代卜辞四方神名、风名与后世春夏秋冬四时之关系. In: *Jiagu buci yanjiu*, pp. 61-70.
- . 1998c. "Buci zhong guifu de shehui diwei kaoshu" 卜辞中贵妇的社会地位考述. In: *Jiagu buci yanjiu*, pp. 151-170.
- Zheng Yu 鄭宇. 2007. "Shi 'gui'" 釋「鬼」. *Jinzhong xueyuan xuebao* 晋中学院学报 24 (2007) 1, pp. 12-15.
- Zheng Zhiming 鄭志明. 2001 "Cong Shuowen jiezi tan Hanzi de guishen xinyang" 從說文解字談漢字的鬼神信仰. *E'hu yuekan* 鵝湖月刊 no. 307 (2001), pp. 8-16.
- Zhou Qianping 周倩平. 2014. "Zuozhuan yixiang yanjiu" 左传异象研究. Ph.D. diss. Nankai daxue.
- Zhou Shan 周山. 1996a. "Hanshu yichui nan dingyin: Jinxiandai guanyu 'Mingjia' de zhenglun" 汉书一锤难定音——近现代关于「名家」的争论. *Shanghai shehui kexueyuan jikan* 上海社会科学院学术季刊 1996/4, pp. 54-63.
- . 1996b. "Jue xue de fusu: Jinxiandai Mingjia yanjiu gaishu" 绝学的复苏——近现代名家研究概述. *Shehui kexue* 社会科学 1996/10, pp. 54-57, 53.
- Zhu Junyi 朱俊艺. 2012. "Cong 'wei neng shiren, yan neng shigui' tanxi Kongzi de guishenguan" 从「未能事人，焉能事鬼」探析孔子的鬼神观. *Nanjing daxue xuebao (Zhexue, renwen kexue, shehui kexue)* 南京大学学报 (哲学、人文科学、社会科学) 49 (2012) 2, pp. 104-112.
- Zhu Minshen 祝敏申. 1998. *Shuowen jiezi yu Zhongguo guwenzi xue* 說文解字與中國古文字學. *The Shuowen Jiezi: The Dawn of Studies of the Ancient Characters*. Dual language version. Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe.
- Ziporyn, Brook. 2009. *Zhuangzi: The Essential Writings*. Indianapolis – Cambridge, MA: Hackett.