STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHINESE TEXTS

Philosophy on Bamboo

TEXT AND THE PRODUCTION OF MEANING IN EARLY CHINA

Dirk Meyer

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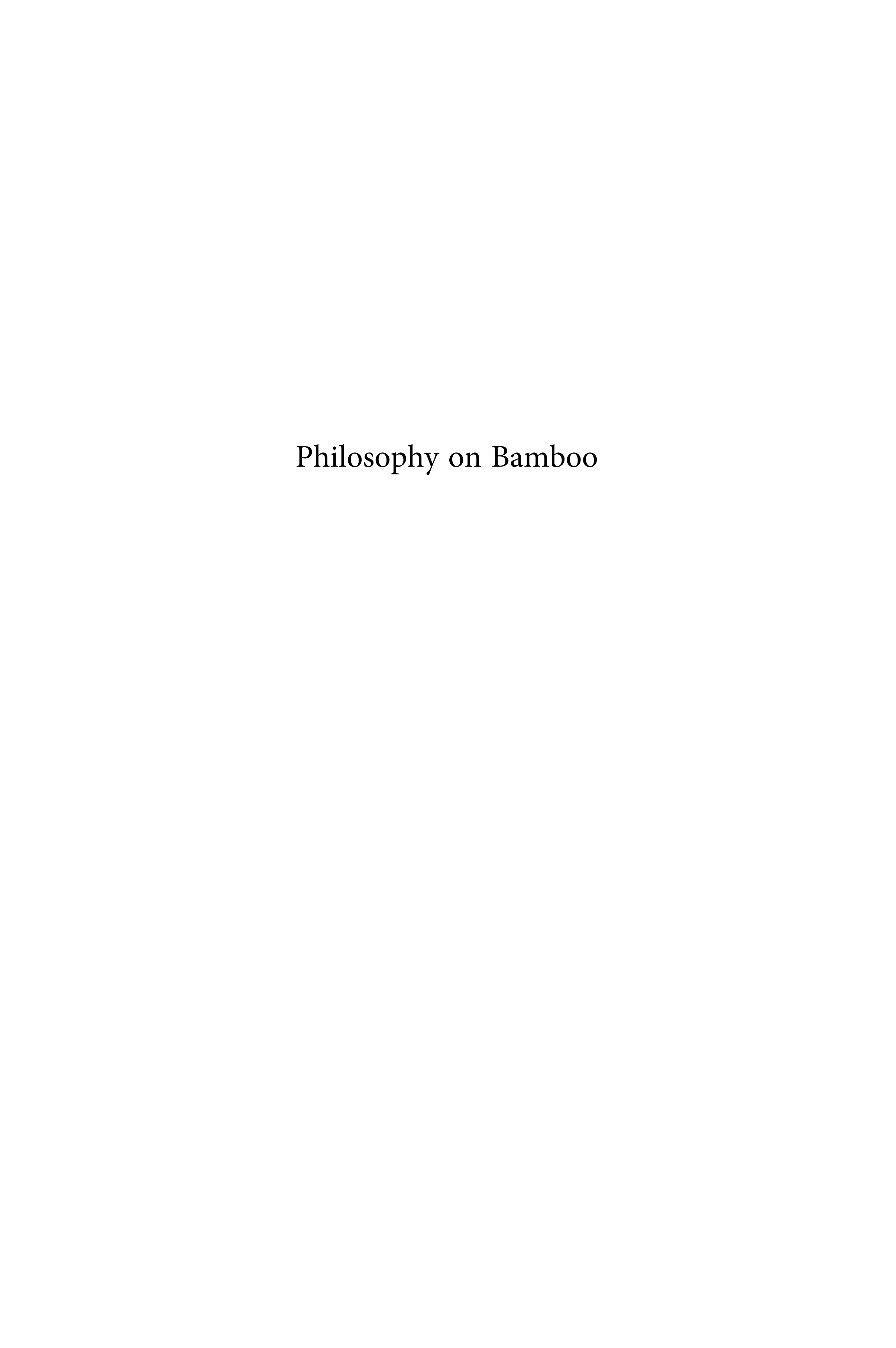

Philosophy on Bamboo

Studies in the History of Chinese Texts

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Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China

By

Dirk Meyer

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Cover illustration: Image of bamboo strips from Guōdiàn One "Zī yī", adapted from *Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn* (1998) by Tobias Kegler

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Für Claus V. Bock
(Hamburg, 7 May 1926—Amsterdam, 5 January 2008)

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Dirk Meyer
Oxford, 21 May 2011

INTRODUCTION

PHILOSOPHY ON BAMBOO

This book analyses a defined corpus of philosophical texts from the Warring States period (ca. 481–222 BC). It treats texts as objects in their own right and discusses the relationship between the material conditions of text and manuscript culture, writing, techniques of meaning construction, textual communities, and philosophy in the Warring States period. Based on a close reading of these texts, my analysis distinguishes between what I call 'argument-based texts' and 'context-dependent texts'. This distinction is not an absolute one but a methodological necessity to order the complexity of reality by drawing attention to the shared characteristics of diverse philosophical texts from this period. In a nutshell, meaning construction in the ideal type of argument-based texts is closely linked to writing. Context-dependent texts require reference to (typically oral) commentators and participate in a triangular relationship of meaning transmission consisting of the text, a mediator of meaning, and the receiver of the message. Hence, whereas argument-based texts facilitate a stand-alone philosophical exercise, context-dependent texts serve as a platform for broader philosophical processes that largely remain outside the text itself.

Text and Ideas

When engaging with early thought, scholars often take texts as mere repositories of ideas. This is to ignore that the physical manifestation of a text is actually the mediator—and therefore a remnant—of early thought. The usual approach hence fundamentally neglects the relation that may exist between ideas and the material carrier that conveys these ideas to the present day.

Instead of thinking of texts as mere vessels of thought when investigating the practice of philosophising in early China, I take a different approach. Rather than focusing primarily on the *ideas* expressed in texts, my analysis starts by dealing with the texts themselves as meaningful objects in their own right. The underlying assumption is that

the text as a material object can reveal vital information about the text as a cultural phenomenon. This means that it can provide information about the purpose for which philosophical texts were used, by whom they were used, as well as how they were used in the exchange of ideas at that time. In other words, by taking a closer look at the texts and their various strategies for constructing meaning, it is possible to gain a fresh view of the practices of philosophical reasoning more than two thousand years ago in those territories which today we call China.[1]

Early thought is always mediated by objects. And the only reason that early philosophical activities are known today is simply because, in one way or another, they were put into writing. This calls for conscious reflection about the relatedness of text and thought as well as about text as the primary remnant of early thinking because of the implications these issues have for the study of ideas. These implications can be summarised roughly in four groups of questions.

First, it is essential to think about the degree to which philosophical concepts were shaped by being put into writing. Does the written word influence the structure of reasoning? And if it does, to what extent? Is writing only the transcription of thought, and is the philosophical text, by implication, merely the mimesis of the mimesis, as Jan and Aleida Assmann suggest, following Aristotle?[2] Or do written texts in fact impart to thought a degree of abstraction that would be absent in oral discourse, as David Olson assumes?[3] Were the texts composed in writing, and did this at least facilitate the complex analysis of a philosophical concern? Or was the writing on bamboo undertaken only after the texts had been composed orally? Do the texts represent structurally consistent edifices of thought that can (and should) be studied individually? Or are they only fractions of a larger, ongoing, and coherent (or incoherent) discourse that, however, did not survive to the present day? If this is the case, it needs to be given expression in the analysis of the written piece of thought as only *a piece* of thought which in itself is insufficient for (re)constructing a coherent philosophical edifice. And then, is it possible at all to demonstrate sufficiently the incompleteness of the surviving discourse in our engagement with the written ideas? If so, to what extent?

[1] For ease of argument, I shall henceforth refer to the territories of the broader cultural domain of the Zhōu as early China.

[2] A. Assmann and J. Assmann 1998.

[3] Olson 1994.

Second, questions such as these make it necessary to disentangle the complex relation between the spoken and the written word in those texts which the modern exegete aims to understand. It is essential to reflect on the wider question of whether writing imparts independence to the ideas expressed in the texts. Does writing free ideas from any situational context? If it does, then the question becomes how far it does that. To what extent are written thoughts necessarily mediated by media other than the text alone? Is it possible to understand the (isolated) idea that was given expression (or hinted at) in a written object under scrutiny? Or is a reconstruction of some kind of mediator—or meaningful context—necessary to understand the written ideas? Do written thoughts gain independence simply because they are written down? Or do they only refer to a spoken—and, at the date of manuscript production, still active—discourse outside the written text? Is it possible at all to reconstruct an imagined oral discourse behind the written text on the basis of the written text alone? Should we, finally, postulate an oral and ongoing discourse as the background for all philosophical texts? Or only for certain ones? Or not at all? How can we discern such an oral discourse behind the written text—or its absence?

Third, to look at a written piece of thought also means to look at some sort of philosophical record-keeping. Whether merely the notes of a teacher's words, possibly lacking formal rigour and serving only a student's memory, or an elaborate and stand-alone composition, in itself a masterpiece of philosophical writing, the act of writing something down forms a conscious act of record-keeping. It is crucial to bear this in mind when evaluating early thought. The question then becomes how the formal aspects of a text and its philosophy correlate—if they do so at all. Are there specific types of philosophical language? Do we see texts that point to other meaningful references? Or should they in fact be understood as structurally closed compositions that can exist only in their given (formal) arrangements? Did the authors of early philosophical texts intentionally put certain ideas in particular compositional patterns? And, if so, does this say anything about the philosophy itself? Or about its composers? Or about the different philosophical traditions in which these texts were used?

Fourth, for a proper presentation of written ideas in the history of Chinese thought, it is vital that we consider how the various finds present the texts. That is, to what extent do texts that seem to have a consistent focus but come from different sites diverge from one

another? What is the relationship of a certain text to its different—and differing—manifestations? To what extent are changes in texts, or their relative stability, relevant for a proper understanding of their ideas? What do the changes in the different manifestations of a text (or their stability) say about the philosophical concepts that the text conveys? Is it possible at all to speak of coherent philosophical ideas if it transpires that a certain transmitted philosophical text differs appreciably from its excavated counterpart? And what do the changes—or the stability—of texts tell us about these texts themselves? Or about their authors? Is it possible to reconstruct the history of a text? And to what extent would this be meaningful? What do deficiencies in texts imply for a modern understanding of early philosophy as expressed in these texts? Is it possible to reconstruct early philosophy in a meaningful way? And if so, should one go so far as to reconstruct coherent edifices of thought even for a period such as the Warring States?

Questions such as these are addressed in the present study of the philosophical materials that come from a late Warring States tomb in the ancient Kingdom of Chǔ 楚. They arose out of an attempt to study the written ideas from the Warring States in a more coherent way, aiming to do justice to both the texts studied and the ideas expressed in them, whilst trying to avoid imposing modern concepts on philosophical texts from the distant past.

Tomb Guōdiàn One

This study is based on a closed corpus of texts excavated in 1994 from a tomb near Guōdiàn 郭店, Húběi 湖北 Province. I henceforth refer to this tomb as Guōdiàn One.[4]

In various respects, Guōdiàn One proves ideal for a qualitative study of text and thought in Warring States China. The texts were part of a tomb assemblage and came to light during a documented excavation. As I shall argue, they have in common the endeavour to establish stable philosophical concepts. They were part of a discipline

[4] Tomb Guōdiàn One is located only nine kilometres north of the old capital of the Kingdom of Chǔ 楚 at Jìnán 紀南, close to the village of Guōdiàn in the Shāyáng 沙洋 District, Sìfāng 四方, Jīngmén 荆門 City. The excavation report was published by the Húběi Province Museum in the City of Jīngmén, henceforth referred to as Húběi Province Museum (Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1997).

and may be termed broadly 'philosophical'.[5] To date, Guōdiàn One is the only well-documented Warring States tomb to contain a variety of such texts.[6] They reflect different kinds of sociopolitical philosophical reasoning and even address different audiences. Some are concerned with proper rule and discuss appropriate measures of government both from the perspective of the advisor and from the perspective of the ruler himself; other texts engage with moral self-cultivation or ponder the dichotomy of Heaven and man. As far as their form is concerned, the Guōdiàn One texts include some that contain long and continuous disquisitions of a philosophical nature; others are only one or two statements in length. The broad variety of philosophical texts epitomises the wide range of—sometimes conflicting—textual materials and diverse philosophical activities during the Warring States period. It minimises the danger of presenting only a one-sided picture of text and thought in mid- to late Warring States philosophical discourse. In this respect, Guōdiàn One provides a solid framework within which to work on early texts. Texts from a less well-documented environment, such as those from the so-called Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, about which it is known only that they were purchased at an antique market in Hong Kong, do not offer such opportunities.[7]

[5] It is clear that, in comparison to the Western world, the intellectual realm of early China came up with a very different set of ideas concerning the cosmic order, the human being, and the ideal social environment. This has led many Sinologists to doubt whether it makes sense at all to speak of philosophy when talking about the history of thought of early China. I hold that in the ancient Chinese context there is indeed something that should be termed 'philosophy'. It reflects the attempt at being one with the world, in either a reasoned, a spiritual, or a metaphysical way. For the most part, this attempt is strongly performance oriented rather than a mere theoretical exercise. The one theme that features perhaps most prominently in the materials under review is the issue of moral self-cultivation. For a critical engagement with the question of whether China does have philosophy, see A. Cheng 2005 for further references. See also Defoort 2001, 2006a.

[6] Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, thousands of tombs have been excavated in China. According to Péng Hào (1999c, 23), more than five thousand tombs of Chǔ provenance were unearthed in modern Húběi and Húnán alone. Pián Yǔqiān and Duàn Shū'ān (2003) provide basic information about important textual finds between the years 1900 and 1996. Enno Giele (2001) provides a convenient overview of the various tomb finds in China (although his site needs another update). For a detailed account of archaeological evidence for early China as a whole, see Falkenhausen 2006.

[7] The Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts was acquired by the Shànghǎi Museum in 1994. It contains some 1,200 inscribed bamboo strips. Since 2001 the Shànghǎi Museum has been publishing these strips, and so far, volumes 1–7 have appeared. Bought from dealers at an antique market in Hong Kong, the provenance

Because these texts were found in a tomb, they can be located fairly precisely in time and space. We know, accordingly, that the textual materials from Guōdiàn One, together as a group, formed one part of the tomb assemblage. As I have argued elsewhere, the texts came to us as one 'set'.[8] For the purpose of this argument, it is therefore irrelevant—although deeply regrettable—that the tomb was looted at least twice before archaeologists from the Húběi Province Museum decided to carry out the rescue excavation.[9] Even though the looters destroyed parts of the tomb assemblage and may even have taken an appreciable number of inscribed bamboo strips from the tomb, we can nevertheless rule out that they added further—fake—strips to the assemblage of Warring States manuscripts. People enter tombs for material gain, not to hoodwink the historian of early Chinese thought. Methodologically, the group of texts exhumed from Guōdiàn One can therefore be considered a 'closed' set of manuscripts. It is a 'tomb corpus' defined exclusively by its *locus*, that is, the tomb Guōdiàn One, and not by the tomb occupant. In this light, the common term 'tomb library' is revealed as misleading.[10] Unlike the word 'library', 'tomb corpus' as

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of these manuscripts remains uncertain. After they were made publicly accessible, it was repeatedly assumed that the strips came from a site close to Guōdiàn One or even from the same tomb (see, e.g., Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:2). The assumption that they might have come from Guōdiàn One is based on three observations: first, the chronological proximity of the appearance of these strips and those from Guōdiàn One; second, the overall style of calligraphy in which the strips are inscribed; third, the similar philosophical orientation of the texts. Despite the similarities between the strips from Guōdiàn One and those from the Shànghǎi collection, I argue against the assumption that the Shànghǎi strips were originally taken from Guōdiàn One. I do so on the basis of two observations. First, the strips from the Shànghǎi collection are exceptionally long (measuring up to 57 cm) by Guōdiàn One standards. Second, whereas neither of the two collections of manuscripts displays an *internal* overlap of texts, they each yield an instantiation of the texts "Zī yī" 緇衣 ("Black Robes") and "Xìng zì mìng chū"/"Xìng qíng lùn" 性自命出/性情論 ("Nature Derives from Heaven"/"Treatise on Nature and Sentiment"), and it would be highly unlikely for the tomb robbers to have made such a clear-cut selection of manuscripts that were, when found, in disarray. Thus, it is most likely that the two caches of bamboo strips come from different sites (but probably from the same area).

[8] See Meyer 2009, 830. The importance of the contexts provided by tombs as a referential framework has also been discussed by Kern (2002). See also the important discussion on looted artefacts by Renfrew (2000).

[9] Tomb looters tried to force access to Guōdiàn One in August 1993; they tried again in October of the same year, and this time they were successful.

[10] On the problematic issue of the correlation of tomb and contents and the consistency of tomb equipment, see also Friedrich 1996; Gentz 2006a. For an interpretation of the early Chinese burial system based on Mǎwángduī Three, see Poo Mu-chou 1998.

here defined connotes no a priori connection of the exhumed texts with the—unknown—deceased. Talking about a library inevitably brings to mind the tomb occupant. This introduces a subjective element relating to the selection of texts that is difficult to justify. Because it is still unclear why these texts were included in the tomb, it is methodologically important to define the tomb corpus exclusively by its textual contents in the context of the tomb. This approach permits evaluation of these materials and their different strategies of constructing meaning even if one were to hypothesise that the philosophical texts from Guōdiàn One were used as mere burial objects and therefore were not read (or selected) by the unknown deceased whom they accompanied.

Guōdiàn One dates from the mid- to late Warring States period. Most scholars believe that it was sealed around 300 BC.[11] This gives a fairly precise terminus ante quem for the composition of this group of exhumed texts, which date to before the institutionalising of thought during the Qín (ca. 221–210 BC) and Hàn (ca. 202 BC–AD 8; 23–220) empires.[12] The palaeographic materials from Guōdiàn One therefore give the historian of early thought a glimpse of philosophical texts before they were altered—or even suppressed—by later hands. In this respect they differ from texts for which we lack a precise terminus ante

[11] For a discussion of the date of burial, see Cuī Rényì 1997, 1998; Luó Yùnhuán 1999; Péng Hào 1999a, 1999b, 1999c; Lǐ Xuéqín 2000a, 2000c; among many others. Wáng Baǒxuán (1999) is a rather isolated voice in that he believes that Guōdiàn One could have been closed as late as 227 BC. The structure of Guōdiàn One is typical of a mid- to late Warring States tomb, as suggested by comparison with other sites from this period. See, e.g., Tomb Two from Bāoshān 包山, Jīngmén, Húběi Province, henceforth Bāoshān Two (Húběi shěng Jīngshā tiělù kǎogǔ duì 1991); Tomb 245 from Yǔtáishān 雨台山, Jiānglíng 江陵, Húběi Province (Húběi shěng Jīngzhōu dìqū bówùguǎn 1984); and Tomb Dàngyáng Zhàojiāhú 當陽趙家湖, Húběi Province (Húběi shěng Yíchāng dìqū bówùguǎn 1992). The terminus ante quem of Guōdiàn One is probably the conquest of Yǐng 郢 in 278 BC. It is generally assumed that the structure of (aristocratic) tombs changed drastically after the assault of Yǐng by invaders from Qín 秦 under General Bái Qǐ 白起 (?–257 BC) in 278 BC. (See also the discussion in Wáng Baǒxuán 1999, 366–367, which also summarises other scholars' positions.) Because Guōdiàn One is perhaps slightly later than Bāoshān Two (based on a dated inventory strip, Bāoshān Two was possibly sealed sometime between 323 [or 322] and 316 BC), Guōdiàn One can be dated between 323 (or 322) and 278 BC. For a discussion of the date of burial of Bāoshān Two, see Péng Hào 1999c, 24; Lǐ Xuéqín 1999d, 13; Liú Bīnhuī 1991.

[12] For a detailed discussion of changes in intellectual climate following the Warring States period, see Petersen 1995; Kern 2000, 184ff., with further references. There are, however, also arguments claiming that the influence of imperial patronage after 221 BC may be overstated. See Nylan 2009, with further references.

quem, where there is good reason to assume editorial interference. However, because these authors adopted archaising styles, the different chronological layers can hardly ever be established with certainty. Unlike transmitted texts, the tomb corpus of Guōdiàn One provides a rare opportunity in that it offers an immediate view into the structure of the philosophical text of the Warring States period. Unprecedented insights into the intellectual debate of a formative period of Chinese philosophical thinking, reading, and writing can accordingly be gained. In summation, Guōdiàn One makes possible a qualitative study of text and thought of the Warring States period with unprecedented methodological coherence.

To explore the habits of composing and using philosophical texts in early China calls for a methodological distinction between text and manuscript. I define 'text' as the textual matter transmitted. It is the formulation of an idea that can take both oral and written form, and so it is abstracted from any material carrier.[13] A text can therefore travel orally and so independently of material contexts, either with teachers, experts, or advisors or via trade routes or at markets, from person to person. 'Manuscript' is the material textual representation, that is, the physical manifestation of a text on silk, bamboo, wood, or the like. To confuse them—as happens so often in studies that explore newly received palaeographical materials—inevitably leads to monocausal lines of argument and hence to a distorted picture of historical reality. I shall refer to the receiver of a text's message as the 'recipient'. This allows for the fact that his or her role is far more complex than that of a reader or (anonymous) audience. 'Recipient' can denote an individual but also a—not necessarily self-aware or well-defined—group of people exposed to these texts.

The Tomb Corpus of Guōdiàn One

The tomb corpus of Guōdiàn One contains 804 bamboo strips, of which 730 are inscribed. Overall, these carry some 13,000 characters,

[13] This definition corresponds to that given by Konrad Ehlich (1998; see also Ehlich 1982), who defines text in a sense that comprises the everyday mundane category but in such a way that it does not need to be (entirely) written in nature. Text can also appear in oral form or, as Martin Kern puts it, "co-exist in both" (2005b, 293, n. 1). Text, furthermore, does not denote any utterance but is an identifiable entity.

written in calligraphy with obvious Chǔ characteristics.[14] Using various criteria, scholars group the materials into a varying number of individual texts.

The texts are written on strips of dissimilar length. On the basis of physical evidence, six different groups can be distinguished. The first contains manuscripts comprised of strips that are 32.3–32.5 centimetres in length. The second group contains strips that are 30.6 centimetres long. The third contains strips that measure between 28.1 and 28.3 centimetres. The fourth group contains strips of 26.4–26.5 centimetres; the fifth and sixth groups contain strips that are decidedly shorter: 17.2–17.5 and 15.1–15.2 centimetres.

The physical characteristics of the bamboo strips are in fact a good indicator as to which were bound together as a group and, potentially, even as one manuscript. But the physical length of the strips is no indicator of the importance of the text written on them. As will be discussed in this study, during the Warring States period there was no correlation between a text and the length of the bamboo strips on which it was written. The strips do not reflect the status of the text recorded. It is only in the imperial context of the Eastern Hàn 漢 (AD 25–220) that statements finally appear which mention a correlation between the status of a text and the length of the bamboo strips on which it has been written.[15] It is likely that, in the Imperial Libraries, the need arose for systematic ways of storing texts and records. In such a context, texts and manuscripts almost certainly began to take on a fairly fixed form. From this resulted a new notion linking the status of a text and its material carrier, as described by the Eastern Hàn authors Wáng Chōng 王充 (AD 27–97) and Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄

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[14] Two texts deviate from this standard. It has been observed that the calligraphy of the so-called "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" 忠信之道 and the "Táng Yú zhī dào" 唐禹之道 shows a particular style that differs from that of the other materials. Lǐ Xuéqín (in Allan and Williams 2000, 178) even goes so far as to assume that the calligraphy on the bamboo strips of these two texts is probably not written in Chǔ script at all. As will be discussed in chapter 1, this interpretation probably overestimates the differences in the calligraphy of these texts.

[15] In his preface to *Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhèngyì* 春秋左傳正義 (7a), Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 notes the length of two feet four inches for the 'Classics', of one foot two inches for the *Xiào jīng* 孝經, and of eight inches for the *Lúnyǔ* 論語. (All lengths refer to Hàn Dynasty measurements.) Two feet four inches corresponds to 55.44 centimetres; one foot corresponds to 23.1 centimetres. See Twitchett and Loewe 1986, xxxviii. According to Wáng Chōng 王充, the "sayings of the ancients were written on tablets of two feet four inches". See Tsien 2004, 116.

(AD 127–200). But the situation of the Warring States was different. The Warring States period was characterised by a gradually developing manuscript culture in which predominantly oral texts were occasionally written down on bamboo and, sporadically, on wood and even on silk.[16] There are no indications of strictly organised methods of record-keeping similar to those implemented by the Eastern Hàn.[17] It should therefore not come as a surprise that none of the texts reconstructed from the corpus of Guōdiàn One were written on strips that conform to the length described by Eastern Hàn authors. Whenever different manifestations of a philosophical text from the Warring States come to light, they take quite different physical forms. The physical variations among the strips in pre-imperial China, such as differences in their lengths, in how they were cut, and in the style of calligraphy, simply reflect differences in time and space in the production of the manuscripts. These variations say nothing about the texts themselves.[18]

In this analysis of the texts from Guōdiàn One, two considerations will be of primary importance: the texts' strategies of meaning construction and their place in transmission history.

Not all the texts from Guōdiàn One are entirely new to us. Some of the textual materials have in fact persisted in transmitted texts to the present day—be it in full, in smaller or greater fractions, or in mere quotations. In one way or another they can still be identified, at least in part, with a transmitted counterpart. Other textual units from Guōdiàn One are familiar to the historian of China's intellectual past from other finds of palaeographical materials. These materials may not have survived the transmission process to the present day. However, as different instances of writing down largely identical texts suggest, it can be assumed that some of these texts had at least some importance before disappearing from the surface. Other texts and textual units from Guōdiàn One are entirely new to us. Each of these contributes to our understanding of Warring States intellectual history. They inform us about the nature of a text in early China in terms of the stability—or fluidity—of certain concepts and text composition and demonstrate

[16] On the use of silk for written documents, see Tsien 2004, 129ff.; see also *Wénwù* 7 (1973) and *Wénwù* 10 (1982).

[17] I am aware of speculations that archives existed as early as the Shāng dynasty (see Falkenhausen 1993, 163–164), but claims proposing large-scale and systematic archiving long before the unification of China lack substantial evidence.

[18] For a study analysing purpose, form, genre, and possessor of a manuscript, see Hú Píngshēng 2000; Richter 2005, 92–93.

that high-level standardisation of texts must have been a rather late (i.e., surely a post-Warring States) development. Those texts that do not have a known counterpart further attest to the broad diversity of texts and intellectual arguments during the Warring States.

As mentioned, I basically distinguish between two different strategies of meaning construction applied in the texts from Guōdiàn One, although without a doubt it is possible to describe more particularities and subtypes of meaning construction in these materials. The two types of meaning construction should be understood as 'ideal types'. 'Ideal type' in this context is devoid of any Platonic notion of a perfect thing or phenomenon. Instead, referring to the Weberian concept, it simply denotes the attempt to order the complexity of reality by highlighting certain characteristics of a given object or phenomenon.[19] The two ideal types of philosophical reasoning in writing can be summarised as follows. On the one hand, there are those texts that generate meaning by advancing what I call 'argumentative patterns'. Texts of this type aim to be persuasive by establishing their reasoning on the power of 'good arguments'. I call them 'argument-based texts'. On the other hand, there are those texts which I call 'nonargumentative texts' or 'context-dependent texts'. Unlike the other type, the context-dependent texts do not seek to establish argumentative force by virtue of reason. Instead, they largely rely on established and identified authorities—and hence on contexts—for stating their concerns. It goes without saying that this distinction is not an absolute one, but by accentuating the common characteristics of these materials, it describes two extremes on a continuous scale of texts.

'Argument' in this context should not be mistaken for the concept known from the classical Greek tradition. Argument-based texts do not seek to ascertain truth by applying the techniques commonly seen in Western philosophical discourse. Logical deduction and syllogism are not their characteristic features. Instead, the argument as applying to the kind of texts discussed should rather be described as *a pattern that, in its use, generates argumentative force*. The recipient should be persuaded to accept the philosophical position presented in the text as good and, accordingly, as something that can be put into practice.

[19] For Max Weber's concept of 'ideal types', see his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. This work was first published posthumously by his wife in 1921 and 1922 as volume 3 of *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*.

Instead of advancing arguments in the sense of building upon logic and epistemology, these texts present philosophical positions of argumentative force.

A study of argumentative patterns in early Chinese philosophical texts requires a detailed analysis of the formal structure underlying their makeup to illustrate how meaning is constructed in early written philosophical discourse. The aim is to cast light on the different strategies of philosophising in early China. Yet despite the contribution of a fine-grained analysis of the written remnants of thought to understanding early ideas, the study of text and writing as tools of meaning construction does not always find an equivalent commitment in the study of early philosophy—and this holds true in particular for the study of Chinese philosophy.[20] The present study aims to correct this picture. Scholars' disregard for the manifold strategies of meaning construction as seen in early Chinese philosophical discourse is especially noteworthy since with Chinese philosophy we engage with thought that so often is postulated to be fundamentally different from our own.[21] This in itself already calls for a detailed investigation of the various ways of constructing meaning in written discourse.

It cannot be the task of a study like this to provide a full description of all the texts from Guōdiàn One and their contents; nor could it be the aim to describe all the features of meaning construction in one individual text exhaustively. This would go beyond the bounds of a study such as this one and call for a project of encyclopaedic dimensions. Instead, by describing the main features of meaning construction in early philosophical texts, I shall show how far a detailed analysis of the strategies for generating meaning in early Chinese written discourse can further our understanding of the philosophical activities of that time. My contribution to the field therefore lies in generating a methodology for engaging with written ideas from early

[20] See, however, Vladimir Spirin's contribution to this topic in 1976. Unfortunately, this work did not receive the attention it deserved. Spirin's main arguments were reiterated in French in 1991 (cf. Behr and Gentz 2005, 7). See further Wagner 1980, 2000, 2003a, 2003b; Behr 2006; Gentz 2006b, 2007a; Meyer 2006, 2007; Schwermann 2006. In September 2009, Dirk Meyer, Joachim Gentz, and Wim De Reu held a conference at The Queen's College, University of Oxford, to address exactly this issue. A volume containing some of the contributions, edited by Gentz and Meyer, will be published.

[21] François Jullien, who sets out to demonstrate the *alterité* of Chinese thought in many studies, is probably most representative of this position; see especially Jullien 1995. See also Jullien 1989, 1991, 1992. For a critical assessment of his work, see Billeter 2006.

periods, and not so much in describing all the peculiarities of written philosophical texts. The larger questions addressed by this study therefore are as follows. What are the techniques of meaning construction in early Chinese written philosophical discourse? What are the dialectical processes between social communities, on the one hand, and the philosophical text, on the other? And finally, what do texts tell us about the very activity of philosophising in early China?

In what follows I provide a brief survey of the individual texts from Guōdiàn One. Texts that are not analysed in detail in the main body of my study will be given more space here.

Texts with a Transmitted Counterpart

The texts from Guōdiàn One that, in one way or another, survived transmission to the present day all fall into the category of context-dependent texts. These are the "Zī yī" 緇衣 ("Black Robes") and the texts, written on three different bundles of bamboo strips, that closely resemble the received *Lǎozǐ* 老子, or *Dào dé jīng* 道德經 (*Classic of the Way and Virtue*). Since the Guōdiàn One texts customarily identified as "Lǎozǐ" (as I shall argue below, this is an untenable claim) were collected on three different bundles of strips, they are generally referred to as "Lǎozǐ A" 老子甲, "Lǎozǐ B" 老子乙, and "Lǎozǐ C" 老子丙. The received "Zī yī", for its part, has been incorporated into the compilation *Lǐ jì* 禮記 (*Record of Rites*). The texts from Guōdiàn One are substantially shorter than their transmitted counterparts and differ appreciably in terms of internal organisation and structure.

Those texts that are incorrectly called "Guōdiàn Lǎozǐ", as well as the "Zī yī", also share close correspondences with other recently discovered palaeographical materials, which suggests that they had at least some significance in early times. The "Zī yī" is also part of the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, and a complete copy of the "Lǎozǐ" was excavated in the 1970s from a tomb dating to the early Former Hàn dynasty, namely Tomb Three from Mǎwángduī 馬王堆, Chángshā 長沙, Húnán Province 湖南 (henceforth Mǎwángduī Three).[22] I shall deal with these materials in more detail in part II of this study.

[22] See the excavation report in Húnán shěng bówùguǎn, Zhōngguó kēxué yuàn kǎogǔ yánjiū suǒ 1974. For an interpretative transcription, see Mǎwángduī Hàn mù bóshū zhěnglǐ xiǎo zǔ 1974. The tomb contained a letter to the netherworld that can

Texts with a Counterpart from Other Finds

Texts known from other sites are the so-called "Wǔ xíng" 五行 ("Five Aspects of Virtuous Conduct") and "Xìng zì mìng chū" 性自命出 ("Human Nature Is Brought Forth by Decree"). A version of the "Wǔ xíng" was found in Mǎwángduī Three; a text strikingly similar to the "Xìng zì mìng chū" is part of the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, in which context it is referred to as the "Xìng qíng lùn" 性情論 ("Treatise on Human Nature and Unshaped Feelings") by modern editors. None of these texts entirely match their counterparts in Guōdiàn One, but they bear remarkable similarities. The Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" and "Xìng zì mìng chū" will be discussed in part I of this study.

Texts with No Counterparts

The remaining texts from Guōdiàn One were unknown to modern scholarship before the excavation of the tomb. Among these is a cosmogony written on fourteen strips; this text is customarily referred to as the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" 太一生水 ("The Ultimate One Gives Birth to Water"). The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is written on bamboo strips that are physically identical with the "Lǎozǐ C" strips. For this reason it is sometimes interpreted as a lost part of an imagined "Proto-Lǎozǐ". I disagree with this hypothesis. The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" establishes one coherent argument over the entire length of fourteen bamboo strips. The argumentative patterns and the strategies of meaning construction of this text are not in congruence with the so-called "Lǎozǐ C". My analysis suggests that they should be understood as distinct texts (see chapter 6).

The text that is now as a matter of course referred to as the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" 忠信之道 ("The Way of Fidelity and Trustworthiness") is

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be dated to 168 BC. This should also be the date of burial. Another complete *Lǎozǐ* from the Western Hàn was reported just before this manuscript went to press. It was part of a collection of 3,346 bamboo strips purchased by Běijīng University in spring 2009 (organisation and transcription work started in March 2009). Preliminary reports state that it is written on some 220 strips and contains roughly 5,300 graphs. Organised into 'an upper and a lower canon', *Lǎozǐ shàng jīng* 老子上經 and *Lǎozǐ xià jīng* 老子下經*, the text has a dé* 德 *dào* 道 *order. See* Běijīng Dàxué chūtǔ wénxiàn yánjiū suǒ 2009.

a piece of political philosophy that addresses the ruler of a state with the request for moral government. This text, written on nine strips, will head the present study of meaning construction in early Chinese philosophical discourse.

A text now called the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" 窮達以時 ("Failure and Success Appear at Their Respective Times") is concerned with the dichotomy of Heaven and man and points out a seeming inequity caused by the power of Heaven over man. The aim of the text is to provide guidance that allows man to deal with life's imponderables as caused by Heaven. The way in which meaning is constructed in this text will be discussed in chapter 2.

Rather similar to the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" in terms of its compositional structure and thought is the brief text now referred to as the "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī" 魯穆公問子思 ("Duke Mù of Lǔ Inquires of Zǐ Sī"). Although parts of the text are phrased in the form of dialogues, the main argument is constructed according to the formal patterns seen in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào". For this reason I shall not carry out a detailed analysis of the "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī" in this study.

The shape of the eight bamboo strips on which the "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī" is written and its style of calligraphy are identical with those carrying the "Qióng dá yǐ shí". Nevertheless, the two texts differ markedly in content, structure, and tone. They are distinct texts. The physical similarities suggest that both manuscripts were produced in chronological and geographical proximity, possibly even at the same workshop.

The "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī" records two dialogues, the first between Zǐ Sī and Duke Mù of Lǔ and the second between Duke Mù of Lǔ and the minister Chéngsūn Yì 成孫弋, whose name does not appear in transmitted records. Upon a direct question by his lord, Zǐ Sī offers a definition of 'loyal minister'. The answer displeases Duke Mù, and he dismisses Zǐ Sī. The subsequent dialogue between the duke and Chéngsūn Yì perfectly matches what one might call an imagined teaching scene.[23] Having listened to his duke's lament, Chéngsūn Yì gives an apologia in support of Zǐ Sī and his view of what defines a loyal minister. In the course of this it becomes apparent that Chéngsūn Yì not only shares Zǐ Sī's view but, in his praise of Zǐ Sī's ideal, puts it into practice.

[23] Lewis 1999, 53–63.

The previously unknown text now referred to as "Táng Yú zhī dào" 唐虞之道 ("The Way of Táng [Yáo] and Yú [Shùn]") is very similar to the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" in its strategy of constructing meaning. Moreover, the physical characteristics of the twenty-nine strips on which this text appears strongly resemble those of the manuscript carrying the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào". They are almost the same length (28.1 and 28.3 cm respectively) and are both cut evenly on each side, and the calligraphy on the strips is almost identical. However, as holds true for the relationship between the "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī" and the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", the physical similarity of the two manuscripts does not say anything about an intellectual connection between the "Táng Yú zhī dào" and the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào"; it only suggests, again, that the manuscripts were produced in chronological and spatial proximity and were possibly even manufactured at the same workshop.

The "Táng Yú zhī dào" basically follows the compositional patterns of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" but—just like the "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī"—in a less strict manner. I shall therefore not carry out a detailed study of this text here.

The "Táng Yú zhī dào" promotes abdication.[24] The text's programmatic argument contains three main positions. It notes a tension between proper rule and filial piety inherent in the very act of abdication. This polarity is carried to its extreme in the text's slogan of "loving the related" versus "venerating the capable", or, in other words, filial piety versus the act of resigning voluntarily for the sake of someone more accomplished. As the "Táng Yú zhī dào" puts it, abdication is a sagacious issue and a matter of rightness. Filial piety, on the other hand, is the utmost expression of benevolence. By referring to Yáo 堯 and Shùn 舜—the two legendary rulers who were the personification of filial piety and rightness—it annuls the ostensible conflict between the two positions. For the authors of this treatise, filial piety is in itself a fundamental aspect of a ruler's unsolicited ascendancy, and only when being filial can a ruler "love the entire people", which for the "Táng Yú zhī dào" equates with the highest expression of a ruler's

[24] On the basis of three newly excavated texts, among them the "Táng Yú zhī dào", Yuri Pines (2005) elegantly reconstructs the evolution in views on abdication during the Warring States period. For a detailed discussion of the tension between family values and abdication, see Oūyáng Zhēnrén 2002. For a discussion of the text's philosophical affiliation, see Jiāng Guānghuī 1999 and, slightly emended, 2001; Lǐ Líng 1999, 497; Dīng Sìxīn 2000a, 382; Wáng Bó 2001; Péng Bāngběn 2004; Defoort 2006b.

rightness. Taking the text's position to the extreme, how could the very act of loving the entire people be expressed more than by having them ruled by an accomplished person, for whose sake one should abdicate? Seen from this perspective, filial duties and abdication are no longer contradictory positions. Ideally, the two belong on one and the same plane, and so the text holds that only by abdicating can a ruler act in accordance with the virtue of filial duty.

This notion leads to a second claim: that abdication is required for a positive transformation of the people. Promoting the idea that the ruler of a state has all the means of transforming the environment by virtue of his model of proper conduct and virtuous behaviour—in some sense this resembles the Weberian concept of 'charisma'[25]—the message of the "Táng Yú zhī dào" comes close to ideas put forward in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and bears a strong resemblance to a position set out in the *Mèngzǐ* that states that "a great man is one who rectifies himself and the world is rectified."[26]

Lastly, the "Táng Yú zhī dào" argues that abdication is a necessary precondition for a ruler's well-being. Physical deterioration is a natural phenomenon. Every human being—including the ruler of a state—faces this at a certain point in life. But before reaching the point of excessive weakness, the ruler should resign. By promoting this as a standard, this piece of politico-ethical philosophy generates a "general pattern of abdication"[27] that is quite innovative among those texts that subscribe to this politically delicate and historically problematic position.[28]

To the political world of those days, history had shown the disastrous outcome to which abdication might lead. In 314 BC, King Kuài of Yān 燕王噲 (r. 320–314) resigned in favour of his minister Zǐ Zhī 子之. The leaders of the various states condemned his move as an acute violation of political propriety. The ruler of Zhōngshān 中山 took advantage of this incident to invade Yān and conquer part of

[25] For a reading of *dé* 德 as 'charisma', see Unger 2000, 113.

[26] 有大人者，正己而物正者也 (*Mèngzǐ zhèng yì* 1992, "Jǐn xīn shàng" 盡心上 13.19, 532). Pines 2005, 258.

[27] Pines 2005, 261.

[28] Other early texts, such as the *Mèngzǐ* 孟子 and the "Yáo diǎn" 堯典 chapter of the *Shàng shū* 尙書, for instance, stress the uniqueness of abdication from Yáo to Shùn, thus ruling out a systematic yielding as envisioned by the authors of the "Táng Yú zhī dào" (Pines 2005, 271, 274–75).

its territory.[29] Therefore, a text which uncompromisingly declares the advantages of abdication might seem peculiar. Yet, as early as 1989, Angus C. Graham had already argued that the recurring topos of an abdication myth in transmitted Warring States texts can only reflect "the tip of the iceberg" of a larger programmatic discussion.[30]

Three long but highly corrupt texts fall outside the present study of meaning construction in the philosophical discourse of the mid- to late Warring States. These are the so-called "Dà cháng" 大常 ("The Great Constancy"; also referred to as "Chéng zhī wén zhī" 成之聞之), "Shǎng xíng" 賞刑 ("Reward and Punishment"; also referred to as "Zūn dé yì" 尊德義), and "Dé yì" 德義 ("Virtue and Rightness"; also referred to as "Liù dé" 六德).[31] The internal organisation of the strips on which the texts are recorded is far from being resolved, and even the proper association of bamboo strips within these units is anything but clear.[32] Under these circumstances, it is possible to reconstruct with confidence only bits and pieces of these units. But nothing can be said with certainty about these units as meaningful wholes. Since a study of their argumentative strategies would therefore be highly speculative, I have excluded them from this study.

Also falling outside my scope are the materials generally referred to as "Yǔ cóng" 語叢 ("Collected Sayings"), which modern editors have divided into four different texts.[33] The "Yǔ cóng" differ in many respects from the other texts from Guōdiàn One. To begin with, they are written on bamboo strips that are decidedly shorter. The longest strips from Guōdiàn One are around 32.3–32.5 centimetres in length. "Lǎozǐ A", "Zī yī", "Wǔ xíng", "Xìng zì mìng chū", "Chéng zhī wén zhī",

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[29] This is recorded in a bronze inscription (see Héběi shěng wénwù yánjiū suǒ 1995, 1:341–369). See Pines 2005, 269.

[30] Graham 1989b, 293. Pines (2005) subscribes to Graham's view. Finds of similar texts from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts further corroborate their observation. See the newly discovered texts "Zǐ Gāo" 子羔 and "Róng Chéng shì" 容成氏. See Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 2:33–47, 181–199 (for the scans of the strips and transcription of the "Zǐ Gāo"), 139–146, 247–293 (for the scans of the strips and transcription of the "Róng Chéng shì").

[31] See Chén Wěi 2003.

[32] As far as I can determine, Guō Yí was the first to propose a largely new arrangement for the strips of the "Chéng zhī wén zhī" (just after the bamboo-strip texts were made public in Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998) and started the ball rolling for a discussion of the three units. See Guō Yí 1998; see also Lín Sùqing and Zhōu Fèngwǔ 1999; Lǐ Líng 1999; Wáng Bó 2000; Chén Wěi 2000a, 2001, 2003; Lǐ Xuéqín 2000b; Gù Shǐkǎo [Scott Cook] 2006.

[33] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998.

"Zūn dé yì", and "Liù dé" are written on strips that fall into this category. There are 331 bamboo strips in total, which equates to approximately 45 percent of the inscribed materials from Guōdiàn One. There are also strips of circa 30.6 centimetres in length, on which the "Lǎozǐ B," with its 18 bamboo strips, is written. The thirty-eight bamboo strips bearing the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and "Táng Yú zhī dào" are 28.1–28.3 centimetres in length. The manuscripts carrying "Lǎozǐ C", "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī", and "Qióng dá yǐ shí", altogether 50 bamboo strips, measure 26.4–26.5 centimetres.

The four "Yǔ cóng" texts, in contrast, are written on bamboo strips that are either 17.2–17.5 or 15.1–15.2 centimetres long, and so their physical appearance already marks a break from the rest of the tomb corpus. But not only the physical manuscripts carrying the "Yǔ cóng" differ from the rest of the tomb corpus. The four units, which modern editors have arranged from the two groups of bamboo strips,[34] also differ notably from the other texts in style and content. Only the particular unit now labelled "Yǔ cóng Four" can in fact be thought of as something like a coherent text. "Yǔ cóng Four" generates narrative patterns of the kind seen in later author texts such as, for instance, the *Xúnzǐ* 荀子. "Yǔ cóng Four" is inscribed on twenty-seven bamboo strips that are circa 15.1–15.2 centimetres in length, on which 402 characters remain (the manuscript is corrupt, with possibly three graphs missing). It describes a strategy for surviving at court, as well as for gaining and using influence. It is likely that the text was addressed to advisors at court.[35] The remaining texts grouped under "Yǔ cóng" show no sign of meaningful narratives (as in author texts), argumentative patterns (as in argument-based texts), or authoritative references (as in context-dependent texts).[36] Rather, they collect isolated

[34] See ibid., 75–86 (for scans of "Yǔ cóng One"), 87–93 (for scans of "Yǔ cóng Two"), 95–102 (for scans of "Yǔ cóng Three"), 103–107 (for scans of "Yǔ cóng Four").

[35] Given that "Yǔ cóng Four" is more than just a collection of sayings, Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn (2001, 315) give "Yǔ cóng Four" a title and call it "Shèn yán yàng xíng" 慎言訣行 ("Cautious Words and Wise Actions").

[36] Note, however, that Christoph Harbsmeier argues that "Yǔ cóng One" constitutes a series of highly abbreviated results of logical analysis, very close in style to the Dialectical Chapters of the *Mòjīng* 墨經. "Yǔ cóng One" should therefore be understood, not as a "Yǔ cóng" (collection of speeches or sayings) at all, but rather as a truncated *jīng* 經, for which the *shuo* 說 'explanation' part remains to be reconstructed. As such, it would fall into the category of a context-dependent text. Harbsmeier's position is outlined in his forthcoming article "Some Philosophical Notes on the Guōdiàn 郭店 Manuscript *Yǔcóng* 語叢 1".

sayings lacking any coherent synthesis. Many of these sayings—or possibly brief ideas—also appear in other texts of the tomb corpus. Lǐ Xuéqín 李學勤 assumes that the "Yǔ cóng" had some kind of teaching purpose.[37] Robin Yates hypothesises that the sayings address specific philosophical themes, which is why he compares them to the "Shū yán" 樞言 chapter of the *Guǎnzǐ* 管子.[38] But whereas the authors of the "Shū yán" establish consistent units—notwithstanding their formulaic appearance—nothing like this seems to apply to the "Yǔ cóng". The philosophical or educational function of these texts remains far from evident. Since they collate different notions instead of synthesising them into coherent accounts, they may have served a predominantly mnemonic function.

Authors versus Editors

Not much is known about the authorship of early Chinese philosophical texts. As will be demonstrated in this study of text and meaning construction, the complex interaction between the oral and the written should make us rethink the conventional idea that standardised—philosophical—texts already existed in the pre-imperial period. The interplay of the spoken and the written, as well as the fusion of various traditions within one text, precludes the existence of a single identifiable author for the different texts.

The fact that the so-called transmitted texts should in effect be regarded as rather late standardisations of previously much more fluid texts, characterised by the complex relationship between the spoken and the written, in itself reduces to absurdity any meaningful attempt to (re)construct an imagined urtext.[39] It follows that attributing these rather fluid entities to an individual author is likewise highly speculative. This has led Sinologists to talk about 'editors' instead of 'authors' in their study of text and authorship of presumably ancient philosophical works.[40] This concept of an editor of ancient works was developed

[37] See Allan and Williams 2000, 179.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Martin Kern (2002, esp. 148ff.) deals with this issue in some detail.
[40] The question remains as to how far one should speak of *ancient* transmitted texts with regard to their contemporary editions.

parallel to the use of the term in related fields, such as Greek philology and biblical studies.

The result of abolishing the neat distinction between author and editor (or redactor) in recent scholarship and elevating editors to the status of authors is a changed understanding of the role of an editor compared with that of an author. Even evidence for interpretative additions in ancient texts does not suffice to attribute them automatically to ancient editors. The role of editors is to identify "interpolations as corruptions and to remove them."[41] This clearly qualifies the Alexandrian scholars of the Hellenistic period as editors. The same is true for those scholars who were working under the guidance of Liú Xiàng 劉向 (79–8 BC) and Liú Xīn 劉歆 (46 BC–AD 23) in the Imperial Library. After receiving the order in 26 BC from Emperor Chéng of Hàn 漢成帝 (r. 32–7 BC) to collate the texts from the Imperial Library, groups of scholars under their direction (after Liú Xiàng's death, the editorial project was continued by his son Liú Xīn) compared various versions of texts, identified what they believed were interpolations, and removed these—in their eyes—corrupt passages from the texts.[42] Their work matches excellently the definition of 'to edit' as 'to restore (something to its former condition)'.[43]

As discussed at length by B. A. van Groningen, the modern word 'edition' derives from the Greek *ekdosis* ἔκδοσις (*editio* in Latin) and is related to the verb *ekdidonai* ἐκδιδόναι, which is used in situations in which any kind of belongings are handed over to someone else's control.[44] Applied to a text this means that "the author no longer has control over the text, and it is left to the whims of those who wish to abuse it."[45] Thus, in a strict sense, 'edition' (*ekdosis*) simply denotes the written version of an ancient text since there was no such thing as copyright or a fixed text. Differences in the various manifestations of an ancient text, such as in the "Wǔ xíng" from Guōdiàn One and

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[41] See Seters 2006, 3.

[42] Notes were made on each text that was edited and were recorded in the *Bié lù* 別錄 (*Separate Records*), most of which is now lost. Liú Xīn 劉歆 (46 BC–AD 23) produced the *Qī lüe* 七略 (*Seven Summaries*), the basis of the later "Yìwén zhì" 藝文志 ("Records of Arts and Letters") in the *Hàn shū* 漢書 (*Documents of the Hàn*). For the remaining parts of the *Bié lù*, see Yáo Zhènzōng 1899. Zhāng Shùnhuī and Gù Shí provide excellent studies on the "Yìwén zhì". See Zhāng Shùnhuī 1990; Gù Shí 1987. See also Lewis 1999, 325–332.

[43] Seters 2006, 14.

[44] See Groningen 1963, 5.

[45] Ibid., 5.

that from Mǎwángduī Three, should therefore not automatically be attributed to editors. They are not authorised versions of a given text but are isolated instances of writing down a fully coherent entity that was not yet fixed in ancient days. The fact that in antiquity written objects were subject to change is not a sign of editorial activity,[46] and therefore, ascribing changes (such as additions, omissions, a different organisation) to editors is anachronistic. I shall therefore refrain from talking about editors when dealing with (the changes in) texts prior to imperial attempts at canonising history and thought.[47] In this study of text and meaning construction in early China, I shall designate those who produced a text as 'authors'.

But authors in antiquity were substantially different from authors in the modern sense. Authors in antiquity were not artists. Their works were not copyrighted. Crucially, the authors of antiquity remained anonymous. Travelling between the states and being truly cosmopolitan, they were part of a productive intellectual tradition in which the ideas they worked with were the collective property of an élite community. Ideas were taken up, changed, and used purposefully according to the needs of the moment. Hence, texts from the early period should in general not be ascribed to a single author. Texts of antiquity were synchronic artefacts and the work of many authors. Leo Oppenheimer coined the expression 'stream of tradition' in reference to literary production in cuneiform Mesopotamia.[48] Karel van der Toorn applied the term to the production of the Hebrew Bible by scribes.[49] 'Stream of tradition' may also be a useful concept in the present context, whilst keeping in mind the differences between ancient scholarship in the Near East and the productive period of an evolving manuscript culture during the Warring States.

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[46] See Seters 2006, 22.

[47] Around 213 and 212 BC under the Qín 秦 (221–210 BC), and again in 136 BC under the Hàn 漢, measures were taken—either condemned or celebrated by later generations—to unify ideas. On the "execution of scholars" and the "burning of writings" in 212 and 213 BC, see Bodde 1986, 95; see also Neininger 1983; Petersen 1995; Kern 2000, 183ff.; Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003. For a comparison between the measures taken in 212 and 136 BC, see Kern 2000, 191ff.

[48] Oppenheimer 1977, 13.

[49] Toorn 2007.

"Odes" (shī) *and "Documents"* (shū)

In the present study, I shall not treat pre-Qín 秦 sources as if they were well-defined, consistent bodies. This applies to works such as *shī* 詩 'odes' and *shū* 書 'documents', which are habitually referred to as 'the' *Book* (or *Classic*) *of Odes* and 'the' *Book* (or *Classic*) *of Documents*. Concepts such as 'classic' or 'canonisation' were absent during the Warring States.[50] They evolved only gradually during the Qín 秦 and Hàn 漢 dynasties, when history started to be understood from the perspective of coherent texts rather than predominantly oral traditions. A closer look at excavated sources—but also at quotations in transmitted texts and works such as the "Yìwén zhì" 藝文志 in the *Hàn shū* 漢書, which is based on the *Qī lüe* 七略 by Liú Xīn 劉歆—confirms this suspicion.[51] There can be no doubt that the wording of *shī* 詩 as quoted in pre-imperial manuscripts already had some stability during the Warring States period. Martin Kern has shown this convincingly in various studies.[52] But the confines of this anthology were still rather fluid. Some odes that are quoted in pre-Qín sources—some of which are introduced explicitly as *shī* (or *shī yún* 詩云 'in an ode it is said') in the palaeographic materials—are no longer extant today.[53] Despite this, during the Warring States the majority of what today are canonised as *Odes* were remembered and recognised songs among élite groups of the time. The songs played an important role in the identity formation of these groups. For these reasons, when referring to these songs as a group, I shall use "Odes"—instead of *Odes*—because I do not want to create the impression that they were a fully fixed anthology in the Warring States period as they are today, let alone at any earlier moment in history. The capitalisation of "Odes" is intended to show that the odes formed a recognisable corpus of high cultural value in early China—despite their diffuse boundaries.

The *shū* 書 present an even more complicated picture. In excavated materials from the Warring States, quotations that modern scholars identify as being from *Documents* are never introduced as "*shū*"

[50] See also Nylan (2009) on the lack of canonisation of the *jīng* (includes today's *Odes* and *Documents*) in early China, which also acknowledges that these texts were still variable in content and form at that time.

[51] On the "Yìwén zhì" from the *Hàn shū*, see above, n. 42.

[52] See Kern 2003, 2005a, 2005b.

[53] Quotations of authoritative sources will be discussed in chapter 5. On citations in early literature, see Schmölz 1993.

(documents). Instead, quotations are, at best, referred to by different titles that are now habitually thought of as names of chapters but that may just as well have been names of speakers. The quotations in the palaeographical materials that are now customarily equated with *shū* also lack overall consistency. This points to a rather late standardisation of these lines. I like to think of the *shū* as "Documents"—that is, as an invented tradition that took shape during the Eastern Zhōu in an attempt at cultural self-legitimisation and that only gradually hardened into a well-circumscribed anthology.[54] Having lost the Zhōu capital in 771 BC, the political élite of the Zhōu were forced to flee to their eastern capital at Luòyáng 洛陽. It must have been a sudden move. Bronzes and other artefacts were left behind, and the Zhōu were forced to reinvent tradition based on—idealised—memories of the past as well as on faith in their future.[55] But just as in the case of "Odes", I refer to this body of quotations and text fragments as "Documents" since they referred to a shared cultural lore of authoritative value. Certainly by the mid-Eastern Zhōu period they were recognised by the élite groups of that time as standards of knowledge and had become necessary tools for participating in the cultural sphere.[56]

Organisation of the Book

This book consists of three parts. Part I provides a detailed form analysis of the argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One. I hope to show that approaching early texts from the perspective of their formal structure is methodologically important for dealing with the written ideas from the early periods. Part II discusses the intellectual environment of the written materials from the Guōdiàn One corpus. The focus of the discussion is on the relationship between material conditions of text, manuscript culture, and writing, as well as on the strategies of meaning construction and philosophising, in the Warring States

[54] See also Vogelsang (2002) on the Gào chapters in the *Shàng shū*. Vogelsang raises the possibility of a late Western Zhōu or early Spring and Autumn date for the early layers of the *Shūjīng* (and *Shījīng*). Martin Kern (2007b) raises similar concerns.

[55] Haar 2009, 32, 38.

[56] For further discussions on the *shū*, see Matsumoto Masaaki 1968, 520; Chén Mèngjiā 1985, 11–35; Liú Qǐyú 1997, 4–24; Lewis 1999, 105–109; Schaberg 2001, 72–80; Vogelsang 2002; Kern 2005b, 297, n. 9; among others.

period. Part III provides philological justification of my reconstruction of the texts considered in this study.

The study of formal patterns necessarily differs from the study of grammar in early Chinese texts, as undertaken, for example, by Hans Georg von der Gabelentz (1840–1893);[57] Angus C. Graham (1919–1991), with his many articles on grammar and logic, was a trailblazer in this and many other areas of early Chinese studies;[58] and Christoph Harbsmeier, who can be seen continuing this line of research.[59] A form analysis of written philosophy as conducted in this study must describe grey zones in a way that a study of grammar does not need to do. Another way of studying formal patterns is what has been termed *xiū cí* 修辭, that is, 'the use of proper words'. This probably comes closest to the *ars bene dicendi,* 'the art of good speaking', as expressed by Quintilian.[60] One could also conduct a study of parallel features in Chinese prose as was done by John Francis Davis (1795–1890),[61] von der Gabelentz,[62] Gustave Schlegel (1840–1903),[63] Yoshikawa Kôjirô 吉川幸次郎 (1904–1980),[64] and Rudolf G. Wagner. Wagner was arguably the first scholar to focus on the philosophical relevance of parallel features in Chinese texts.[65]

But whereas the study of formal features in (early) Chinese texts is largely concerned with the semantic precision of the terms used, my study of meaning construction in Warring States written philosophical discourse has different aims and goes much further than that. I focus on, not the lexicon of a text, but the larger structures underlying the

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[57] See Gabelentz 1881, 1883, among other works.

[58] See Graham 1972, 1973, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1989a, among other works.

[59] See Harbsmeier 1981, 1998. Here one should also mention the achievements of scholars such as Wolfgang Behr, Chou Fa-kao, and Robert Gassmann, among many others.

[60] Quintilian quoted from Rahn 2006, 2:14, n. 5.

[61] As early as 1830, John F. Davis had already pointed out the importance of parallelism in Chinese composition.

[62] See Gabentz 1878.

[63] In 1896 Gustave Schlegel (1840–1903) published his translation of the preface to the *Dà Táng xīyù jì* 大唐西域記, in which he set out to demonstrate the importance of parallelism in Chinese prose. For a critical evaluation of Schlegel's translation, see Zach 1902.

[64] Yoshikawa Kôjirô's study (1953) on parallelism in the *Lǎozǐ* deepened the study of parallel structures in early Chinese texts.

[65] See Wagner 2000, 56. Before his trilogy (2000, 2003a, 2003b), Wagner had already articulated his ideas on parallelisms in Chinese philosophical texts in several articles. See Wagner 1969, 164–167; 1980; 1999b. Gentz (2006b) provides a long-overdue summary of the Western reception of parallelism in Chinese writing.

makeup of a philosophical text as a whole. Thus, unlike the studies that mainly focus on the analysis of what classical literature calls a *zhāng* 章, or 'section', my study is concerned with the makeup of a philosophical text *as a whole,* and hence my focus is on the cultural phenomenon of the written—philosophical—text as well as on the practice of—philosophical—writing in the larger context of Warring States intellectual history.

The Three Parts of This Book

The form analysis of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" introduces part I of my study (chapter 1). It describes the means by which an argument-based text like the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" constructs meaning. This analysis prepares for a more general definition of 'argument-based text' itself. As argued in this chapter, the composition of this piece of Warring States politico-philosophical written thinking should be described as a weblike structure that functions as an important constituent for conveying meaning. The formal structure not only is a technical device to present the argument in a coherent manner but also reflects its contents and thus highlights the philosophical concern of the text that the ruler's sovereignty should expand everywhere, including the cosmic spheres of Heaven and Earth. The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" can be considered an example par excellence of the correlation between form and content in early philosophical argument-based texts.

Chapter 2 deepens the discussion of argument-based texts in early China and provides a detailed analysis of the form and content of the previously unknown "Qióng dá yǐ shí". As the subsequent discussion will show, even though the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is organised in a radically different fashion from the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", its structure nevertheless fulfils the same integrating function as is seen in the former text. Its compositional structure is a device that deliberately mimics the so-called logical structure of the argument that the text aims to transmit. It is a philosophically relevant element of meaning construction.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed study of the compositional structure of the argument-based text "Wǔ xíng" from Guōdiàn One and a comparison with its manuscript counterpart from Mǎwángduī Three. The comparison casts light on their astonishing similarities and at the same time reveals that they still differ appreciably in terms of internal organisation. It seems to be the general consensus to attribute these

differences to conscious changes made by later editors. This is quite certainly wrong and neglects the nature of a text during the Warring States period. The differences in the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" simply reflect different instances of writing down a predominantly oral text. Instead of overemphasising the differences between the two instantiations of the "Wǔ xíng", it is more instructive to look at the analogies between the two. I contend that, in what matters, the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" are not so different at all but together advance one coherent 'system of thought', which I call the '*wǔ xíng* theory'.

Chapter 4 closes the analysis of argument-based texts with a study of the "Xìng zì mìng chū". This text has a close counterpart in the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts. The two manifestations share remarkable similarities in approximately the first half of the texts. The order of building blocks throughout the first half of the texts can be considered fairly fixed. It is possible to describe a coherent philosophical system behind their arrangement. I consider this part of the text its core—in philosophical terms also. The latter parts of the texts present a further, more detailed elaboration of the core part and provide some sort of application for the individual of what has been outlined theoretically in the core text. As such, the latter parts, which might originally have been grafted on to the core text, leave more room for textual variation of precisely the kind seen in the two instantiations of the text. Even though the Shànghǎi counterpart of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" was bought from antique dealers at a market in Hong Kong, which resulted in the loss of the referential framework for the analysis of this text, I argue that it is nonetheless possible to reconstruct parts of its textual history by reference to the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū".

Part II of this study positions the argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One in the broader context of the intellectual activities of Warring States' élite circles. This part of my study contrasts the techniques of meaning construction in argument-based texts and in non-argument-based texts. Here I generate a descriptive definition for the 'context-dependent texts' (chapter 5). Based on the discussion of the two ideal types of texts, I examine the larger issue of authorship and writing in the intellectual world of the Warring States.

On the basis of the preceding chapters, in which I have developed a methodology for dealing with the written remnants of early Chinese thought, chapter 6 discusses the disputed relationship of the materials

generally referred to as "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" and "Lǎozǐ C". By now it seems to be an established consensus to consider the previously unknown materials now referred to as "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" as part of an imagined 'Proto-Lǎozǐ'. This assumption is based on the fact that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" shares the same material carrier with the so-called "Lǎozǐ C". I shall show that, despite their physical relatedness, the two were nevertheless unrelated texts.

Chapter 7 considers the relationship of writing and thought and discusses the material conditions for meaning construction in late Warring States philosophical discourse. Here I discuss the implications of the findings for Warring States thought overall and contrast the philosophical background of the two traditions of philosophising as manifested in the two types of meaning construction.

In part III (chapters 9–13) I supply complete translations and discuss the philological issues of my reconstruction of the texts.

PART I

ANALYSIS
TEXT AND STRUCTURE

CHAPTER ONE

THE "ZHŌNG XÌN ZHĪ DÀO" 忠信之道 "THE WAY OF FIDELITY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS"

Conventional treatment of texts as mere repositories of ideas does not suffice to establish a sound and historically valid reconstruction of early thought. Hence, my approach is to look at the philosophical texts from early China as meaningful objects in their own right to further our understanding of the social practice of using and composing philosophical texts. This requires a close reading of the texts to cast light on the various strategies used to construct meaning in early Chinese philosophical communication, and thus to put on display the argumentative patterns behind the makeup of these texts.

The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" 忠信之道 ("The Way of Fidelity and Trustworthiness") proves ideal as a starting point for my analysis. No other text from the tomb corpus of Guōdiàn One is similarly straightforward in organisation. In this respect, it functions as an epitome of what I define as 'argument-based texts' and introduces my methodology for dealing with the written remnants of thought from early China, which I shall develop in the course of this and the next four chapters.

Adherence to a pattern gives a text passage a distinctive rhythm and so signals its importance. The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" discovered in Guōdiàn One is organised according to a pattern of strictly parallel lines that appear in an ab–ab–c scheme. This pattern applies to both the micro- and the macrolevel of the text. I use the term 'microlevel' to refer to stable textual units, whereas the 'macrolevel' of composition refers to the text as a whole. By also applying a recurring ab–ab–c scheme to the macrolevel of composition, the authors of the text formally establish textual links and thus connect the different notions advanced in the text in a larger consistent scheme. This is a vital strategy to construct meaning in argument-based texts. Crucially, the formal structure behind the makeup of an argument-based text is not only an important device to establish a concise language in philosophical writing but also an essential means of promoting textual stability.

The Text on Bamboo

The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" is a relatively short text. The manuscript consists of only nine strips, on which 251 graphs are still legible. Of the argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One, only the "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī" 魯穆公問子思 ("Duke Mù of Lǔ Inquires of Zǐ Sī") manuscript contains fewer graphs. The bamboo strips of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" are for the most part in good condition. The strips are cut evenly at both ends. Their length is 28.2–28.3 centimetres. As for the style of calligraphy and the shape of the strips, the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" bears a strong resemblance to the "Táng Yú zhī dào" 唐虞之道 ("The Way of Táng and Yú"), which is also part of the same tomb corpus.[1] It seems reasonable to assume that the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and the "Táng Yú zhī dào" were copied in chronological or geographical proximity to each other. It is possible that these particular manifestations of the texts were fixed on bamboo at the same workshop.

Despite calligraphic similarities, we can nevertheless be fairly certain that the two texts were fixed on different bundles of bamboo strips. This can be judged from the markings on the strips that indicate the previous positions of the two cords, which kept the individual bundles of strips together.[2]

The bamboo strips on which the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" has been inscribed are well preserved; the calligraphy is particularly clear. Of the nine strips that constitute this manuscript, only one has broken. The missing part probably contains two graphs. This means that the manuscript as it was placed in the tomb probably consisted of a total of 253 graphs.

[1] Qiú Xīguī and Péng Hào, among others, have observed that the style of calligraphy of the "Táng Yú zhī dào" and the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" differs from that of the other manuscripts from Guōdiàn One. Lǐ Xuéqín goes so far as to argue that the two manuscripts are not written in Chǔ script at all (see Allan and Williams 2000, 178). This position overemphasises peculiarities in the calligraphy of these manuscripts, and it is better simply to note that the calligraphy of the two shows some non-Chǔ characteristics.

[2] The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" was held together by two cords that were 13.5 centimetres apart; the "Táng Yú zhī dào" was held together by two cords that were 14.3 centimetres apart. See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 157, 163.

Thought and Contents

Many scholars still use traditional—and anachronistic!—labels such as 'Confucianism' or 'Daoism' when classifying remnants of thought from the Warring States period. The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" does not correspond to any of these categories, which is why scholars sometimes hesitate as to how they want to classify this text.[3] This once more demonstrates that the attempt to associate a newly excavated text from the Warring States period with one of the traditional labels of philosophical affiliation is not very instructive and certainly does not further our understanding of the text itself. The problem of using such labels is that they suggest an intellectual consistency that is difficult to justify and, worse, may in fact distort historical reality. Accordingly, I shall refrain from categorisations that were used during the Latter Hàn 漢 in the retrospective attempt to classify different currents of thought.[4] In contrast, I approach the texts from Guōdiàn One by describing the various ways that meaning was constructed in the texts. This necessitates discussing the social background against which these texts were produced. Hence, instead of studying what I think is a methodologically problematic—in an almost Platonic sense—ideal(ised) world of thought by reducing ancient texts to vessels of ideas, I propose to shift the focus to the analysis of the *practice* of *philosophising* in the ancient

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[3] For instance, Lǐ Xuéqín remarks that the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" maintains "a Confucian tone"—whatever this may be—but that its authors should rather be labelled "as 'vertical and horizontal strategists'" (2000a, 107). Lǐ Cúnshān argues that the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" was intended to be studied by the ruler. On this basis, he associates this work with the so-called "Zhōngliáng 仲良 branch of the Confucian school" (in Allan and Williams 2000, 253). Liáo Míngchūn ascribes the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" to Zǐzhāng 子張, a student of Kǒngzǐ. He bases this on the fact that Zǐzhāng's sons Shēnxiáng 申祥 and Zǐ Sī 子思 served Duke Mù 穆公, which is also why the text was found in the Chǔ 楚 region (in Allan and Williams 2000, 253).

[4] During the Eastern Zhōu (771–256 BC), probably only the *rú* 儒 and the *mò* 墨 constituted self-conscious traditions. As Petersen (1995, 33–37) has convincingly shown, the term *jiā* 家 as used by Sīmǎ Tán 司馬談 does not mean 'school' at all. Sīmǎ Tán did not call these traditions '*jiā*' but labelled them "the *rú*" (*rú zhě* 儒者) or "the *mò*" (*mò zhě* 墨者). Petersen interprets *jiā* to be individual persons; Michael Nylan (1999, 50, n. 82) understands *jiā* as denoting "scholastic lines" (not genealogical). On the problematic use of traditional labels when discussing philosophical texts from the Warring States period, see also Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003; Kern 2000, 9. See further Creel 1949; Gardner 1998; Peterson 1988.

world as it can be judged from material evidence. I deem this to be a much better approach to pre-imperial thought.

The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" is a piece of political philosophy. The text advocates moral government, and it is instructive to see that the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" directly addresses the ruler of a state, who is called a *jūnzǐ* 君子 throughout. The text demands that the ruler act through his own model of proper behaviour. By calling him *jūnzǐ*, which by the time of the mid–Warring States had already acquired the meaning of 'gentleman', the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" plays with the two concepts behind this term: ruler and gentleman. The term *jūnzǐ* as used in the text therefore denotes more than the political (or social) function of a ruler. Everyday reality made it plain that during the Warring States period, a high pedigree did not necessarily mean that a ruler also embodied the persuasive model of proper behaviour as required by the text's programmatic idea of moral government. But according to the authors of the text, being a *jūnzǐ* also implies that the ruler has to behave in a gentleman-like fashion. This means that he should become a person of *moral* superiority, not just superior by birth. As the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" argues, being a morally superior person is part of the immanent nature of a real ruler. As a consequence, the ruler must attempt to realise his immanent nature and become a *true jūnzǐ*, that is, a person, who embodies both the high social pedigree of a ruler and the moral superiority of a gentleman.[5]

In a brief outline, the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" prescribes how the ruler may achieve this goal. He has to model himself on the natural world, by which he is transformed into the human reflection of the cosmic elements Heaven (*tiān* 天) and Earth (*dì* 地). To achieve this, he has to establish fidelity (*zhōng* 忠)[6] and trustworthiness (*xìn* 信) as the only principles of government. According to the authors of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", these two principles are the essence of benevolence (*rén* 仁) and the basis of rightness (*yì* 義), and they imply a transformative power over the environment of the ruler. Accordingly, the "Zhōng xìn

[5] On the concept '*jūnzǐ*' in Warring States philosophical discourse, see Rubin 1976, 20–26.

[6] In the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", *zhōng* 忠 and *xìn* 信 are qualities of the ruler. The concept of *zhōng* 忠 here carries the connotation of being true to oneself, so I translate it as 'fidelity' in this text (as opposed to the concept of *zhōng* 忠 as used, for instance, in the "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī", where it should be translated 'loyalty').

zhī dào" advocates a political agenda that aims to ensure order through moral power. It thus corresponds to what Benjamin Schwartz terms "light government",[7] in which the ruler over a state acts according to the transformative power of his own example of proper conduct.

Structure and Thought

The construction of meaning in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" takes place not only on the semantic level but also, to a large extent, on the level of its formal structure. The formal structure of the text adds fundamentally to the communication of meaning.

The entire "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" is made up of a set of components. On the lowest level, these can be described as a, b, and c components. Throughout the text, the a component contains notions related to 'fidelity' (*zhong* 忠), b contains information about 'trustworthiness' (*xìn* 信), and c formulates a conclusion based on a and b. This can best be shown by referring to the text itself:

a 大舊而不渝，忠之至也。
b 大古而諸常，信之至也。
c 至忠亡訛，至信不背，夫此之謂此。

a To hold old ways in high esteem and never render [them] impure is fidelity in its culmination.
b To hold antiquity in high reverence and take it as a principle is trustworthiness in its culmination.
c The highest fidelity has no pretension; the highest trustworthiness is not perfidious; now this is what this is about.[8]

This illustrates the elementary structure of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào". In most cases, the elementary structure of a single a–b–c scheme is doubled to create an ab–ab–c or, to be more precise, 1ab–2ab–c scheme. The second ab group (henceforth 2ab) fulfils two functions. First, it further refines and so concludes the information given in the first ab group (1ab). As such, it functions as the c component to the first ab group. Second, it continues the argument, which then is concluded by the final component, c. We get the scheme shown in figure 1.

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[7] Schwartz 1985, 107.
[8] Strips *z*3/16–*z*4/16.

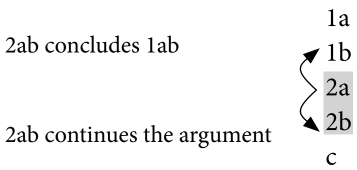

Figure 1: The Microstructure of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào"

Because the aspects of a and b are discussed in overlapping mode before they are combined in a conclusion, c, I refer to this scheme as 'overlapping structure'.

The text can be divided into six units according to the a–b–c scheme. William G. Boltz has coined the felicitous term of 'building blocks' for these textual units.[9]

1. *Canto 1*

1.1a[10] 不訛不害，忠之至也；[A][11]
1.1b 不欺弗知，信之至也。
1.2a 忠積則可親也；
1.2b 信積則可信也。
1.c 忠信積而民弗親信者，未之有也。

2.1a 至忠如土，化物而不伐；[B]
2.1b 至信如時，必至而不結。[C]
2.2a 忠人亡訛；
2.2b 信人不背。
2.c 君子如此，故不誑生、不背死也。[D]

3.a 大舊而不渝，忠之至也；[E]
3.b 大古而諸常，信之至也。[F]
3.c 至忠亡訛，至信不背，夫此之謂此。

[9] See Boltz 2005. I fully agree with Boltz that building blocks are characteristic of early Chinese texts. But for reasons discussed below, I disagree with his conclusion that this implies a "composite nature" that opposes "integral, structurally homogeneous texts" (2005, 70–71).

[10] The underlined number before the dot refers to the building block; the number after the dot refers to the segment; a, b, and c indicate the components.

[11] The letters in brackets refer to the philological discussion in part III of this book.

2. *Canto 2*

4.1a　大忠不悅，[G]
4.1b　大信不期；
4.2a　不悅而足養者，地也；
4.2b　不期而可要者，天也。[H]
4.c　巽天地也者，忠信之謂此。[I]

5.1　口惠而實弗從，君子弗言爾；
5.2　心{疏} □□ [而形]親，君子弗申爾；[J]
5.3　古行而鯖悅民，君子弗由也；[K]
5.c　三者，忠人弗作，信人弗爲也。

6.1a　忠之爲道也，百工不楛而人養皆足；[L]
6.1b　信之爲道也，群物皆成而百善皆立。
6.2a　君子，其施也忠，故蠻親附也；[M]
6.2b　-----[12]其言爾信，故亶而可受也。[N]
6.c　忠，仁之實也；信，義之基也。[O]

是故古之所以行乎蠻貉者，如此也。[P][13]

The following in-depth analysis of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" is divided into two parts: first, a description of the formal structure of the microlevel of the text, that is, the arrangement of each building block; second, a portrayal of the macrostructure of the text, that is, the organisation of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" as a whole. However, before going into a fine-grained analysis of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", I think it necessary to distinguish the 'overlapping structure' from the 'interlocking parallel style' described by Rudolf G. Wagner.[14]

Interlocking Parallel Style and Overlapping Structure

The overlapping structure and the interlocking parallel style correspond to some degree. Both types split up an argument into two binary matters a and b. In the interlocking parallel style the two matters a and b are joined with each other in a pattern such as 1ab–2ab–3ab–4ab (theoretically this pattern could be continued infinitely). Conceptually,

[12] I have added the lines to show that the *jūnzǐ* 君子 (gentleman-ruler) is the subject of both line 6.2a and line 6.2b, which are entirely parallel.
[13] I shall give a translation of this passage below.
[14] This style is most prominently discussed in Wagner 2000, ch. 3.

the two matters run parallel to each other in the form of two strings: 1a–2a–3a–4a (this could be continued to 5a–6a–…etc.) and 1b–2b–3b–4b (5b–6b–…etc.). For reasons of simplicity, I illustrate the interlocking parallel style with an example chosen by Wagner himself to discuss what he terms the 'open' type of this pattern:[15]

    1 爲者敗之
    2 執者失之
3 是以聖人
    4 無爲故無敗
    5 無執故無失

    1 He who interferes destroys them.
    2 He who holds fast loses them.
3 That is why the Sage
    4 does not interfere and thus does not destroy;
    5 does not hold fast and thus does not lose.

The 'silent structure' of this passage is as follows:

I 1a He who interferes destroys them.	2b He who holds fast loses them.
3c That is why the Sage	
II 4a does not interfere and thus does not destroy;	5b does not hold fast and thus does not lose.

The overlapping structure, in contrast, should be understood as a joined parallelism with the characteristic of an argumentative chain. Each step of that chain cumulatively adds to the argument before the argument is rounded off in a conclusion. The second a–b unit works in two directions, as it specifies the first a–b group and, simultaneously, continues the argument into the final component c. Compare the following overlapping structure:

1a: General statement about 'a'
1b: General statement about 'b'
(1c) 2a: Specification to '1a'
2b: Specification to '1b'
c: Conclusion to 'ab'

When comparing the open interlocking parallel style with the overlapping structure, the differences and similarities between the two types

[15] Ibid., 62 (adjusted).

of argument construction become clear. Both types discuss two distinct matters, a and b, in a joined fashion. However, whereas the interlocking parallel style isolates the item in separate rows, the overlapping structure assigns a double-directed function to the 2ab unit: the 2ab unit further refines the general issue of 1ab and hence functions as c to 1ab; the 2ab unit then continues the argument on a new level, and the entire unit is brought to a conclusion in the final slot of the pattern, in c.

Microstructure

Building Block 1[16]

1.1a [z1] 不訛不害，忠之至也；[A]
1.1b 不欺弗知，信之至也。
1.2a 忠積則可親也；
1.2b 信積則可信也。
1.c 忠[z2] 信積而民弗親信者，未之有也。

1.1a [z1] Not to be pretentious and not to be destructive is the culmination of fidelity;
1.1b Not to cheat and not to be cunning is the culmination of trustworthiness.
1.2a When fidelity is accumulated [by the ruler], [he] can be approached [by the people];
1.2b When trustworthiness is accumulated [by the ruler], [he] can be trusted [by the people].
1.c That fidelity [z2] and trustworthiness have been accumulated [by the ruler] and the people did not approach and trust [him]—there has never been such a case.

The formal structure of the first building block reveals both the subject (the ruler) and the object (the people) of the conduct of fidelity (*zhōng* 忠) and trustworthiness (*xìn* 信). As defined in this building block, the conduct "not to be pretentious and not to be destructive" (不訛不害: 1a)[17] and "not to cheat and not to be cunning" (不欺弗知: 1b) equals the highest form of fidelity and trustworthiness

[16] For a philological discussion of the reconstruction of this text and its translation, see chapter 9.
[17] Most scholars identify the character *hài* 害 (to harm) as *dá* 達. However, the formal structure of this unit requires a negative term here. See chapter 9 under [A].

respectively. The 2ab pair then concludes 1ab by stating: "When fidelity and trustworthiness are accumulated (忠/信積), then [someone (?)] can be approached (trusted; 2b)". The concluding component c reiterates parts of 2ab (accumulating fidelity and trustworthiness [忠信積]) and then states the result of this conduct: 'to approach' and 'to trust' (親/信). By taking up the elements mentioned previously, c concludes the entire matter. Furthermore, this component adds another element to the discussion: the people, *mín* 民. As component c reveals, the people directly respond to the qualities of fidelity (*zhōng*) and trustworthiness (*xìn*) with trust and by approaching the one who acts on these principles. Accordingly, the subject who displays these qualities is the ruler (of a state), who is named in building block 2.

Building Block 2

2.1a 至忠如土，化物而不伐。[B]
2.1b 至信如時，比至而不結。[C]
2.2a 忠人亡[z3] 訛；
2.2b 信人不背。
2.c 君子如此，故不誑生、不背死也。[D]

2.1a The highest fidelity is like the soil; it transforms the things but does not attack them.
2.1b The highest trustworthiness is like the seasons; [they] succeed [one another] and [the circle] does not end.
2.2a Men of fidelity have no [z3] pretension;
2.2b Men of trustworthiness are not perfidious.
2.c The gentleman-ruler (*jūnzǐ*) goes along with this, and therefore [he] does not cheat life, nor does [he] turn his back on death.

The second building block reiterates elements from building block 1, namely utmost fidelity (*zhì zhōng* 至忠) and trustworthiness (*zhì xìn* 至信).[18] Building block 2 thus explicitly continues the argument of the preceding building block. The overlapping structure relates the terms in two contiguous building blocks.[19] In building block 2 fidelity and

[18] 1.1a: 忠之至也;
1.1b: 信之至也;
2.1a: 至忠如土;
2.1b: 至信如時.

[19] First, the 1ab unit of the first building block reads 'not to be pretentious' (*bù é* 不訛) and 'not to cheat' (*bù qī* 不欺); the same pattern occurs in the 2ab unit of building block two, but the second element ('not to cheat') is replaced by 'are not perfidious' (*bù bèi* 不背), so that the two are given equal structural significance, and either of

trustworthiness are situated in the context of the natural world with the mention of the soil and the seasons. This clarifies the quality of the ruler and implies that he must model himself on nature. The actions of soil and the seasons are nothing other than the mere realisation of their nature, which is causing seeds to sprout in the case of the soil, and returning each to its appropriate time in the case of the seasons. If a ruler conduct himself in accordance with the principles of fidelity and trustworthiness, then he is comparable to the soil and the seasons. His immanent nature prescribes this conduct. Consequently, he has to enact fidelity and trustworthiness even if it seems that he cannot gain any advantage from doing so. Only then can he realise his immanent nature and become a true *jūnzǐ*, a 'gentleman-ruler'.

Building Block 3

3.a 大舊而不渝，忠之至也。[E]
3.b 大古而諸常，信 z4之至也。†[20][F]
3.c 至忠亡訛，至信不背，夫此之謂此。

3.a To hold old ways in high esteem and never render [them] impure is fidelity in its culmination.
3.b To hold antiquity in high reverence and take it as a principle is trustworthiness z4 in its culmination.
3.c The highest fidelity has no pretension;
The highest trustworthiness is not perfidious. Now this is what this is about.

This building block is a collage of building blocks 1 and 2.[21] It is almost entirely composed of parts taken from these units. Building block 3

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them can be substituted for the other. Second, the pattern of an overlapping structure also relates terms that appear in one and the same building block. For example, in building block2, the 2ab unit reads 'have no pretension' (*wú é* 亡訛) and 'are not perfidious' (*bù bèi* 不背). The same pattern occurs in the concluding component c, but the first element ('have no pretension') is replaced by 'does not cheat' (*bù kuàng* 不誑). Conceptually, these notions are given equal structural significance, and one can be substituted for the other, so that conceptual definitions are established in the text. For a discussion of persuasive definitions and the distinction between 'emotive' and 'conceptual'—or 'descriptive'—meaning, see Stevenson 1938, 1945.

[20] The cross is used to indicate that either the text or the strip is corrupt, or that a graph cannot be identified with certainty.

[21] For a discussion of the collage-like composition of early Chinese texts, see also Schwermann's (2006) analysis of the "Tāngwèn" chapter of the *Lièzǐ*. Rolf Trauzettel (1979) was perhaps the first to use the term 'collage' (*Collage-Technik*) in the context of early Chinese text composition.

Building block 1	1.1a	不訛不害，忠之至也；
	1.1b	不欺弗知，信之至也。
Building block 2	2.1a	至忠如土，化物而不伐；
	2.1b	至信如時，比至而不結。
	2.2a	忠人亡訛；
	2.2b	信人不背。
	2.c	君子如此，故不誑生、不背死也。
Building block 3	3.a	[大舊而不渝]，忠之至也；
	3.b	[大古而諸常]，信之至也。
	3.c	至忠亡訛，至信不背，夫此之謂此。

Figure 2: The Collage-like Nature of Building Block 3

thereby summarises their account and concludes the first part of the text, which I call canto 1. See figure 2.

Only the first subsets of the ab unit of building block 3 are new.[22] This part formulates the central idea of the argument. As can be seen easily from the two elements, building block 3 situates fidelity and trustworthiness in the context of the days of old.[23] Except for the formula "Now this is what this is about" (*fú cǐ zhī wèi cǐ* 夫此之謂此) in the concluding component, the remaining elements of this argument on fidelity and trustworthiness are taken from the previous account. By combining the different building blocks with each other, the authors of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" directly connect building block 3 to the idea established in building blocks 1 and 2. The technique used in building block 3 can therefore be compared to that of developing an overall argument in building blocks 1 and 2. The statement "Now this is what this is about" in the concluding component c not only concludes this building block with the insight that behaving with fidelity and trustworthiness implies a veneration of the ways of the old but also sums up everything that has been stated so far. It brings the first part, canto 1 of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", to a close.

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[22] In the figure, I have pointed this out by putting these elements in brackets.

[23] On the identification of the first characters in the b component as *dà gǔ* 大古 'to hold antiquity in high reverence', see chapter 9 under [F].

Building Block 4

4.1a 大忠不悅；[G]
4.1b 大信不期。
4.2a 不悅而足養者，地也；
4.2b 不期[z5]而可要者，天也。[H]
4.c 巽天地也者，忠信之謂此。[I]

4.1a The highest fidelity is not pleasant for [the people].
4.1b The highest trustworthiness is not restricted in time.
4.2a Not pleasant for [the people] and yet providing enough to nourish, such is the Earth.
4.2b Not to be restricted in time [z5] and yet able to be met with, such is Heaven.
4.c To be in tune with Heaven and Earth, this is what fidelity and trustworthiness are about.

Building block 4 opens the second canto of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào". It posits the virtues of fidelity and trustworthiness within the abstract context of the cosmos and thus functions as a continuation of building block 2. We know already from building block 2 that the ruler's fidelity and trustworthiness are the realisation of his immanent nature. Building block 4 now argues that fidelity and trustworthiness display the same qualities as the abstract cosmic elements Earth (*dì* 地) and Heaven (*tiān* 天), to which the building block connects two further features: "to please [the people]" (*yuè* 悅) and the aspect of temporality (*qī* 期). The ruler follows the patterns as prescribed by Heaven and Earth. Through his active conduct of fidelity and trustworthiness he can embody their qualities too. This is how he becomes the human reflection of Heaven and Earth.

Building Block 5

5.1 口惠而實弗從，君子弗言爾；
5.2 心{疏} □□ [而形][z6] 親，君子弗申爾；†[J]
5.3 古行而鯖悅民，君子弗由也；[K]
5.C 三者，忠人弗作，信人弗爲也。

5.1 If [only] kind with words but in fact not acting in accordance with them, the gentleman-ruler (*jūnzǐ*) rather refrains from speaking so.
5.2 If letting the mind loose, {*and yet being*}[24] [z6]intimate in appearance, the gentleman-ruler (*jūnzǐ*) rather refrains from displaying this.

[24] The curly parentheses indicate missing parts in the text. The reconstructed part is set in italics.

5.3 If acting according to the old but pleasing the people by serving [them the special taste of] *zhēng*, the gentleman-ruler (*jūnzǐ*) is one who refrains from relying on this.

5.C As to these three [ways], the man of fidelity refrains from doing them, and the trustworthy man refrains from applying them.

This passage breaks away from the basic pattern of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào". The argument from building blocks 1–4 now shifts from the abstract level to a concrete directive. Building block 5 lists prescriptions for conduct that are directly addressed to the ruler of a state. It should be read as the culmination of the argument. Additionally, segment 5.3 contains elements from both building block 3 (on antiquity) and building block 4 (on the notion of pleasing and nourishing the people), which again recur in building block 6 below (see fig. 3). I have already shown that building block 3 comprises the entire argument of canto 1, but it also *concludes* it. I have also demonstrated that building block 4 *introduces* the second canto of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", but elements from building block 4 also reoccur in building block 6. This being so, it becomes evident that building block 5 contains all the argumentative features of this treatise on governmental affairs. See figure 3.

Building Block 6

6.1a 忠之爲[z7] 道也，百工不楛而人養皆足；[L]
6.1b 信之爲道也，群物皆成而百善皆立。
6.2a 君子，其施也[z8] 忠，故蠻親附也；[M]
6.2b ----- 其言爾信，故亶而可受也。[N]
6.c 忠，仁之實也；信，義之基也。[O]

是故古之所[z9] 以行乎蠻貉者，如此也。[P]

6.1a When fidelity becomes the [z7] way [in the state], then all kinds of skilled labour will not decay, and all the nourishing of the people will be sufficient.

6.1b When trustworthiness becomes the way [in the state], then all groups of things will be completed, and all kinds of good deeds will thus be established.

6.2a Thus, when the way in which the gentleman-ruler (*jūnzǐ*) conducts himself is indeed [z8] of fidelity, [even] the Mán barbarians will come close to and follow [him];

6.2b [And] when his words are indeed trustworthy, [they] are sincere and can be passed on.

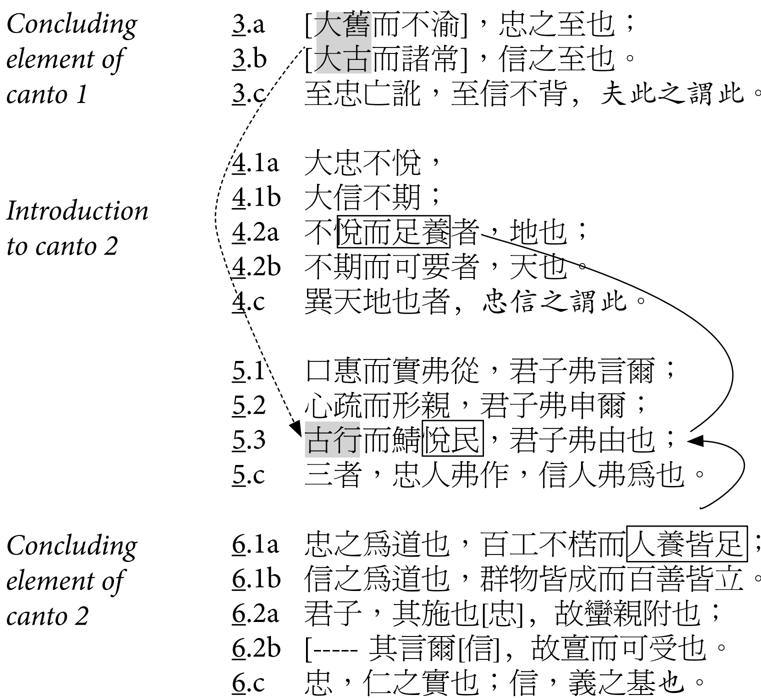


Figure 3: Culmination of the Argument in Building Block 5

6.c Fidelity is the realisation of benevolence (*rén*);
[And] trustworthiness is the basis for rightness (*yì*).

It was for this reason that what [the gentleman-ruler] applied to the Mán and Mò barbarians in the days of old z9 was something of this kind.

Building block 6 draws a utopian picture of the consequences of following the prescription given in building block 5 (i.e., when fidelity and trustworthiness serve as *the* leading principles for the reign of the ruler): a reign guided by these principles will lead to a moral transformation of the entire state.

Macrostructure

The foregoing account has shown that each of the building blocks of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" discusses one aspect related to acting with fidelity and trustworthiness:

Building block 1: discourse on reign
Building block 2: discourse on nature
Building block 3: discourse on reign
Building block 4: discourse on nature
Building block 5: discourse on reign
Building block 6: conclusion

On a more structural level, we arrive at the following scheme:

Building block 1: 1a
Building block 2: 1b
Building block 3: 2a
Building block 4: 2b
Building block 5: (specification of the argument)
Building block 6: c

From this it seems that the macrostructure of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" to a great extent reflects the basic pattern of the individual building blocks (microstructure). If this is true, it should be possible to identify each building block with one component of a building block. See figure 4.

Based on these considerations and taking the feature of overlapping structure into account, building block 3 can be identified as the 2a component of the macrostructure of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào". As such, it functions as the explanatory specification to building block 1, which can hence be seen as the 1a component of the text. Building block 4 should, accordingly, be identified as the 2b component of the macrostructure in that it further specifies building block 2, which is the 1b component of the text. This seems to be a sound assumption because building block 1 (the 1a component of the macrostructure) indeed explains the general implications of fidelity and trustworthiness in their highest form. Building block 3 (the 2a component of the macrostructure) continues on this and then closes by explaining:

3.c […] 夫此之謂此 "Now this is what this is about."

In the same vein, building block 2 (the 1b component of the macrostructure) opens up the discourse on nature. Building block 4 (the 2b component of the macrostructure) continues this and then closes by explaining:

4.c […] 忠信之謂此 "this is what *zhōng* and *xìn* are about."

1A	1.1A	[不訛不害]，忠之至也；
	1.1B	[不欺弗知]，信之至也。
	1.2A	忠積則可親也；
	1.2B	信積則可信也。
	1.C	忠信積而民弗親信者，未之有也。
1B	2.1A	至忠如土，化物而不伐；
	2.1B	至信如時，比至而不結。
	2.2A	忠人亡訛；
	2.2B	信人不背。
	2.C	君子如此，故不誑生、不背死也。
2A	3.A	[大舊而不渝]，忠之至也；
	3.B	[大古而諸常]，信之至也。
	3.C	至忠亡訛，至信不背，夫此之謂此。
2B	4.1A	大忠不悅，
	4.1B	大信不期；
	4.2A	不悅而足養者，地也；
	4.2B	不期而可要者，天也。
	4.C	巽天地也者，忠信之謂此。
Transformation of the argument	5.1	口惠而實弗從，君子弗言爾；
	5.2	心疏而形親，君子弗申爾；
	5.3	古行而鯖悅民，君子弗由也；
	5.C	三者，忠人弗作，信人弗爲也。
C	6.1A	忠之爲道也，百工不楛而人養皆足；
	6.1B	信之爲道也，群物皆成而百善皆立。
	6.2A	君子，其施也[忠]，故蠻親附也；
	6.2B	其言爾[信]，故亶而可受也。
	6.C	忠，仁之實也；信，義之期也。

是故古之所以行乎蠻貉者，如此也。

Figure 4: The Higher Abstraction of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào"

Moreover, segment 2 of building block 5 states that the mind and the appearance of the true *jūnzǐ* never diverge. The same issue reappears in 2a of building block 6 (see fig. 5)—note that building block 6 formulates the conclusion in the macrostructure of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào"—to which the explanation is added that this kind of behaviour is the enactment of fidelity (*zhōng*).

Segment 1 of building block 5, in turn, addresses the issue that the words (of a *jūnzǐ*) must correlate with his behaviour. The 2b component of building block 6 takes this issue up again, adding to this the positive explanation that this behaviour conforms to the ideal of being trustworthy (*xìn*).

Finally, as noted, segments 1 and 2 of building block 5, which prescribe the ruler's behaviour, are negatively inherent in the 2ab component of building block 6 (the concluding component of the entire treatise); building block 5, in turn, contains all argumentative features of this essay on governmental affairs. On the basis of this consideration it can be concluded that, by combining the partial definitions from previous building blocks, the following reading applies to the character fidelity (*zhōng*) in the concluding building block 6, as defined by the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào":

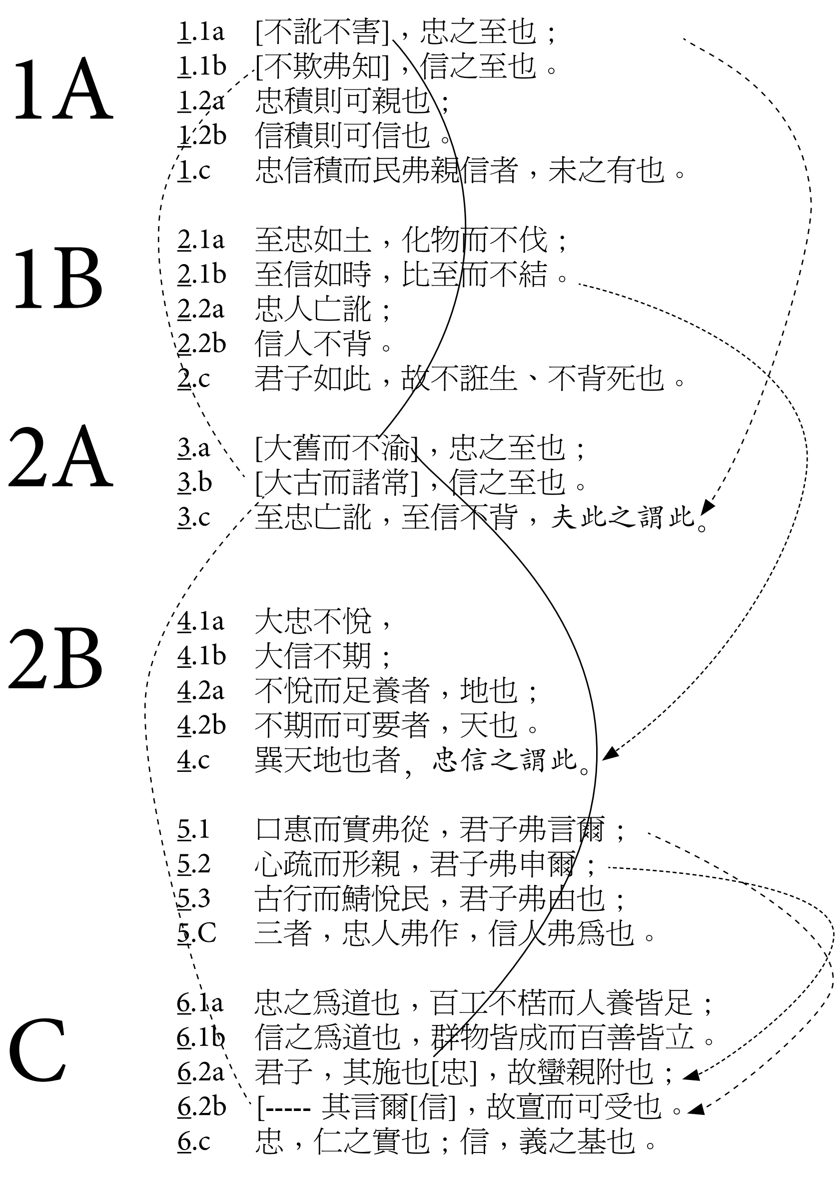
> *Not to [be] pretentious and not to [be] destructive* (1.1A)*, that is, to hold old ways in high esteem and never counteract them* (3.A) *and thus never to let [one's] mind loose when displaying intimacy* (5.2).

The same principle must be applied to unravel the definition of the character trustworthiness (*xìn*) in the concluding building block 6. Accordingly, trustworthiness has the following connotation in the context of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào":

> *Not to cheat and not to [be] cunning* (1.1B)*, that is, to hold antiquity in high reverence and to take it as a principle* (3.B) *and thus never to let [one's] words contradict [one's] actions* (5.1). (See fig. 5.)

Conclusion

To approach early philosophical texts from the perspective of their formal structure is a powerful strategy for dealing with early thinking. From the philological perspective, turning the strategy by which a text constructs its argument into a strategy for reading the text enables sense to be made of passages that would otherwise be unclear. In



是故古之所以行乎蠻貉者，如此也。

Figure 5: Overlapping Structure on the Macrolevel of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào"

saying this, I do not suggest that reading a text like the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" through its formal structure should be seen only as a strategy for corroborating the palaeographical reconstruction of corrupted or missing passages. Paying close attention to the formal structure of a text's composition provides evidence about the proper sequence of the strips, as will be discussed in the next chapters.

It is clear that the formal structure of a text like the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" was a vital element for generating meaning beyond the level of the lexicon. By interrelating the various building blocks, the text connects the different notions advanced and so defines the meaning of certain philosophical concepts. Thus, the formal structure of an argument-based text such as the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" helps to generate definitions peculiar to the text. This applies both to the text's technique of introducing new terms by relating them to previously defined ones and to the modus operandi by which the text constructs a relatedness among various terms that we had not otherwise perceived.

When looking at philosophical writings not only as repositories of ideas but as meaningful objects in their own right, the texts can be seen in a new light. Argument construction in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" works in a fundamentally different way from an argument in the style of a syllogism, where A and B of necessity lead to C, such as in a treatise like the *Organon* of Aristotle. The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" also does not generate meaning by telling stories, as, for instance, the *Mèngzǐ* does. In contrast, the authors of the text construct the overall argument of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" by relating the highly distinctive building blocks to one another. By means of the formal structure, a web is woven into which the text places the message. The various notions and ideas are thereby connected to positive classifications and settings as provided in the text. It furthermore is important to notice that the text as a whole basically works in the same fashion as the individual building block. The pattern of an overlapping structure not only applies to the individual building block but is *the* very principle underlying the makeup of the text overall.

Note in this context that neither the highly distinct building blocks nor the overlapping structure depend on the materiality of the text. As will be discussed in further detail, in the Warring States period, text was an idea abstracted from its material carrier. When exploring the habits of early reading and writing, it is therefore essential to distinguish clearly between text as the matter to be transmitted and manuscript as the physical instantiation (or representative) of the text.

Neither the individual components that constitute a building block nor the individual building blocks of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" correspond to the length of one bamboo strip of this manuscript. That is, even when one building block contains the number of graphs that would fit on one bamboo strip of this manuscript, we do not find one building block written on one strip.[25] Meaning construction in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and the other texts that exhibit this type of philosophical reasoning is not the direct product of certain *conditions* of writing; that is, it is not the result of the materiality of the items used, such as the length of the bamboo strips on which the text was written. In contrast, we see from this a particular mode of philosophising in early China for which tradition has left us unprepared, as it would not outlast the centuries to come.

As discussed, the overlapping structure applies both to the microlevel of composition (i.e., the individual building blocks of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào") and also to the macrolevel of composition (i.e., the text as a whole). This means that not only are the various building blocks of the text designed in a consistent fashion but also the macrostructure of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" itself largely mirrors the structure of the individual units. Because the individual building block is composed in a strict 1ab–2ab–c scheme, it achieves a particular rhythm and, hence, stability.[26] And because the text as a whole emulates the makeup of the individual building blocks, the text as a whole gains stability. This is not to say just that the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and its strategy of meaning construction would not work if one of its building blocks were *removed*; indeed, argument construction in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" would also fail if other elements were *added*, or even if a building block was *moved* within the text. By implication, on the level of its formal structure, the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" is fixed.[27]

As the formal structure of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" is a crucial device for conveying meaning, a text of this kind can exist only in a given form. The formal structure crucially adds to the philosophical message by reflecting the message of the text: the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" describes sovereignty over a political space that extends universally, embracing the cosmic elements Heaven and Earth. The text's structure, in which

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[25] This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.
[26] See Jahandarie 1999, 311, for a discussion of the important mnemonic functions of rhythm and structure in early literature (and also for further references).
[27] Note that this does not imply that the lexicon of the text is also fixed.

the macrostructure mimics the pattern of the individual building block, reflects this. The formal perfection of the account spans the entire text, just as the ruler's transformative power of proper conduct (we might call this his *dé* 德) also spans the entire world. Form and content of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" are in perfect harmony with each other.

The fact, then, that one particular unit of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", namely building block 5, breaks the otherwise consistent pattern of the text does not in the slightest contradict my conclusion that the formal arrangement is fixed. Quite the contrary, building block 5 transforms the abstract argument of the text into a concrete directive addressed to the ruler of a state. By breaking away from the otherwise consistent pattern of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", it technically marks off the central point of the text. As I shall show later on, this technique of conscious violations of expectation was a common device of argument construction in texts of this type from the Warring States period. Note that even in the case of this particular unit, its overall position in the text is fixed. Because meaning is constructed by relating the different building blocks with each other, this particular unit *had* to be placed after what I have identified as the introduction of the second canto of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", that is, building block 4, and before the overall conclusion of the text, that is, building block 6. The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" can exist only in this particular form.

CHAPTER TWO

THE “QIÓNG DÁ YǏ SHÍ” 窮達以時 “FAILURE AND SUCCESS APPEAR AT THEIR RESPECTIVE TIMES”

The preceding discussion has described the makeup of an argument-based text, the “Zhōng xìn zhī dào”, in which the overlapping structure endows the text with a distinctive rhythm. The repetitive use of this feature supports memorability and stability of the building block, and the micro-macro correspondence of the formal composition defines the confines of this textual unit. The text as a whole gains a stability comparable to that of the individual building block. Moreover, due to the fact that the macrostructure mimics the microstructure, the formal structure of the composition compounds the thought central to the text. Form and matter are in congruence with each other.

The “Qióng dá yǐ shí” 窮達以時 (“Failure and Success Appear at Their Respective Times”) is organised in a radically different fashion. As the following discussion will show, its structure, however, fulfils the same integrating function in the process of constructing meaning.

The Text on Bamboo

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum report that the “Qióng dá yǐ shí” consists of fifteen bamboo strips.[1] The complete bamboo strips have a length of circa 26.4 centimetres each, and they are tapered towards both ends. As can be judged from the marks of the binding strips that remain visible on the bamboo to the present day, two cords, 9.4–9.6 centimetres apart, previously held the bamboo strips together.[2] As for the shape of the strips and the style of calligraphy, the “Qióng dá yǐ shí” closely resembles the “Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī” 魯穆公問子思 (“Duke Mù of Lǔ Inquires of Zǐ Sī”).[3] It can be assumed

[1] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 27–28, 145–146.
[2] See ibid., 145.
[3] The “Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī” consists of eight bamboo strips. The text is composed in the form of a dialogue between Duke Mù of Lǔ and Zǐ Sī and between Duke Mù with the otherwise-unknown minister Chéngsūn Yì 成孫弋. The text ends with a

that the two manuscripts were produced at about the same time and place. Despite the physical similarity of the two manuscripts, the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" and the "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī" share no textual relationship, and the argumentative patterns of the two texts differ totally. They have to be regarded as different texts.

The manuscript of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is relatively well preserved. Of the fifteen strips, two have both ends broken off. The missing parts probably contain some 17 graphs. The extant number of graphs is 289. This means that the manuscript as it was placed in the tomb probably consisted of a total of circa 306 graphs. Despite the small scale of textual loss, its reconstruction proves extremely difficult.[4]

So far, no consensus has been reached among modern scholars about how to arrange the bamboo strips. Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 and others hold that the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" in its current form is incomplete. They assume that some strips are missing, probably those between extant strips 8 and 9.[5] Chén Wěi 陳偉 and Chén Jiàn 陳劍, among others, think that the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is complete.[6] However, both scholars disagree with the sequence of strips as suggested by the editors of the Húběi Province Museum, and each proposes a substantially new arrangement of the text.[7] As argued elsewhere,[8] I contend that the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" in its current organisation[9] is indeed complete, and—except for interchanging strips *q*7 and *q*8—the sequence of strips is largely correct.

long apologia by Chéngsūn Yì in support of Zǐ Sī, so as to convince Duke Mù that Zǐ Sī should be regarded as a loyal minister par excellence, despite his seemingly unsatisfying answer to Duke Mù's enquiry. Chéngsūn Yì's apologia in support of Zǐ Sī is phrased in the pattern of an overlapping structure.

[4] For a detailed philological discussion of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", see chapter 10.

[5] See Ikeda 2000a, 152. Zhào Píng'ān (2002, 20) and others share Ikeda's assumption that the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is incomplete.

[6] See Chén Wěi 2003; Chén Jiàn 2004, esp. 316–322.

[7] Chén Wěi suggests the following sequence of strips: 1–6, 8, 7, 14, 9–13, 15 to end. Chén Jiàn suggests the following arrangement: 1–8, 14, 9–13, 15 to end. Both scholars' proposals pose problems in relation to the structure and the grammar of the text (except for Chén Wěi's proposal to exchange strips 7 and 8 with each other, which I also put forward). I shall refer to these positions in chapter 10, [J].

[8] See Meyer 2007.

[9] As presented in Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 27–28.

Thought and Contents

"The dichotomy of Heaven and [M]an is one of the constants of Chinese thought," Graham points out.[10] His remark applies well to the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", whose precise dating and philosophical affiliation are an issue of continuous debate among modern scholars.[11] The aim of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is not to explain or solve the apparent conflict between Heaven and Man but rather to provide Man with a guide to dealing with life's imponderables as caused by Heaven.

The "Qióng dá yǐ shí" was unknown to modern readers prior to the excavation of Guōdiàn One. It dwells on the intrinsic tension between Heaven and Man, which the authors of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" assert is innate in their relationship with each other. The text argues that even though Man has full control of his actions, he has no means to control their outcome. This lies with Heaven. In other words, to succeed, Man needs the opportunity offered by Heaven; otherwise, he fails. As a result, he can become a gentleman (*jūnzǐ* 君子)[12] only if he does not direct his actions towards a certain goal, which he cannot predict he

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[10] Graham 1989b, 107. I have capitalised 'Man' to stress the classical dichotomy of the two.

[11] Core notions of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", such as *qióng* 窮 'to fail' and *dá* 達 'to succeed' as a pair, also appear in the *Mèngzǐ* 孟子 (see "Jìn xīn shàng" 盡心上) and the *Lúnyǔ* 論語 (see "Wèi Líng gōng" 衛靈公). Zhāng Lìwén (1999b, 218, 220) argues accordingly that the date of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is close to that of the late *Mèngzǐ*. Monolinear attempts such as this to date a text and explain its philosophical orientation greatly underestimate a text's complexity. The *Mèngzǐ*, like most early texts, is not one single entity but rather an anthology of all kinds of ideas with different chronological origins and editorial engagement. (Note that in his preface to the *Mèngzǐ*, Zhào Qí 趙岐 [d. AD 201] already pointed out the difference between the 'inner' and 'outer' chapters [see Lau 1993, 331, 332].) Lǐ Cúnshān (2002) demonstrates similarities of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" with the transmitted texts of the *Mèngzǐ* and the *Xúnzǐ* 荀子. Wáng Zhìpíng (2004), for his part, holds that the ideas of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" correspond closely to those of the *Xúnzǐ*, for which reason he conjectures that the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" could be a work of a postulated 'Xúnzǐ school'. In this regard his position is not so far from that articulated by Paul Goldin in 2000, in which he assumes that the Guōdiàn One manuscripts—including the "Qióng dá yǐ shí"—can be imagined to be "what Xúnzǐ learned in school" because Xúnzǐ's positions appear "more systematically argued than anything to be found in the Guōdiàn manuscripts". According to Goldin, there is "little question" that Xúnzǐ was "influenced by the same doctrinal set" (2000, 146).

[12] Whereas 'gentleman' (*jūnzǐ*) in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" denotes the ruler, in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí', this designation refers to the group of ministers, advisors, and so forth—that is, the next layer beneath the ruler in the social stratification of a state.

will achieve anyway. In contrast, the true gentleman as presented by the authors of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" should value only his personal worthiness, which the text calls 'virtue' (*dé* 德); worries about the failure or success of his actions should not trouble his mind. The exclusive focus on his own worthiness allows him to liberate himself from the vicissitudes of (political) life, in which failure and success may come in unpredictable, and often undeserved, ways.[13]

Structure and Thought

The intrinsic tension between Heaven and Man as voiced in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is also given expression in the formal structure of the text. At different levels, the formal structure renders a duality, such as Heaven versus Man, success against failure, 'have' (*yǒu* 有) opposed to 'have not' (*wú* 無), and it seems that the text is fashioned in such a way that the formal structure of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" mirrors the logical structure of the argument.[14] This is more than a mere device for patterning the text. I hold accordingly that the compositional structure of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is consciously designed to mimic the logical structure of the argument that the text aims to transmit. As such, it is a philosophically relevant element of meaning construction in that it compounds the thought central to this text. This has a direct implication for our analysis.

The "Qióng dá yǐ shí" consists of two parts, or cantos. These can furthermore be divided into six units, which I refer to as 'subcantos', a term commonly used in biblical studies.[15] My analysis of the strategy

[13] The theme of the slandered statesman or neglected worthy is ubiquitous in late Warring States Chinese prose writing, and it becomes a recurrent topos in Hàn dynasty *fù* 賦 literature. For a discussion of this theme, see Hightower 1954; Wilhelm 1957; Pankenier 1990.

[14] Here and below in my discussion of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", I do not use the word 'logic' in its rigorous sense: it is not meant as a formal device for the study of the principles of valid inference, that is, the process of drawing a conclusion based on what one knows, on the one hand, and its demonstration, on the other. Instead, in this context it is used purely to contrast the reasoned level of the argument with the formal level of the compositional structure.

[15] See, e.g., Korpel 2000. Just like the building block, the subcanto is a unit that should be elaborated with respect to the individual text. I want to avoid using 'section' as one would probably do in the analysis of modern compositions, and so I use 'subcanto' to indicate a self-contained unit at a level of meaning construction above the building block.

of argument construction in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" proceeds along two lines. The first is a horizontal analysis of argument construction. This is a description of how the text generates a gradually rising tension from one subcanto to the next, thus developing a linear argument. The second is a vertical analysis of argument construction. This is a description of the hierarchical structure of the text's argument. As will become obvious from the discussion, the two types of analysis point to different conclusions concerning the relationship between Heaven and Man, but the apparent conflict is in fact part of the text's argumentative strategy and is resolved in an overall synthesis.

First Part: Heaven—Man's Failure

Subcanto 1: Introduction to the Problem

[q1]有天有人，天人有分。	*Theme*
察天人之分，而知所行矣。	
有其人，無其[q2]世；	*Development of the theme*
雖賢弗行矣。	
茍有其世，何難之有哉？	

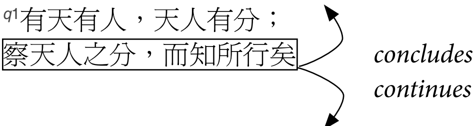
[q1]There is Heaven and there is Man, and there are distinctions between Heaven and Man.
When investigating the distinction between Heaven and Man, one will know what they act upon.

There might be the right man, but no right [q2] times for him.
Even if he was a worthy one, he would not enact it (his worthiness).
However, if only there were the right times, what difficulties could there then be?

Subcanto 1 reads like a general introduction to the concern of the text. This unit is patterned in a dualistic fashion and can be divided into 'theme' and 'development'. As will become obvious, dualistic patterns not only are characteristic of individual building blocks or subcantos of the text but are the predominant characteristics of the compositional structure of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" as a whole.

The theme states the self-evident truth that two distinct entities exist: Heaven and Man. The final sentence of the theme concludes that when investigating this truism, one will, by definition, know what Heaven and Man (can) act upon. At the same time, this statement also raises an expectation and thus serves as a bridge to the next passage of

the text. I tentatively refer to this feature as 'double-directed function of a text segment':



The double-directed feature links up two parts of a text. It can appear on different levels of text composition. The unit quoted likewise is not an isolated instance of this feature.

The development of the introduction deepens the discussion of the differences between Heaven and Man by naming the two preconditions that must coincide so that Man can drive his actions to success: first, he must be a worthy man;[16] and second, the times must be right. The theme of the introduction has already pointed to the polarity of Man and Heaven. The development further opens up a polarity between the positions 'have' (*yǒu* 有) and 'have not' (*wú* 無), which are used in two strictly parallel sentences in the text: "There might be the right man, but no right times" (有其人，無其世). When comparing this statement with the first line of the theme ("There is Heaven and there is Man" 有天有人), it becomes obvious that the development of the introduction brings into play the concept 'the right times' (*shì* 世)[17] where—given the parallelism of the first line of the introduction—one might expect 'Heaven' (*tiān* 天). Interchanging 'Heaven' with 'times', the authors of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" conceptually relate the two concepts. Heaven and the times are given equal structural significance, and either of them can be substituted for the other. This technique of defining newly introduced terms by relating them to well-defined ones by way of reiterating parallel patterns was an established standard in the Warring States period.[18]

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[16] This passage terms him *xiánrén* 賢人 'worthy person'.

[17] The term *shì* 世 'generation, epoch; world' will be read as 'the right times' in the sense that the worthy one may or may not live in an epoch (or generation) that will allow him to flourish in the world.

[18] I have discussed this technique of establishing persuasive definitions in early Chinese philosophical texts in Meyer 2006 and also 2007. See also chapter 1 for persuasive definitions established in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào".

Subcanto 2: Legendary Materials and the Crucial Matter of Yù

Having stated the basic concern of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", subcanto 2 assembles narrative material to deepen the discussion of the right times. The authors of the text discuss Man's dependence on circumstances: (even) the worthy one depends on someone in power:

(1) 舜耕於歷山，[A]
陶拍[q3]於河滸。 [B]
立而爲天子，遇堯也。

Shùn ploughed [the fields] at Mount Lì, and he made pottery [q3]on the banks of the Yellow River. †
The reason he became established as Son of Heaven was his encounter with Yáo.

(2) 邵謠衣枲蓋帽絰蒙巾。[C]
[q4]釋板築而佐天子，
遇武丁也。[D]

Shào Yáo wore a hemp coverlet, covered [his head] with a hemp hat, and swathed himself in a [protecting] scarf.†[19]
[q4]The reason he became the assistant of the Son of Heaven when he escaped the wooden barriers for building earthen walls was his encounter with Wǔdīng.

(3) 呂望爲臧棘津，戰監門[q5]棘地。[E]
行年七十，而屠牛於朝歌。
舉而爲天子師，遇周文也。

Lǚ Wàng was a slave at the ford of Jí, and trembling he [q5]watched the gates of the territory of Jí.†
Seventy years went by during which he slaughtered oxen at Zhāogē.
The reason he was elevated to become the tutor of the Son of Heaven was his encounter with [King] Wén of Zhōu.

(4) [q6]管夷吾拘囚束縛。[F]
釋械柙，而爲諸侯相，
遇齊桓也。

[q6]Guǎn Yíwǔ (Guǎn Zhòng) was detained in prison, where he was bound and tied up.
The reason he became minister of the feudal lords when he escaped the weapons and his prisoner's cage was his encounter with [Duke] Huán of Qí.

[19] His attire indicates his poverty.

(5) [q8]孫叔三斥期思少司馬。[G]
出而爲令尹，
遇楚莊也。

[q8]Sūnshū (Sūnshū Ào) thrice declined [the position of] vice minister of war at Qīsī.
The reason he became the senior official when he came out [of seclusion] was his encounter with [King] Zhuāng of Chǔ.

(6) [q7]百里[奚]轉賣五羊，爲伯牧牛。[H]
釋板[?]而爲朝卿，†[I]
遇秦穆。

[q7]Bǎilǐ [Xī] was sold for the price of five rams and became the elder of the oxherders.
The reason he became minister at the court when he escaped [?] was his encounter with [Duke] Mù of Qín. †

Subcanto 1 already made it clear that the worthy one has to live during the right times for letting his worth work in the world so that his talents become widely apparent. Subcanto 2 continues this insight. Drawing upon a pool of cases that reflect the cultural memory of a particular period and a particular group (for simplicity's sake, I shall henceforth refer to this pool of cases as 'legendary materials'),[20] the account describes specific encounters of a humble person with someone in power. By correlating subcanto two with subcanto 1, the authors of the text equal—or correlate—the right times (*shì* 世) with the encounter (*yù* 遇) of a worthy one with the right powerful man.

Thus, in the logic of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", Heaven (*tiān* 天) brings forth the right times (*shì* 世); or the right times are an aspect of Heaven. The right times are in turn either *characterised* by the hierarchically superior man who recognises the worthy one as worthy and thus employs him, or he is a manifestation of the right times. It could also be that the authors regard the worthy one's encounter with the superior man as *dependent* on the right times. This is the aspect described as *yù* 遇.[21]

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[20] Note that for the contemporaneous recipient, these cases did *not* belong to the realm of legends. Yet I hope that anachronistically calling them 'legendary materials' is justified as shorthand for referring to oral or written stories that together makeup a group's remembered history. For the term 'cultural memory' (*kulturelles Gedächtnis*), see J. Assmann 1999, esp. 19–24.

[21] Compare the statement 遇不遇時也 that appears in the first chapter of the *Lùnhéng* 論衡 by Wáng Chōng 王充 (1996, 1:1). It seems that in the later philosophical discourse *yù* 遇 became a technical term, and it may well be that at the time of

The paradigmatic examples, which quote the lore of legendary materials, are presented in a highly structured way. The six examples fall into two alternating patterns, which I call type A and type B. Type A is structured as follows: line 1 introduces the name and background of the worthy person (e.g., 舜耕於歷山); line 2 describes the worthy one's deprived situation (e.g., 陶拍於河滸); line 3 resolves the case (e.g., 立而爲天子，遇堯也).[22] Type B differs from type A mainly in the second line, which always states that the worthy one X was *freed* from his deprived situation by meeting person Y.[23]

(A) 舜耕於歷山， 陶拍[q3]於河滸。 立而爲天子，遇堯也。	(B)邵謠衣枲蓋帽經蒙巾。 [q4]釋板築而佐天子，遇武丁也。
(A) 呂望爲臧棘津，戰監門[q5]棘地。 行年七十，而屠牛於朝歌。 舉而爲天子師，遇周文也。	(B)[q6]管夷吾拘囚束縛。 釋械柙，而爲諸侯相，遇齊桓也。
(A) [q8]孫叔三斥期思少司馬。 出而爲令尹，遇楚莊也。	(B) [q7]百里奚轉賣五羊，爲伯牧牛。 釋板[?]而爲朝卿，遇秦穆。

The repeating pattern in which the legendary materials are presented fulfils three functions. First, the repetition highlights the basic principle that underlies these stories and myths: a person of humble social origin realises the highest merits through his encounter with the right counterpart, who understands the person's worth and employs him. It is reasonable to assume that the stories are tailored to fit the message.[24] Second, the formal perfection of the account adds to the credibility of the stories themselves.[25] Third, the strict scheme of alternating A and B types provides this account with a distinguishing rhythm, and thus

the composition of the texts from Guōdiàn One, it had already achieved philosophical relevance.

[22] With a slight derivation of this pattern in 3A in that line 1 is longer and contains all the information needed to advance the example.

[23] Note that I have interchanged strip *q*8 (孫叔三斥期思少司馬出而爲令尹遇楚莊也) with *q*7 (百里奚轉賣五羊爲伯牧牛釋板[?]而爲朝卿遇秦穆), for which there is good evidence besides the highly structured scheme of alternating type A and type B. See my discussion in chapter 10, [G].

[24] This claim is further substantiated by the fact that certain stories (e.g., the story of Lǚ Wàng) represent a traditional representation rather than 'historical truth'. See also chapter 10, [C]; Allan 1981, 3–25.

[25] This corresponds to analysis by Wolfgang Behr who claims that certain structures present intricate arguments by integrating them into a "persuasive aesthetic environment" (2006, 26).

with a certain stability. This unit must thus be regarded as a stable element in its own right. Accordingly, the formal structure of this passage stresses the common truth underlying these stories and highlights the crucial notion presented therein.

Subcanto 3: Deriving a Principle from the Legendary Materials

The legendary materials presented in subcanto 2 makes clear that the worthy one needs to encounter a superior man so that he can be raised to an appropriate position that allows him to work in the world. Subcanto 3 uses this insight to construe a general principle from this observation. It asserts that the changing fate of a worthy one as described in subcanto 2 does not derive from an alteration of his essential traits, which the text identifies as virtue (*dé* 德) and wisdom (*zhì* 智):

> *q9*初韜晦，[J]
> 後名揚，†
> 非其德加。
>
> 子胥前多功，[K]
> 後戮死，
> 非其智*q10*衰也。

> *q9*[Thus, the fact that] in the beginnings [these worthies] were of little value and in obscurity,
> [and yet] their names were later praised,
> is not because their virtue (*dé*) has been added to.
>
> [That Wǔ] Zǐxū was very meritorious at first,
> [and yet] he later fell into disgrace and was put to death,
> is not because his wisdom*q10*had weakened.

Subcanto 3 recognises a general truth behind the account of the legendary materials of subcanto 2. It was not due to an increase of virtue that the fate of the humble worthies changed. Additionally, subcanto 3 also calls to mind the case, well known at the time, of Wǔ Zǐxū 伍子胥 and his fall from grace. This expresses the insight that the changing fate of a worthy one works in both directions. Failure, as expressed in the humbleness of a worthy one, may indeed turn into success, but the reverse is also true: success, as expressed by Wǔ Zǐxū's merits, may likewise turn into failure—at any time, unpredictably, and even undeservedly. The formal structure of this passage stresses the similarity of these cases: subcanto 3 is composed of two nearly identical strings. Of these, the second appears as the exact negative image of the former. See figure 6.

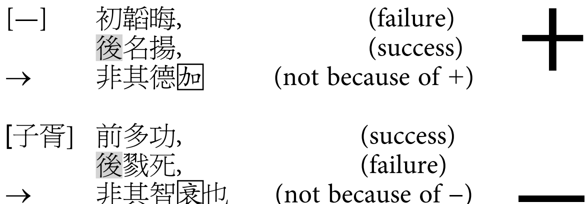


Figure 6: The Underlying Thought of Subcanto 3

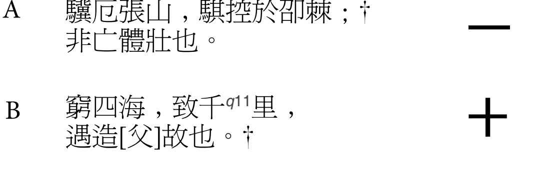
The highly structured passage with almost no divergence between the positive and negative statement communicates the idea that the particular instance of someone's failure turning to success contains the same principle as that of the reverse case. But the structure of this passage also promotes the stability of this unit. In the process of argument construction, this unit fulfils two functions. First, it generates a rule about a human's change of fate, hence rounding off the previous account. Second, by showing the reverse case, it draws attention to the same principle underlying the different historical cases. Yet even though this unit adds information to the discussion, the present subcanto does not yet close the matter by explicating what the decisive factor of a worthy person's fate actually is. Accordingly, subcanto 3 raises an expectation on the part of the text's recipient. I call this form of adding new information without resolving the matter 'open argument'.

By summing up the previous account with a general rule, the unit closes the description as advanced in subcanto 2. By adding further information to the overall problematic of the text (as indicated in subcanto 1) without yet resolving the matter, it raises an expectation. This unit hence takes on a function much like that of the double-directed feature of a text segment: it acts as a bridge between the previous account and the next unit of the text. As the double-directed feature of a text segment here does not appear on the microlevel of the text (as seen in subcanto 1) but works on the macrolevel of the composition in that it connects different subcantos, I call it a 'distanced' type of this feature.

Subcanto 4: Formulating a 'Closed Argument'

Subcanto 4 takes the discussion one step further. Just like subcanto 3, the present unit contrasts failure with success. However, whereas subcanto 3 did not resolve the tension between the two contrasting

aspects, subcanto 4 now synthesises the conflict by adding a concluding statement 'c'. The unit under review thus formulates a self-contained argument. In the context of the argument construction of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", I call this a 'closed argument'. See figure 7.



C 遇不遇，天也。[J] *conclusion*

That [even] the thoroughbred horse becomes distressed at Mount Zhāng,
and the black-mottled grey horse halts at the thorns of Shào,
is not because they have lost their physical strength.[26]

[But] that [they] exhaust everywhere within the four seas, reaching as far as a thousand [q11] *lǐ* [in each direction],
is because they encountered the [excellent rider] Zào Fù.†

To encounter or not—this lies with Heaven.

Figure 7: The 'Closed Argument' of Subcanto 4

By formulating a closed argument, subcanto 4 takes on a central position for processing the overall argument of the text. It brings the first part of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí"—canto 1 of this text—to its logical conclusion. The thoroughbred and fine horses serve as a metaphor for the worthy one, whilst Mount Zhāng and the thorns of Shào reflect his humble situation. The use of the metaphors instead of the names of (semi-)historical figures converts the previous discussion into a general truth, applicable to the gentleman, who will be named further on in the text. The subsequent account must be read through this generality, which names Heaven as the decisive factor settling Man's failure or success. Naming the decisive entity of Man's fate, the unit rather ungently exposes the limits of Man. The message is anything

[26] The 'thoroughbred horse' and the 'black-mottled grey horse' should be understood as fine horses.

but promising. Man appears as a mere plaything of Heaven's will. The text could have ended here.

Second Part: Man—His Success

Subcanto 5: Inferences from the Conclusion

動非爲達也；
故窮而不[q12] □□□ [怨；隱不] 爲名也；† [N]
故莫之知而不吝。

□□□□□□ [芝蘭生於幽谷] † [O]
[q13]□□□□ [[q13]非以無人]嗅而不芳†[P]
璑璐瑾瑜包山石，不爲 □□□ (□?)([無人知其][q14]善† [Q]
伓己也。†[R]

[Thus], to move is not [necessarily] to succeed.
This is why [the worthy one] does not [q12] {*harbour resentment*} even if becoming exhausted.†
{*He* [*simply*] *hides and does not*} go after achieving a name; †
And so he is without regret even if nobody knows him.

{*The* [*flower*] zhīlán *grows in dark valleys*};[q13]{*it is not because it cannot be*} smelled {*by man*} that it is not fragrant. †
The beautiful stone of jade is covered in mountain stones; it is not because {*no one knows its*}[q14] goodness that it neglects itself. †

The structure of this unit is comparable to that of subcanto 3. As discussed, subcanto 3 derives a general principle from the legendary materials presented in subcanto 2. By adding further information to it, expectations were raised so that the train of thought was continued into subcanto 4. Thus, subcanto 3 bridges the general idea of subcanto 2 and that of subcanto 4.

Subcanto 5, then, infers a rule from the conclusion articulated in subcanto 4, in which the authors of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" have made clear that action does not necessarily yield the expected results. Subcanto 5 continues from that insight and adds to it the perception that although the individual has no control over the outcome of his actions, this nevertheless should not lead to resentment or regret—even if he fails.

This conclusion leads one to expect that there must be a reason for this state of affairs. But subcanto 5 offers no clue as to what that reason could be. Just like subcanto 3, the unit draws a general rule from the preceding account without settling the issue. This creates an expectation

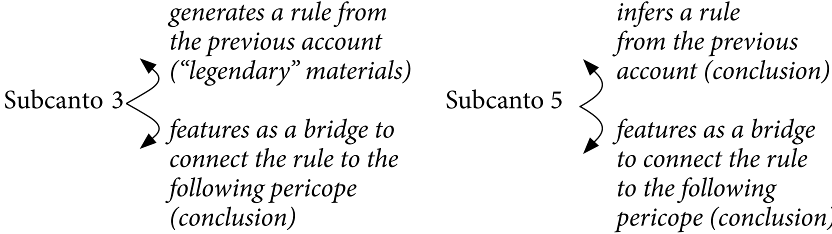


Figure 8: The Double-Directed Feature of Subcantos 3 and 5

on the part of the recipient. Hence, in the same fashion in which subcanto 3 featured as a bridge to connect the train of thought of subcanto 2 to that of subcanto 4, subcanto 5 features as a bridge to connect the insight from the conclusion articulated in subcanto 4 to the account that follows. Just like subcanto 3, subcanto 5 can be classified as a double-directed feature of a text segment (see fig. 8). Accordingly, it should likewise be regarded as an open argument.

Subcanto 5 compares the worthy one with the fragrant flower *zhīlán* 芝蘭 in a dark valley[27] and with a beautiful but forgotten gem of value in a mountain of stones. Since it states that even failed action should lead neither to frustration nor to the renunciation of one's value, subcanto 5 offers a more positive perspective on the vicissitudes of life, after the recipient of the text has just faced the sombre conclusion of subcanto 4.

Subcanto 6: Directive for the Individual

> 窮達以時，
> 德行一也，譽毀在旁。
> 聽之一母，緇白[q15]不釐；
> 窮達以時，幽明不再。
> 故君子惇於反己。[S]

> Failure and success appear at their respective times.
> Virtue (*dé*) and conduct [may] be one, [and yet] fame and slander stand by their side.

[27] On the rhetorical function of flowers in Chinese poetic texts and the problem of Latinised translations, see Kern 1994. Other texts from the Warring States (or later) also use the *zhīlán* flower to express ideas like those presented in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí". It thus seems that by the late Warring States, the *zhīlán* flower was a topos denoting a remote or reclusive worthy person.

> [But if] acuity reaches the 'one mother', black and white [q15]need not be distinguished [anymore].†
> Failure and success appear at their respective times, [yet] dark and bright do not get reiterated [along with them].
> It is for this reason that the gentleman esteems self-examination.

Subcanto 6 concludes the discussion about the apparent arbitrariness of the failure or success of Man's deeds with the newly introduced word 'times' (*shí* 時). Failure and success each appear at a given time—irrespective of other circumstances. The notion that failure and success depend on more than just the worthy one is by now an established truth. In subcanto 6, this notion is applied explicitly to the gentleman (*jūnzǐ* 君子).

At this juncture, I think it necessary to discuss the structure of this particular unit in more detail. Formulating the conclusion of canto 2, subcanto 6 is vital for the overall message of the text. At the same time, this unit is remarkably difficult. It contains a number of enigmatic ideas. Yet the analysis of its structure can provide the key to resolving the matter.

Subcanto 6 is composed of four strings of mostly parallel segments. However, not every segment reappears in each string of the scheme, as figure 9 shows. The sentences tentatively called B1 and B2 and C2 function as the connecting bridges within this unit.

1:	A	—	B1	—	C1
2:			B2	—	C2
3:	A	—			C2
4:	*gù*		B3		

Figure 9: The Scheme of Subcanto 6

Applied to the text, we have the following picture:

1:	A 窮達以時	B1 德行一也	C1 譽毀在旁
2:		B2 聽之一母	C2 緇白不釐；
3:	A 窮達以時		C2 幽明不再。
4:	故	B3 君子惇於反己	

Note that the in-depth structural analysis of subcanto 6 is an attempt to reconstruct the strategy of meaning construction applied in this cryptic passage. It cannot serve as a definitive reconstruction of this passage.

Two main features of this scheme must be highlighted to appreciate its function. First, it seems that rhyme is involved in this unit. Except for segments B1 and C1 the entire unit rhymes in *-ə:

1:	A窮達以**時**[*dəʔ~*də]	B1 德行一也(*lAjʔ)	C1 譽毀在旁(**pran*)
2:		B2 聽之一**母**[*məʔ[28]]	C2 緇白不**釐**[*rə]
3:	A窮達以**時**[*dəʔ~*də]		C2 幽明不**再**[*tsə-s]
4:	故	B3 君子惇於反**己**[*k(r)əʔ]	

The break in the rhyme pattern in segments B1 and C1 is puzzling, but it probably can be explained satisfactorily. I discuss this feature below. Second, there are some 'gaps' in the pattern of subcanto 6.[29] These gaps are structurally consistent and have a function. Their use can be considered a meaningful feature of this passage. Contextually, the informed recipient bridges each gap by repeating the missing segment from the previous line. Segment A must hence be repeated in line 2; segment B2 in line 3. The conjunction 'this is why' (*gù* 故) in line 4, then, signals that the argument as a whole should be reiterated here. Yet the primary function of these structurally significant gaps is not only to indicate that the previous segment should be reiterated but also to signal a turn in the reading of an otherwise continuous thought. We can assign to it something like an "[even] if—then" turn. In the following table, I have indicated the segment to be added contextually in each gap by setting it in italics; I have marked the indicated turn by underscoring it:

1:A	Failure and success appear at their respective times.	B1	Virtue (*dé*) and conduct [may] be one,	C1	[and yet] fame and slander stand by their side.

[28] The reconstruction of *m(r)oʔ as presented in Baxter 1977, 291ff., accounts well for the Middle Chinese notation of *mǔ* 母, which is muwX. But Baxter's *P(r)o repeatedly rhymes with *-ə in the *Shījīng*, and words in *P(r)o show *xiéshēng* contacts with words in *-ə. It is therefore likely that in some Old Chinese dialects that are not directly ancestral to the Middle Chinese language of the *Qièyùn*, where the two remain distinct, *P(r)o has merged with *P(r)ə. (See also the discussion in Baxter 1992, 465ff.)

[29] The A component is missing before segment B2 in line 2. In line 3 segment B1 is missing. In line 4 segment A is replaced by the conjunction 'this is why; therefore' (*gù* 故).

2:*A*	[*Failure and success appear at their respective times*], (1A)	B2	[but] [if] acuity reaches the 'one mother',	C2	[then] black and white need not be distinguished [anymore]!
3:A	Failure and success appear at their respective times,	*B2*	[*but if acuity reaches the 'one mother'*], (B2)	C2	dark and bright do not get reiterated [along with them anymore].
4:A	[*Failure and success appear at their respective times* (A), *but if acuity reaches the 'one mother'* (B2), *black and white need not be distinguished anymore* (C2) *for dark and bright do not get reiterated along with the many more* (C2); it is for this reason (*gù*) that	B2	the gentleman [only] esteems self-examination!		

Accordingly, the gap in line 2 turns segment B2 into an opposite reading, so that "black and white need not be distinguished [*anymore*]" for the person whose acuity reaches the 'one mother' (C2). The next turn appears in line 3. The recipient contextually repeats the segment B2 from above, which thus leads to the conclusion that "dark and bright do not get reiterated [along with them *anymore*]" if following this principle. The last gap appears in line 4. The statement starts with 'for this reason' (or 'this is why') (*gù* 故), clearly marking the conclusion of this part. As is typical for '*gù* statements', the information that leads to '*gù*' appears in front of this marker. Accordingly, the informed (or guided) recipient bridges this last gap in front of the '*gù*' by repeating the above information. This, I believe, is where the break in the pattern of the rhyme comes into play. Only those segments that do not conform to the pattern of the *-ə rhyme state the negative case that even though "conduct and virtue [may] be one (B1), fame and slander [nevertheless] stand by the side" (C1). Yet this is true only for someone who has not internalised the full potential of virtuous conduct, as 'slander' and 'fame' are no longer of concern to the accomplished gentleman. Thus, when reading this passage through its formal structure, it is possible to contextualise the reference of the statement that

the gentleman lays all importance on self-examination, which otherwise would remain unclear. Accordingly, this last statement turns subcanto 6 into a closed argument. Like the previous units of this text, it becomes a stable element in the construction of the overall concern of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí".

The passage under review has caused many modern commentators considerable headache. Nevertheless, I am confident that paying close attention to its formal structure can help us make sense of it. The parallel position of the term *yī* 一, 'one', in lines 1 and 2 of the scheme suggests that they share the same referent; 'one mother', in turn, denotes the one principle according to which the gentleman should consistently align his behaviour.[30] In a similar vein, this approach can be used to reconstruct the referent of the awkward terms that appear in the two parallel components C2 in lines 2 and 3 ("black and white need not be distinguished" 緇白不釐 and "dark and bright do not get reiterated" 幽明不再). The referent of these segments nowhere appears explicitly, but the clear parallel structure confirms that segment C2 in lines 2 and 3 refers to something similar to what is expressed in C1 ("slander and fame stand by the side" 譽毀在旁). As a result, black and white (C2, line 2), just like dark and bright (C2, line 3), should be understood as particular manifestations of success and failure. Just like slander and fame (C1, line 1), they may befall the individual at certain times. However, for the gentleman (*jūnzǐ* 君子), whose focus lies exclusively on the cultivation of virtue (*dé* 德)—the guiding principle, which the text calls the 'one mother'—the manifestations of success and failure become irrelevant. The consciousness of his own worthiness provides him with a steady imperturbability.

Thus, failure and success are aspects that may return at any time, as the word *shí* 時 at the beginning of this section plainly shows. As such, they are unpredictable even for the gentleman. However, if he is armed with the consciousness that only the cultivation of his own virtue is

[30] See also the various occurrences of the term *mǔ* 母 'mother' in the *Lǎozǐ* 老子. See, for instance, the transmitted chapter 25 (可以爲天下母 "it can be taken for the mother of Heaven and Earth") and chapter 20 (我獨異於人而貴食母 "I alone differ from the others in that I honour this nourishing mother"), the former of which also appears in the Guōdiàn One manuscript A, strip *a*21/20. Most commentators agree that the term 'mother' in the *Lǎozǐ* denotes the *dào* 道, that is, 'way' or 'principle'. It seems that by the time of composition of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", 'one mother' or 'mother' had already developed into a topos, so that the use of this term was by no means at odds with the conventions shared by certain Warring States philosophers.

valuable, they will cause him no harm. In a way, this mind set allows him to live with a lack of success in his political career, something that must have been quite common to users of this kind of text.

The Macrostructure of Composition

Horizontal Line of Analysis

The analysis has shown that, from one subcanto to the next, the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" carefully develops a linear argument. That is, after subcanto 1 (the introduction to the philosophical concern of this text), each textual unit builds on and contributes to the insight gained from the previous subcanto. The linear argument construction of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" can be represented as in figure 10.

As shown in figure 10, each step in the construction of the overall argument corresponds to one subcanto (numbered 1 to 6 in the figure). Each of these steps builds on the argument of the subcanto that immediately precedes it. Subcanto 3 may serve as an example: this unit acts as a bridge between subcanto 2 and subcanto 4 by deducing from subcanto 2 the notion that success and failure depend on more than only a man's virtue or knowledge. Then subcanto 3 builds on the observation made in subcanto 2 and prepares for a higher level of insight that forms the basis of the conclusion in subcanto 4. The same is true throughout the text, and it follows that of the two conclusions of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", namely subcantos 4 and 6, the latter (subcanto 6) must be the one that articulates the crucial insight of the text.

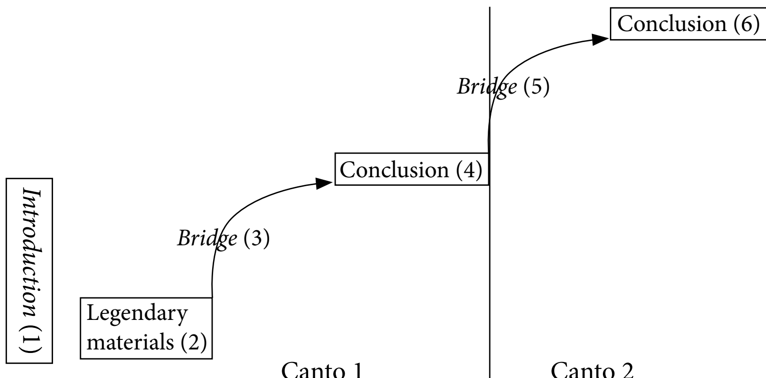


Figure 10: The Linear Type of Argument Construction in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí"

Vertical Line of Analysis

This part of the analysis deals with the hierarchical structure of argument construction in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí". This adds to our understanding of the philosophical message of this text. As discussed, the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" contains two conclusions, each of which closes one canto. The decisive characteristic of these conclusions in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is that they break away from the dualistic pattern that is so typical of this text. The closed argument advanced in these conclusions dissolves the dualistic contrast between positive statement (success) and negative statement (failure) by adding to it a synthesising element, c. The "Qióng dá yǐ shí" as a whole is composed according to the same principle. Just like the closed arguments (subcantos 4 and 6), the hierarchical structure of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" consists of two conflicting elements (Heaven against Man) and a synthesising element that brings the entire argument to a higher level.

I shall now focus on the compositional structure of the two conclusions (subcantos 4 and 6) to investigate their place in the development of meaning in the text overall. The two conclusions share structurally identical features. Despite the fact that canto 2 of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is decidedly shorter than canto 1, the two cantos closely resemble each other in organisation. In each canto, the conclusion is preceded by a subcanto functioning as a double-directed feature of a text segment (subcantos 3 and 5), in which the preceding account is connected to a subsequent conclusion. Subcanto 3 thus transforms the legendary materials of subcanto 2 by validating the insight concerning the fate of a worthy one, which can change in either direction. Subcanto 4 concludes that failure and success rely entirely on Heaven's will. Subcanto 5 draws on this insight but adds to it that this is no reason for frustration or the renunciation of one's value. Finally, subcanto 6 draws on the open argument of subcanto 5 and concludes that for the gentleman who esteems self-examination, the phenomena of failure and success lose their threat.

The analysis of the macrostructure of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" has shown that the overall structure of an argument-based text can resemble that of the individual building blocks of which the text is made up. In the case of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", the macrostructure reproduces the overlapping structure of the 1ab-2ab-c scheme, in which each building block can be seen as one component of that scheme. Something similar holds true for the macrostructure of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí". The

basic characteristic of this text is to express the tension between failure and success, or Heaven and Man. This tension is reflected in the text's macrostructure. The theme of canto 1 is Heaven (or Heaven's triumph over Man); that of canto 2 is Man (or Man's triumph over Heaven).

Each of the two conclusions advanced in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is composed as a closed argument in which the conflict between two contrasting matters is synthesised. On the text's macrolevel, subcanto 4 sums up the first part of the text and brings canto 1 to its meaningful close. Canto 2 draws on the insight expressed in subcanto 4 and so develops the overall train of thought one step further. In view of this it appears that subcanto 4 not only features as a connecting link in the development of a linear argument and as the conclusion of canto 1 but also functions as a double-directed segment because it connects two greater parts of the text, namely cantos 1 and 2. On the hierarchical level of meaning construction, subcanto 4 thus functions as the synthesising element between the two otherwise contrasting cantos 1 (Heaven's triumph over Man) and 2 (Man's triumph over Heaven). Thus, as in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", where the compositional structure of the text as a whole mimics the pattern of each individual building block, the overall makeup of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" also reflects the structure of a closed argument as advanced in subcantos 4 and 6. See figure 11.

Conclusion

The "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is a well-crafted composition, and it does not seem plausible to imagine that it was created on the spur of the moment. Its hierarchical structure reflects the structure of the individual subcanto. Like the closed arguments of subcantos 4 and 6, the macrostructure of the text advances a closed system. It resolves the tension of two contrasting entities (Heaven and Man) in a closed argument by adding a concluding element (which may be called c). Unlike the closed argument of the microlevel of the text, in which the concluding element c appears at the end of the textual unit, the synthesising element of the macrolevel argument is placed at the centre of the composition.

Echoing the structure of a subcanto at the macrolevel, the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" is developed as a closed system. The present organisation of the text enables the articulation of a sound argument, on both the micro- and the macrolevel of composition. None of the units as reconstructed here could be relocated—or rearranged internally—without

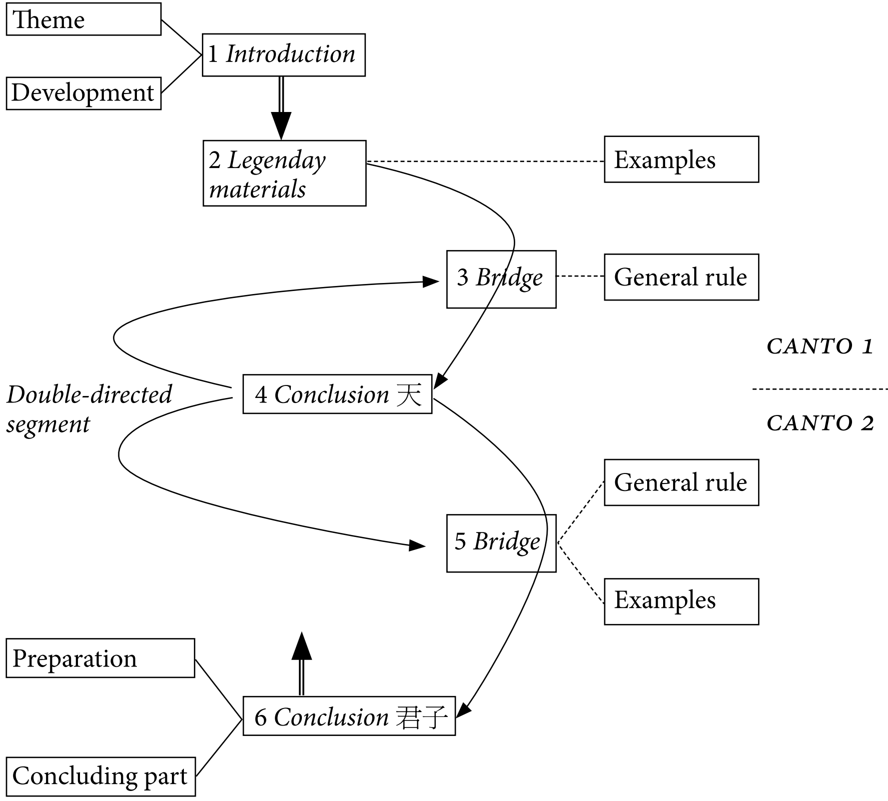


Figure 11: The Hierarchical Argument Construction of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí"

seriously distorting the structure of a closed argument spanning the entire composition. By implication, it becomes clear that the overall structure of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" fulfils the same integrating function as that of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào". Even though the structure of the two texts could hardly be more different, in both cases it does facilitate a closed system that provides stability to the text overall. Just like the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" can exist only in this structural form.

Concluding this chapter, I want to draw attention to an ostensible conflict between the hierarchical and linear construction of the text's argument. According to the linear line of argument construction, the second of the two conclusions (subcanto 6) must be the main thought that the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" aims to communicate. The horizontal analysis

has shown that the linear line of constructing the argument works cumulatively, and subcanto 4 (conclusion of canto 1) functions as mere preparation for the main argument finally concluded in subcanto 6. The vertical analysis, however, suggests a pivotal function of subcanto 4 for the hierarchical structure of the text's argument: subcanto 4 connects canto 1 with canto 2 and so functions as the synthesising element allowing the text to become a closed system. This suggests that the main thought of the text is articulated in subcanto 4. Creating a closed argument on the macrolevel, subcanto 4 highlights Heaven as the decisive factor, deciding the failure and success of Man's deeds. The fact that subcanto 4 is placed at the centre of the composition further stresses the importance of Heaven.

This seems to point to a contradiction between the horizontal and the vertical line of analysis, where the main point is put forward either in subcanto 4 (vertical, or hierarchical, structure of the text's argument) or in subcanto 6 (linear structure). Or is this seeming contradiction simply a misinterpretation of the case?

The closed argument of the macrostructure does indeed state that Heaven is a greater power than Man. By locating subcanto 4 at the centre of the composition, the structure further accentuates the central position of Heaven for deciding a human's fate. Despite this, subcanto 6 concludes on the horizontal level that by making one's virtue the only concern, the gentleman is no longer troubled by issues such as failure and success or slander and fame. From this it follows that the gentleman does not direct any of his actions towards a defined goal, as he cannot ensure that he will achieve it. Conversely, he merely values conduct for itself, not its outcome. This is the perfection of virtue. As a result, by focusing on his virtue alone, he frees himself from the threat that success might turn into failure, bright into dark, fame into slander. The gentleman thereby not only emancipates himself from the seemingly absolute impact of these issues but also frees himself from the imponderables of life itself. In other words, by making his virtue his only concern, the gentleman emancipates himself from the decisive power of Heaven over Man!

Thus, the vertical analysis of the text's formal structure has demonstrated the way in which the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" expresses on the formal level of composition the idea that Heaven is the decisive entity that determines the failure or success of Man's deeds. The horizontal analysis of the text's formal structure has shown how the formal level

of composition expresses the idea that Man can nonetheless overcome this potential threat. Taken together, the apparent contradiction between both types of meaning construction in the text is resolved. The structure of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" thus fulfils the same integrating function of correlating thought and content harmoniously in a structurally closed system that can also be shown for the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào".

CHAPTER THREE

THE "WǓ XÍNG" 五行 "FIVE ASPECTS OF VIRTUOUS CONDUCT"

Since the publication of the Guōdiàn One manuscripts, the "Wǔ xíng" ("Five Aspects of Virtuous Conduct") has attracted close attention from modern scholars. Numerous articles and books have appeared that discuss the position of the "Wǔ xíng" in the intellectual world of early China and compare it with its manuscript counterpart from Mǎwángduī Three.

It has been argued repeatedly that the "Wǔ xíng" is the key to contextualising the criticism of Zǐ Sī 子思 and Mèng Kē 孟軻 (Mencius, traditionally ca. 380–290 BC) that was pronounced so harshly in the "Fēi shí'èr zǐ" 非十二子 ("Against the Twelve Masters") chapter of the *Xúnzǐ* 荀子 (traditionally ascribed to Xún Qīng 荀卿; ca. 310–238 BC). The *Xúnzǐ* attacked the two disputers for setting up a theory for which they claimed old ancestry but which was, in fact, "heavily flawed, self-contradictory, lacking proper categories". According to the *Xúnzǐ*, they called it "*wǔ xíng*" 五行, 'five types of conduct'.[1] This

[1] 略法先王而不知其統，猶然而材劇志大，聞見雜博。案往舊造說，謂之五行。甚僻違而無類，幽隱而無說，閉約而無解。案飾其辭而祗敬之曰：此真先君子之言也。子思唱之，孟軻和之。世俗之溝猶瞀儒，嚾嚾然不知其所非也。遂受而傳之，以爲仲尼子游爲茲厚於後世，是則子思孟軻之罪也 (*Xúnzǐ jíjiě*, 94–95).

"[Men like these] scrappily follow the [way of] the former kings without understanding their guiding threads; nonetheless, [they behaved] as if [their] abilities were manifold, [their] will were great, and [their] experience were broad and profound. [They] set up a theory for which [they] claim old ancestry, calling it the *wǔ xíng* theory. [This theory] is heavily flawed, self-contradictory, and it lacks [proper] categories; [it is] mysterious and enigmatic and it lacks [proper] theory. Esoteric and laconic in its statements, it lacks adequate explanations. For ornamenting their propositions and to win respect and veneration, they claim: 'These doctrines are the genuine words of the gentlemen of former times. Zǐ Sī provided the tune for them, and Mèng Kē harmonised them.' The stupid, indecisive, deluded present-day *rú* are enthusiastic about them, not recognizing in what they fail. Passing on what they have received, [they] believe that Kǒngzǐ and Zǐgòng were highly esteemed for this by later generations. It is here that the fault of Zǐ Sī and Mèng Kē lies" (after Knoblock 1988–1994, 1:224, emended). Because the critique in the *Xúnzǐ* was articulated so harshly, scholars such as Homer H. Dubs (1928, 79–80, n. 4) subscribe to the view that the passage in question is most likely a later insertion. This view was initially expressed by Hán Yīng 韓嬰

theory, however, is mentioned nowhere explicitly in either the received *Mèngzǐ* 孟子 (probably compiled by groups of disciples of Mèng Kē),[2] or any of the works attributed to Zǐ Sī. As a result, the target of the critique remained obscure for centuries.[3] The "Wǔ xíng" might be the key to this riddle, for it develops a theory explicitly called 'five aspects of virtuous conduct' (*wǔ xíng* 五行), and it elaborates upon it in great detail. The "Wǔ xíng" further displays a close affinity with the "Zhōng yōng"—traditionally attributed to Zǐ Sī[4]—and so it is often seen as the source par excellence for (re-)constructing the Zǐ Sī 子思 lineage, of which otherwise not much is known.[5] Furthermore, the "Wǔ xíng" shares much of its technical terminology with the *Mèngzǐ*.[6] As a consequence, it is often (mis-)taken as a missing link for reconstructing *rú* ideas—often referred to anachronistically as 'Confucianism'—in an imagined linear development from Kǒngzǐ 孔子 (Confucius) to the *Xúnzǐ*.[7]

For students of the relationship between text and writing in early China, the "Wǔ xíng" is noteworthy for its numerous quotations. Many of these originate from the collection of songs known as "Odes" (*shī* 詩), which makes this particular text, datable to the mid- to late Warring States period, a significant source for the study of "Odes" during this period. The only version of this anthology that has survived to the present day, the—later authoritative—Máo 毛 tradition,

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(ca. 200–120 BC), the compiler of the *Hán shī wài zhuàn* 韓詩外傳. See also Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 59ff.; Páng Pú 1980, 71–88.

[2] For theories about the nature of this work, see the controversial study by Brooks (1994).

[3] See Páng Pú 2000, 97. See also S. Cook 2000, 135.

[4] See Páng Pú 1977; S. Cook 2000, 135. Note, however, that there are considerable doubts about this conclusion. See S. Cook 2000, 130, n. 42.

[5] On the tradition of Zǐ Sī, see Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 257–276.

[6] Ibid., 110.

[7] Scholars such as Chén Gǔyìng (1992b, 394, n. 1) regard the "Wǔ xíng" as a further development of the Mencian theory of the 'four sprouts' *sì duān* 四端. Mark Csikszentmihalyi explains the "Wǔ xíng" as a work from the fourth century that develops a systematic "moral psychology of the virtues" against the background of philosophers' positions. "Instead of simply deflecting the critiques found in the *Mòzǐ, Zhuāngzǐ*, and *Hán Fēizǐ*, Csikszentmihalyi argues that it adopted elements of outside systems", that is non-*rú* critiques, "in order to construct some of the basic tenets of the theory of 'material virtue'" (2004, 58). As for the term *rú* itself, it is better to avoid the anachronistic denotation 'Confucianism' in the context of the Warring States period. David Schaberg (2001, 9) employs the term 'ritualist' for what is in fact only a loosely defined group of ritual experts and teachers. The association of *rú* with Confucianism is a much later development which took final shape probably not much before the Western Hàn. See also Eno 1990, 190ff.; Lewis 1999, 75ff.

stabilised as late as the Hàn dynasty and so significantly postdates the "Wǔ xíng" and its quotations.[8] Hence, the "Wǔ xíng" is important for studies focusing on the development of a Chinese textuality.[9]

Even though the "Wǔ xíng" does not belong to the corpus of transmitted literature, we are nevertheless fortunate in having another close variant of this text. Some twenty years before Guōdiàn One was opened, a different manifestation of the "Wǔ xíng" was excavated from the renowned Hàn dynasty tomb Mǎwángduī 馬王堆 Three.[10] The fact that a copy of this text was excavated from a tomb which dates some 150 years later than Guōdiàn One suggests that the "Wǔ xíng" must once have enjoyed at least some popularity before it slipped entirely

[8] In addition to the two versions of the "Wǔ xíng", fragments of the "Odes" are to be found in two excavated manifestations of the "Zī yī" (from Guōdiàn One and the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts), the "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn" 孔子詩論, and, to a lesser extent, the "Mín zhī fùmǔ" 民之父母 (both of which are part of the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts and are so labelled by modern editors). Moreover, we now possess a badly damaged and incomplete anthology (see Kern 2003, 28) of the "Odes" from a tomb in Shuānggǔduī 雙古堆 (Ānhuì 安徽 Province, sealed 165 BC; see Giele 2001). On the Shànghǎi collection, see Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–. The *Máo* 毛 tradition, which in the post-Hàn 漢 period displaced the three interpretations of Lǔ 魯, Hán 韓, and Qí 齊—all of which received imperial recognition under Emperors Wén 文 (r. 179–157 BC) and Jǐng 景 (r. 156–141)—is first recorded at the court of Liú Dé 劉德 (r. 133 BC), Prince Xiàn 獻 of Héjiān 河間 (see Riegel 2001, 99–100).

[9] Kern 2003, 30. See also Kern's most recent study of the "Odes" in excavated manuscripts, in which he traces the "double phenomenon of a canonical text that is as stable in its wording as it is unstable in its writing" (2005c, xxi). The presentation of the "Odes" in excavated manuscripts could hardly be more different from that of the "Documents" (*shū* 書) in excavated manuscripts. Quotations of the latter are highly unstable and inconsistent. Kern concludes that the corpus later known as *Documents* was "rather loose and heterogeneous," which, in turn, suggests a retrospective standardisation of these materials (2005c, 297, n. 9). In this respect, he subscribes to a view like that found in Chén Mèngjiā 1985, 11–35; Liú Qǐyú 1997, 4–24; Lewis 1999, 105–109; Schaberg 2001, 72–80; among others. Based on different quotations, Matsumoto Masaaki (1966, 520) argues that by the late fourth century BC there most likely existed three different versions of the *shū* 書, namely a *rú*-, a *mò*-, and a historian's version.

[10] In winter 1973, archaeologists discovered the previously undisturbed tomb of Lì Cāng 利蒼 (d. 185 BC), who became the Marquis Dài 軑. The tomb was dubbed no. 3, Mǎwángduī (henceforth Mǎwángduī Three). It is located near Chángshā 長沙, Húnán 湖南 Province. Due to a dated letter to the netherworld found in the tomb, the date of burial can be fixed fairly precise at 168 BC. Among other objects, the tomb contained silk manuscripts inscribed with up to 125,000 graphs. The tomb also contained another version of the *Lǎozǐ*, which will concern us in chapter 5, among other texts. For excavation reports, see Húnán shěng bówùguǎn 湖南省博物館 and Zhōngguó kēxué yuàn kǎogǔ yánjiū suǒ 中國料學院考古研究所 1974, 1975; Chén Sōngcháng 陳松長 and Fù Jǔyǒu 傅舉有 1992, supplement. For comprehensive bibliographies on Mǎwángduī Three, see Zuǒ Sōngchāo 1989; Lǐ Méilù 1992; among others.

from view for roughly two thousand years. Having two excavated manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" makes it an ideal source for a case study that looks at the stability of an early Chinese philosophical text.[11]

A brief comparison of both manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" reveals astonishing similarities between the two texts in lexicon and phraseology—the main differences being that the Mǎwángduī Three version contains a textual commentary at the end of the manuscript, and that the two texts refer to the "Odes" differently. When quoting this body of shared knowledge, they use different formulae, and the length of these quotations differs too. It is striking that despite their overall consistency, the two excavated versions of the text differ markedly with respect to the internal arrangement of individual textual units. But despite their different sequence in the overall composition of the text, the units themselves remain surprisingly stable. This phenomenon also applies to the different versions of the "Lǎozǐ" and "Zī yī" ("Black Robes") found in Guōdiàn One, as well as the different versions of the "Yì" 易 ("Changes"). On the lexical level, these are relatively consistent texts.[12] But the sequence of the building blocks differs substantially in their different manifestations. For discontinuous texts such as "Lǎozǐ", "Zī yī", and "Yì", it is not surprising to find relatively stable building blocks that do not have a fixed place in their overall organisation.[13] Yet, unlike the "Lǎozǐ", "Zī yī", and "Yì", the "Wǔ xíng" is not simply a florilegium of—formally—unrelated ideas, distinct aphorisms, or separate building blocks. Instead, the "Wǔ xíng" is an excellent example of an argument-based text because it develops one idea throughout the entire text, which consists of approximately 1,200 characters. This fact has stirred scholars' imagination. How can it be that the "Wǔ xíng" develops a single vision, and yet the organisation of the Mǎwángduī Three manifestation so markedly differs from that of Guōdiàn One? The view has thus arisen that the dissimilar internal organisation of the two texts must reflect a consciously made editorial choice[14] and

[11] See, e.g., Xíng Wén 1998; Csikszentmihalyi 2004; Boltz 2005.

[12] This ignores minor differences such as wording, the formulae when quoting another source, and the length of quotations.

[13] I will examine this further in chapter 5. For a study of the Mǎwángduī Three version of the "Yì" 易, of which the order of hexagrams and the associated texts differs markedly from that of the received version, see Shaughnessy 1997d.

[14] Similar claims were also made for non-argument-based texts some fifteen years earlier, before the excavation of the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" copy (see Shaughnessy 1983, 139–158, 257–265; see also Shaughnessy 1997b, 197–219). Shaughnessy claims

hence reproduces different philosophical positions.[15] Otherwise, consensus has it, if the arrangement does not matter, why change it?[16]

Understandable as the position outlined above may be, it nevertheless reflects a rather modern idea of text and composition that neglects the nature of a text during the Warring States period. Instead of overemphasising the differences between the two manifestations, one should view them as accidental. Individual building blocks in concert constitute larger meaningful and stable units, which I refer to as 'subcantos'. For the "Wǔ xíng", these are the units that matter, as it is the subcanto in which a coherent idea is developed. In both instances of the "Wǔ xíng", that is, the one from Guōdiàn One and the one from Mǎwángduī Three, the individual subcantos display a high degree of consistency. The philosophical stances developed therein do not differ in the slightest. Accordingly, I argue that instead of being blinded by the *differences* of these two manifestations of the text, it is more instructive first to look at their *analogousness*. Only then do we learn more about the real differences between the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" and so further our understanding of the nature of early Chinese argument-based texts overall.

To arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the "Wǔ xíng", it is therefore necessary to modify the focus of investigation. As developed in the previous chapters, this should be the analysis of the stable units of the text, beginning with the individual building blocks. Only a proper analysis of these will allow us to discover the various kinds of techniques by which larger meaningful—and stable—units are developed in a text. Having identified these larger meaningful units—the subcantos—of the "Wǔ xíng", the next step will be to describe the means by which these larger meaningful entities relate to one another. Only against this background will it be instructive to compare the two manifestations of the text. It will then become obvious that, in what matters, they are not so different at all. As long as the well-defined meaningful units remain intact structurally and as long as these units remain in a logically sound location within the text overall, their

that the location of the "Qián" 乾 and "Kūn" 坤 hexagrams at the head of the *Zhōuyì* 周易 are a logical necessity, and that their position in the *Zhōuyì* must echo conscious editorial choices.

[15] This view was expressed most explicitly in Xíng Wén 1998. See also Boltz 2005; Shaughnessy 2006, 43.

[16] This question is posed repeatedly. See, e.g., Dīng Sìxīn 2000a, 128.

sequence does not matter too much. The argument remains intact. In view of that, I take issue with the suggestion assigning significance to the different order in which stable units occur in a given version.[17] Instead of focusing on the dissimilarities between the two versions of the one text in the larger philosophical context, as is done by nearly all commentators on the "Wǔ xíng" after the Guōdiàn One manifestation of this text had been made public, an alternative (and first) approach should be to investigate the principles of text organisation underlying an argument-based text such as the "Wǔ xíng". Therefore, the present study does not so much focus on a (re)construction of postulated intellectual lineages or idealised philosophical positions. Instead, the primary interest of this analysis is to make explicit the strategies of constructing meaning as used in this particular piece of philosophical writing and so to describe the means by which a long argument-based text such as the "Wǔ xíng" becomes a self-contained piece of thought. Of course, questions concerning a Chinese textuality or the stability of a written philosophical text in early China naturally feed into this discussion.

The Text on Bamboo

The "Wǔ xíng" is a lengthy text. In the context of the tomb corpus from Guōdiàn One, only the "Xìng zì mìng chū", with its 1,550 characters, requires more room for developing the argument.[18]

The physical shape of the strips and the calligraphy on them strongly resemble those of the "Zī yī", which is also part of the same assemblage of texts. It might hence be the case that the two manuscripts were produced at the same workshop and may even have constituted one bundle of bamboo strips. An intellectual affiliation of the two texts should, however, not be inferred from this. As discussed, in early China texts survived independently of material textual contexts, and so a congruence in material carrier has no bearing on affinity of the textual units fixed on that carrier.[19]

[17] Cf. the discussion in Boltz 2005, 54.

[18] On the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and its manuscript counterpart "Xìng qíng lùn" from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, see chapter 4.

[19] I examine this issue further in my discussion of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" and "Lǎozǐ C" in chapter 6.

The philosophical position of the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" is developed over the length of fifty bamboo strips. The strips are tapered towards both ends. Judging from the marks that remain visible on most of these, we can assume that two cords, 12.9–13 centimetres apart, previously held the strips together.[20] Unbroken strips have a length of about 32.5 centimetres. They are among the longest of the entire tomb corpus from Guōdiàn One.[21] As already discussed, the length of the strips used to record philosophical texts in the Warring States period does not say anything about the status of the text in question, as it probably does later, in imperial times.[22] In the Warring States period, manuscripts reflect merely local instances of realising—writing down—what may have been predominantly oral texts. Different manifestations of a text have nothing in common with the consciously edited recensions of imperial times. When texts are not yet canonised, the diverse lengths of the bamboo strips on which the different texts are written simply reflect different modes of manuscript production used by different producers or workshops. Recurring patterns in the production of a manuscript, such as the cuttings and lengths of the bamboo strips, indicate the division of labour. This suggests a sociological setting in which professional copyists produced the physical manifestation of texts that otherwise exist independently of the manuscript that carries them. Perhaps this is an indication of the commodification of texts in early China. But it is unlikely to reflect the status of individual texts.

Of the fifty bamboo strips used for the "Wǔ xíng" manuscript from the tomb corpus of Guōdiàn One, eleven are broken off at either the side or the centre. Thus, it is necessary to reconstruct up to thirty-eight graphs. With regard to the arrangement of the strips within that manuscript, the "Wǔ xíng" is a rare example of general scholarly agreement.

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[20] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 149.

[21] In the tomb corpus, the bamboo strips of the "Wǔ xíng", "Zī yī", "Chéng zhī wén zhī", "Zūn dé yì", "Xìng zì mìng chū", and "Liù dé" have lengths of around 32.5 centimetres. The other manuscripts contain physically shorter strips.

[22] See Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 in his preface to the *Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhèng yì* 春秋左傳正義 (7a). He notes a length of two feet four inches for the 'Classics'; one foot two inches for the *Xiào jīng* 孝經; eight inches for the *Lúnyǔ* 論語. All lengths refer to Hàn Dynasty measures. (Two feet four inches corresponds to 55.44 cm; one foot corresponds to 23.1 centimetres. See Twitchett and Loewe 1986, xxxviii.) According to Wáng Chōng 王充, the "sayings of the ancients were written on tablets of two feet four inches". See Tsien 2004, 116.

Despite this general agreement, scholars have come up with a wide range of arguments and ideas according to which of the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" should be considered the more 'authentic' or the 'original' version of the text. Scholars have suggested that one of the two manifestations 'anticipates a conclusion', that one of the versions is superior (or inferior) in terms of 'logical stringency', or that one articulates a 'more pristine' theory of self-cultivation, representing a closer—even the 'original'—version of the so-called 'Zǐ Sī and Mèngzǐ school'. The differences in the two manifestations of the text are conceived of as the result of decisions consciously taken by 'later editors' [*sic*].[23]

Other scholars, such as Mark Csikszentmihalyi, view the "Wǔ xíng" from Guōdiàn One as a composite of older texts.[24] His line of argumentation is based on the observation that only some parts of the text treat the 'five virtues', that is, 'benevolence' (*rén* 仁), 'rightness' (*yì* 義), 'ritual propriety' (*lǐ* 禮), 'wisdom' (*zhì* 智), and 'sagacity' (*shèng* 聖). Regarding the "Wǔ xíng" to be an extension of an older text or texts, Csikszentmihalyi believes that these textual ancestors of the "Wǔ xíng"

[23] See Xíng Wén 1998, 59–60. Xíng Wén believes that the Guōdiàn One version is the more 'authentic' representative of the Zǐ Sī and Mèngzǐ school, and that the Mǎwángduī Three text simply displays the changes that were deliberately made by later editors. These changes would thus report on different philosophical positions. But as Csikszentmihalyi (2004, 86–100) argues, to ascribe the "Wǔ xíng" directly to Zǐ Sī or his school is, at least, "in part wrong" (87). He reconstructs different layers of a 'Zǐ Sī myth' (257–276). Xíng Wén is also the first to ascribe the changes in the Mǎwángduī Three text directly to followers of the tradition of Shì Shuò 世碩. (The *Hàn shū* "Yìwén zhì" records that the work *Shìzǐ* 世子 (personal name Shuò 碩) consists of twenty-one chapters. See *Hàn shū*, 2:1724. Wáng Chōng 王充 describes Shì Shuò's philosophical position as holding that man's nature comprises both "good" and "evil" elements. See Wáng Chōng 1996, 1:131.) This opinion is now widely shared by many Chinese colleagues. Based on the fact that Shì Shuò is quoted twice in the commentary attached to the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng", Dīng Sìxīn (2000a, 160–172) contends that the "Wǔ xíng" must be the work of a later disciple of Shì Shuò. Dīng shares Xíng's view that the Mǎwángduī Three manifestation of the text was written later. Just like Xíng Wén, Dīng also holds that the differences between the two versions should indicate conscious "editorial" choices. However, contrary to Xíng, he regards the Mǎwángduī Three version as inferior to the Guōdiàn One version in terms of what he calls "logical stringency" (2000a, 131.) Ikeda Tomohisa (2000a) suggests that the Mǎwángduī Three version should be considered the 'original' text. He assumes that the Guōdiàn One manifestation anticipates a conclusion, which can only be due to later editorial choice. Páng Pú (2000, 92) subscribes to Ikeda's view that the Mǎwángduī Three version renders the pristine philosophy and, in comparison to the text from Guōdiàn One, is organised in a much more logical fashion. Again, the changes are assumed to reflect conscious editorial choices.

[24] Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 65ff.

merely treated the relationship of the two virtues wisdom and sagacity. Following his argument, the older texts (or layers) were rewritten in such a fashion that 'wisdom' was interchanged with either 'goodness' or with a series of virtues that together constitute 'goodness', thus accounting for "two of the major structural elements of the work: Firstly, the binary pairing of goodness and the more perfect condition of sagehood; and secondly, the more complex distinctions between the four human virtues and the fifth perfect virtue of sagacity."[25]

The Guōdiàn One manifestation of the text is sometimes conceived of as "directly ancestral" to the one from tomb Mǎwángduī Three. Most representative of this view is Martin Kern.[26] Kern defends this on the basis of, first, the "high coherence" between the two versions; second, their chronological separation by "probably not more than about a century";[27] third, their "geographical proximity".[28] As already noted above, the Mǎwángduī version of the "Wǔ xíng" is equipped with a commentary—that is, an additional section that modern editors have dubbed an 'explanation' (*shuō* 說). The version from Guōdiàn One contains only the basic text. As Kern concludes, the additional section attached to the Mǎwángduī Three version most likely echoes "a new set of explanations from a particular teaching tradition that developed only after the composition of the Guōdiàn One version".[29] Accordingly, Kern disagrees with assumption held implicitly by Jeffrey Riegel that the Mǎwángduī "Wǔ xíng" as a whole (i.e., including the commentary attached to the end of the text) owes a "conceptual debt" to the *Xúnzǐ*,[30] as this would make the *Xúnzǐ* the older of the two texts. However, since the Guōdiàn One version of the "Wǔ xíng" most likely predates the *Xúnzǐ*, as Martin Kern and others assume[31] (a view to which I also subscribe), Riegel's assumption seems unlikely, if not wrong.

[25] Ibid., 65.
[26] See Kern 2003, 38–39.
[27] In the Mǎwángduī Three version (column 199), the graph for 'state' (*guó* 國) was used where Guōdiàn One has *bāng* 邦, possibly avoiding the character *bāng* 邦, which was a taboo after 195 BC. Bāng was the given name of Liú Bāng 劉邦 (r. 202–195 BC), the first emperor of the Former Hàn.
[28] See Kern 2003, 38.
[29] Ibid., 39.
[30] See Riegel 1997, 145.
[31] See Kern 2003.

I hesitate to explain the high degree of consistency between the different manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" by subscribing to any of these positions. I believe that the presence of the commentary in the Mǎwángduī version, that version's use of longer quotations from the "Odes", the higher frequency of their use, and, lastly, the clear identification of the "Odes" by name indicate that the manuscript from Mǎwángduī Three should be dated later than the version from Guōdiàn One. However, the comparatively later date of the manuscript from Mǎwángduī Three does not in itself prove an ancestral character of the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng", and labelling it so might, however unintentionally, evoke the image of a *stemma codicum* of their textual relationship. As I will argue, the extraordinary degree of textual overlap results from the high stability of the meaningful textual units from which the two texts evolved. But nothing indicates the primacy of either of the two.

Thought and Contents

The "Wǔ xíng" discusses five aspects of virtuous conduct, *wǔ xíng* 五行, and shows how these virtues relate to each other. I call this the '*wǔ xíng* theory'. The *wǔ xíng* theory is a fully coherent system, established through careful textual links and references that enable stable philosophical concepts to develop.

At first glance, the "Wǔ xíng" appears inscrutable in logic and organisation. But the *wǔ xíng* theory as developed in the text is in fact a coherent programme of self-cultivation. The final goal of this programme is to nourish *dé* 德—'moral force', 'potency', or 'virtue'—within the individual. Central to the theory of self-cultivation are five virtues, each of which describes one particular aspect of virtuous conduct. These include the four virtues named in the *Mèngzǐ* in the context of the notion of the 'four sprouts' (*sì duān* 四端)—'benevolence' (*rén* 仁), 'rightness' (*yì* 義), 'ritual propriety' (*lǐ* 禮), and 'wisdom' (*zhì* 智)[32]—to which the "Wǔ xíng" adds 'sagacity' (*shèng* 聖). Interestingly, even though 'joy' (*lè* 樂)[33] is also an important aspect connected

[32] See *Mèngzǐ* 2A6 and 6A6.
[33] For a detailed analysis of the term *lè* 樂 in Warring States philosophical discourse, see Nylan 2001b. Nylan, who translates the term *lè* 樂 as 'pleasure', differenti-

to the cultivation of virtue, it is not mentioned as an individual position in the *wǔ xíng* theory. Nor is music.

The "Wǔ xíng" advances a political agenda in which moral self-cultivation is not addressed for its own sake but is a vital aspect of good rule. Hence, whereas the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" develops an autonomous sphere of self-cultivation which allows frustrated ministers and advisors to keep faith despite worldly imponderables, and thus addresses the group of advisors in particular, it seems that, just like the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", the "Wǔ xíng targets the ruler himself. Only by cultivating his moral force can his rule become like that of King Wén 文—the ultimate goal of every ruler.[34] In this context it is instructive to note that in the philosophy of the "Wǔ xíng", self-cultivation is not limited to men of high social pedigree. The text defends the position that becoming aware of one's own abilities is the central step to be taken for moral cultivation. This displays the idea of a common humanity, as this kind of self-consciousness can be nourished in every human being.

The "Wǔ xíng" is a tour de force of densely woven argument, in which the theory of self-cultivation with its application to the realm of politics and the exertion of power is developed around the concepts of 'clairaudience' (*cóng* 聰) and 'clairvoyance' (*míng* 明).[35] Clairaudience and clairvoyance are defined as the vital preconditions for self-cultivation. They facilitate one's abilities to 'see' (*jiàn* 見) the worthy one and to 'hear' (*wén* 聞) the Way of the gentleman, without which self-cultivation is impossible.

The *wǔ xíng* theory contends that only when one is clairaudient and clairvoyant, can one obtain 'sagacity' (*shèng* 聖) and 'wisdom' (*zhì* 智).[36] And as stated elsewhere in the text, sagacity and wisdom are the necessary preconditions for developing the other three virtues, and the development of all five, in turn, is the precondition for nourishing moral force (*dé* 德). Clairaudience is the ability to hear the 'Way of the gentleman' (*jūnzǐ dào* 君子道).[37] The cognitive grasp, or awareness (*zhī* 知), of this ability is called 'sagacity' (*shèng* 聖). Becoming

ates between the "rhetoric of pleasure" as used by Warring States thinkers and the discourse of pleasure as developed to the level of a theory.

[34] See strip *w*29/12–13.

[35] The proper translation of the concept *míng* 明 always causes considerable headache. For a detailed discussion of *míng* 明, see Maspéro 1933.

[36] See strips *w*20/19–*w*21/9.

[37] See strips *w*26/7–*w*27/14.

aware that one is able to hear the Way of the gentleman enables the individual to turn this knowledge into appropriate action. Applying this awareness to appropriate action is defined as 'rightness' (*yì* 義). To advance rightness at its proper time, finally, is what the "Wǔ xíng" defines as 'moral force' (*dé* 德), the final result of self-cultivation.

The function of clairvoyance in the context of self-cultivation is elaborated in a similar way. It is equated with the ability to see the 'worthy person' (*xián rén* 賢人).[38] Parallel to the above case, it is made clear that developing an awareness (*zhī* 知) of this is called 'wisdom' (*zhì* 智). Being at ease with the awareness to see the worthy one is what the authors of the "Wǔ xíng" understand as 'benevolence' (*rén* 仁). Showing honour for the worthy one is 'ritual propriety' (*lǐ* 禮). Hence, in the logic of the "Wǔ xíng", the virtues wisdom and sagacity operate in a parallel way to each other. Wisdom is crucial for developing benevolence and ritual propriety, whereas sagacity develops rightness and, as a final result, moral force. It thus becomes clear that the "Wǔ xíng" distinguishes between two types of virtues. These are the 'primary', or 'key', virtues—wisdom and sagacity (智, 聖)—and the 'secondary', or 'dependent', virtues, namely benevolence, rightness, and ritual propriety (仁, 義, 禮). In the logic of the "Wǔ xíng", wisdom and sagacity (智, 聖) account totally for the development of benevolence, rightness, and ritual propriety (仁, 義, 禮).

Hence, the five virtues of the "Wǔ xíng" are arranged hierarchically: sagacity and wisdom are the key virtues that account for the formation of the remaining three virtues. The "Wǔ xíng" further says that sagacity takes the lead among those virtues that must be aspired to, *zhì* 志 (henceforth the *zhì* 志 group of virtues). These virtues are all connected to moral force (*dé* 德), the ultimate result of accomplished self-cultivation and an essential aspect for ruling the state and becoming just like King Wén.[39] Sagacity is thus the foremost of the two key virtues. These virtues are contrasted with those that can be acted upon, *wéi* 爲 (henceforth the *wéi* 爲 group of virtues), which lead to 'goodness' (*shàn* 善). Of these, benevolence and rightness rank first, as they account for the formation of ritual propriety (*lǐ* 禮).[40] Rightness, in turn, belongs to the *zhì* group of virtues. As such it ranks higher than benevolence. Thus, the hierarchy of virtues as defined by the *wǔ xíng*

[38] See strips *w*27/15–*w*28/14.
[39] Strip *w*30.
[40] See strip *w*31/12–*w*32/4.

theory is headed by sagacity and wisdom. These are followed by rightness and benevolence, and, lastly, ritual propriety. Based on the hierarchy of virtues and the distinction between those that must be aspired to (*zhì* 志) and those that can be acted upon (*wéi* 爲), it becomes clear that the authors of "Wǔ xíng" put forward a system in which sagacity takes the lead in the formation of rightness. Together with the appropriate understanding (*zhī* 知), it ultimately leads to moral force, which equals the 'Way of Heaven'. 'Wisdom' (*zhì* 智), for its part, takes the lead in the formation of benevolence and ritual propriety. Together with the appropriate understanding, this ultimately leads to goodness, which equals the 'Way of humans'. Whereas the Way of Heaven describes a state of sentiment, the Way of humans describes concrete affairs.

It should be noted that if any of these virtues is lacking, sagacity cannot be developed either. Yet, as detailed, sagacity takes the lead in the formation of the other virtues, and so is the crucial factor in the entire process of self-cultivation. The *wǔ xíng* theory thus expounds an idea of self-cultivation that takes a circular form and in which the final result of self-cultivation is also its point of initiation. I call this the 'paradox of self-cultivation'.[41] The paradox of self-cultivation entails that an individual's realisation of any of the five virtues already depends on the accomplished cultivation of the other virtues—and vice versa. The way out of this paradox as seen by the authors of the "Wǔ xíng" lies in a human's awareness (*zhī* 知) of his innate capacity to have the five virtues within him.

Structure and Thought

Just like the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", the "Wǔ xíng" is composed of highly distinct textual units, the building blocks. These units remain noticeably stable in the different manifestations of the text. They are combined into greater wholes and so form larger meaningful entities, the pericope and subcanto.[42] These units are integrated into a system of cross-referential links, by which the notions

[41] Compare this with Nivison's coinage "paradox of virtue" (1996, 33ff.).

[42] Note that there is no universally valid definition of what a pericope actually is (just as there is no such definition for 'section'). Instead, what the confines of a pericope—and subcanto—are has to be determined for each particular text. As a rule, the pericope is a structural unit between subcanto and building block.

introduced at one point in the text inform those of other units, thus connecting the various textual units into one coherent vision of the "Wǔ xíng" as a whole.

Characteristic of the "Wǔ xíng" is the recurrent reference to the shared cultural memory of contemporaneous China. It is impossible to locate the source of all these references, but they are used in a coherent fashion in the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng". As such, the two instantiations of the text yield vital information as to how argument-based texts in early China made use of a shared tradition to construct meaning.

Concepts belonging to a shared cultural identity are torn from their original contexts in sources outside the text—for instance, a poem from the "Odes"—and brought into line with the argument of the "Wǔ xíng". The authors therefore not only expound the argument of the text but also explicate the references used in the text. At times, these exegetic layers also need some contextualisation to become meaningful. This can be carried out on different levels of the text, so that one can speak of exegetical processes of different orders. It is through this net of cross-referential textual links that the "Wǔ xíng" becomes a self-contained system, and only when identifying these links can the train of thought it develops be grasped. The difficulty of following these cross-referential links is that the various exegetic processes of the second and third order may be mutually intertwined, so it is not always clear how far the different concepts relate to one another. Despite this, both manifestations of the text follow this system of cross-referential links in a coherent manner. Reading the "Wǔ xíng" therefore implies that one always has to follow two lines of argument processing: first, a steady and linear development of the *wǔ xíng* theory and, second, the recurrent references to earlier passages of the text.

Meaning Construction

Subcanto 1

The opening passage of the "Wǔ xíng" consists of five meaningful units of the first order, or building blocks. It spans eight bamboo strips. It mentions the five central virtues of this text—benevolence (*rén* 仁), rightness (*yì* 義), ritual propriety (*lǐ* 禮), wisdom (*zhì* 智), and sagacity

(*shèng* 聖)[43]—and introduces the vital categories used in the text. These are the fundamental distinction between the concepts 'five aspects of conduct' (*wǔ xíng* 五行) and 'four aspects of conduct' (*sì xíng* 四行); 'moral force' (*dé* 德)—which I shall translate as 'virtue'—and 'goodness' (*shàn* 善); 'aspiration' (*zhì* 志) and 'action' (*wéi* 爲). All these will be contextualised later on in the text.

1.1 [w1] 五行
仁形於內謂之德之行；
不形於內謂之行▪。[A]
義形於內謂之德之[w2]行；
不形於內謂之行▪。
禮形於內謂之德之行；
不形於內謂之□□□ [w3] [行▪] 。† [B]
[智形] 於內謂之德之行； †
不形於內謂之行▪。
聖形於內謂之德 [w4] 之行；
不形於內謂之德之行▪。[C]

[w1] The five aspects of [virtuous] conduct (*wǔ xíng*) [are as follows]:
When benevolence is manifested internally, we call it 'virtuous conduct';[44]
When it is not manifested internally, we call it 'conduct' [only].
When rightness is manifested internally, we call it 'virtuous [w2] conduct';
When it is not manifested internally, we call it 'conduct' [only].
When ritual propriety is manifested internally, we call it 'virtuous conduct';
When it is not manifested internally, we call it [w3] {*'conduct'* [*only*]}. †
{*When wisdom is manifested*} internally, we call it 'virtuous conduct'; †
When it is not manifested internally, we call it 'conduct' [only].
When sagacity is manifested internally, we call it 'virtuous [w4] conduct';
When it is not manifested internally, we [still] call it 'virtuous conduct'.

1.2 德之行五　和謂之德；
四行和謂之善。
[善]，人 [w5] 道也。
德，天道也。[D]

[Hence], virtuous conduct comprises five [aspects];
when they are brought into harmony, we call it 'virtue';
when [only] four [aspects] of conduct are brought into harmony, we call it 'goodness'.

[43] See strip *w*1/1–*w*9/2.

[44] The pronoun 'we' does not signal general agreement. Instead, the speaker of the text here makes a prescriptive claim in the sense that something ought to be denominated in a certain way.

Goodness is the Way[w5] of humans.
Virtue is the Way of Heaven.

2. 君子無中心之憂，則無中心之智。
[無中心之智]，則無中心[w6]□□□□□ [之悅]。[E]
[無中心之悅，則不] 安。
不安則不樂。
不樂則無德。[F]

When the gentleman (*jūnzĭ*) lacks concern in his inner mind, then [he] will be without wisdom in his inner mind.
When [he] lacks wisdom in his inner mind, then [he] will be without [w6]{*delight*} in his inner mind.
{*When* [*he*] *lacks delight in his inner mind, then* [*he*] *will not*} be at ease.
When not at ease, then [he] will not be joyful.
When not joyful, then [he] will be without virtue.

3. 五行皆形于內而時行[w7]之，[G]
謂之君 □ [子]。†
士有志於君子道，謂志士。[H]

When all aspects of conduct are manifested internally, and [w7] they are conducted at their [appropriate] time, then we call [that person] a 'gentle {*man*}'.
The scholar-knight who sets his aspiration on the gentleman-way is whom we call 'aspiring scholar'.

4. 善弗爲無近。[I]
德弗[w8]志不成。
智弗思不得。
思不清不察，† [J]
思不長不形。[K]
[不形]不安；
[不安]不樂；
[不樂][w9]無德.

Goodness—when refraining from acting for it, there will be nothing for approaching [it].
Virtue—when refraining from [w8]aspiring to it, [it] will not be accomplished.
Wisdom—when refraining from thinking about it, it cannot be attained.
[This is because], if thinking is not clear, one will not be investigating, †
[and] if thinking does not grow, it will not manifest.
If [thinking] is not manifested, one cannot be at ease;
If not at ease, one cannot be joyful;
If not joyful, [w9] one will be without virtue.[45]

[45] It is for two reasons that I suggest a change of subject in building block 4 and the following argumentative chains. At first sight, it might seem as if the foregoing

In structural terms, building blocks 1.1 and 1.2 form one meaningful unit of the second order, or pericope; building blocks 3 and 4 form another pericope. They are linked by building block 2 (see figure below). The two pericopes share the same compositional features and terminology.[46]

The two opening lines of building block 1.2 sum up the account presented in 1.1 by pointing to the difference between the cultivation of five virtues and the cultivation of four virtues.[47] The subsequent lines of building block 1.2 continue the argument and introduce the crucial distinction between goodness and moral force (*dé* 德). The five aspects of virtuous conduct and the four aspects of virtuous conduct are thus established as fixed concepts in the "Wǔ xíng". This distinction is taken up again in the second pericope—namely in building block 4—where the idea is further contextualised. The concept of five aspects of virtuous conduct is given a new spin in building block 3. Seen from this perspective, building block 1.2 functions as a double-directed feature of a text segment. It sums up the preceding textual unit and, at the same time, points to the continuation of the argument in what follows. Building block 2 seems out of place formally. It introduces the 'gentleman' (*jūnzǐ* 君子)—taken up again in building

argumentative chain had to be continued, which would suggest reading the line "if [it (i.e., thinking)] is not manifested, [it] will not be at ease". But in fact, this sequence should be understood as composed of two argumentative chains (preceded by three headings), interlinked with each other. The second argumentative chain (that in which 'one', or 'he', had to be added) is a result of the first and, crucially, is taken from building block 2, where the subject clearly is the 'gentleman' (*jūnzǐ* 君子). As a result, the 'gentleman' must also be the subject of the second argumentative chain in building block 4.

[46] The concept 'five aspects of virtuous conduct' (*wǔ xíng* 五行) is used prominently in building blocks 1.1 and 3, and the concepts of virtue and goodness feature in building blocks 1.2 and 4, both of which are correlated with the concepts of five versus four aspects of virtuous conduct (*wǔ xíng* 五行 / *sì xíng* 四行) in building block 1.2, as well as action versus aspiration (*wéi* 爲 / *zhì* 志) in building block 4.

[47] Since the publication of the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng", scholars have debated over the last line of building block 1.1: 不形於內謂之德之行■ "When it is not manifested internally, [we still] call it 'virtuous conduct'". Because this line deviates from the basic pattern of 1.1, it has been argued repeatedly that this is a scribal error for what should in fact read 不形於內謂之行 "When it is not manifested internally, it is called 'conduct' only"—leaving out the two graphs 德之 (the *x* of 'virtue'), as seen in the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng". However, because building block 1.2 takes up the distinction between the inner realisation of either four or five virtues, I hold that it is not the Guōdiàn One representation of this line that shows a 'mistake' but the Mǎwángduī Three instantiation of the "Wǔ xíng", which displays some kind of 'correction' (or simply a scribal error), suggesting that to later readers this passage might have become unclear.

block 3—and highlights the importance of wisdom for self-cultivation. It formulates the central idea of this unit.

As mentioned, building blocks 3 and 4 further conceptualise ideas from the first pericope. The continuity of the train of thought is thus formally established, and this unit becomes a meaningful unit of the third order, that is, a stable subcanto, in which fixed concepts are established. Just as the concept 'five aspects of virtuous conduct' is contrasted with that of four—moral force with goodness—this subcanto defines 'gentleman' as a fixed concept by contrasting him with the 'scholar-knight' (*shì* 士). It is made clear that the Way of the gentleman can be achieved insofar as the individual 'aspires to it' (*zhì* 志).

Referring to the distinction between moral force and goodness, and adding to it the concepts of aspiration and action, building block 4 alludes to the fact that in the logic of the *wǔ xíng* theory, goodness is a concrete issue that can be acted upon practically. Moral force, in contrast, is rendered an abstract idea that can only be aspired to. By paralleling wisdom with goodness and moral force, building block 4 formally illustrates that the process of gaining wisdom—through 'thinking', *sī* 思—is in practical terms subject to the same pattern as that of nourishing goodness or moral force. At the same time, moral force is the final result of moral cultivation. The cultivation of wisdom, however, is a necessary precondition for achieving moral force.[48]

The present subcanto differs from its counterpart in the Mǎwángduī Three manuscript as follows. The Mǎwángduī Three version introduces the five aspects listed in building block 1.1 in the order of benevolence (*rén*), wisdom (*zhì*), rightness (*yì*), ritual propriety (*lǐ*), and sagacity (*shèng*), whereas the order in the Guōdiàn One version is benevolence, rightness, ritual propriety, wisdom, and sagacity. For the fifth of the virtues, the Mǎwángduī Three version reiterates the formula used in building block 1.1.[49] I believe that the Mǎwángduī Three version errs here in the presentation of the *wǔ xíng* theory. The distinction between cultivating four virtues within and cultivating five virtues within, as

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[48] The formal parallelism that is created here is thus of philosophic importance and must be rendered in the translation of this passage.

[49] It thus reads "When [sagacity] is not manifested internally, it is called 'conduct' [only]" 不形於內謂之行 (172/18–173/2; not counting lost characters). The Guōdiàn One version states: "When [sagacity] is not manifested internally, [we still] call it 'virtuous conduct'" 不形於內謂之德之行 *w*3/15–*w*4/11; not counting lost or repeated characters).

introduced in building block 1.2, corroborates this suggestion. This difference may reflect an alienation from the *wǔ xíng* theory, or it may simply be due to a mistake that occurred when the Mǎwángduī Three instantiation of the "Wǔ xíng" was fixed on bamboo.

Building block 2 is twice as long in the Mǎwángduī Three version of the text. The chain, which is the same as in the Guōdiàn One version, is repeated except that the Mǎwángduī Three version substitutes sagacity for wisdom in the second row.[50] Páng Pú 龐樸 believes that the Guōdiàn One version 'omits' this part.[51] That may be the case. Yet, it could likewise be that the difference is due to an insertion in the Mǎwángduī Three version of the text—unconsciously or consciously—possibly for the purpose of making it more explicit. So far, we have no grounds on which this issue can be settled. Lastly, building block 4 is slightly longer in the Mǎwángduī Three version of the text.[52]

None of these dissimilarities distorts the logical organisation of this subcanto. Despite minor dissimilarities at the level of the individual building blocks, structurally the arrangement of the five building blocks that constitute this subcanto differs not in the slightest in the two manifestations of the text. Subcanto 1 must hence be seen as a stable unit. See figure 12.

References to "Odes"

The first unit in which the "Wǔ xíng" quotes the "Odes" connects directly to subcanto 1. It takes up roughly three and a half bamboo strips[53] and is composed of two building blocks. This unit, subcanto 2

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[50] The Mǎwángduī Three version thus reads
1 君子無中心之憂 則無中心之智
2 無中心之智 則無中心之悅
3 無中心之悅 則不安
4 不安則不樂
5 不樂則無德
6 君子無中心之憂 則無中心之聖
7 無中心之聖 則無中心之悅
8 無中心之悅 則不安
9 不安則不樂
10 不樂則無德
Lines 6–10 are not extant in the Guōdiàn One version.

[51] See Páng Pú 2000, 32.

[52] See my discussion in chapter 11, [I].

[53] From strip *w*9/3 to strip *w*12/17.

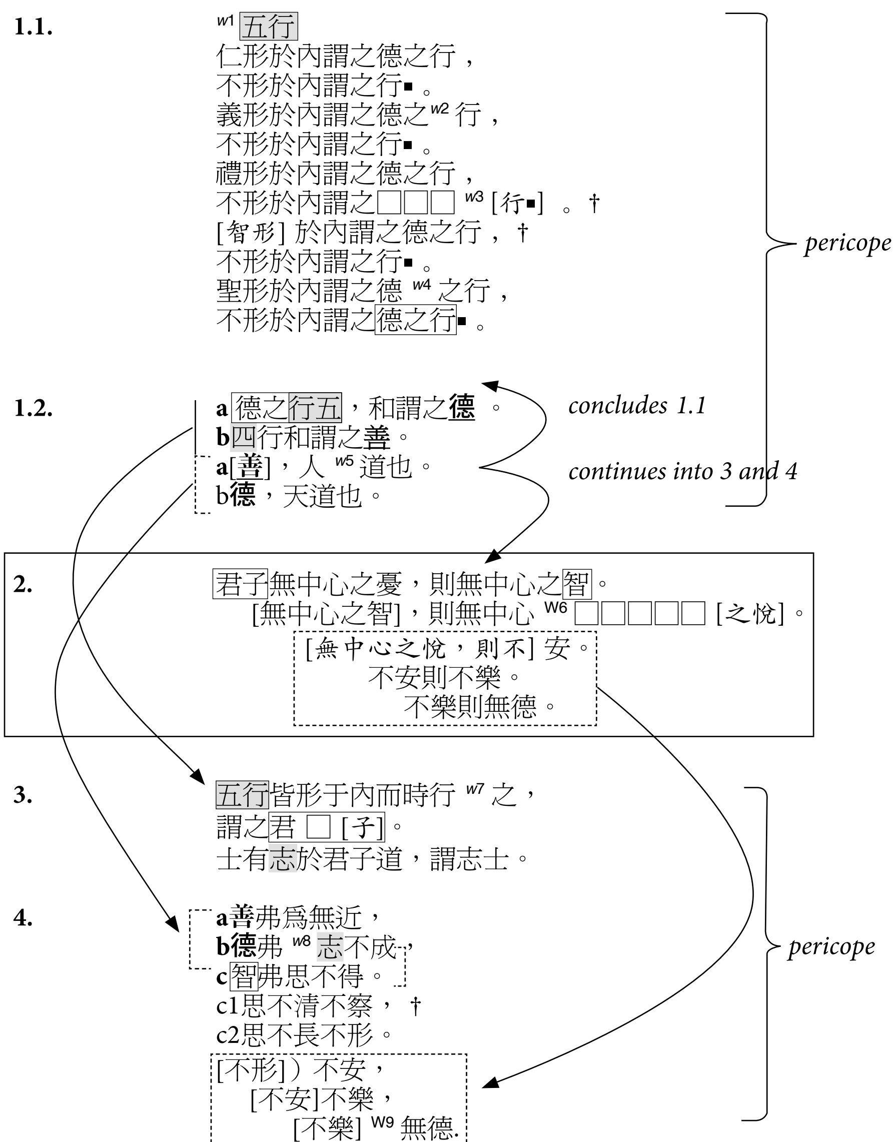

Figure 12: Subcanto 1 of the "Wǔ xíng"

of the "Wǔ xíng", dwells on the triangular relationship of benevolence (*rén* 仁), wisdom (*zhì* 智), and sagacity (*shèng* 聖).

5.1 不仁，思不能清，[L]
不智，思不能長；
不仁不智，「未見君子」，
「憂心」[w10]不能「惙惙」。[M]
「既見」君子，「心」不能「悅」。[N]
「亦既見之，亦既覯之，
我心則[w11]□□ [悅]」。[O]
[夫]此之謂□□ [也]。 † [P

If not benevolent, one cannot be clear in one's thinking.
If not wise, one cannot grow in one's thinking.
If neither benevolent nor wise, "whilst not yet having seen a gentleman, the sorrowful heart" [w10] cannot be "disturbed."
"Until [I] have seen" the gentleman, [my] "heart" cannot be "delighted."
"[But] when I have seen him, and when I have met him,
then my heart will [w11] {X *be delighted*}." †
{X *Now this is*} what this is about. †

5.2 [不] 仁，思不能清。
不聖，思不能輕。
不仁不聖，[w12]「未見君子」，[54]
「憂心」不能「忡 忡」；
「既見君子」，「心」不能「降」。

{*If not*} benevolent, one cannot be clear in one's thinking.
If not sagacious, one cannot be effortless in one's thinking.
If neither benevolent nor sagacious, [w12] "whilst not yet having seen a gentleman", the "sorrowful heart" cannot be "agitated".
"Until [I] have seen the gentleman", ["my] heart" cannot be "stilled."

The odes referred to in this unit are known today as Cǎochóng 草蟲 ("Grasshopper")[55] and Chū jū 出車 ("Presenting the Chariots").[56] They describe someone's desperate need to see the gentleman (*jūnzǐ* 君子) to still his agitated heart.[57] At first glance, it might seem that the two

[54] As Csikszentmihalyi (2004, 283) points out, the line 未見君子 "when I had yet to see the gentleman" often appears in the "Odes" quoted in the "Wǔ xíng" text, emphasising the effect of the gentleman on the outside world.
[55] *Máo* 14.
[56] *Máo* 168.
[57] Note the internal conflict in the attempt to reconstruct the 'original meaning'—let alone something like the urtext—of the "Odes". The text of the *Máo* tradition with its correlating set of interpretations is available today and was one exegetical tradition of the "Odes" available in Hàn 漢 times. Yet, as we now know from the "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn" (see Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:11–41, 119–168), in the Warring States period there also

building blocks do not constitute a coherent unit, as the corresponding idea of building block 5.1 appears to be closed with the formula "{*Now this is*} what this is about".[58] However, considering the feature called a 'distant parallelism',[59] we arrive at a different conclusion concerning the proper demarcation of this unit, its stability, and also its principal concern. The two building blocks display a high degree of textual overlap.[60] Only the last lines of building block 5.1 are not extant in 5.2. See figure 13.

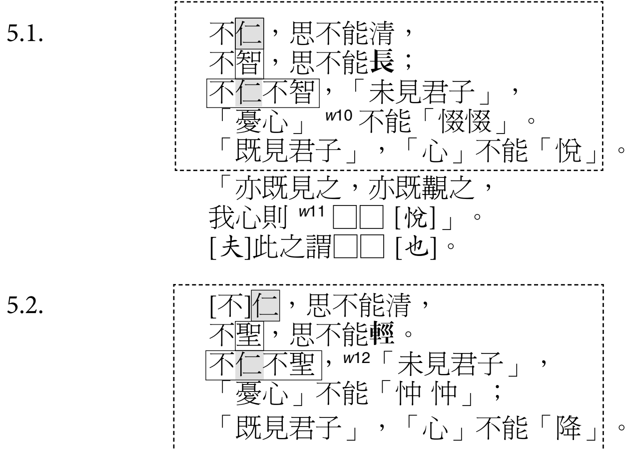

Figure 13: Subcanto 2: Quoting the "Odes"

existed at least one radically different reading of the "Odes". The commentary added to the Mǎwángduī Three instantiation of the "Wǔ xíng" suggests that by 168 BC—the date by which this manuscript had been produced—the interpretation of "Odes" as provided by the "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn" was still circulating. Given that the commentary to the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng", which, despite a chronological difference of more than ca. 150 years, is in line with the "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn" reading of the "Odes", it can be assumed that this particular approach to the "Odes" must have been prominent—at least in the Warring States period—before it was displaced by the *Máo* tradition (note in this context the rather late spread of the *Máo* tradition; see Riegel 2001, 100). However, whereas texts like the "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn" allow a glance at the interpretation of the "Odes" circulating in the Warring States period, we still lack most of the *text* of the "Odes". This situation should be kept in mind when dealing with the "Odes" today. Kern (2007a) describes this state of affairs in detail.

[58] [夫]此之謂□□ [也].

[59] Structural elements can have the function of binding larger units together. Delimitation theories in biblical studies have rendered this plausible by paying attention to so-called distant parallelism (Korpel 2000, 48). I refer to such structural elements that not only pattern one individual building block but also link most parts of one pericope to each other as 'distant' (from 'distant parallelism'), so as to denote its special function.

[60] I have shown this with a dashed rectangle in figure 13.

The latter building block repeats the formula of the former, except that it replaces the discussion of wisdom with that of sagacity. This suggests a correlation between the two. As with subcanto 1, in which building block 2 cuts through an otherwise uniform entity and so structurally signals the main idea of that unit, the latter lines of building block 5.1 are not extant in 5.2 and so form a structurally alien element cutting through an otherwise uniform pattern. As in the previous subcanto, and typical of this feature, these lines both formulate and signal the fundamentals of this unit. I refer to this as a 'principal insertion'.[61] In this context, the stress of subcanto 2 thus lies in the fact that seeing the gentleman results in delight. This is a central notion in the "Wǔ xíng" and reoccurs throughout.

To be delighted when seeing the accomplished one is not for its own sake. Instead, as detailed in the principal insertion of subcanto 1, the ability to be delighted is a basic precondition for man to complete his process of self-cultivation and to nourish moral force within. The unit under review should therefore not be read in isolation but elaborates the notion expressed in the principal insertion of subcanto 1. 'Delight', that unit proclaimed, is the necessary condition for activating the resonating chain that will finally lead to the cultivation of one's moral force.[62] Seeing the accomplished person, in turn, is the precondition for being delighted, the present subcanto explains.

As detailed, the principal insertion relates the two parallel building blocks 5.1 and 5.2 together. It thus creates a stable unit. Placed between two building blocks, it is a distant type of this textual device. Carrying the main thought of a textual unit, it stresses the necessity of seeing the accomplished one so as to complete the process of self-cultivation. The analysis further highlights the way in which the "Odes" are interwoven with the argument of the text. Using the "Odes" in the text, the "Wǔ xíng" functions as a commentary to this anthology, as already remarked by Jeffrey Riegel and Martin Kern.[63] But the same process also works the other way around. By putting the central claim of this subcanto in a quotation from the "Odes", the "Odes" also add

[61] Note the similarity of the principal insertion with the double-directed parallelism as described by Gentz (2006b). Both features cut through otherwise uniform units. But unlike the principal insertion, the double-directed parallelism does not express the core notion of a unit.

[62] 無中心之悅則不 安.
不安則不樂。
不樂則無德。

[63] See Riegel 1997; Kern 2005b.

weight to the philosophical position of the "Wǔ xíng" itself. The two texts lend each other mutual support on various levels and in highly elaborate ways.

Differences between the subcanto under review and its counterpart in the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" remain on the level of minor lexical or scribal variation. Moreover, the Mǎwángduī Three instantiation of the text introduces the "Odes" by name,[64] and the quotation itself is slightly longer.[65] Yet, the organisation and internal structure of this subcanto differ not in the slightest in the two manifestations of the text. As in subcanto 1, subcanto 2 proves stable despite some variation at the level of the individual building block.

Exegetical Processes of the Second Order

The next unit of the "Wǔ xíng"—subcanto 3—consists of three building blocks, namely 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3, or slightly more than three bamboo strips.[66] Its three argumentative chains neatly explain the precise meaning of concepts used in the previous subcanto. This unit highlights the connection between clear thoughts and benevolence; growing thoughts and wisdom; and effortless thoughts and sagacity—all of which are necessary preconditions for seeing the accomplished one. See figure 14.

> The thinking of the benevolent one is clear.
> [This is because, only] if one's [thinking] is clear, *w*13 will one be investigating.[67]
> If investigating, one will be at ease.
> If at ease, one will be gentle.
> If gentle, one will be delighted.
> If delighted, one will be intimate.
> If intimate, one will be affectionate.
> If affectionate, one will be caring.

---

[64] The ode is introduced by the formula "*shī yuē*" (詩曰).

[65] It adds 未見君子，憂心惙惙 "until I have not seen a gentleman, [my] sorrowful heart cannot be disturbed" before continuing with the phrase quoted in the Guōdiàn One instantiation of the "Wǔ xíng".

[66] Strips *w*12/9–*w*16/2.

[67] As in the argumentative chain of subcanto 1, these units have to be read with a change of subject. As detailed, the argumentative pattern of the "Wǔ xíng" is circular, on both the macrolevel of the argument and the microlevel of the text; the pattern of the argument always runs: Only if X does x, x^{i}, x^{ii}, (etc.) can he be X.

6.1 仁之思也清。 *Elaboration of building block 5.1 and 5.2, line 1*

[清] w13 則察，[Q]
[察]則安，
[安]則溫，[R]
[溫]則悅，
[悅]則戚，
[戚]則親，
[親]則愛，
[愛]則玉色，
[玉色] 則形，
[形]則仁。

6.2 w14 智之思也長。 *Elaboration of building block 5.1, line 2*

[長]則得，
[得]則不忘，
[不忘] 則明，
[明] 則見賢人，
[見賢人] 則玉色，
[玉色] 則形，
[形] w15 則智。

6.3. 聖之思也輕。 *Elaboration of building block 5.2, line 2*

[輕] 則形，
[形] 則不忘，
[不忘] 則聰，
[聰] 則聞君子道，
[聞君子道] 則玉音，
[玉音] 則形，
[形] w16 則聖。

Figure 14: Subcanto 3

If caring, one will be of a jadelike coloration.
If being of a jadelike coloration, one's [thinking] will be manifested.
If one's [thinking] is manifested, one will be benevolent.

[w14] The thinking of the wise one is growing.
[This is because, only] if one's [thinking] grows, will one be attaining.
If attaining, one will be nonforgetting.
If nonforgetting, one will be clairvoyant.
If clairvoyant, one will see the worthy person.
If seeing the worthy person, one will be of a jadelike coloration.
If being of a jadelike coloration, one's [thinking] will be manifested.
If one's [thinking] is manifested, [w15] one will be wise.

The thinking of the sagacious one is effortless.
[This is because, only] if one's [thinking] is effortless, will [it] be manifested.
If one's [thinking] is manifested, one will be nonforgetting.
If nonforgetting, one will be clairaudient.
If clairaudient, one will hear the Way of the gentleman.
If hearing the Way of the gentleman, one will be of a jadelike tone.
If being of a jadelike tone, one's [thinking] will be manifested.
If one's [thinking] is manifested, [w16] one will be sagacious.

Subcanto 6 once more shows that in argument-based texts from the Warring States period, the formal structure of a textual unit is clearly detached from its material carrier, that is, the bamboo strips. None of the three argumentative chains corresponds to the length of a strip, even though it would have been easy to place each string on one strip—had there only existed the concept of a correlation between formal structure and physical carrier.[68] This plainly shows that for the recipient of an argument-based text (his or her role will be discussed in further detail in part II of this study) the physical appearance of an argument, as well as of the text as a whole, had no impact on the

[68] I therefore disagree with William Boltz (2005), who attempts to explain the stable textual units from the materiality of their physical carrier, namely by pointing to the length of the bamboo strips. Dissimilar instances can only be made out for non-argument-based texts. For instance, the fragmentary Shuānggǔduī manuscript of the "Odes" seems to record each ode on one individual strip. Edward Shaughnessy's approach to reconstructing the "original" sequence of the "Zī yī", that is, the "source text available to the editor of the *Lǐ jì*", [*sic*] follows such considerations. In his study, Shaughnessy hypothesises that in this "source text", each textual unit must have been written on one individual bamboo strip. He also conjectures that the "source text" did not record more than twenty-one to twenty-four characters per strip. For the full account of his argument, see Shaughnessy 2006, 64–70. For a critique of this monolinear argumentation, see Kern 2005b, 304, n. 22.

comprehensibility of the text. It seems, however, that rhythm played a vital role.

As already detailed, subcanto 3 explicates notions that were introduced in the previous subcanto. As such it naturally follows the passage to which it refers (*w*9/3–*w*12/16) in order to be meaningful. The cross-referential links thus provide the "Wǔ xíng" with textual stability. The Mǎwángduī Three text is organised in the same fashion. The fact, then, that this subcanto explicates individual lines from another subcanto furthermore suggests that the notions to be explained must have been issues of high importance in contemporary China. For the recipient of the "Wǔ xíng", they must have been concepts that were also *recognised* as concepts—otherwise, the authors of the "Wǔ xíng" would have had no need to elaborate them in further detail. Only their meaning had become an issue over time—or the "Wǔ xíng" targets an audience to which these concepts were potentially unclear. For us, the modern interpreters of the "Wǔ xíng", the exact origin of these concepts is no longer known. It is fairly certain, however, that they were taken from the pool of shared knowledge.[69] It is furthermore instructive to note that the argumentative chains that dwell on notions from subcanto 2 are themselves highly enigmatic; especially the reference to jadelike coloration (*yù sè* 玉色) or jadelike tone (*yù yīn* 玉音). They remain unexplained here, but the "Wǔ xíng" dwells upon these concepts further below.

Comparing the two instantiations of the "Wǔ xíng", the first of the three argumentative chains differs slightly.[70] This might be due to a conscious act of rewriting this passage, or it may simply be a

[69] This is corroborated by the fact that the concepts 'jadelike coloration' (*yù sè* 玉色), 'jadelike tone' (*yù yīn* 玉音), and 'sound of bronze bells' (*jīn shēng* 金聲) are used repeatedly in the text and also appear in transmitted texts from the late Warring States—for instance the *Lǐ jì* 禮記 (玉色13:3/33) and *Mèngzǐ* (金聲 5B:1/10)—and early Western Hàn—for instance the *Hán shī wài zhuàn* 韓詩外傳 (玉色1:16/4; 金聲 1:16/4), among other. These concepts had a political connotation and were used as attributes of accomplished rulers. As Holloway states, they describe an "external manifestation of a person's internal virtue" (2002, 144).

[70] After strip *w*13/6 ([安]則溫), the Mǎwángduī Three version continues: "will not lack concern. When not lacking concern, then he will be of a jadelike coloration. When being of a jadelike coloration, [his thinking] will be manifested. When [his thinking] is manifested, he can be benevolent" □□□□□則不憂；不憂則玉色；玉色則形；形則仁. Note that from the fact that this passage refers to a ready quoted instance, one can deduce that the missing part reads something like 知君子道。知君子道 "*he knows about the Way of the gentleman. Knowing the Way of the gentleman,…*".

change that crept in unconsciously in the course of the transmission of the *wǔ xíng* theory. But regardless of how it came about, the difference does not affect the structure of the subcanto. In terms of textual organisation, subcanto 3 remains stable in both manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng". As above, the formal structure of the subcanto proves more stable than that of the individual building blocks of which it is composed.

Direct Reference to Other Sources

The "Wǔ xíng" refers not only to the "Odes" but also to other sources that were shared knowledge in China at the time. The next textual unit is interwoven with quotations from both the "Odes" and passages whose origin remain unclear to the modern interpreter. Subcanto 4 spans four and a half bamboo strips and consists of four building blocks.[71]

7.1 「淑人君子，其儀一」也。[S]
能爲一，然後能爲君子。
愼其獨也。

"The polite man, the gentleman, unified in his deportment he is."
Only after one is able to be unified [in one's deportment] will one be able to become a gentleman.
[Hence, the gentleman] is mindful of his singularity.[72]

7.2 w17 □□□□「[瞻望弗及]，泣涕如雨」。[T]
能「差池其羽」，然後能至哀。
君子愼其 w18 □□□□ [獨也] [U]

w17 "{*I looked after her yet I could not reach her*}, and my tears fell like rain."
Only after one is able to "disarray the wings" will one be able to develop utmost grieving.
[Hence], the gentleman is mindful of his w18 {*singularity*}.

[71] These are building blocks 7.1–9. The whole unit runs from strip *w*16/3 to *w*20/17, not counting the graphs that are no longer extant on the strips and that had to be reconstructed.

[72] See also Riegel 1997, 160. Riegel assumes that what he translates as 'innermost self' (my 'singularity') points to the 'self-mindfulness' of the gentleman, in that he "heeds his own thoughts and not the world around him", a crucial element of the "Wǔ xíng" (161). See also the discussion by Liú Xìnfāng (2000, 315–326).

8. [君] 子之爲善也，
有與始，有與終也。
君子之爲德也，
w19 □□□□□ [有與始，無與] 終也。 † [V]

In his acting for goodness, there is [always] something with which the {*gentle*}man begins and something with which he ends.
In his acting for virtue, {*there is* [*always*] *something with which*} the gentleman {*begins, but there is nothing with which*} he ends. †

9. 金聲而玉振之， 有德者也。[W]
金聲善也；
玉音聖也。
善，人 w20 道也；
德，天□□ [道也] 。† [X]
唯有德者，然後能金聲而玉振之。

The "sound of bronze and jade [stones] resonating along with it"—this is a person possessing virtue.
The "sound of bronze" is goodness.
The "tone of jade" is sagaciousness.
Goodness is the w20 Way of humans.
Virtue is the {*Way*} of Heaven. †
Only after there is a virtuous person can there be the "sound of bronze and jade [stones] resonating along with it."

The different building blocks that constitute subcanto 4 are linked by a discussion of the concept of 'gentleman' (*jūnzǐ* 君子). Each building block highlights a different aspect of this concept. Compared with other subcantos, this unit seems to be rather loosely structured. This contrasts with the rigorous makeup of the individual building blocks that constitute it.

Building blocks 7.1 and 7.2 quote the "Odes".[73] They share the same structure. Together they constitute one pericope. The stress in the pericope is on the 'uniform deportment' of the gentleman. Building blocks 8 and 9 constitute another pericope. By referring to the distinction between goodness (*shàn* 善) and moral force (virtue) (*dé* 德) in connection with the gentleman—as introduced in subcanto 1—the unit finalises the first part of the "Wǔ xíng" by summing up an idea central to the text.

[73] *Máo* 152 and 28.

8. a [君] 子之爲善也，
   b 有與始，有與終也。
   a 君子之爲德也，
   b w19 □□□□□ [有與始，無與] 終也。 †

9. 「金聲而玉振之」，有德者也。 *Quotation*
   1A 金聲善也；
   1B 玉音聖也。
   2A 善，人 w20 道也；
   2B 德，天□□ [道也] 。†
   C 唯有德者，然後能金聲而玉振之。

   (1A–C: *Referential Explanation*)

Figure 14: Explanation of Quotation in Subcanto 9, line 1

Building block 9 consists of two parts. It is headed by a rather technical introduction of unknown origin that also appears in the *Mèngzǐ*.[74] The different use of this line in the two texts suggests that it originated from yet another source, from which it was quoted independently. Building block 9 conceptualises this quotation. The referential explanation of this line is phrased in the pattern of an overlapping structure, as figure 14 shows.

Despite the fact that the introductory statement is somewhat enigmatic, it serves as an authoritative peg for the argument of building block 9. This suggests that it belonged to the cultural knowledge of the time. Quoted here, it must have had authoritative value. Yet, just like the *Mèngzǐ*, the "Wǔ xíng" feels the urge to explain this statement.[75]

The passage under review once more displays the high degree of (inter-)textual referentiality that characterises the "Wǔ xíng". The passage phrased in the pattern of an overlapping structure explains the introductory statement of this building block in the context of the argument. This statement, in turn, is a quotation from yet another source. But the explanation of this quotation is itself, nearly in its entirety, made up of elements (or notions) taken from other building blocks

[74] See *Mèngzǐ* 5B1.

[75] The *Mèngzǐ*, however, offers a different interpretation of this sequence. This suggests that the two texts were copying a different source, and they must have followed different scholastic traditions of how this line should be understood. Compare this line also with a passage from the "Odes", "Xiǎo yǎ: Bái jū" 白駒 (*Máo* 186): 其人如玉。毋金玉爾音 "that man is like jade; do not treat like gold and jade your sounds" (Karlgren 1950, 129). This passage, however, is situated in a different context and has been understood quite differently.

of the “Wǔ xíng”: its first a–b group consists of terms taken from the introductory statement, and these elements also appear in subcanto 3; the second a–b group is identical with the second a–b group of building block 1.2 (subcanto 1). The explanatory passage of building block 9 rephrases the technical terminology of the introductory statement, by which the concepts used therein are highlighted. This once more corroborates the assumption that the introductory statement is a quotation from yet another source. The authors of the “Wǔ xíng” substitute the word *yīn* 音 ‘sound’ for *zhèn* 振 ‘to resonate’ (written as (晨) in the text), by which the two are given equal structural significance so that either of the two can be substituted for the other. When quoting from a body of shared cultural knowledge, the authors reproduce the original wording (introductory statement). In the explanatory parallel passage, they paraphrase it.[76] The conclusion (c) of the explanatory passage again reproduces the terminology of the opening line (振之), trusting that the recipient will now understand the quotation through the elaborating parallelism from above. The same is true also for the pair ‘sagacity’ and ‘virtue’. The first a–b group has ‘sagacity’ where—according to the parallelism of this unit—the word ‘virtue’ could be expected. This suggests the interchangeability of these concepts. It is hence made clear that being sagacious is itself the full realisation of moral force (or virtue). Thus, building block 9 is more than just the exegetic effort to contextualise the authoritative quotation in accordance with the philosophy of the “Wǔ xíng”. Like the extracts from the “Odes”, the line quoted also formulates a central insight of the text. Parallel to the sound of bronze, which is brought about after the sound of resonating jade stones, goodness can only be brought about with the presence of the sagacious one. Whether this is through the mere presence of his model[77] or through direct acts of initiation, the “Wǔ xíng” remains silent about this.

Building block 9 reads like a collage, made up of a quotation from an authoritative source and an explanatory passage composed of elements that are taken from other building blocks of the “Wǔ xíng”. Strictly speaking, building block 9 is a further variety of overlapping structure:

[76] Otherwise, the introductory statement would also have had to read 金聲而玉音—instead of 振—之; or the explanatory parallel passage would have had to read 振 instead of 音.

[77] Compare this with the notion expressed in *Mèngzǐ* 6A7.

the argument, put in the form of an overlapping structure, adjoins an introductory statement, which is familiar to the target recipient. This statement serves as an authoritative peg for this passage, and the concluding line of the explanatory overlapping structure repeats the wording of the authoritative introductory statement. I call this feature of an overlapping structure 'authority-framed'.

As detailed earlier, the feature that I call overlapping structure signals a core juncture in the development of an argument. By connecting various aspects from previous building blocks and correlating these to newly introduced references, the passage under review brings the vital concern of the first part (canto 1, the meaningful unit of the fourth order) to its logical close. This is the distinction between goodness and virtue, on the one hand, and between the Way of humans and the Way of Heaven, on the other.

The differences between subcanto 4 and its counterpart from Mǎwángduī Three remain on the level of minor lexical variation of certain graphs and a longer quotation of "Odes" in building blocks 7.1 and 7.2.

As discussed, the first part of the "Wǔ xíng"—canto 1—is made up of a system of references that tightly connect different layers of the text. Some textual units comment on other, more cryptic parts. But the explanatory units can also contain elements that themselves remain obscure so that they require further contextualisation in yet other passages of the text. The "Wǔ xíng" thus establishes a system of cross-referential links that span different text-referential layers. What at first sight might appear inscrutable in organisation does in fact lead to textual stability. Structurally, canto 1 of the "Wǔ xíng" is stable in both manifestations of the text.

Xíng Wén closes canto 1 after building block 9.[78] Because building block 9 finalises the argument concerning goodness and moral force (or virtue), this seems to be a sound assumption. However, compared with the other argument-based texts that can be reconstructed from the tomb corpus of Guōdiàn One, the partition of the "Wǔ xíng" into two cantos is more fluid. In fact, subcanto 5 should as a whole be considered the element of partition. It consists of four building blocks, two of which summarise the previous account. The remaining two building blocks introduce the second canto of the "Wǔ xíng". In this respect,

[78] See Xíng Wén 1998.

subcanto 5 can be considered a distant type of double-directed text segment. For ease of argument I shall nevertheless begin my analysis of the second canto of the "Wǔ xíng" with subcanto 5, whilst keeping in mind the bridging function of this unit.

Canto 2: Structurally Different?

The second part of the "Wǔ xíng" is considerably longer than the first part but requires less discussion. Canto 2 is written on more than thirty strips.[79] It contains twenty-one building blocks, or five subcantos. Differences between the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" mainly apply to this half of the text.[80]

The first stable unit of canto 2—subcanto 5—spans two bamboo strips.[81] Of the four building blocks that constitute this unit, three are in the form of argumentative chains (namely 11, 12, 13). Each of these dwells on one virtue. Taken together, these building blocks constitute one pericope. Building block 10 differs. It does not focus on one virtue in particular but summarises the discussion of the virtues from canto 1 by relating the different notions to each other. One could even go so far as to identify building block 10 as an individual subcanto.

10. 不聰不明，不聖不 [w21] 智。[Y]
[不智] 不仁，
[不仁] 不安，
[不安] 不樂，
[不樂] 無德。■ [Z]

---

[79] Canto 2 of the "Wǔ xíng" runs from strip *w*20/17 (not counting the reconstructed graphs on strip *w*20) 不聰不明 "neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant" to the last graph on strip *w*50.

[80] Dīng Sìxīn (2000a, 127ff.) divides the second part of the "Wǔ xíng" into three larger units. His first unit runs from *w*16/3, beginning with the quotation from the "Odes",叏（淑）人君子 其義（儀）罷（一）也 to *w*22/18 [不尊]不-共（恭—[不恭]亡豊（禮）■. His second unit runs from *w*22/19 未尙<嘗> [w23] 聋（聞）君子道 to *w*44/20 後士之隮（尊）臤（賢）者也■. His third unit runs from *w*45/1 [w45] 耳目鼻口手足六者 to the end of the text on *w*50. Xíng Wén 邢文 (1998) divides it into four units. His first unit runs from *w*20/18 不聰不明 不聖不- [w21] 智- to *w*22/18 [不尊]不-共（恭)—[不恭]亡豊（禮）■. His second unit runs from *w*22/19 未尙 <嘗> [w23] 聋（聞）君子道 to *w*32/4 和 [w32] 則同-[同] 則善■. His third unit runs from *w*32/6 顏色- 伀（容）佼（貌） to *w*49/15 聋（聞）道而兌（悅）者 好息(仁) 者也■. His last unit runs from *w*49/16 聋（聞）道而畏者 to the end of the text on strip *w*50. Both suggestions disfigure stable entities of the text.

[81] Subcanto 5 runs from strip *w*20/18 to strip *w*22/18.

If neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant, one can be neither sagacious nor [w21] wise.
[This is because,] if not wise, one will not be benevolent [either].
If not benevolent, one will not be at ease [either].
If not at ease, one will not be joyful [either].
If not joyful, one will lack virtue.

11. 不戀不悅。[Aa]
[不悅]不戚，
[不戚] 不親，
[不親]不愛，
[不愛] 不仁。▪

If not [having feelings] of affection, one
will not be delighted [either].
If not delighted, one will not be intimate [either].
If not intimate, one will not be affectionate [either].
If not affectionate, one will not be caring [either].
If not caring, one will not be benevolent.

12. 不直不迣。[Ab]
[不迣] 不果，
[不果] [w22] 不簡，
[不簡] 不行，[82]
[不行]不義。▪

If not upright, one will not be resistant [either].
If not resistant, one will not be decisive [either].
If not decisive, one [w22] will not be dignified [either].
If not dignified, one will not carry out [one's tasks either].
If not carrying out [one's tasks], one will not be righteous.

13. 不遠不敬。
[不敬]不嚴，
[不嚴]不尊，
[不尊]不恭，
[不恭]無禮。▪

If not keeping [appropriate] distance, one will not be respectful [either].
If not respectful, one will not be stern [either].
If not stern, one will not show honour [either].
If not showing honour, one will not be reverent [either].
If not reverent, one will lack ritual propriety.

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[82] The combination of *xíng* with *jiǎn* may have been a topos in early Chinese philosophical discourse. The *Dà Dài Lǐ jì*: "Xiaobiàn" 小辨 has 夫道，不簡則不行；不行則不樂 "as for the Way, if one is not of grave demeanour, [it] cannot be carried out; if it is not carried out, one will not enjoy it" (11.1/65/3).

As discussed, the virtues of sagacity, wisdom, and benevolence are given central importance in canto 1 of the "Wǔ xíng". They are the focal concepts of building blocks 2 and 4 (subcanto 1), 5.1 and 5.2 (subcanto 2), and 6.1–6.3 (subcanto 3). Building block 10 correlates these virtues with the concepts of clairaudience and clairvoyance from building blocks 6.2 and 6.3 by reproducing a chain of mutually resonating virtues from building blocks 2 and 4.[83]

Building block 11 further dwells on benevolence, already introduced at an earlier point in the "Wǔ xíng". It thereby continues the argumentative chain of mutually resonating feelings from building block 6.1.[84] This chain is a constant in the *wǔ xíng* theory and most likely also in the intellectual world at that time. It can be assumed that it was a unit that the recipient of the "Wǔ xíng" would have recognised.

Building blocks 12 and 13 are entirely parallel. Together they constitute one pericope. Each of them discusses one virtue that has not yet been considered in canto 1 of the "Wǔ xíng". They introduce new argumentative chains on which the text will comment further below. Strictly speaking, these two building blocks introduce canto 2 of the "Wǔ xíng".

Comparing the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng", the four building blocks of this subcanto prove extremely stable—apart from some minor graphical differences in the first line of building block 11.[85] Different, however, is the location of building block 10 within this

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[83] 2. 君子無中心之憂，則無中心之智。
[無中心之智]，則無中心 [w6] □□□□□ [之悅]。
[無中心之悅，則不] 安。
不安則不樂。
不樂則無德。

4. 善弗爲無近，
德弗 [W8] 志不成，
智弗思不得。
思不清不察，†
思不長不形。
[不形]不安，
[不安]不樂，
[不樂] [w9] 無德

[84] 悅→戚→親→愛→仁.

[85] Instead of (*w*21/11) as appearing in the Guōdiàn One manifestation of the text, the Mǎwángduī Three uses (188/19). Most commentators transcribe this with *biàn* 變 'to change' (see, however, my discussion in chap. 11, [Aa]). Also, whereas building block 10 of the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" reads 不聰不明不聖不 [w21] 智…"If neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant, one can be neither sagacious nor [w21] wise", the Mǎwángduī Three version repeats the latter part of this chain, thus reading 不聰不明則不聖不智不聖不智…"If neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant, one will be neither sagacious nor wise; if not sagacious not wise,…". The overall structure of this unit shows a clear preference for the Guōdiàn One version and so it is likely that this difference results from a transmission error.

subcanto. The Mǎwángduī Three manifestation of the "Wǔ xíng" locates it at the end of subcanto 5, thus following building blocks 11–13, whereas the Guōdiàn One manifestation of the text places it at the top of this subcanto. This difference does not alter the reading of the text. As seen, building block 10 differs structurally from the other building blocks of this unit, so it does not need a fixed location in subcanto 5, as long as it is not placed *between* the other building blocks. Each of building blocks 11–13 dwells on one of the virtues introduced in subcanto 1 (1.1), in the same order as is used there! And the "Wǔ xíng" will further elaborate each of these building blocks below in the text—again, in the same order as presented in subcanto 5. Hence, building blocks 11–13 together form a stable unit within subcanto 5. Placing building block 10 either at the beginning or at the end of subcanto 5 makes no difference. Only locating it between building blocks 11–13 would have disfigured the consistent structure of subcanto 5.

Ideas Central to the Wǔ xíng Theory

Subcanto 6

Nine building blocks constitute subcanto 6. They are written on nine bamboo strips.[86] Central ideas of this subcanto are 'hearing' (*wén* 聞) and 'seeing' (*jiàn* 見) the 'Way of the gentleman' (*jūnzǐ dào* 君子道) and the 'worthy person' (*xián rén* 賢人). These notions are related to the concepts of clairaudience and clairvoyance, which refer to the virtues of sagacity and wisdom respectively (discussed in some detail in canto 1) but also to rightness and ritual propriety as detailed further below in the "Wǔ xíng".

14.1 未嘗 *w23* 聞君子道，謂之不聽 。[Ac]
未嘗見賢人，謂之不明。
聞君子道而不知 *w24* 其君子道也，謂之不聖 。 ▪
見賢人而不知其有德也，謂之不智。▪

Never *w23* having heard of the Way of the gentleman is what we call 'not clairaudient'.
Never having seen a worthy person is what we call 'not clairvoyant'.

[86] Subcanto 6 runs from strip *w*22/18 to strip *w*32/4.

Having heard of the Way of the gentleman and yet not understanding w24 that it was the Way of the gentleman is what we call 'not sagacious'.
Having seen a worthy person and yet not understanding that he possessed virtue is what we call 'not wise'.

14.2. w25 見而知之，智也。■
聞而知之，聖也。■
「明[明]」，智也；■
「赫[赫]」， 聖也 。■
「明[明]在下，赫 [赫] w26 在上」，此之謂也。■ [87]

w25 [But] to see and understand him [as a worthy one] is 'wisdom'.
To hear and understand it [as the Way of the gentleman] is 'sagacity'.
"To illuminate the luminous" is 'wisdom';
"To hold in awe the awe-inspiring" is 'sagacity'.
"To illuminate the luminous refers to below"[88] [and] "to hold in awe the awe-inspiring w26 refers to above"[89] are what this is about.

15.1. 聞君子道，聰也。
聞而知之，聖也。
聖人知天 w27 道也 。[Ad]
知而行之，義也。
行之而時，德也。

To hear the Way of the gentleman is 'clairaudience'.
To hear and understand it is 'sagacity'.
The sagacious one understands the w27 Way of Heaven.
To understand and enact it is 'rightness'.
To enact it according to its time is 'virtue'.

15.2. 見賢人，明也。
見而知之， w28 智也。
知而安之，仁也。
安而敬之，禮也。[Ae]

To see a worthy person is 'clairvoyance'.
To see and understand him w28 is 'wisdom'.
To understand and be at ease with him is 'benevolence'.
To be at ease and show respect to him is 'ritual propriety'.

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[87] Cf. *Máo* 236.
[88] This means that "to illuminate the luminous" is a process that works from above to below.
[89] This means that "to hold in awe the awe-inspiring" is a process that works from below to above.

15.3. 聖知禮樂之所由生也，五 w29 □□□□ [行之所和] 也。[Af]
和則樂，
[樂]則有德，
[有德] 則邦 家興。[Ag]
「文王」之見也如此。
「文 w30 □□□□□ [王在上於昭] 于天」。[90] † [Ah]
此之謂也。

Sagacity and wisdom are those [virtues] from which ritual propriety and music originate w29 {*and by which*} the five [aspects] {*of* [*virtuous*] *conduct will be harmonised*}.
When harmonised, one will be joyful.
When joyful, there will be virtue.
When there is virtue, states and families will revive.
The way "King Wén" appeared was like this.
"When {*King*} Wén w30 {*was on high, he was illuminated by*} Heaven".
That is what this is about.

16.1 見而知之，智也。
知而安之，仁也。
安 w31 而行之，義也。
行而敬之，禮也。

To see and to understand [the worthy one] is wisdom.
To understand and be at ease with him is benevolence.
To be at ease w31 and use him is rightness.
To use and show reverence to him is ritual propriety.

16.2 仁義，禮所由生也，
四行之所和也。
和 w32 則同，
[同] 則善。

Benevolence and rightness are those [virtues] from which ritual propriety derives and by which the four [aspects] of [virtuous] conduct are harmonised.
When harmonised, w32 there will be congruence.
When there is congruence, there will be goodness.

Building blocks 14.1 and 14.2 constitute one pericope. They refer to earlier passages of the text, namely to subcantos 3 (in particular, building blocks 6.2 and 6.3) and 5 (in particular, building block 10). It was stated in these units that clairaudience and clairvoyance are the necessary preconditions for seeing the worthy one and hearing the Way of

[90] Cf. *Máo* 235.

the gentleman respectively. The pericope under review further elaborates this. It is made clear that being clairaudient and clairvoyant are the necessary preconditions for wisdom and sagacity correspondingly.

Figure 15 demonstrates how building blocks 15.1 and 15.2 relate to building blocks 14.1 and 14.2. The different virtues are correlated with one another, and so argumentative chains are developed elaborating the five virtues central to the "Wǔ xíng" in further detail. Structurally, building blocks 15.1 and 15.2 are almost entirely parallel in that they distinguish between two groups of virtues: those virtues that result from being clairaudient and those that result from being clairvoyant. Having defined the meaning of clairaudience as the ability to hear the Way of the gentleman,[91] the recipient is now informed that sagacity is the result of realising this ability. It is imperative to develop a cognitive grasp, that is, an understanding, of one's ability to hear the Way of the gentleman.[92] To *apply* this understanding, that is, to undertake appropriate action on the basis of this, is what the "Wǔ xíng" defines as rightness.[93] The ability to advance rightness at the appropriate time, finally, is defined as virtue (or moral force).[94]

Parallel to this, clairvoyance is defined as the ability to see the worthy one.[95] To understand this ability is wisdom.[96] Being at ease with the consciousness of seeing a worthy one is defined as benevolence.[97] Showing reverence for the worthy one is what the "Wǔ xíng" defines as ritual propriety.[98] By implication, wisdom is given the same pivotal function for engendering benevolence and ritual propriety that sagacity has for developing rightness and virtue. The two building blocks hence define sagacity and wisdom as necessary preconditions for establishing the five virtues introduced in building block 1.1 without which nourishing virtue (德) is rendered impossible, and so they detail the distinction made in the "Wǔ xíng" between key (聖, 智) and dependent virtues (仁, 義, 禮).

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[91] The definition is in building block 15.1, thus explaining building blocks 6.3 and 14.1.

[92] See building block 15.1, line 2.

[93] See building block 15.1, line 4.

[94] See building block 15.1, line 5.

[95] The definition is in building block 15.2 (first line), thus explaining building blocks 6.2 and 14.1.

[96] See building block 15.2, line 2.

[97] See building block 15.2, line 3.

[98] See building block 15.2, line 4.

14.1.
A 未嘗聞君子道，謂之不聰 。
B 未嘗見賢人，謂之不明。
A 聞君子道而不知其君子道也，謂之不聖 。 ■
B 見賢人而不知其有德也，謂之不智。■

14.2.
B w25 見而知之，智也。■
A 聞而知之，聖也。■
B 「明[明]」，智也；■
A 「赫[赫]」， 聖也 。■
C 「明[明]在下，赫 [赫] w26 在上」 ， 夫此謂也。■

15.1.
A1 聞君子道，聰也。
A2 聞而知之，聖也。
聖人知天 w27 道也
A3 知而行之，義也。
A4 行之而時，德也。

15.2.
B1 見賢人，明也。
B2 見而知之， w28 智也。
B3 知而安之，仁也。
B4 安而敬之，禮也。

Figure 15: The Pericopes of Subcanto 6

If we now compare the distinction made in this unit between key and dependent virtues with the distinction made in canto 1 (building blocks 3 and 4) between acting for (*wéi* 爲) goodness and aspiring to (*zhì* 志) virtue (or moral force), it is possible to further contextualise the different concepts of the "Wǔ xíng": building block 15.1 defines an abstract realm, whereas 15.2 details a concrete undertaking.

Figure 15 shows that building block 15.1 displays the feature of a principal insertion. The third of the five lines—"the sagacious one understands the Way of Heaven" 聖人知而（<天>）道也—appears to be an alien element in an otherwise coherent argumentative chain. It has accordingly been explained as a "misplaced commentary", because it "interrupts the flow of the passage".[99] A careful analysis of this passage leads to a different conclusion. The same statement appears at the

[99] See Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 297.

same location in the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng", thus suggesting a conscious choice for patterning the argument. It is unlikely that both manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" which we possess today reflect the very same mistake—unless we assume that they were copied directly from one another or from the same—unknown—third source. Yet, given the structural differences in the organisation of the two manifestations of the text—differences that cannot be explained by assuming a "slip of the eye" by the copyist or blamed on the materiality of the manuscripts—assumptions of this kind are not very plausible. It is also unlikely that a (written) commentary to the "Wǔ xíng" existed when the Guōdiàn One version was placed in the ground and that it was ignored by the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng", especially since the external commentary of the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" does not identify this line as "misplaced". Hence, instead of constructing scenarios for the way this mistake might have occurred in both manifestations of the text by conjecturing that the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" created an environment that inspired the same error in the Mǎwángduī Three text, it is more fruitful to try to solve this problem on the basis of the structure of the text, which is in so many ways consistent. As discussed, the feature that I have called a 'principal insertion' is a vital device for patterning thought in early Chinese argument-based texts, and it is also used repeatedly in the "Wǔ xíng". Since the notion that "the sagacious one understands the Way of Heaven" proves to be a main idea of building block 15.1 (and of the "Wǔ xíng" as a whole), it is reasonable to assume that it featured here as a conscious device "to interrupt the flow of the passage" and so to stress the idea central to this unit. Especially considering the fact that this building block dwells on the virtue (*dé* 德) of the sagacious person (*shèng rén* 聖人), this is clearly a much more productive approach to this line.

Building block 15.3 applies the *wǔ xíng* theory to the realm of politics. Only if the five virtues are harmonised will joy (*lè* 樂) arise; and only if there is joy can there be virtue (*dé* 德). Virtue, in turn, is an essential quality of the ruler. The ode quoted corroborates this notion.[100]

[100] Building block 15.3 draws on the "Dàyǎ: Wén Wáng" 文王 (*Máo* 235), which reads 文王在上，於昭於天 "when King Wén was on high, oh, he illuminated Heaven."

Subcanto 6 takes a foremost position in the articulation of the philosophy behind the *wǔ xíng* theory. Referring to the previous units, it differentiates between the key and dependent virtues, namely sagacity and wisdom versus rightness, benevolence, and ritual propriety.[101] The subcanto further highlights how virtue (德) and goodness (善) can be achieved. But it also applies the *wǔ xíng* theory to the realm of politics. By elevating virtue to the foremost principle of good government, the authors of the "Wǔ xíng" display a political ideal not very different from that of the other argument-based texts discussed so far.

Differences between the two instantiations of subcanto 6 are fairly straightforward. First, the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" sometimes omits the particle *yě* 也 after definitions.[102] Second, the Mǎwángduī Three manifestation displays minor lexical differences. These echo scribal idiosyncrasies and have no structural significance.[103] Third, the Mǎwángduī Three version introduces the quotation of the "Odes" in building block 15.3 by name (*shī yuē* 詩曰 "odes state"). Except for these rather insignificant dissimilarities, subcanto 6 proves exceptionally stable. Structurally, the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" are identical. Even on the level of the lexicon the two prove decidedly stable, and so is the sequence of building blocks within this subcanto overall. But the location of subcanto 6 in the two manifestations deserves attention. The order of subcantos 6 and 7 in the Guōdiàn One manuscript is reversed in the Mǎwángduī Three version. This can

[101] The dual treatment of different types of virtues therefore does not suggest that the "Wǔ xíng" had a 'composite nature' (as proposed by Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 65ff.) but is a vital device for articulating the *wǔ xíng* theory.

[102] In line 4 of building block 14.2; in line 4 of building block 16.1; in line 2 of building block 16.2. It has repeatedly been denied that *yě* 也 was originally a particle, and instead, it has been suggested that originally it was a full copula, 'to be'. The fact that it is omitted in one manuscript might therefore hint at a diachronic phenomenon. I thank Wolfgang Behr for alerting me to this.

[103] First, instead of reading "to understand and enact it is 'rightness'" in line 4 of building block 15.1, which is also corroborated by the structure of this passage, the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" reads "to understand and enact it is 'sagacity'". Because the commentary of the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" refers to this line with 'rightness', not with 'sagacity', this seems to be a scribal mistake. Second, in line 2 of building block 16.1, the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" mistakes *ān* 安 for the adverbalisation marker *ér* 而. Third, in line 1 of building block 16.2, the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" reads "benevolence and rightness, those are from which ritual propriety and wisdom derive", instead of "benevolence and rightness, those are from which ritual propriety derives". The analysis of the structure suggests that this is a transmission error. This is corroborated also by the fact that the commentary of the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" repeats only two virtues, not three.

be explained, and I will come back to this after discussing the next subcanto.

Subcanto 7

Subcanto 7 spans five and a half bamboo strips.[104] They constitute three building blocks. Central concepts of this subcanto are the inner mind (*zhōng xīn* 中心) and the outer mind (*wài xīn* 外心). The subcanto also continues the discussion of the dependent virtues from earlier units of the text.

17. 顏色容貌溫，戀 也。
  以其中心與人交，悅也。
    中心悅旃遷 [w33] 於兄弟，戚也。[Aj]
      戚而信之，親；
        [親] 而篤之，愛也。
          愛父 ，其繼愛人，仁也。[Ak]

When facial coloration, look, manner, and appearance are gentle, this is 'love'.
  When using the inner mind to interact with others, this is 'delight'.
    When the inner mind is delighted by this and transferred [w33] on to elder and younger brothers, this is 'intimacy'.
      To feel closeness and to extend this feeling is 'affection'.
        To be affectionate and to be genuine about it is 'caring'.
          To care for one's father and, secondarily to this, to care for others is 'benevolence'.

18. 中心 [w34] 辯然而正行之，直也。
  直而遂之，迣也 。
    迣而不畏強禦， 果也。[Al]
      不 [w35] 以小道害大道，簡也。
        有大罪而大誅之，行也。
          貴[貴]，其等尊賢， 義也。†

When the inner mind [w34] rightly enacts [something] by being discriminative, this is 'uprightness'.
  To [be] upright and perpetuate this is 'resistance'.
    To [be] resistant and not to fear the strong and powerful is 'decisiveness'.[105]
      Not [w35] to harm the great Way for the sake of the petty ways is

[104] These run from strip *w*32/5 to *w*37/15.

[105] Being decisive in this context means "arriving at a decision and daring to carry it out". Páng Pú 2000 notes that this combination also occurs in the "Dàyǎ: Zhēng mín" 烝民 (*Máo* 260): 不侮矜寡，不畏彊禦 "[Zhōngshān Fù], he did not intimidate the widow and the poor and did not fear the strong and powerful."

'grave demeanour'.
To punish severely if there is a great crime is 'carrying out [the Way properly]'.
To venerate [the noble ones] and to honour the worthy ones according to their level is 'rightness'. †

19. *w36* 以其外心與人交，遠也。
遠而莊之，敬也。
敬而不懈 ， 嚴也。 † [Am]
嚴而畏 *w37* 之，尊也。
尊而不驕，恭也。
恭而博交，禮也。

w36 To use the outer mind when interacting with others is 'keeping [appropriate] distance'.
To keep [appropriate] distance while being dignified is 'being respectful'.[106]
To be respectful and not remitting is 'being stern'.
To be stern and fearful *w37* is 'showing honour'.
To show honour without being arrogant is 'being reverent'.
To be reverent when widely interacting with others is 'ritual propriety'.

The three dependent virtues of benevolence, rightness, and ritual propriety were already discussed in subcanto 5.[107] That unit introduced the series of mental states without which the development of these virtues is impossible. But neither the mental states nor the virtues themselves were properly defined. Subcanto 7 undertakes to do this (see fig. 16).

Structurally subcanto 7 bears a close resemblance to subcanto 6. Both units detail the meaning of (technical) terms that were used earlier in the discussion—except that they do so on dissimilar levels: subcanto 7 explains the dependent virtues of the *wǔ xíng* theory discussed first in building blocks 11–13 (subcanto 5), whereas subcanto 6 explains the key virtues discussed first in building block 10 (subcanto 5). However, it is irrelevant for the development of the *wǔ xíng* theory whether the discussion of the key virtues comes first or that of the dependent virtues. What matters for the construction of meaning is that the proper sequence of the building blocks *within* these subcantos

[106] In the terminology of the *wǔ xíng* theory, the concept of the worthy person (*xián rén* 賢人) is connected to the notion of ritual propriety and the corresponding sentiments (see, in particular, subcanto 6, building block 15.2). As a result, the worthy person has to be added to the present train of thought.
[107] See building blocks 11–13.

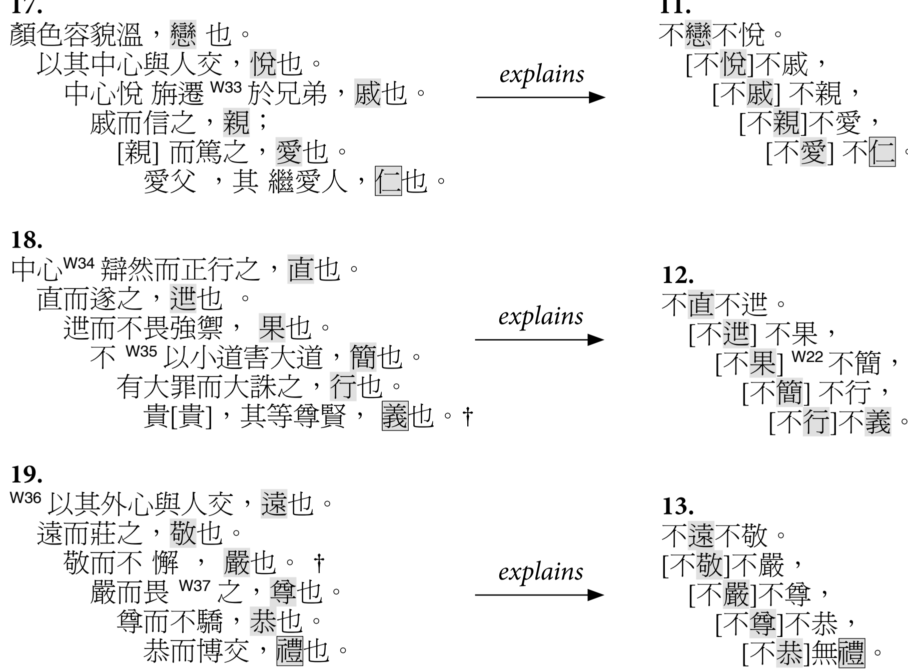

Figure 16: Internal Exegetical Efforts

is maintained—and this is indeed the case in both manifestations of the text. It is very unlikely that this dissimilarity reflects a difference in philosophical agenda.

Subcanto 7 displays extraordinary coherence in the two versions of the "Wǔ xíng". The only difference is a slightly dissimilar use of the particle *yě* 也.[108]

The Application of Virtue to Worldly Affairs

The remaining two subcantos of the "Wǔ xíng"—subcantos 8 and 9—together span twelve bamboo strips. Subcanto 8 is written on six and a half bamboo strips.[109] It contains three building blocks. The focal

[108] In building block 18, line 6, and in building block 19, line 3, *yě* 也 is omitted in the Mǎwángduī Three text. In building block 17, line 4, the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" omits *yě* 也, but the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" does use it.

[109] Subcanto 8 runs from strip *w*37/16 to the end of strip *w*44.

point of the discussion is the gentleman (*jūnzǐ* 君子) and the application of the *wǔ xíng* theory to law and punishment.

20. 不簡不行 ；不匿 不辨w38於道； † [An]
有大罪而大誅之，簡也。
有小罪而赦之，匿也。
有大罪而弗大 w39 誅也，不[行]也 。† [Ao]
有小罪而弗赦也，不辨於道也。

1A 簡之爲言猶練 w40 也，大而罕者也 。† [Ap]
1B 匿之爲言也，猶匿[匿]也，小而軫者也。† [Aq]
2A 簡，義之方也 。
2B 匿， w41 仁之方也。
C 「剛」，義之方 ；「柔」，仁之方也。[Ar]
「不強不梂，不剛不柔」，[110] 此之謂 w42 也。

What is not succinct should not be enacted; what is concealed cannot be discriminated by the w38 Way; †
When there is a serious transgression, and it is punished severely, this is 'to be succinct'.
When there is a minor transgression, and it is pardoned, this is 'concealment'.
When there is a serious transgression and one refrains from w39 punishing it severely, this is 'not enacting [the Way properly]'.
When there is a minor transgression and one refrains from pardoning it, this is 'not being discriminated according to the Way'.

'To be succinct' as a term is something like 'to soften raw silk by boiling';w40 it is great but rare. †
'To conceal' as a term is something like 'to hide what is to be hidden'; it is small but numerous. †
To be succinct is an aspect of rightness.
To conceal is an aspect of benevolence.
[Just as] 'hardness' is an aspect of rightness, 'softness' is an aspect of benevolence.
To be "neither forceful nor pressing, neither hard nor [too] soft" is what this is w42 about.

21.1. 君子集大成；[111] [As]
1A 能進之爲君子。
1B 弗能進也，各止於其里。
2A 大而 w43 罕者，能有取焉。

[110] *Máo* 304.
[111] Cf. *Mèngzǐ*, "Wànzhāng xià" (萬章下 5B1). In *Mèngzǐ zhèng yì* 1992, 397.

2B 小而軫者， 能有取焉。
C 疋(赫)膚-[膚](臚 臚)達者（諸）君子 道， 謂之賢。 † [At]

The gentleman "gathers great achievements".
When able to advance in this, one can become a gentleman.
Those unable to advance in this should all remain in their hamlets.
As for what is great but rare, w43 [the gentleman] is able to take from it.†
As for what is small but numerous, [the gentleman] is able to take from it.
He who shines brightly when reaching the Way of the gentleman is whom we call 'a worthy person'. †

21.2. 君 w44 子知而舉之，謂之尊賢。
知而事之，謂之尊賢者也。 [Au]
後，士之尊賢者也。

When the gentleman w44 understands [the worthy one] and lifts him up, this we call 'honouring the worthy person'.
When [the gentleman] understands and serves him, this we call 'one who honours the worthy person'.
The latter means that a scholar-knight honours the worthy one.

As can be seen from figure 18, building block 20 consists of two longer sequences. The latter sequence is patterned as overlapping structure and, as a whole, serves as the c component of the preceding sequence. I call this form of overlapping structure 'interleaved'.

The appearance of the concepts 'dignified' (*jiǎn* 簡) and 'circumspection' (*nì* 匿) in this unit is surprising, especially because the statement itself is quite enigmatic. The interleaved overlapping structure that elaborates these terms, together with a quotation from the "Odes", further signals their importance. The two terms are correlated with 'enacting' (or 'use' in reference to the worthy one) (*xíng* 行) and 'the Way [of the gentleman]' ([*jūnzǐ*] *dào* [君子]道) in the first sequence of the building block and with 'rightness' and 'benevolence' in the second one. These concepts are central to the philosophical terminology of the *wǔ xíng* theory and were accordingly discussed earlier in the text. By this means, '[being] dignified' and 'circumspection', as *termini technici*, are integrated into the greater argumentative line of the text, and the "Wǔ xíng" establishes a consistent use of its technical terminology. This is especially obvious when considering that 'rightness' and 'enacting (or 'using')' correspond systematically over the entire "Wǔ xíng", and that '[being] dignified' (*jiǎn* 簡) is here described—and thus explained—by being related to these two concepts. The use of these concepts to apply the *wǔ xíng* theory to ideas of law and punishment

不簡不行；不匿 不辨 w38 於道；

1A 有大罪而大誅之，簡也。
1B 有小罪而赦之，匿也。
2A 有大罪而弗大 w39 誅也，不[行]也 。
2B 有小罪而弗赦也，不辨於道也。

C
1A 簡之為言猶練 w40 也，大而罕者也 。
1B 匿之為言也，猶匿[匿]也，小而軫者也。
2A 簡，義之方也 。
2B 匿， w41 仁之方也。
C 「剛」，義之方 ；「柔」，仁之方也。
「不強不梂，不剛不柔」， 此之謂 w42 也。

'interleaved overlapping structure'

Figure 18: Building Block 20

reinforces the fact that they are technical terms in the context of executive force and, thus, commonly known to the contemporary élite, even though their precise meanings may have become unclear to the intended recipients of the "Wǔ xíng".

Subcantos 6 and 7 state that the precondition for engendering both sagacity and wisdom is to understand (*zhī* 知) that one can become clairaudient (and so able to hear the Way of the gentleman—and thus become sagacious) and clairvoyant (and so able to see the worthy one—thus become wise).[112] Building block 21.2 further applies the concept of understanding (*zhī* 知) to the concrete issue of recognising the worthy one. The last statement of this building block further mentions the scholar-knight, introduced earlier in subcanto 1 (building block 3), where he was described as someone aspiring (*zhì* 志) to the Way of the gentleman. As systematised in the "Wǔ xíng", the *zhì* 志 group of virtues and the sentiments attached to them promote virtue (as opposed to the *wéi* 爲 group of virtues—'acting upon something'—that enable one to develop goodness). To be respectful (*jìng* 敬) belongs to the sentiments accounting for developing ritual propriety. Ritual propriety belongs to the *wéi* group of virtues, which promote goodness. Building block 21.2 hence combines the discussion of 'virtue' and 'goodness' and applies it to the realm of politics. Only the accomplished gentleman, it is stated, can understand the worthy one, lift him up,

[112] See building blocks 15.1 and 15.2.

and show him honour. Thus, to understand the Way of the gentleman also has a practical aspect, as shown in building block 21.2. It not only describes the theoretical issue of understanding the path that leads to moral force (or virtue) but also demands of the gentleman (ruler) that he combine the theoretical understanding of the inner cultivation of the 'heavenly Way' with the practical aspect of elevating the worthy one. The unit under review thus unites concrete undertakings—the 'four aspects of conduct' (*sì xíng* 四行), which describe the 'Way of humans—with the abstract notion of cultivating all five virtues (w*ǔ xíng* 五行) and thus nourishing moral force within. Hence, the *wǔ xíng* theory defends the notion that 'virtue' (moral force) (*dé* 德) is an abstract matter. It equals man's inner cultivation of the Way of Heaven (*tiān dào* 天道). 'Goodness' (*shàn* 善), in turn, denotes the application of this inner state to worldly affairs. Accordingly, what the text labels the 'Way of humans' (*rén dào* 人道) is the conversion of moral force into worldly affairs.

The construction of the argument in subcanto 8 is the same in the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng". This is true also for the building blocks that constitute this unit. Slight differences remain on the level of the lexicon[113] and the formulae with which the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" introduces the "Odes".[114] Only building block 21.2 differs. Instead of saying "when [the gentleman] understands and serves him" (知而事之), the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" reads "the gentleman follows and serves him" (君子從而事之) and adds another line.[115] These dissimilarities do not affect the structural consistency of the two manifestations of the text and so do not bear on the issue at hand.

The final subcanto of the "Wǔ xíng" runs from strip *w*45/1 to the end of strip *w*50. Four building blocks (22–25) constitute this unit. Structurally, this subcanto is the same as that of the Mǎwángduī Three manifestation. There are minor lexical or graphical dissimilarities, and the Mǎwángduī Three version uses different formulae to introduce the "Odes".[116] But none of these dissimilarities bear on the issue at hand.

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[113] This implies the structural variation of certain graphs. Also, at times one of the versions omits the particle *yě* 也 or *ér* 而 where the other version has it.

[114] *Shī yuē* 詩曰 "an ode states".

[115] Preceding the line 後士之尊賢者也 "The latter is 'honouring the worthy' by the [aspiring] scholar-knight", the Mǎwángduī Three version adds the statement 前王公之尊賢者也 "The former is 'honouring the worthy' by kings and dukes".

[116] Here and there a graph that appears in one version of the text is missing in the other: in building block 22, the Mǎwángduī Three version repeats the formula 心曰

Subcanto 9 as a whole is more stable than the individual building blocks of which it is composed, This is common in the "Wǔ xíng".

Conclusion

The "Wǔ xíng" works only as an integrated whole. Every building block connects to argumentative strings that develop larger textual units, the pericope and the subcanto. Each subcanto of the "Wǔ xíng" features as an agency that presents one idea of the *wǔ xíng* theory. But just like the individual building blocks, none of these subcantos work in isolation. Related to one another through an elaborate system of cross-referential links by which the different textual units further explicate one another, the various subcantos need the reference to other textual units of the "Wǔ xíng" to be fully meaningful. This referential system works on different textual levels. One unit quotes a generally known source and explains it in line with the argument of the *wǔ xíng* theory. Other textual units supply further details and are themselves referred to by other parts of the text. And so forth. The different argumentative strings are conjoined at some point in the text, and the "Wǔ xíng", as a whole, presents a coherent vision.

This holds true also for the manifestation of the "Wǔ xíng" excavated from Mǎwángduī Three. This materialisation of the *wǔ xíng* theory contains the same stable, meaningful units of first, second, and third order (building block, pericope, subcanto). Differences basically are due only to scribal idiosyncrasies or the way in which "Odes" are quoted. The various agencies of the *wǔ xíng* theory, however, remain stable in both manifestations. This is true not only for the subcantos

"[if] the heart says" throughout; in building block 24, the Mǎwángduī Three version adds the graph 生 'gives birth to' after the first character. In the last line of the final building block (25), the Mǎwángduī Three version has 'have' (有) instead of 'to be fond of' (好). The Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" also adds another line to building block 24: 其人施諸人；不得其人，不爲法 "that person bestows this on others; not to find the right man is to deviate from the pattern". And it quotes the "Odes" slightly differently: line *w*48/7–14 quotes the "Dàyǎ: Dà míng" 大明 (*Máo* 236), which reads 上帝臨女；無貳爾心 "God on High looks down on you; do not be unfaithful in your heart" (Karlgren 1950, 188, emended). The Mǎwángduī Three follows the *Máo* text and reads *lín* 臨, whereas the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" reads *xián* 賢 'worthy [one]' (*w*48/9).

but also for the system of cross-referential links that connect these agencies into a coherent theory of self-cultivation.

The main differences between the Guōdiàn One and the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" are the different position of building block 10 in subcanto 5 and the reversed order of subcantos 6 and 7. However, neither of these differences affects the *wǔ xíng* theory. Structurally, building block 10 differs from the other segments of subcanto 5, and so it has no fixed position in this unit. It sums up ideas on the key virtues of the *wǔ xíng* theory, whereas building blocks 11–13 develop argumentative chains for the dependent virtues, which are specified in later textual units of the "Wǔ xíng". It is instructive to note that the order in which the dependent virtues are discussed remains stable in the different textual units—in both manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng". Thus, as long as building block 10 does not appear between the other elements of subcanto 5, the different position of this building block within that subcanto does not alter the reading of this unit, and so it can either head (Guōdiàn One) or follow (Mǎwángduī Three) this sequence.

Subcantos 6 and 7, for their part, express those insights that allow the *wǔ xíng* theory to be applied to worldly affairs. Subcanto 6 details the meaning of sagacity and wisdom, the key virtues of the *wǔ xíng* theory. Connected to this, subcanto 6 also finalises those references which help to contextualise the differentiation of the five virtues of the *wǔ xíng* theory into two groups, namely those that should be aspired to (the *zhì* 志 group of virtues) and those that can be acted upon (the *wéi* 爲 group of virtues). This distinction is of utmost importance for the philosophy of the "Wǔ xíng". Finally, subcanto 6 applies the *wǔ xíng* theory to the realm of good rule and so is the key to identifying the political agenda of the text. Subcanto 7, in turn, finalises the links concerning the dependent virtues: benevolence, rightness, and ritual propriety. This unit provides the full breadth of ideas behind these virtues as defined by the authors of the "Wǔ xíng". But despite the vital role which the two subcantos play for developing the practical aspect of the philosophy behind the *wǔ xíng* theory, none of them presents a 'conclusion'. Instead, the formal arrangement of the "Wǔ xíng" takes a circular form, and so neither of the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng" can be said to "anticipate a conclusion", regardless of what has been argued recently. It does not matter which of the two subcantos (6 or 7) comes first—as long as they remain in a location that does not destroy the text's elaborate system of cross-referential links. Neither of

these differences reflects a different philosophical agenda in the two manifestations of the “Wǔ xíng”. The two manuscripts are simply two instances of communicating the very same idea: a coherent *wǔ xíng* theory, which can be considered a closed philosophical system.

The *wǔ xíng* theory details a theory of moral self-cultivation. The ultimate goal is to nourish moral force (*dé* 德). Moral force is achieved after cultivating the five virtues by which one has achieved sagacity. Like the compositional pattern of the text, self-cultivation has circular elements. None of the five virtues can exist in isolation from the others. If any of the virtues described is lacking, sagacity cannot be developed. But sagacity takes the lead in the formation of the other virtues and is the crucial factor for the entire process of self-cultivation. Hence, the *wǔ xíng* theory expounds a philosophy of self-cultivation in which the end result of self-cultivation is also its point of initiation. I call this the ‘paradox of self-cultivation’. The paradox of self-cultivation is that realising any of the five virtues simultaneously depends on the accomplished cultivation of the other virtues. The way out of this paradox of self-cultivation, then, lies in a human’s awareness (*zhī* 知) of possessing the five virtues within him, which is the vital moment in the process of moral self-cultivation. Thus, self-cultivation as presented here takes on a circular form, but its crucial element lies in the ability to step out of this circle without—so to speak—leaving it.

The process of self-cultivation also determines the formal organisation of the text. As discussed, just like the theory of self-cultivation, the composition of the “Wǔ xíng” takes on a circular form in which the final result is simultaneously the starting point. Right from the start, the “Wǔ xíng” confronts the recipient with ideas that can be understood only after having made one’s way through later parts of the text. None of the subcantos can be read in isolation since each unit of the “Wǔ xíng” comments on other parts of the text. The recipient thus finds himself totally absorbed in the text. This is reinforced even further by the mantra-like language of the “Wǔ xíng”. And whereas the other argument-based texts analysed so far prudently develop one overall argument in a rather linear fashion, the “Wǔ xíng”, instead, directly confronts the recipient in the first building block with ideas central to its theory. Building block 1 could just as well be the introduction to the *wǔ xíng* theory as the summary of the entire philosophy. The structure of composition hence is to be explained as a formal device that, mirroring the *wǔ xíng* theory itself, compounds the thought central to this text.

This makes it unlikely that the formal structure of the "Wǔ xíng" results from being composed of "even older" texts. The system of referential links accounts for the fact that the "Wǔ xíng" presents a coherent theory of self-cultivation, the *wǔ xíng* theory. That some parts of the text discuss only wisdom or sagacity, whereas other units discuss only benevolence, rightness, and ritual propriety has nothing to do with different chronological text layers that had been rewritten later on, as has been assumed. Instead, it features the hierarchisation of virtues, a crucial aspect of the *wǔ xíng* theory, and the necessity of applying an abstract theory to worldly affairs. Wisdom and sagacity are the key virtues in the long-term process of moral cultivation. Benevolence, rightness, and ritual propriety are dependent virtues and, hence, are the expression of having realised wisdom and sagacity. In other words, benevolence, rightness, and ritual propriety are the particular manifestations of what the accomplished person—the individual who has cultivated wisdom and sagacity—practically brings forth when involved in worldly affairs.

To approach the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" as "directly ancestral" to the Mǎwángduī Three manifestation of the text is to pose the wrong questions. As shown in the analysis, the two manifestations of the text are made up of stable subcantos, rendered coherent by various cross-referential links. Each of these represents one aspect of the *wǔ xíng* theory. These units matter. They are the agents of different ideas. When systematised, they together constitute the *wǔ xíng* theory. One may thus equate the individual subcanto with what has been dubbed a "unit of thought" in another context.[117] As agencies of ideas, and so the relevant units of the text, the subcantos are likely to be the very units that had once been remembered before the *wǔ xíng* theory materialised on bamboo. This would also explain why each of the subcantos of the "Wǔ xíng" displays such an exceptional stability—an even higher level of stability than that achieved by the particular building blocks which constitute those subcantos. Since the subcantos are constituted of remembered agencies of different aspects of the *wǔ xíng* theory which are fully stable in the two manifestations of the text and joined by a complex but coherent system of cross-referential links, we have no grounds on which to identify either of the two manifestations as ancestral to the other—even though the Guōdiàn One manuscript

[117] See Wagner 1999a.

presumably is the older one. Not the physical manuscripts but the stable units constituting a closed theory to be realised in, potentially, different forms must therefore be the focus of investigation.[118] Thus, in opposition to what can be found in the literature, neither manifestation of the "Wǔ xíng" can be considered to be the 'more original' version or to express a 'more genuine philosophy'. They simply reflect two instances of communicating the very same idea—in unfixed but written form. At the same time, the preceding analysis suggests that the "Wǔ xíng" is not a creation ex nihilo. The many quotations, references, and stable textual units plainly show that the authors of the text worked with a mine of materials, from which they used stock phrases, concepts, and technical terminology. These materials were contextualised and systematised in such a way that together they form a consistent *wǔ xíng* theory of moral cultivation.

[118] See in this context Zumthor 1983, where the concept of text '*mouvance*' is introduced. For a discussion of the stability of texts in the Chinese context, see Kern 2001, 65, where the distinction is made between 'fluid texts', that is, demarcated entities that can "be recognised, respected, and transmitted", and works of canonical status, that is, 'closed' texts.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE "XÌNG ZÌ MÌNG CHŪ" 性自命出 "HUMAN NATURE IS BROUGHT FORTH BY DECREE"

The analyses carried out in the previous chapters has shown that the macrostructure of argument-based texts can be rigorously composed. The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" are good examples. They are texts with a fixed formal structure, but this does not mean that they are also 'closed' texts. Both texts might have remained open to some changes—at least on the level of their lexicon. But their *structure of composition* is fixed. For a much longer argument-based text such as the "Wǔ xíng", no such rigorous, and hence definite, macrostructure can be postulated. But it is possible to describe certain features that aid the transmission of a coherent argument, which in this case is the *wǔ xíng* theory. As discussed, the textual structure of the "Wǔ xíng" features as a formal device for the *wǔ xíng* theory that, mirroring the *wǔ xíng* theory itself, intensifies the ideas central to this text. Thus, we have a 'closed' philosophical system paired with the somewhat flexible composition structure of an argument-based text. The same holds true for the argument-based text "Xìng zì mìng chū" 性自命出 ("Human Nature Is Brought Forth by Decree"), which is the focus of the present chapter. This chapter concludes my analysis of the argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One and the first part of this study on the construction of meaning in the written philosophical discourse of the Warring States.

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" is the longest argument-based text from Guōdiàn One. The manuscript contains about 1,550 characters written on sixty-seven strips. Prior to the excavation, this text was lost from memory. Nowadays there are scholars who conceive of it as part of an imagined Confucian tradition[1] simply because it shares ideas attributed to Zǐ Sī 子思, Gōngsùn Ní 公遜尼, or Shì Shuò 世碩.[2] In this chapter, I discuss the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and its textual relation

[1] Characteristic of this is the discussion of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" by Chén Níng (1998).

[2] See, e.g., Guō Qíyǒng 2001, 24; Lǐ Tiānhóng 2003, 125.

to its counterpart as anthologised in the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts.

Since publication, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" has attracted close attention because it discusses the concept of 'human nature' (*xìng* 性) in a way previously unseen. It provides a multilayered analysis of human nature by relating it to the human 'mind' (*xīn* 心) and 'unshaped feelings' (*qíng* 情),[3] but it also examines human nature's relationship to matters existing outside the subject self, namely the phenomenological world as manifested in the 'things [in the world]' (*wù* 物) or 'music' (*yuè* 樂). In so doing, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" considers the impact of these matters on human nature and offers a phenomenological account "of how one's unshaped feelings relate to human nature and external stimuli."[4] Whereas other early texts that have come down to us provide only isolated statements on human nature in passing, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" is the earliest example of a text that provides a fully developed analysis of this topic.

Many Chinese colleagues celebrate the "Xìng zì mìng chū" as an intermediate evolutionary stage of an imagined 'Confucian discourse' on this concept. Intellectually and chronologically, this text is considered a missing link between 'the' *Lúnyǔ* (*Analects*) and the ideas on human nature discussed in the *Mèngzǐ*.[5] The danger involved in such monolinear approaches to early thought will have to be considered elsewhere.[6] Suffice it to say that such descriptions tend to treat philosophical amalgams as if they were coherent and systematic edifices of thought. Intellectual positions are extracted from rather heterogeneous materials and ascribed to two thinkers (Kǒngzǐ and Mencius).

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[3] The specific denotation of this concept has long been disputed. Translations for *qíng* 情 range from 'what is essential' or 'genuine' (see Graham 1986) to 'reality feedback' (Hansen 1995). According to Angus Graham, the meaning 'passion' develops in the Sòng period, but Michael Puett (2004, 37) argues that this shift is already hinted at in parts of the *Xúnzǐ* and the *Lǐ jì*, where, according to Graham, *qíng* already came to be "imbued with emotional connotations" (1986). As Puett argues convincingly, it is because of its broad semantic range that this word came to be so important to the philosophical discourse of the Warring States. For the semantic range of the term *qíng* in pre-Buddhist Chinese, see Harbsmeier 2004. In this context, I translate *qíng* as 'unshaped feelings'.

[4] Brindley 2006, 19. Note that Brindley translates *qíng* in this quotation as 'emotions'.

[5] See, e.g., Páng Pú 1998; Lǐ Wéiwǔ 2000, 310; Yú Zhìpíng 2000, 355; Wáng Xìngpíng 2004; Lǐ Ruì 2005.

[6] See, however, chapter 3, where I discuss similar claims made for the "Wǔ xíng".

Neither chronological layers nor agendas of authorship are taken into account.[7]

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" is also interesting for modern scholarship because of its use of terminology. The "Xìng zì mìng chū" provides insights into the semantic and philosophical breadth of terms that were used in the philosophical discourse of that time and whose particular meanings have long been the subject of modern debate. The specific use of the concept *qíng* 情, for which so many different translations exist, is an example.

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" draws on what tradition calls *shī* 詩 "Odes" to substantiate its ideas about human nature, and some scholars assume that it even alludes to concepts from the *shū* 書, "Documents".[8] Even more important than hidden allusions to shared concepts is the explicit reference to odes (*shī*), documents (*shū*), rites (*lǐ* 禮), and music (*yuè* 樂) as one group. The "Xìng zì mìng chū" discusses their respective functions for the individual in the process of moral cultivation. Moreover, it also explains the role which sagacious people, the *shèng rén* 聖人, play in turning these mainstays of Chinese culture into tools for educating élite groups.[9] This has fuelled scholarly discussions. Scholars tend to equate the above labels with the so-called 'Confucian Classics'.[10] And the sagacious person—or persons—to which the "Xìng zì mìng chū" refers when discussing the educational impact of these tools of Chinese culture is generally identified unequivocally with

[7] Tsuda Sōkichi (1946) regards the *Lúnyǔ* as full of contradictions and anachronisms. For this reason, he considers it an unsuitable tool for analysing the philosophy of Kǒngzǐ. For a short discussion of this view, see Schwartz 1985, 61ff. On the chronological layering and later interpolations of the *Lúnyǔ*, see the highly controversial contribution by E. Brooks and A. Brooks (1998). For the same approach to other texts, including the *Mèngzǐ*, see also E. Brooks1994, which reproduces central aspects of the discussion.

[8] Huáng Zhènyún and Huáng Wěi (2003, 81) argue that on strips *x*8–9 the "Xìng zì mìng chū" refers to the so-called *sān dé* 三德 concept from the "Hóng fàn" (Glorious Plan) chapter of the canonised *Documents*. That the two texts draw on these concepts, however, is no proof that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" refers to, let alone "quotes", this body of texts. Note further that the dating of the "Hóng fàn" chapter is highly problematic. According to Michael Nylan, the early layers of the "Hóng fàn" probably date to the late fourth century BC when it was used as a manual for administration. During the Hàn it became used as a canon on cosmology. (1992, 13–44; 105–148).

[9] For different views on the relation of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" to "Odes", "Documents", and other sources of Chinese culture, see Lǐ Tiānhóng 2000a, 2000b; Huáng Zhènyún and Huáng Wěi 2003; Guō Qíyǒng 2001; among others.

[10] For a discussion of this term see Nylan 2001a.

Kǒngzǐ himself.[11] The identification of odes (*shī*), documents (*shū*), rites (or ritual propriety) (*lǐ*), and music (*yuè*) with the Chinese Classics—and of the *shèng rén* with Kǒngzǐ—may seem straightforward, but for various reasons, these identifications are problematic.

Transmitted texts such as the *Lúnyǔ* 論語, the *Mèngzǐ* 孟子, and the *Xúnzǐ* 荀子 that modern scholars associate with what they call 'Confucian' ideas do not use the appellation 'sagacious person' in a consistent fashion.[12] Also, even though it is true that traditionally Kǒngzǐ is often presented as the compiler of the "Odes"[13] (his name is even closely associated with the "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn" 孔子詩論 [Kǒngzǐ's Discussion of 'Odes'"], a text from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts),[14] Jì Xùshēng 季旭昇 nevertheless concludes from an account in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* 左傳 that the process of compiling the "Odes" had already been completed when Kǒngzǐ was a child. He contends that the sagacious person in the "Xìng zì mìng chū" generally denotes cultural hero(es) of the past, not (only) Kǒngzǐ.[15] Moreover, the mention of the four constituents of Chinese culture in the "Xìng zì mìng chū" is not evidence of a set of well-defined classics as early as the mid- to late Warring States period. Mentioning these constituents of Chinese culture explicitly as one group does not imply that 'odes', 'documents', 'rites' (or ritual propriety), and 'music' were well-defined textual bodies, let alone books, at the time when the "Xìng zì mìng chū" was composed. Music and rites especially could also be general denotations of music and rites. Also, quotations from excavated manuscripts do not sup-

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[11] See, e.g., Lǐ Tiānhóng 2000a, 2000b; Guō Qíyǒng 2001, 25; Puett 2004, 50.

[12] In the *Lúnyǔ*, Kǒngzǐ is generally called 'master' (*fū zǐ* 夫子). Yet in book 9 ("Zǐ hǎn" 子罕) he is referred to as 'sagacious person' (*shèng rén*). The *Mèngzǐ* consistently calls him 'sagacious person'—and so does the *Xúnzǐ*. Yet the *Xúnzǐ* also calls people like Bó Yí 伯夷 'sagacious'.

[13] The "Kǒngzǐ shìjiā" 孔子世家 chapter of the *Shǐ jì* 史記 notes that, from the 3,000 ancient odes, Kǒngzǐ removed those that were mere repetitions of others and selected those that could be used to serve ritual propriety and rightness (Takikawa 1989, Memoir 17, 69ff. [3307ff.]).

[14] See Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, vol. 1. The "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn" received its title from the modern editors. The identification of Kǒngzǐ in this manuscript was not uncontested. However, Pú Máozuǒ seems to have resolved the issue in favour of reading the graph in question as Kǒngzǐ 孔子 (instead of Bǔzǐ 卜子 or Bǔ Shāng 卜商, a disciple of Kǒngzǐ known as Zǐ Xià 子夏, allegedly born in 508/7 BC). See Pú Máozuǒ 2001, 13–14. See also Lǐ Líng 2000. For an overview of the discussions about the "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn", see Liú Xìnfāng 2002; Chén Tóngshēng 2004, 315ff.; Shaughnessy 2006, 19ff.; Xing Wen 2008, 3ff. among others.

[15] See Jì Xùshēng 2004, 169. Jì bases his argument on a passage in the *Zuǒ zhuàn*, "Xiānggōng" 襄公, year 29.

port the idea of a well-defined corpus of "Documents" by the Warring States period. And although recent analyses have convincingly argued for a more or less consistent body of "Odes" in that period, probably the only well-defined and distinguishable corpus among the four, comparison of the different records nevertheless suggests that in those days the "Odes" were still highly unstable in writing[16]—in parts even in phraseology. In fact, it seems that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" refers to these constituents of Chinese culture as *traditions*, not as written texts. And Kǒngzǐ? The question must remain unanswered. Neither the opinion held by Lǐ Tiānhóng 李天虹 and others that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" refers to him when describing the making of these cultural constituents, nor the one defended by Jì Xùshēng that in this context *shèng rén* should be understood as a general reference to cultural hero(es) of the past, can be either verified or proven wrong.

Of special interest for this chapter is that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" has a closely corresponding counterpart in the "Xìng qíng lùn" 性情論 ("Discourse on Human Nature and Unshaped Feelings")—so named by modern editors—found in the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts.[17] Just like the different manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng", the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" share a remarkable overlap throughout the first thirty-five bamboo strips of the Guōdiàn One manuscript[18]—in both textual organisation and phraseology.[19]

The largely analogous part of the two texts is highly elaborate and cohesive. Even though the language makes use of brief and sometimes highly mnemonic statements, it is not as formulaic and enigmatic as that of the "Wǔ xíng". However, as with the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng", the remarkable similarity of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" in the first part of the texts dissolves further on. This loss of overall coherence is furthermore

[16] See Kern 2005a.

[17] On the "Xìng qíng lùn" from the Shànghǎi corpus (henceforth Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"), see below.

[18] Unless otherwise noted, the counting of the bamboo strips refers to the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū".

[19] The similarity of the two texts has given rise to the suspicion (see Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:2) that the two manuscripts, "Xìng zì mìng chū" and "Xìng qíng lùn", may come from the same geographic area (Húběi) or even from the same site (Guōdiàn). We should bear in mind that because the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was found, not in a scientific excavation, but by tomb looters, who sold it to an antiquities dealer in Hong Kong, its place of origin can never be confirmed. See also my discussion below.

accompanied by the lack of a concise organisation of the second part of the texts.

The cohesive macrostructure of the "Wǔ xíng" allowed me to provide an in-depth analysis of the relevant parameters that account for the fact that the two manifestations of the text (from Mǎwángduī Three and Guōdiàn One) present the elaborate *wǔ xíng* theory without substantial difference, let alone distortion, even despite some compositional dissimilarities. Accordingly, even though building block 10 from subcanto 5 of the "Wǔ xíng" appears at a different location in the two manuscripts[20] and subcantos 6 and 7 appear in reverse order in the two texts, these dissimilarities do not influence the communication of a coherent *wǔ xíng* theory. In this chapter, I provide no such detailed form analysis. The "Xìng zì mìng chū" shares many formal features with the other texts from Guōdiàn One, which have been dealt with sufficiently in the previous chapters. But it also presents some considerable philological problems that cannot always be solved by referring to its counterpart from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts. The Shànghǎi manuscript is not as well preserved as the one excavated from Guōdiàn One, and many graphs on the bamboo strips are faded. Many strips survive only as fragments, and the graphs on these are frequently hardly legible. This would make a detailed form analysis of the entire text problematic. Nonetheless, the compositional structure of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" does contain some features that are worth describing, and I refer to them briefly in the present chapter.

The fact that we possess two manifestations of the text that are so similar overall but still differ substantially from each other in places calls for a closer analysis. To anticipate my conclusion, I believe that the order of building blocks throughout the first part of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has helped to create a stable—but not totally fixed—text, and it is possible to discern a coherent system behind their arrangement. I feel justified in treating this part of the two texts as one canto, that is, a coherent and structurally closed part of the text. I consider this to be the 'core text', the theoretical framework of the philosophy of what we today call "Xìng zì mìng chū" or "Xìng qíng lùn". The second part of each text seems to present a further, more detailed elaboration of the core

[20] In the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng", building block 10 appears on top of subcanto 5, whereas it appears at the end of the same subcanto in the Mǎwángduī Three text.

part, providing the 'application' of what has been outlined theoretically in the core text.[21] As such, the second parts, which might have been grafted on to the core text, leave more room for textual variation of precisely the kind we see in the two instantiations of the text.

The Text on Bamboo

The Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" is written on sixty-seven bamboo strips that are 32.5 centimetres long. The strips are tapered towards both ends. They bear marks of two binding straps at a distance of 17.5 centimetres. Physically, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" bears close resemblance to the "Chéng zhī wén zhī" 成之聞之, the "Zūn dé yì" 尊德義, and the "Liù dé" 六德. This suggests chronological and spatial proximity of manuscript production, that is, the preparation of the strips and the fixation of a text on them. The four manuscripts were most likely produced in the same workshop. However, as repeatedly mentioned, the physical similarity of these manuscripts provides no information about the intellectual orientation of the texts they carry.

Of the sixty-seven strips that constitute the manuscript carrying the "Xìng zì mìng chū", nine have broken. One of these strips has broken off at both of its sides. The missing parts probably contain approximately twenty-nine graphs.

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" is a difficult text. Numerous graphs still await conclusive identification, and the proper sequence of the strips is also still an issue. Even the find of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has not resolved all these matters. Prior to the publication of the photographs and the transcription of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn",[22] scholars had proposed different arrangements of the sixty-seven bamboo strips that constitute the "Xìng zì mìng chū" manuscript.[23] Briefly, for the first thirty-five to thirty-six strips, mainly rather moderate emendations of the reconstruction proposed initially in 1998 have been proposed.[24]

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[21] This observation corresponds with Guō Yí's (2004, 1) remarks about the distribution of ideas in the "Xìng zì mìng chū".

[22] See Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:69–115, 215–301.

[23] See, among others, Lǐ Líng 1999; Lǐ Xuéqín 1999b; Zhōu Fēngwǔ and Lín Sùqíng 1999; Qián Xùn 2000; Liú Xīnfāng 2000; Liáo Míngchūn 2000b; Lǐ Tiānhóng 2000a, 2003, 6–13; Chén Wěi 2000a, 2003, 173–207.

[24] For the photographs of the strips, see Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 50–66; for the reconstruction see ibid., 177–185.

Scholars came up with far more interventions for the last twenty-one or twenty-two strips. These proposals included the insertion of some strips at the head of the lower part of the "Xìng zì mìng chū", which by now have been identified as belonging to another text, the "Lìu dé" 六德 (Six Virtues).[25]After the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was made public, Liáo Míngchūn 廖名春 was probably the first to defend the arrangement of bamboo strips as originally suggested by the editors of the Húběi Province Museum.[26]

Text Division and Overall Organisation

The question of whether the "Xìng zì mìng chū" should be considered as one integral text or be divided into two or maybe even three individual texts is also an issue of fierce dispute.[27] Objections to viewing the "Xìng zì mìng chū" as one integral text are mainly based on three interconnected considerations.

The first objection derives from the fact that different parts of the text dwell on different subjects. Based on this, Lǐ Xuéqín 李學勤, as representative of the proponents who regard the "Xìng zì mìng chū" as two different texts,[28] divides it after strip *x*36. According to Lǐ, the former half of what modern editors call the "Xìng zì mìng chū" (strips *x*1–36)[29] mainly deals with the effect of music on moral cultivation. He proposes to call this part "Discourse on Music", or "Yuè shuō" 樂說. The latter part of the text (strips *x*37–end) mainly discusses unshaped human feelings (*qíng* 情). He calls it accordingly "Human Nature and Unshaped Feelings", or "Xìng qíng" 性情.[30]

Advocates of the idea that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" should be divided into two texts find further confirmation from physical features of the manuscript, as it displays dissimilar characteristics in its calligraphy. Lǐ Tiānhóng 李天虹 notes that the two parts (*x*1–35 and *x*37–67) as distinguished by Lǐ Xuéqín are written in two different hands.[31] As Lǐ

[25] Chén Wěi (2000a, see esp. 65–66) proposed placing the initial five strips of the Guōdiàn One "Liù dé" 六德 at the top of the second part of the "Xìng zì mìng chū".
[26] See Liáo Míngchūn 2000a.
[27] See Lǐ Xuéqín 1999b; Lǐ Tiānhóng 2003; Guō Yí 2004.
[28] See Lǐ Xuéqín 1999b.
[29] Lǐ Xuéqín interchanges the sequence of strips and so considers *x*35 as closing this unit.
[30] See Lǐ Xuéqín 1999b, 23, 27.
[31] See Lǐ Tiānhóng 2003, 11–12.

Tiānhóng observes, the style of the graphs on strips *x*1–35 is rather crude. The graphs are written at some distance from each other, resulting in a far lower number of graphs per strip in *x*1–35. Lǐ Tiānhóng counts twenty to twenty-five per strip. The characters on the bamboo strips subsequent to strip *x*36 are much finer in style and written less far apart. Accordingly, the latter thirty-one strips of the manuscript have, on average, twenty-four to thirty graphs each (on unbroken strips). Lǐ concludes from this that the two parts were not only copied by different hands but also fixed on bamboo at different times. As a result, Lǐ contends that they should be considered different texts.

The assumption that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" should be divided into two individual texts seems to be further corroborated by the fact that the two strips *x*35 and *x*67—the two strips are considered the final strips of the units described by Lǐ Tiānhóng and Lǐ Xuéqín—carry the so-called tadpole symbol ( ). In the Guōdiàn One corpus, this symbol is also seen on the final strips of the manuscripts now called "Lǎozǐ A"[32] and "Chéng zhī wén zhī".[33] Not much is known about the early practice of interpunctuation,[34] but it seems that this mark signals the end of a self-contained text (or unit). Just as is seen in the other manuscripts, the two strips of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" that carry the tadpole symbol bear no further writing after this marking. About half of each strip is left blank.

Despite such indications for the division into two individual texts, the idea of a partition soon met with strong reservations. First of all, in an influential article published in 2000, Liáo Míngchūn noticed a third marking in the Guōdiàn One manuscript.[35] Squeezed at the very end of strip *x*49, there is another mark ( ), which, however, is no longer clearly visible. Liáo interprets this as a further instance of the tadpole symbol, except that this one is much smaller, probably because there was not much room left on the strip to make the mark.

The publication of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" in 2001 corroborated Liáo's observation to a remarkable extent.[36] Strip *xq*40 of the Shànghǎi manuscript, which closely corresponds to strip *x*49 of the

[32] On strip *a*32 and on strip *a*39.
[33] On strip *ch*40.
[34] See, however, Guǎn Xīhuá 2002. See also Richter, forthcoming.
[35] Liáo Míngchūn 2000a, 19.
[36] For the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", see Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:69–115 (for the photos of the strips), 217–301 (for transcription and commentaries).

Guōdiàn bamboo-strip text, also carries a tadpole symbol. As in the "Xìng zì mìng chū", the mark follows the exclamation "[this] truly is the case" (信矣). After this, the strip of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" carries no further graphs. Nearly the entire strip is left blank. But in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" this exclamation appears on the final strip of the manuscript, closing the account of human nature; in the Guōdiàn One manuscript, it appears right before the latter third of the text. The fact that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" corresponds so closely with the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" suggests the two units that I tentatively call the 'core text' and its 'application' indeed belong together and should not be regarded as two individual texts—at least at this stage of textual development. Hence, the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" contains three marks of division (the tadpole symbol, seen on strips *x*35, *x*49, *x*67), suggesting that it has been organised into three distinct parts. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" confirms two of these marks. Following what corresponds to the core text of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" carries a big square mark (▮) that occupies the entire width of this particular bamboo strip (*xq*21). This seems to confirm the division of the materials into core text and its application. Moreover, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" also confirms the demarcation after the exclamation "this truly is the case" from the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū"—except that in the Shànghǎi manuscript the exclamation signals the end of the entire text, whereas it appears in the latter third of the Guōdiàn One manuscript. Both texts use the tadpole symbol here.[37]

The similarities between the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" are striking. The differences between these texts simply exemplify what happens writing down a fully developed and coherent philosophy—here on the conflict between human nature and the phenomenological world—in two independent (!) instances. I will take this up in more detail below.

The remarkable physical similarity of the two manuscripts (e.g., the analogous use of punctuation marks) has at least two more implications. To begin with, the analogous use of the tadpole symbol in two individual copies suggests that it does not necessarily signal the end of

[37] As far as I am aware, Guō Yí (2004) is the only scholar who still defends the partition of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" (and likewise the "Xìng qíng lùn") into two individual texts. For a critique of his views, see my discussion below.

a text. It seems more probable to assume that it indicates the end of a self-contained textual unit within a coherent text. The analogous use of markings in the texts further suggests that the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" (and also the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") should not be divided into smaller individual texts. Accordingly, each manifestation should rather be understood as one text composed of different parts, and these parts were marked off accordingly. Whether these parts may also have circulated individually, or whether they existed only in combination with one another, as Chén Wěi 陳偉 poses the question,[38] cannot be answered with certainty at this point. Furthermore, the overlap of formal markings in two individual manifestations of a text strongly suggests that what modern editors call the "Xìng zì mìng chū" (or the "Xìng qíng lùn") was a fairly stable text and had been in circulation in written form by the time that Guōdiàn One was closed. As will be discussed below, the scribes of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" must have copied these markings separately from a third, written source text (*Vorlage*).[39]

Two Manifestations of the Treatise on Human Nature and Feelings

Based on the similarity of the two texts, I hold that the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" represent two independent instances of writing down one consistent theory of human nature and human 'unshaped' feelings.[40]

The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" is badly preserved. The remaining text is written on about forty bamboo strips.[41] These were cut evenly at both ends. Of these strips, only seven have remained intact.[42] Intact strips carry between thirty-one and thirty-four characters, many of

[38] See Chén Wěi 2003, 176.

[39] '*Vorlage*' is a well-established term in biblical studies, where it commonly refers to a written model or source text for a new manifestation of that text. *Vorlage* as used here should not be misunderstood as a master copy of a text, or urtext.

[40] Just like the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" bore no title. Their present appellations have been chosen by modern editors. Virtually nothing is known about their original designations.

[41] Five strip fragments that have not yet been clearly identified probably belonged to the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[42] Strips *xq*1, *xq*8, *xq*9, *xq*10, *xq*20, *xq*24, and *xq*28.

which are faded. The exception is the initial strip, *xq*1. It has been inscribed with forty-one characters.

Intact bamboo strips of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" are circa 57 centimetres in length and so substantially longer than those of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū". In fact, they are the longest of the entire Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts. That the two manifestations of this text had been fixed on strips of dissimilar length once more corroborates my contention that the physical length of the bamboo strips that constitute a Warring States manuscript does not reflect the status of the text it carries. There were no unified standards for the length of the bamboo strips used for texts during the Warring States. Accordingly, we should be cautious when inferring sociopolitical standing of Warring States manuscripts only on the basis of their material properties.

Comparing the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" with the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", we observe two things. I have already mentioned the extraordinary consistency of the two texts: except for a few sentences that occur only in the Guōdiàn One manuscript, the phraseology of the two texts is very similar. Moreover, the first thirty-five strips of the two texts share virtually the same organisation. This correspondence, however, substantially diminishes in the second half of the texts.

Because we now possess two largely analogous instantiations of the same theory of human nature and moral self-cultivation, issues concerning the overall organisation of the text can be clarified—especially since the Shànghǎi strips are considerably longer than those of the "Xìng zì mìng chū", and thus, the sentences with which they end differ from the sentences that end the Guōdiàn One strips. Some scholars even go so far as to hold that the Shànghǎi manuscript resolves all matters of textual organisation.[43] Sadly, this is not the case.

Even though the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" provides evidence for some strip clusters in the "Xìng zì mìng chū", we still have to explain why the individual building blocks by and large remain stable in the two instantiations of the text whereas the overall sequence of some of these differs strikingly.[44] This is especially noteworthy since the "Xìng

[43] As articulated lately by Liáo Míngchūn (2000a).

[44] Stable clusters of strips are as follows. The text recorded on strips *x*1–33 from the "Xìng zì mìng chū" largely corresponds to that on strips *xq*1–21 from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". The text on strips *x*36–49 largely covers *xq*32–41 from the Shànghǎi manuscript. The text on strips *x*50–59 largely corresponds to that on *xq*21–28; the texton strips *x*59–62 by and large overlaps with that on *xq*30–32; the text on strips

zì mìng chū" and "Xìng qíng lùn" correspond so closely in their formal makeup. Briefly, the second half of the two texts (*x*36–67 of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū") consists of two larger corresponding text sequences. However, they are located at different places in the two texts. The first sequence contains units 1–3 from the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", but it appears much later in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (it appears there as units 7–9). The second corresponding sequence consists of units 5–8 from the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū". It appears as units 3–6 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". Units 4 and 9 from the Guōdiàn One manifestation constitute one stable cluster in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".[45]

Thought and Contents

Two basic assumptions guide the discussion of human nature and the phenomenal world. First, the "Xìng zì mìng chū"[46] states on the initial strip that it is the common feature of men to have a 'human nature',

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*x*62–67 corresponds to that on *xq*28–30. Moreover, the clusters on strips *x*63–65 and *x*65–66 can also be confirmed from the Shànghǎi manuscript, although the phraseology of the two is not the closest match (see also Liáo Míngchūn 2000b, esp. 15ff.). Chén Wěi (2000a, 64ff.) suggested inserting the initial five strips from what has now been identified as an independent text labelled "Liù dé" (Six Virtues) at the head of the second half of the "Xìng zì mìng chū". The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" did not substantiate this idea. That the Shànghǎi manuscript does not contain these materials clearly does not prove that they were also missing from the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū". But it provides strong evidence against the assertion that they were, and Chén corrected his earlier assumption in a later publication (Chén Wěi 2003, 96).

[45] The following table might help to visualise this different arrangements of the second halves of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and of the "Xìng qíng lùn":

Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū"	Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"
1. [x36]凡學者求其心爲難	▌1. 凡人情爲可悅也
2. 凡用心之躁者	2. 凡身欲靜而勿動用心欲德而
3. 凡人僞爲可惡也	3. 凡悅人勿吝也
4. [x50]凡人情爲可悅也	4. 凡交毋烈
5. 凡悅人勿吝也	5. 凡於道路毋思
6. 凡交毋（？）	6. 凡憂惓之事欲任 ▌
7. 凡於（登?）毋愄（畏?）	7. 凡學者求其心…▌
8.[x62]凡憂患之事欲任	8. 凡用心之躁者…▌
9. (喜?) 欲智而無末	9. 凡人僞爲可惡也

[46] Unless stated otherwise, in the following discussion I refer to both texts when mentioning the "Xìng zì mìng chū".

called *xìng* 性. Second, the proposition that human nature is universal is defended. This is put as follows:

> Generally speaking, even though all humans have a nature, they have no settled will in their minds.
>
> 凡人雖有性心無奠志[47]

and

> Human nature is one within the four seas, [yet] in the application of mind each man differs.
>
> 四海之內其性一也其用心各異[48]

For the authors the origin of human nature is undisputed:

> Human nature is brought forth by decree; decree [in turn] *x3* is sent down from Heaven.
>
> 性自命出命*x3*自天降[49]

The authors do not attempt to justify this belief. The "Xìng zì mìng chū" connects to a larger discourse in which the idea that humankind shares a universal nature, which each individual receives from Heaven, enjoys unanimous consent.

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" points out an inconsistency between human nature and human conduct. Even though humans share a common—heavenly endowed—disposition, people realise different degrees of moral cultivation. This obviously is a problem, if not a contradiction, and so features as a pivotal concern of the text. If the primary supposition of the text is true and humankind shares a common humanity, then the implicit question is, how can it be that individuals realise different degrees of moral cultivation (or even lack it entirely)? This uncertainty is nowhere mentioned explicitly. However, it triggers the authors' efforts and underlies the entire discussion of the treatise.

When comparing this uncertainty with the impulse of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", a significant overlap between the two becomes obvious. The motive of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" lies in the fact that despite his degree of moral cultivation, man nevertheless faces an uncertain fate as decided by Heaven. He remains a mere plaything of Heaven's will. But man

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[47] Strip *x*1/1–9.
[48] Strip *x*9/6–19.
[49] Strips *x*2/20–*x*3/3.

can overcome this vulnerability by making the cultivation of moral force—or virtue—(*dé* 德) his only concern and so create a realm in which his own virtue is all that matters to him. In this autonomous sphere of the individual, he no longer depends on Heaven's goodwill.

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" deals with the same problem but approaches it from the opposite side. What drives the "Xìng zì mìng chū" is not the uncertain end of the individual as decided by Heaven and regardless of his morality but the fact that all men start off with the same potential—a universal nature endowed by Heaven—and yet develop so differently. Accordingly, there must exist an intermediate stage between people's common humanity and their later development. This intermediate stage bears a close resemblance to the autonomous sphere of the individual as detailed in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí". It is an area in which Heaven has no direct control over man. Only man himself (or the environment he creates) sets the course for moral cultivation. This self-sufficient room for moral cultivation is the focus of investigation of the "Xìng zì mìng chū".

A Theory of Moral Cultivation

A human being's mind (*xīn* 心) has a will (*zhì* 志), so the authors of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" say. But in accordance with the development of human nature, the will is not predetermined.[50] Alien factors such as the phenomenological world of 'things' (*wù* 物), 'delight' (*yuè* 悅), and 'practice' (*xí* 習) are responsible for shaping the will of the mind.

The will of the mind (*xīnzhì* 心志) determines human nature.[51] Accordingly, self-cultivation inevitably starts with the cultivation of human will. This calls for the social environment to be improved. The fundamental nature of a goose is to "stretch its neck" and that of an ox is to "grow big", the "Xìng zì mìng chū" points out.[52] The individual, in contrast, responds to his (social) environment.[53] The key here is

[50] See strip *x*1.

[51] See strip *x*6. [猶人之]雖有性，心弗取，不出 "{*This is just like*} even though {*humans*} have a nature, if [their] minds fail to accept it, it will not be manifested".

[52] Strip *x*7/11 to end states: 牛生而長；鴈生而伸。其性□□□ [使然…] "After the ox is born, it grows [big]; after the goose is born, it stretches [its neck]. Their nature {*causes them to be like this…*}".

[53] The text states: "Emotions such as rejoicing (*xǐ* 喜), anger (*nù* 怒), grief (*aī* 哀), and sadness (*beī* 悲) are human nature". Yet "when it comes to them appearing on

education, in which the "Odes", the "Documents", rituals, and music play vital roles. The "Xìng zì mìng chū" thus allocates an educational role to society in shaping the human mind and recognises the impact of culture on individuals' education.

That the text puts forward the idea that the will of the mind closely relies on stimuli that it receives from the phenomenological world may suggest that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" defends the view that human nature equals a blank slate.[54] Depending on how he is inscribed, man will develop. But this is not the case. As noted, the text asserts that human nature derives from Heaven.[55] The *dào* 道, which in the "Xìng zì mìng chū" clearly is a concept that transcends the phenomenological world and has the flavour of a true ethical code, nevertheless originates with the unshaped feelings of the individual. These are, in turn, part of his nature.[56] Thus, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" describes an integrated relationship of human feelings, true ethical code, and human nature. In this model, the unshaped feelings, which stimulate the *dào*, are an integral element of man. Pursuing this line of thought to its logical conclusion, the true ethical code must already be part of man. It needs only to be activated. This, then, is why man can respond to the positive stimulus of education. He is attracted by sincerity as expressed in the resources of culture, such as the "Odes", the "Documents", rites, and—in particular—music. It is against this background that the notion continued on that same bamboo strip can be fully appreciated. "In the beginning [the *dào* 道] approximates unshaped feelings; in the end [it] approximates rightness".[57] This implies that the true ethical code (*dào*) which lies within man proceeds without disruption from unshaped feelings—or the initial (raw) disposition of human nature—to rightness. As Erica Brindley rightly states, "this suggests wholesome, organic change that does not violate human nature".[58] Thus, "{*he who*} understands {*unshaped feelings can*}[x4] let them out; he who understands rightness can internalise it".[59] In other words, once the individual understands that unshaped feelings are the incentive to

the outside, it is due to the things [in the world] having brought this about" 喜怒哀悲之氣，性也。及其見於外，則物取之也 (strip *x*2/2–19).

[54] See also Brindley 2006, 21.

[55] 性自命出；命[x3]自天降 (strips *x*2/20–*x*3/3).

[56] 道始於情；[情]生於性 (strip *x*3/4–10).

[57] 始者近情；終者近義 (strip *x*3/11–18).

[58] See Brindley 2006, 23.

[59] 知 □□□ [情者能] [x4]出之，知義者能納之† (strips *x*3/19–4/8).

moral cultivation—and so an intrinsic element of the true ethical code (*dào*), which is in turn an integral part of man himself—he can allow the full expression of his unshaped feelings without fearing transgression.[60] And likewise, only he who understands that rightness is a logical position of the true ethical code, which is in turn an integral part of the individual self, can internalise it. Rightness, accordingly, is no longer alien to the individual. Conversely, it becomes an intrinsic part of him—just like the *dào*.[61] Thus, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" claims that the everlasting (or repeated) practice of a virtue leads to the embodiment of its spirit.

In sum, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" draws a picture in which man is not intrinsically good. But he does have an innate affinity for the good. Hence, like the *Mèngzǐ* and the *Xúnzǐ*, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" does not have a static concept of human nature. It is precisely due to his affinity for the good that the moral cultivation of man is possible in the long run.

Because the true ethical code (*dào*) lies within man himself, he tends to respond to sincere feelings, not to artifice.[62] Sincerity, in turn, is an important constituent of culture, especially of music. These resources of a Warring States élite culture are necessary tools for the cultivation of man. Educating the individual with these will influence him and finally shape his mind. Accordingly, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" implicitly claims that the practice of a certain behaviour leads to the internalisation of its spirit. Similar to the habitus described by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the steady influence of positive information that intrudes into the mind will necessarily lead to its internalisation. To have internalised the spirit of "Odes", "Documents", rites, and music (and education in general) thus marks the final stage in the cultivation of man.

[60] Compare this notion with Kǒngzǐ's renowned statement: 吾十有五而志於學；三十而立；四十而不惑；五十而知天命；六十而耳順；七十而從心所欲不踰矩 "At the age of fifteen, I set [my mind] upon learning; at the age of thirty, I took my stance; at the age of forty, I was no [longer] uncertain; at the age of fifty, I knew the heavenly decree; at the age of sixty, my ears were compliant; at the age of seventy, I could follow what my mind desires without transgressing the right proportions" (*Lúnyǔ*, 2:4).

[61] Note that the stress here is on *zhī* 知, 'to understand', which is an important concept also in the "Wǔ xíng".

[62] 求其心有僞也，弗得之矣 "If seeking the [right] mind has something artificial to it, one will fall short of obtaining it" (strip *x*37/13–18).

Structure and Thought

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" is patterned by the recurrent use of the particle *fán* 凡. It summarises general knowledge on the basis of which a new idea can be introduced. In this context, it should be translated as 'in sum', 'as a rule', or 'generally speaking'. Each unit introduced by this particle can be regarded as one pericope.[63]

The texts contain twenty pericopes.[64] Canto 1 (strips *x*1–35 of the "Xìng zì mìng chū"; strips *xq*1–21 of the "Xìng qíng lùn") is made up of twelve pericopes (1–12). Only pericope 3 does not appear in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". But this loss has nothing to do with a structural instability of the text. It results from the physically poor condition of the Shànghǎi manuscript.[65]

In both manifestations, the sequence of pericopes 1–12 is stable.[66] This stability even extends to the phraseology, which is highly consistent throughout canto 1. Slight differences between the two manuscripts remain only on the level of writing forms.[67] In most cases,

[63] In many cases, the length of a pericope in these texts equals that of a building block.

[64] Lǐ Líng (1999, 505) splits up pericope 8 into two units (8 and 9), even though the particle *fán* 凡 indicates that this is one unit (he thus counts twenty-one units overall). He later revokes this suggestion (see Lǐ Líng 2002, 106). The consistency of this unit is further corroborated by the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (see strip *xq*8). It should be noted in this context that the two texts also contain some pericopes in which every single statement is preceded by the particle *fán*. These instances do not indicate individual pericopes but exclamations of special importance. The texts also contain some pericopes in which the new idea precedes the particle *fán*. I refer to these units below.

[65] Following pericope 2 (on strip *xq*3 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") is the latter part of pericope 4 (on strip *xq*4 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"). All in all some sixty-six graphs are missing from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn": about forty-two graphs for pericope 3 and about twenty-four graphs for pericope 4. Given the average number of graphs with which the Shànghǎi strips are inscribed (between thirty-one and thirty-four each), these absences can be explained by the loss of two entire bamboo strips in the Shànghǎi manuscript. The loss of the pericope thus results from the poor condition of the Shànghǎi manuscript, not from a corruption of the text itself.

[66] Sentences missing in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (in pericopes 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12) do not reflect a corruption of the text but the preservation of the manuscript, that is, broken bamboo strips.

[67] Examples for this are as follows. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" at times writes *shēng* 生 (OC *sreŋ) where the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" writes *xìng* 性 (OC *seŋ-s) (e.g., in pericope 1). At times, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds the signific 心 to graphs, not present in the Guōdiàn One manuscript (e.g., characters *jiāo* 交 and *lì* 厲 in pericope 5). Also, the two manuscripts display structural differences in the writing of the character *dào* 道 and the Shànghǎi manuscript uses *zhèng* 正 (OC

however, the dissimilarities between the two manuscripts reflect what Martin Kern would term a stable phraseology in relatively unstable writing,[68] with the exception of only a few words.[69] Also, at times the character *yě* 也 is omitted in either of the two texts.[70] Despite these differences, canto 1 of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" is a highly stable entity.

Of this long unit, the latter part of pericope 12—all in all, thirty characters—is missing from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". Following the last statement of that row, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" continues with what is pericope 16 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript. This loss cannot be explained by the poor preservation of the Shànghǎi manuscript, because the next unit of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" continues on that very same strip—strip *xq*21—and the tail of this strip is well preserved. The missing fragment of the Shànghǎi text equals two building blocks of the Guōdiàn One text.

In the Guōdiàn One manuscript, many words (graphs) are given expression only through signs for repetition of the previous graph. This is a common feature of argumentative chains in excavated manuscripts. By implication, even though the *text* of these units is appreciably longer, only thirty characters are missing in the Shànghǎi manuscript. This might equal the length of one bamboo strip of another (third) text. Proponents of the theory that a written text featured as *Vorlage* for the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" might therefore explain this loss with a "slip of the eye" by the scribe, who might simply have forgotten to copy the entire last bamboo strip of canto 1 of that imagined source text. Or they might postulate a corruption in that *Vorlage* itself. Advocates of the theory that the text was transmitted orally, in contrast, have to explain this loss by postulating the instability of text transmission in oral environments. I take this up further below.

The differences in the two manifestations of canto 1 can be summarised as follows. First, despite its overall (structural) stability, some

*teŋ-s) 'upright' where the Guōdiàn One manuscript has *dìng* 奠 (OC *m-tˤe[n]-s) 'to determine' (or *m-tˤeŋ-s 'set forth') (pericope 1).

[68] In his approach to the "Odes", Kern (2005a) talks about a verbally highly coherent text which was as stable in its phraseology as it was unstable in its writing.

[69] One example for this is the use of the character *yòu* 囿 (OC *[ɢ]ʷ]ək or *[ɢ]ʷ]ək-s) in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" where the Guōdiàn One version has *kuài* 快 (OC *kˤʷʰre[t]-s; or maybe even OC *kˤʷʰra[t]-s) (in pericope 7).

[70] For instance, in pericope 7 the Guōdiàn One version reads 道者，群物之道; the Shànghǎi manuscript most likely reads 道也[者，群物之道].

differences apply to the level of scribal idiosyncrasies. Most of these differences fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components.[71] This can be explained. When producing a new copy of a written manuscript, the scribe worked from the sound he heard, not from the graph he saw. By analogy to early European manuscript production, it can be assumed reasonably safely that a scribe dictated the text to himself even when he had a written *Vorlage* at hand. As a result, when producing a new copy, the scribe would not write the *graph he saw* but would write the *sound he heard*. Differences in the lexicon may be explained accordingly. Just as in the European Middle Ages and antiquity, the process of reading in early China can be described as primarily "oral reading".[72] That means that the auditory component of the word had to be established so as to catch its meaning. Jean Leclercq (1911–1993) has called this "hearing the voices of the pages".[73]

Second, short text passages are omitted here and there in the manuscripts. Not all of these correspond to the length of a bamboo strip of either of the two manuscripts. This shows that neither of the two manuscripts could have served as *Vorlage* for the other, and so it can be ruled out that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was copied from the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", and vice versa. By implication, canto 1 of the two manifestations must have been transmitted orally—and thus independently of each other. Or it was copied from an imagined third source text, which, however, should not be mistaken for the urtext or *Urschrift* of the "Xìng zì mìng chū". In any case, as canto 1 of the two manifestations shows, the two manuscripts must be con-

[71] In general, the criteria for phonetic similarity for loan characters and phonetic components in Old Chinese are as follows. (1) The main vowel should be the same. (2) The coda should be the same. (3) Initials should have the same *position* of articulation (but not necessarily the same *manner* of articulation). (4) One may be A-type; one may be B-type. (5) One may have *-r- and the other not. (6) The 'tone' category can be different (i.e., final *ʔ and final *-s can be ignored). These rules are sometimes relaxed, as evidenced, for example, by *páng zhuǎn* 旁轉 phenomena, in which open and closed syllables are substituted for each other.

[72] See, however, the discussion in Behr and Führer 2005.

[73] See Leclercq 1961, 18–19; also for the quotation "oral reading". On the early scribal custom of dictating to oneself the text one saw and thus recording the sound heard rather than the graph seen, see also Illich 1991 (esp. ch. 4). Michael Clanchy (1979, 218) points to the same observation in his description of medieval writing. He mentions the eleventh-century clerk Eadmer of Canterbury, who thought of composing in writing as "dictating to himself".

sidered individual (!) instantiations of writing down a highly coherent predecessor.

Subsequent to canto 1, the striking analogy of the two texts breaks down, even though the second half of the texts still shows some stable text clusters. These are pericopes 13–15 (i.e., pericopes 19–21 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") and pericopes 17–20 (i.e., pericopes 15–18 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"). The former cluster of pericopes can be considered a subcanto, connecting directly to canto 1 in the Guōdiàn One manuscript. In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", this unit appears at the very end and so closes the discussion of human nature. Except for some minor dissimilarities, the phraseology of this subcanto proves largely stable in both manifestations of the text. In most cases, the graphs used differently fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity of loan characters and phonetic components in Old Chinese.[74] Only occasionally a missing character has to be explained in some other way than by blaming it on the poor preservation of the bamboo strips of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".[75] But, compared to canto 1, this unit shows a stronger tendency towards idiosyncrasies, and these idiosyncrasies cannot be explained only on phonological

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[74] At times the signific 'heart' 心 is added to characters in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" where it does not appear in the Guōdiàn One text, and vice versa. See, for instance, the character *dǔ* 篤 () (*x*39/11: pericope 13) of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", to which the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds the signific 'heart' at the bottom of the character; the character *zhōng* 忠, to which the Guōdiàn One version—contrary to the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"—always adds the 'heart' signific. Instances such as these correspond to Imre Galambos's (2006) important observation of the relatively stable use of a phonophoric paired with the relatively unstable use of the signific in early Chinese writing. Also, the graph *sào* 喿 (OC *[s]ˤaw-s), read as *zào* 躁 (OC *[ts]ˤaw-s) 'quick-tempered' (pericope 14 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript, strip *x*42/8), is written with the phonophoric *cháo* 巢 (OC *[dz]ˤraw) in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (strip *xq*35/10). The two graphs fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity of loan characters and phonetic components in Old Chinese. In the same pericope, the Guōdiàn One manuscript writes *huàn* 患 () (OC *[g]ˤron-s) (*x*42/18) where the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes a graph consisting of the phonophoric *juǎn* 卷 (OC *[k]ro[n]ʔ) on top of the signific 'heart' 心.

[75] In the second building block of pericope 14 of the Guōdiàn One text (pericope 20 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") there appears such a dissimilarity, which does not result from broken strips. Whereas the "Xìng zì mìng chū" reads 人不難爲之死 "people easily sacrifice themselves for it", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" records only 不[難]爲之死 "*easily* die for it", thus leaving out the word *rén* 'person'. Omissions of this kind can easily be explained as transmission errors. Instead of closing the first building block of pericope 15 (pericope 21 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") by using the particle *yǐ* 矣 as seen in the Guōdiàn One manuscript, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds a big mark on the strip: ▮.

grounds.[76] However, as concluded for canto 1 (pericopes 1–12), the present subcanto can still be considered a verbally coherent unit which was not yet totally stable in writing. Only one instance has to be pointed out where the two manuscripts display a grave dissimilarity. In pericope 13, a unit consisting of, again, thirty characters is missing from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". As above, this absence cannot be explained by referring to the physically bad condition of the bamboo strips of that manuscript.[77] The passage might have been lost in the process of an oral textual transmission. It might have been simply forgotten. Or it might be explained by imagining a scribe who copied a third—now lost—written source text (but certainly not the Guōdiàn One text) when producing the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". The imagined source text must have consisted of bamboo strips carrying about thirty characters each. This would also correspond to the observations described above. The scribe might have skipped one of these strips accidentally when copying his *Vorlage*—or the source text itself was no longer complete.

The last cluster of pericopes that appears partly in both manuscripts (pericope 17 to the first part of pericope 20 in Guōdiàn One; 15–18 in the Shànghǎi manuscript) is framed by pericopes 16 and 21 in the Guōdiàn One manuscript. In the Shànghǎi manifestation, these two pericopes precede pericopes 15–18. Even though this unit also represents a vocally largely stable text, it still contains written idiosyncrasies.

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[76] Examples that cannot be explained on phonological grounds include the word *xué* 學 (OC *m-kˤruk) 'to learn' on strip *x*36/2 in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" (pericope 13) where the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes *jiāo* 𡥈(教) (OC *[k]ˤraw(-s)) 'to teach'. As for the graph *shèn* 慎 (OC *[d]i[n]-s) 'carefully' (pericope 15 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript; pericope 21 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"), the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes a graph consisting of *shí* 十 (OC *[g][i]p) and *yán* 言 (*ŋa[n]). Instead of 𢖳 (仁) (OC *hni[n]) 'benevolence' in pericope 15 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript, the Shànghǎi manuscript writes *lǜ* 慮 (OC *[r]a-s) 'to think; ponder' (*xq*39/18) (pericope 21). Note that in this particular subcanto—as in canto 1—the two texts always write the word *dào* 道 differently. Instead of *shí* 十 (OC *[g][i]p) 'ten' (*w*38/5) in canto 2, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" reads *zhí* 直 (OC *N-trek) (*xq*32/21). Also, there seems to be no phonological connection between the graph *dài* 殆 (OX *lˤəʔ) 'in jeopardy' as used in the Guōdiàn One text (*x*45/21) and graph *xq*37/31 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" ([illegible]) with the phonophoric *jīn* 斤 (OC *[k]ər) (unless 彳 *thek was its phonophoric at a time when laterals were already hardening).

[77] Next to the first three graphs of pericope 13 (pericope 19 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"), a passage consisting of thirty characters is missing in the Shànghǎi manuscript. The unit, which also appears in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", directly continues on the very same bamboo strip, thus ruling out the possibility that the loss reflects a missing—or corrupted—bamboo strip in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

Again, most of these can be explained on phonological grounds.[78] Yet it also contains an appreciable number of peculiarities which cannot be explained by postulating a phonologic similarity in Old Chinese. Lastly, some graphs of this unit are missing in one or the other of the two texts.[79]

Following strip *x*62/11 of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" continues with a passage that is located in a different spot in the Guōdiàn One text, where it differs substantially. The stability of the two texts thus dissolves right in the middle of pericope 20. This is surprising inasmuch as the pericope tends to be a stable unit in argument-based texts. I come back to this below.

It can be considered a general rule that the standardisation of texts is a rather late phenomenon. In ancient times, the transmission of a text over several generations easily led to changes in it. Even if the text transmits a coherent idea or a highly elaborate philosophical system—which would enhance the stability of the account—the text nevertheless is not immune to variation. I have demonstrated this in my discussion of the "Wǔ xíng". The "Xìng zì mìng chū" is no exception of this rule. By implication, changes in a given text do not necessarily imply changes in its philosophy. In detailed studies, Jack Goody[80] and Rosalind Thomas,[81] among many others, illustrate convincingly for the Western context how texts may change over several generations—even in the case of poetry. Martin Kern discusses the complex interaction between the oral and the written text in the Chinese context, confirming

[78] For instance, in pericope 17 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript (pericope 15 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"), the two texts write the character that is identified with *lìn* 吝 (OC *(mə-)rə[n]-s) (*x*59/15; *xq*29/33), consisting of two 'mouth' graphs on top of *wén* 文 (OC *mə[n]). Whereas the Guōdiàn One version adds to it the signific 'heart' at the bottom of the character, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds the signific 'earth' 土; the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes the character *cóng* 從 (*x*59/19; *xq*30/3) 'to follow', consisting of 从 on top of *tǔ* 土; character *x*60/2 is composed of the phonophoric *yǔ* 与 (OC *[l]aʔ) on top of the signific *tǔ* 土 'earth'. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes it as composed of the phonophoric *yǔ* 與 (OC *[l]aʔ) on top of the signific 'earth'. For *huàn* 患 (*[g]ˁro[n]-s) (*x*62/3) in pericope 20 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes a graph consisting of *juǎn* 卷 (*[k]ro[n]ʔ) with the signific 'heart' beneath (*xq*31/22). All these instances fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity of loan characters and phonetic components in Old Chinese.

[79] Instead of *dà hài* 大害 as in the Guōdiàn One manuscript (pericope 19), the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes only *hài* 害. The Shànghǎi bamboo strip is unbroken here.

[80] See Goody 1987.

[81] See Thomas 1992.

(especially for the "Odes") that texts were not yet standardised in ancient times.[82] John van Seters exemplifies the degree of variation of texts in the biblical context, pointing out that the standardisation of the Bible (and other early texts) is a rather late phenomenon. Thus, variation in early texts is the norm. Long sequences that are very similar (not to mention sequences that are entirely the same) are unusual. My analysis of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" reflects this observation. Accordingly, it is not the fact that the two manifestations of the text differ to a certain degree that is puzzling. Instead, what is rather extraordinary and should receive more attention is that long sequences in the two texts that span pericopes are very similar. So the question is not so much "Why do the texts differ?" but rather, "Is it possible to make out formal patterns that could account for the stability of reoccurring clusters in the different manuscripts?"

The Core Text: Canto 1

Canto 1 contains twelve pericopes. Pericopes 2–12 can be grouped into three subcantos, headed by the introductory pericope 1.

Pericope 1: Introduction

1. [x1]凡人雖有性，心無奠志；[A]
待物而後作，
待悅而後行，[B]
待習而後[x2]奠。[C]

喜怒哀悲之氣，性也；[D]
及其見於外，則物取之也。
性自命出，命[x3]自天降；[E]

道始於情，[情]生於性。[F]
始者近情，終者近義。[G]
知 □□□ [情者能][x4]出之，知義者能納之。†[H]

好惡，性也；
所好所惡，物也。[I]
善不 □□□ [善，性也]。†[J]
[x5]所善所不善，勢也。[K]

[82] See Kern 2002.

[x1]Generally speaking, even though all humans have a nature, they have no settled will in their minds.
It requires the things; only thereafter can it rise.
It requires delight; only thereafter can it evolve.
It requires repetitive practice; only thereafter can it [x2]settle.

Emotions such as rejoicing, anger, grief, and sadness are human nature.
When they appear on the outside, then this is caused by the things [in the world].
Human nature is brought forth by decree; decree [in turn] [x3]is sent down from Heaven;

The true ethical code (*dào*) begins with the unshaped feelings; unshaped feelings [in turn] are begotten by human nature.
In the beginning [the true ethical code (*dào*)] approximates the unshaped feelings; in the end [it] approximates rightness.
{*He who*} understands {*the unshaped feelings may*} [x4]manifest them [at the outside]; he who understands rightness may take it in.

To love and to hate is human nature.
That which one loves and hates are the things [in the world].
To be good or not {*good is human nature*}.
[x5]That which one considers good or not good is [determined by] conditional forces.

SubCanto 1

2. 凡性爲主，物取之也：[L]
金石之有聲，□□□□□□□[弗拓不 [x6]鳴]。† [M]
[猶 人之] 雖有性，心弗取，不出。†[N]

Generally speaking, that which becomes the dominating aspect of human nature is caused by the things [in the world]:
"Bronze and stone have a sound", [yet] {*if they are not struck, they will not* [x6]*sing*}.
{*This is just like with humans*}. Even though {*they*} have a nature, if [their] minds fail to accept it, it will not be manifested.

3. 凡心有志也，無與不□ [定]；†
□□□□ [心之不能][x7]獨行，猶口之不可獨言也。†[O]
牛生而長，鴈生而伸；
其性□□□ [使然，人][x8]而學或使之也。†[P]

Generally speaking, mind has a will—[yet] if not nourished, it will not {*be settled*}.
{*That mind cannot*}[x7] evolve on its own is just like the inability of the mouth to speak on its own.
After oxen are born they grow [big]; after geese are born they stretch [their necks].

It is their nature {*which makes them be like this*—as for *humans*,} [x8]in contrast, it is learning that eventually shapes them.

4. 凡物無不異也者；[Q]
   剛之柱也，剛取之也。† [R]
   柔之[x9]約，柔取之也。
   四海之內其性一也，其用心各異，[S]
   教使然也。[T]

   Generally speaking, of the things, there is none that is not different.
   That the hard becomes straight is because hardness takes it up.
   That [x9] the soft becomes flexible is because softness takes it up.
   That human nature is one within the four seas, [yet] in the application of the mind each [man] differs, is something brought forth by education.

SubCanto 2

5. 凡性[x10]或動之，或逆之；[U]
   或交之，或厲之；[V]
   或出之，或養之，
   或長之；

   Generally speaking, as for human nature [x10]there is something that moves it, something that conforms to it;
   Something that interacts with it, something that grinds it;
   Something that makes it manifest [at the outside], something that nourishes it;
   [And] something that makes it grow.

6. 凡動性[x11]者，物也；[W]
   逆性者，悅也；†[X]
   交性者，故也；
   厲性者，義也；
   出性者，勢也；[Y]
   養性[x12]者，習也；[Z]
   長性者，道也。

   Generally speaking, that which moves human nature [x11]are the things [in the world].
   That which conforms to human nature is delight.
   That which interacts with human nature are the causes.
   That which grinds human nature is rightness.
   That which makes human nature manifest [at the outside] are the conditional forces.
   That which nourishes [x12]human nature is repetitive practice.
   That which makes human nature grow is the true ethical code (*dào*).

7. 凡見者之謂物，[Aa]
   快於己者之謂悅。[Ab]
   物[x13]之勢者之謂勢，[Ac]
   有爲也者之謂故。

   義也者，群善之蕝也，
   習也[x14]者，有以習其性也。[Ad]
   道者，群物之道。[Ae]

   Generally speaking, that which can be seen is what we call ‘the things [in the world]’.
   That which generates satisfaction in oneself is what we call ‘delight’.
   That which is the power of [x13] the things is what we call ‘conditional forces’.
   That which makes something happen is what we call ‘causes’.

   ‘Rightness’—this is the status indicator for the [different] groups of goodness.
   ‘Practice’—[x14]this exists for practicing one’s human nature.
   ‘The true ethical code (*dào*)’—this is the Way (*dào*) of the [different] groups of things.

SubCanto 3: Digression

8. 凡道，心術爲主。
   道四術，唯[x15]人道爲可道也。
   其三術者，道之而已。[Af]

   詩、書、禮、樂，[Ag]
   其始出皆生[x16]於人。[Ah]
   詩有爲爲之也；[Ai]
   書有爲言之也；
   禮樂有爲舉之也。[Aj]

   聖人比其[x17]類而論會之，
   觀其之先後而逆順之；[Ak]
   體其義而節文之，[Al]
   理[x18]其情而出納之。
   然後復以教。
   教所以生德於中者也。[Am]

   禮作於情，[x19]或興之也；† [An]
   當事因方而制之，其先後之序則宜道也。†[Ao]
   有?序爲[x20]之節，則 文 也。†
   至(致?)容貌，所以 文節也。

   君子美其情，貴 □□ [其義]，†[Ap]
   [x21]善其節，好其容，[Aq]
   樂其道，悅其教，
   是以敬焉。[Ar]

拜，所以 □□□ [為敬 X][x22]其數文也；†[As]
幣帛，所以爲信與徵也；[At]
其詞宜道也。†[Au]

笑，喜之薄澤也。[Av]
[x23]樂，喜之深澤也。

Generally speaking, as for the true ethical code (*dào*), the skills of the mind are the dominant [features].
The true ethical code (*dào*) diverges into four skills, [but] only [x15] the Way of humans can be followed.[83]
As for the [other] three skills, one can only talk of them.

"Odes", "Documents", rites, and music—in every case their first appearing was given birth by [x16]man.
"Odes" came into being by acting them out.
"Documents" came into being by speaking them.
Rites and music came into being by exalting them.

The sagacious persons [then] juxtaposed them ("Odes"?) according to [x17] their categories, collated and joined them together.
[They] beheld them ("Documents"?) in their temporal sequence to arrange them in their proper sequence.
[They] shaped their (rites?) meaning to regulate and pattern them.
[They] ordered [x18] the feelings [expressed in them (music?)] to be manifested [at the outside] and to be internalised.
Only when this was achieved, did they turn toward teaching.
Teaching is that by which [the sagacious persons] generate moral force (*dé*) in [their] centres.

As for rites, they were created on the basis of unshaped feelings—[x19][but] eventually, they [also] might stimulate them. †
Relying upon methods, according to each case—the proper sequence of what comes first and what comes last thus befitted the Way (*dào*).
Once the proper order of actions was [x20]regulated, they were culturally refined. †
To extend this to one's manner and appearance, that was the reason for cultural refinement and regulations.

[Hence], the gentleman finds beauty in their unshaped feelings and values {*their rightness*}.
[He] [x21] considers their regulation as good and esteems their manners.
[He] finds joy in their true ethical code (*dào*) and delights in their teaching.
Therefore, he shows respect for them.

[83] Cf. this with a line in the received *Lǎozǐ*: 道可道非常道 "The *dào* that can be spoken of is not the constant *dào*" (*Lǎozǐ jiào shì*, 3).

Bending [his hands] {*is how respect for* X *is expressed*}; [x22] the repetition of it is [cultivated] pattern. †
Offering presents of silk is how trustworthiness and evidence are established. †
Declining them [should be done in a way] befitting the true ethical code (*dào*).

Laughter is the shallow march (= surface aspect) of rejoicing.
[x23]Music is the deep march (= the underlying aspect) of rejoicing.

9. 凡聲其出於情也信，然後其入撥人之心也厚。[Aw]
[x24]聞笑聲則鮮，如也斯喜。
聞歌謠則舀，如也斯奮。[Ax]
聽琴瑟之聲[x25]則悸，如也斯嘆。[Ay]
觀<<賚>>、<<武>>則齊，如也斯作。
觀<<韶>>、<<夏>>則勉，如也[x26]斯儉。

詠思而動心，喟如也；[Az]
其居次也久，其反善復始也[x27]慎，[Ba]
其出入也順，始其德也。[Bb]

<<鄭>>、<<衛>>之樂，則非其聲而從之也。[Bc]

Generally speaking, all sounds emanating from unshaped feelings are trustworthy; only when they enter and agitate the heart of man, do they become profound.[84]
[x24][Therefore,] to hear the sound of laughter is precious—when it comes to it, then there will be rejoicing.
To hear the sound of chanted songs is highly gratifying—when it comes to it, one will become elated.
To listen to the sound of lute and zither is [x25] exciting—when it comes to it, one will have to sigh.
[And likewise], to watch the [performance] of the [ritual dances] "Lài" and "Wǔ" [makes one] solemn—when it comes to it, then one will be stirred.[85]
To watch the [performance] of the [ritual dances] "Shāo" and "Xià" is inciting—when it comes to it, [x26]then one will become humble.[86]

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[84] The character *hòu* 厚 'thick' is read as 'profound'.

[85] The "Lài" 賚 (*Máo* 295) and "Wǔ" 武 (*Máo* 285) are part of the "Zhōu hymns" that praise King Wǔ's victory over Shāng. The odes were part of a larger performance that included ritual dances. Accordingly, the passage says 'watching'.

[86] The songs of Shāo and Xià are the music of Shùn 舜 and Dà Xià 大夏 (or Yǔ 禹). They were both performed together with ritual dances. Following Liáo Míngchūn (2002a), the lyrics of the songs also state that Wǔ and Yǔ have their own deficiencies; accordingly, the character *jiǎn* should be read as 'humble', 'modest', or 'self-deprecating'.

When moving the mind by cantillating aloud a thought—the sighing-sound '*wei*' will follow.
It is long that it occupies the second position, [and] when by returning to the good and starting from the beginning one [x27]has to be sincere, †
[and] when by entering and coming out it is compliant—this is something which initiates one's moral force.

The music of Zhèng and Wèi, in contrast, is not of this sound; but one [easily] indulges in it.

10. [x28]凡古樂隆心，益樂隆指；[Bd]
皆教其人者也。
<<賚>>、<<武>>樂取，<<韶>>、<<夏>>樂情。[Be]

Generally speaking, [x28] music of old (= the music of Shùn and Yú) highly exalts one's mind; the latter music [of King Wǔ of Zhōu] exalts one's ambitions.
They are both for educating the people.
[The latter] music [of King Wǔ] "Lài" and "Wǔ" is that of grasping [ambitions]; [the former] music [of Kings Yáo and Shùn] "Shāo and "Xià" is that of unshaped feelings.[87]†

11. [x29]凡至樂必悲，哭亦悲；[88]
皆至其情也。[Bf]
哀、樂其性相近也。[Bg]
是故其心[x30]不遠:

哭之動心也侵殺，其烈戀戀如也，†[Bh]
戚然以終。

樂之動心也[x31]濬深鬱陶，其烈則流如也以悲，
悠然以思。[Bi]

[x29]Generally speaking, most refined music is necessarily sad—crying is also [an expression of being] sad.
They both reach out to their corresponding feelings.
The corresponding natures of grief and joy are close to each other.
It is for this reason that their minds [x30] do not deviate far:

The way in which crying moves the heart is encroaching and shattering—[but in] its blazing fierceness [it] is all-consuming, and one remains grievous till the end.

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[87] See the discussion of these two lines in Liáo Míngchūn 2001, 149–50.

[88] *Zhì* means the high point. *Yuè* could be interpreted as either music or pleasure. However, since the following part clearly talks about waning and grief, *yuè* at this place should be understood as pleasure, the counterpart to grief.

The way in which music moves the heart x31is profound and deep, dense and delightful—[but in] its blazing fierceness [it] is like a steady flow that leads to grief, and one becomes mournful in thoughts. †

12. 凡憂思而後悲；
x32凡樂思而後忻；
凡思之用心爲甚。

歎，思之方也。[Bj]
其聲變，則 □□□□ [心從之矣]。†[Bk]

x33其心變，則其聲亦然：
吟由哀也。[Bl]
噪由樂也。
啾由聲[也]，[Bm]
(口戲)由心也。[Bn]

Generally speaking, to have thoughts of sorrow results in sadness there after.
x32 Generally speaking, to have thoughts of joy results in delightedness thereafter.[89]
Generally speaking, the impact of one's thoughts on the mind is extreme.

Sighing, this is a mode of [expressing] thoughts.

When the sound of it changes, then {*the mind will follow along as well*}.
x33[And] when the mind changes, then the corresponding sound of it also [changes] accordingly:
Sighing proceeds from grief.
Chirping proceeds from joy.
Murmurs proceed from the tones [of music].
Singing out loud proceeds from the mind.

[end of overlap of canto '1']

x34喜斯陶，[Bo]
陶斯奮，
奮斯詠，
詠斯猶，[Bp]
猶斯舞。[Bq]
舞，喜之終也。

[89] In these lines, the particle *fán* does not introduce new pericopes, but it summarises ideas presented above.

慍斯憂，
憂斯戚，
戚[x35]斯歎，
歎斯辟，
辟斯通（踊）。
踊，慍之終也。▐[Br]

[x34] When there is rejoicing, then there will be delight.
When there is delight, then there will be enthusiasm.
When there is enthusiasm, then there will be chanting.
When there is chanting, then there will be waving [of one's hands].
When there is waving [of one's hands], then there will be dancing.
[Hence], dancing is the end result of rejoicing.

When there is exasperation, then there will be sorrow.
When there is sorrow, then there will be grief.
When there is grief, [x35] then there will be sighing.
When there is sighing, then there will be the beating of one's breast.[90]
When there is the beating of one's breast, then there will be jumping up and down [as an expression of one's grief].
[Hence], jumping up and down is the end [result] of being exasperated.

Pericope 1 consists of four building blocks. The first of these announces the distinction between human nature (*xìng* 性) and the mind of the individual (*xīn* 心). The recipient is informed that mind needs the impact of the things [in the world] (*wù* 物)—in this context the overall denotation of the phenomenological world outside the individual—delight (*yuè* 悅), as well as repetitive practice (*xí* 習), so that it can rise (*zuò* 作), evolve (*xíng* 行), and settle (*dìng* 定).[91] The subsequent building blocks substantiate this concept of human nature in its relation to the phenomenological world (物).

The authors of the core text then continue the discussion in the pattern of a distant abc scheme. Each of pericopes 2–4 (subcanto 1) dwells on one of the three entities identified in pericope 1[92] to specify the relationship of human nature (性; pericope 2) and mind (心; pericope 3) with the phenomenological world (物; pericope 4). It may be due to the distant abc scheme that this unit achieves a considerable

[90] For the translation of *pì* 辟 as 'beating one's breast', see the ode "Bó zhōu" 柏舟 (*Máo* 26) 靜言思之，寤辟有標 "in the quietude I brood over it, awake I knock and beat my breast" (Karlgren 1950, 16).
[91] See strips *x*1–2/1 (*xq*1–1/24 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").
[92] See strips *x*5/8–9/22 (*xq*3/17–4/15 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

stability, and it is reasonable to consider it as one subcanto. The subcanto not only discusses the relationship between human nature (性), the mind (心), and the phenomenological world (物) but also presents the different steps the human mind is believed to undergo so as to be determined as described initially in the first building block of the text (to rise, evolve, and finally settle).[93]

Pericope 2 describes the means by which the mind is inspired by the phenomenological world so that it manifests (*chū* 出); this is perhaps equivalent to the notion of taking effect (作) in the introduction. Pericope 3 describes what the mind requires to be stirred to action (行), hence reproducing the second position of the introduction. Lastly, pericope 4 describes how the quality of being hard (or soft) causes something else to be hard (or soft). This possibly functions as allegory to the third statement of the introduction.

Subcanto 2 (pericopes 5–7) establishes text-intern crossreferences. These allow the detailed explanation of concepts introduced earlier on. I have detailed this formal device of establishing a consistent terminology in my discussion of the "Wǔ xíng". Briefly, pericope 6[94] explicates the concepts used in pericope 5.[95] Pericope 7[96] further defines those from pericope 6. Accordingly, the subcanto takes on the pattern of a distant abc scheme, too, only that in this case no tripartite relationship has been established on the horizontal level as in the case above.[97] In its place, a hierarchical relationship of type is highlighted. Again, as in the previous subcanto, the formal structure of this unit introduces a stable subcanto in the two manifestations of the treatise on human nature.

Pericope 8 differs.[98] It is not patterned in a similarly straightforward manner. But this unit is very compelling in its language. Elaborating the last concept discussed above—namely the *dào* 道—it connects smoothly with the previous account. Pericope 8 discusses the educational curriculum of Warring States élite culture, namely "Odes" (*shī* 詩), "Documents" (*shū* 書), rites (*lǐ* 禮), and music (*yuè* 樂).

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93 (待)勿(物)而句(後) (作); (待)兌(悅)而句(後)行; (待)習而句(後)[x2]奠(定).

94 Strips *x*11/22–12/8 (*xq*5/4–6/10 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

95 Strips *x*9/23–10/21 (*xq*4/15–5/3 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

96 Strips *x*12/9–14/13 (*xq*6/11–7/break of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

97 See the previous subcanto (strips *x*5/8–9/22; *xq*3/17–4/14 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

98 Strips *x*14/14–22/18 (*xq*8–13 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

Pericopes 9–12[99] show some similarities to pericope 8. These units dwell on the impact that music and dance have on the individual. As in pericope 8, the style of these units facilitates easy memorisation. But again, it does not contain a straightforward structure. Only here and there are recurring parallelisms or argumentative chains. Pericopes 8–12 appear to be long digressions about élite culture's educational impact on the individual. They are composed in a mature, nearly prosaic style of writing.

The Application of the Theory: Canto 2

Canto 2 contains two clusters of pericopes that remain stable in both manifestations of the text: pericopes 13–15 (19–21 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") and pericopes 17 to the first part of 20 (or 15–18 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

13. *x*36凡學者求其心爲難，[Bs]
從其所爲，近得之矣;
不如以樂之速也。
*x*37雖能其事，不能其心; 不貴。

求其心有僞也，弗得之矣。[Bt]
人之不能以僞也，*x*38可知也。[Bu]
[不] 過十舉，其心必在焉。† [Bv]
察其見者，情焉失哉？[Bw]

恕義之方也。†[Bx]
*x*39義，敬之方也。[By]
敬，物之節也。

篤，仁之方也。[Bz]
仁，性之方也，
性或生之。

忠，信*x*40之方也。
信，情之方也。
情出於性。[Ca]

愛類七，唯性愛爲近仁。[Cb]
智類五，唯*x*41義道爲近忠。[Cc]

[99] Strips *x*22/19–34 (*xq*14–21/12 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

惡類三，唯惡不仁爲近義。
所爲道者四，唯人道爲[x42]可道也。[Cd]

[x36]Generally speaking, whenever one learns, to seek for the [right] mind is difficult; by following what is brought about by it, one will already have come close to obtaining the [right] mind.
But this is not as good as inviting [the right mind] with music.
[x37]Even if one were capable in one's tasks, if one were unable in one's mind, this was not to be honoured.

If seeking the [right] mind has something artificial to it, one will fall short of obtaining it.
That humans cannot employ artificial means [for seeking the right mind] [x38] is something that can be ascertained.
Before having tried ten times, one's mind will necessarily be exposed through it. †
When investigating what can be seen of it, how could one possibly miss the unshaped feelings?

To be fair is a mode of rightness.
[x39]Rightness is a mode of respect.
Respect is the regulation of the things [in the world].

Genuineness is a mode of benevolence.
Benevolence is a mode of human nature.
Human nature is what eventually gives birth to it (i.e., benevolence).

Fidelity (*zhōng*) is a mode of trustworthiness (*xìn*).
Trustworthiness is a mode of unshaped feelings.
Unshaped feelings originate from human nature.

Of the categories of love there are seven—[yet] only the love of human nature is close to benevolence.
Of the categories of wisdom there are five—[yet] only [x41] the Way (*dào*) of rightness is close to fidelity.
Of the categories of hate there are three—[yet] only the hate of the non humane is close to rightness.
[Finally], what constitutes the true ethical code (*dào*) is fourfold—[yet] only the Way (*dào*) of humans[x42]can be followed.

14. 凡用心之躁者，思爲甚。[Ce]
用智之疾者，患爲甚。[Cf]
用情之[x43]至者，哀樂爲甚。[Cg]
用身之弁者，悅爲甚。[Ch]
用力之盡者，利爲甚。[Ci]

目之好[x44]色，耳之樂聲，[Cj]
鬱陶之氣也，人不難爲之死。[Ck]

有其爲人之節節如也，[Cl]
[x45]不有夫簡簡之心，則彩。[Cm]
有其爲人之簡簡如也，
不有夫恆殆之志, 則漫。[Cn]

人之巧[x46]言利辭者，
不有夫拙拙之心，則流。[100][Co]

人之悅然可與和安者，[Cp]
不有夫奮[x47]作之情，則瞀 。†[Cq]

有其爲人之快如也，弗牧不可。[Cr]
有其爲人之淵如也，[x48]弗補不足。†[Cs]

Generally speaking, impatience in the application of mind will be accompanied by excessive thinking.
Haste in the application of knowledge will be accompanied by excessive worries.
Extremes in the application of unshaped feelings [x43] will be accompanied by excessive grief and pleasure.
Privileging the role of the body will be accompanied by excessive [seeking for] pleasure.
The exhausting application of strength will be accompanied by excessive [seeking for] profit.

The eye's affection for [x44] female beauty, and the ear's joy in sounds, these are the airs of pent-up delightedness—man would easily die for them.
If in one's comportment as a human being one is acting as very restrained [x45] but does not in fact have a very simple mind, then this is [only] ornamentation.
[And] if it happens that in the very simple comportment as a human being one does not in fact intend to make the perennial endangerment nonexistent, then this is boundless.

As for a man's skilful [x46] words and advantageous speeches, if one does not [also] have a very unornamented mind, then this will be ephemeral.

As for a man's state of being delighted about getting along and being comfortable with himself, if this is not actually coupled to the [x47] unshaped feelings of striving to create, then it will be delusion.

If it happens that in one's comportment as a human being one acts as if satisfied, failing to be taken care of is impermissible.
If it happens that in one's comportment as a human being one acts as if recondite, [x48]failing to be corrected will not suffice.

[100] *Liú* 流 functions as a loan for *fú* 浮.

15. 凡人僞爲可惡也。[Ct]
僞斯吝矣，
吝斯慮矣，[Cu]
慮斯莫與之[x49]結矣。[Cv]

愼，仁之方也，然而其過不惡。[Cw]
速，謀之方也，有過則咎。[Cx]
人不愼，斯有過，信矣。▊[Cy]

Generally speaking, a human's artificial activities are hateful.
When one is artificial, then one is bound to regret it.
When one regrets, then one is bound to be cunning.
When one is cunning, no one will have [friendly] [x49] relations with you.

Caution, [in contrast], is a mode of benevolence—yet if it is flawed, one will not be hated.
Hastiness, [however], is a mode of contrivance—if it has flaws, one will be blamed.
It is truly the case that if men are not cautious, flaws are bound to occur.

[strips *x*50 through *x*59/9][Cz]

17. 凡悅人勿吝也，[Da]
身必從之，
言及則[x60]明；
舉之而毋僞。[Db]

Generally speaking, in delighting others, one ought not to be petty-minded [towards them]—as a person, one has to go along with them.
When words reach [the things] (i.e., they are to the point), they [x60]are illuminating.
Raise them and be without artificiality!

18. 凡交毋烈，必使有末。†[Dc]

Generally speaking, do not be fierce in relations—it will necessarily lead to triviality.

19. 凡於徵毋畏，毋獨言。†[Dd]
獨[x61]處則習父兄之所樂。[101][De]
苟無大害，少枉入之可也，[102][Df]
已則勿復言也。

Generally speaking, when summoned, be without fear, [but also] do not raise a solitary voice. †
When [x61] dwelling alone, then one should practice what father and elder brother have found pleasure in.

[101] Reading *xí* 習 in the sense of "to follow".
[102] Reading *x*61/10 *wú* 毋 'do not' with *wú* 無 'have no'.

> If only there are no greater calamities, when minor irregularities occur, this can be endured.
> Once they are over, refrain from speaking about them again.

20. [x62]凡憂患之事欲任，樂事欲後。[Dg]
[end of overlap]

> [x62]Generally speaking, concerning affairs of sorrow and calamity, one should wish to tackle them; concerning affairs of joy, one should wish to postpone [them].

The substantial cluster of pericopes 13–15 appears further along in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (19–21).[103] This stretched subcanto contains many declarative sentences ending in *yě* 也, parallel enumerations, and argumentative chains, resulting in compact and straightforward building blocks. Summarising remarks round off many of these rigorously constructed units. Compared with the compact structure of the individual building blocks that constitute this subcanto, the cluster of pericopes itself contains no such rigorous structure. It is surprisingly loose.

The final stable cluster of pericopes—pericopes 17 to the first part of 20 in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū"; 15–18 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"—spans three bamboo strips (as against two and a half in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").[104] The continuous use of the negative *wú* 毋 'do not' is the only recurring element of the pericopes. The consistency of this unit in both manifestations dissolves right in the middle of pericope 20 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript. This is surprising. Pericope 20 continues in the same mode as the passages above and should thus be, at least theoretically, a steady module. The missing part appears at another location in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". But it differs substantially from the one in the Guōdiàn One manifestation of the text.

Proponents of the assumption that the source texts of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" existed only in oral form might want to explain the dissimilarity by the relative fluidity of texts in that period. But to blame the corruption of the passage in question on the instability of spoken texts in contemporary China is a non sequitur and thus not helpful at all, as it would explain virtually nothing—and the same is true if one wanted to explain the dissimilarity by editorial choice. The break

[103] Strips *x*36–*x*49 (*xq*31/31–*xq*40 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").
[104] Strips *x*59/9–62/11 (*xq*29/6–31/30 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

appears in a—structurally—consistent (and thus theoretically stable) unit. My analysis has shown that units of this kind are steady modules. These were the units that were once remembered and so, especially in *oral* texts, were units of high stability. Even if early texts were prone to change in their incessant process of transmission, so that every manifestation of a text naturally differed to some degree from previous or subsequent ones, units of this kind would remain structurally stable entities. This calls for an explanation of the break at this point. In this context it is instructive to take a closer look at the materiality of texts of that period. The passage that is 'displaced' has twenty-nine characters. This is similar to the length of the other gaps in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", which always number around thirty or, when doubled, sixty characters. Given that these gaps appear in theoretically consistent units and given also their uniform character, the differences between the two manuscripts can be explained by assuming that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was copied from a *written Vorlage* that was itself different from the Guōdiàn One manuscript. This source text of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", I presume, was written on bamboo strips carrying circa thirty characters each. The imagined *Vorlage* was in disarray and the strips were rearranged—or even lost—before the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was copied from it.

Conclusion

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" is in many respects an important text (and the same is true for the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"). It is the earliest surviving copy of a detailed analysis of human nature. Without proposing the concept of a "blank slate", its authors devote much attention to the impact of the phenomenological world in shaping the mind of the individual. Mind is identified as open to adjustments. It accounts for the moral cultivation of man—or his degeneration.

The authors of the text postulate a common humanity. That individuals nevertheless realise different degrees of moral cultivation calls for a detailed analysis of an intermediate stage between human nature and human behaviour. If the individual's mind is educated appropriately during this intermediate stage, the individual will set his will on moral cultivation.

The authors postulate a relationship between human unshaped feelings, nature, and the true ethical code, which lies within man himself. From this it follows that, when activating this innate ethical code

by receiving stimulation from unshaped feelings—which are part of his nature—the individual can allow a full expression of these feelings without fear of departing from rightness, which, again, is close to the *dào*.

It thus becomes obvious that the text defends the idea that the repetitive practice of a virtue necessarily leads to the internalisation of its spirit. This further assumes that every human being carries within himself the potential to become a real gentleman, if educated properly.

Just as important as the fact that the text allows another hitherto-unknown insight into the 'public' discussion that took place in the mid- to late Warring-States intellectual world is the mention of "Odes", "Documents", rites, and music. The mention of these constituents of Warring States élite culture as one group is frequently seen as evidence for the assumption that they were already clearly distinguishable and identifiable—written—entities during the time when the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the "Xìng qíng lùn" were fixed on bamboo. I doubt this. Nowhere in the two manuscripts is there any explicit mention of these as written entities, let alone fixed texts (or books). Instead, they are referred to only as *traditions*, that is, something being performed:

> 詩、書、禮、樂，
> 其始出皆生[x16]於人。
> 詩有爲爲之也；
> 書有爲言之也；
> 禮樂有爲舉之也。

> Odes, documents, rites, and music—in every case their first appearing was given birth by [x16]man.
> Odes came into being by *acting* them *out*.
> Documents came into being by *speaking* them.
> Rites and music came into being by *exalting* them.

None of these references describe something textual. Instead, they all have an oral, behavioural colouring. In this context, it is also illustrative to look at the preceding unit:

> 凡道，心術爲主。
> 道四術，唯[x15]人道爲可道也。
> 其三術者，道之而已。

> Generally speaking, as for the true ethical code (*dào*), the skills of the mind are its dominant [features].
> The true ethical code (*dào*) diverges into four skills, [but] only [x15] the Way of humans can be *dào*-ed.
> As for the [other] three skills, one can only *dào* them.

This passage is anything but unambiguous, which is why I leave the latter two mentions of *dào* without a translation here. It nevertheless becomes clear from this passage that the four constituents of a Warring States élite culture are referred to as "*ways* of humans". As such, they are something that can be followed and, accordingly, practised. Subsequent to these passages is a description of the impact of these constituents of culture on human beings. The two manifestations of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" speak of sounds, ritual patterns, dances—but nowhere of *texts*. This does not, of course, rule out that the authors also had texts in mind when composing this passage; yet from this passage it seems rather unlikely that they did.

I want to close my discussion by referring to the history of the two manifestations of this text on moral cultivation. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was bought from tomb looters at an antique market in Hong Kong. This violently cut the manuscript off from all references to its previous environment, leaving much room for speculation about its origin and its relationship to the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū".[105] Due to the striking similarity of the two manifestations, they are often considered as *one* text. It is continually stressed that the two manuscripts must have originated in close proximity to each other—chronologically and spatially—and that they may even have been copied one from the other. The last assumption can be refuted. Despite the lack of a nontextual referential framework that would help to contextualise the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", the history of this manuscript can still be reconstructed, to some extent at least.

As detailed, the two manifestations of the text by and large share a highly consistent phraseology. Nevertheless, they cannot be considered stable in writing. Quite the contrary: in many instances, the manuscripts use different forms for presumably the same graph, here and there a signific is either added to the character or is left out entirely, or different graphs or words are chosen. Many of these differences conform to the criteria for phonetic similarity of loan characters and phonetic components in Old Chinese. Applying Martin Kern's

[105] Cf. Kern's remark that manuscripts are integrated in a "non-textual environment" (2002, 145). This contextualisation is inevitably lost for all texts that are now part of the Shànghǎi corpus. It is therefore essential for the academic world to reassess the means by which it procures primary research materials in acknowledgement of how it promotes illegal trade in manuscripts. See also Renfrew (2000) for a discussion of this problem.

approach to "Odes" in excavated manuscripts, this might suggest a verbally coherent text in fairly unstable writing. For the two instantiations of the text under review this would point to an orally based transmission. Despite Kern's findings, for philosophical writings dissimilarities of this kind do not exclude the possibility that either of the two manuscripts might have been copied directly from the other. When copying a text from a written *Vorlage*, the scribe in question did not work from the graphs he saw, but from the sound he heard, as he was dictating the text to himself. Silent reading was not yet common, and I hold that the same is true for silent copying. Thus, even though I fully agree with Martin Kern's findings concerning verbally consistent "Odes" and the orally based transmission of this anthology, his results cannot be applied directly to philosophical texts from that period because of structural differences between the two genres. "Odes" were often composed in an archaic language. Every single act of transmitting an ode also implies its translation at the same time.[106] These texts were discontinuous since every single act of transmission was also an act of reinvention. This explains the kind of variation seen in the different quotations from the "Odes" in philosophical texts. The broad diffusion of "Odes", then, further strengthens Kern's findings on the oral nature of this early anthology. "Odes" survived fairly consistently in quotations in all kinds of different texts as far as phonology goes. But no single manuscript of this anthology has been found to date. Philosophical texts, in turn, render the converse picture. They are composed in a more contemporaneous tongue. Artless speech was a conscious choice. These texts define themselves by their continuity with the present. Furthermore, the transmission of philosophical texts was predominantly accomplished on a written basis, but the diffusion of these texts—in most cases this means the manuscripts—was fairly limited. Further, quotations of philosophical texts show greater variation. Applied to the philosophical texts from the Warring States, the phenomenon of a verbally coherent text in unstable writing thus does not necessarily point to its oral transmission.

The fact, then, that the two manifestations under review at times use entirely different graphs which do not fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity of loan characters and phonetic components in Old Chinese

[106] One may think of the common use of reduplicates in the "Odes", which prove to be particularly prone to change, as shown in Kern's study.

argues against the assumption that they could have been copied one from the other. In contrast, it can be assumed that each version was copied from a different *Vorlage*. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that even though the two manuscripts possess markings at the same junctures, the *type* of these markings varies.

A closer scrutiny of the differences between the two manifestations of the text allows inferences on their imagined *Vorlagen*. Again, this should not be mistaken for the urtext or *Urschrift* of the texts at hand. As detailed, the gaps in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" prove not to be systematic. None of these gaps allows the conclusion that they reflect passages that were left out on purpose by the authors of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". Instead, the form analysis developed in this book suggests for the "Xìng zì mìng chū" that these gaps appear within otherwise cohesive and structurally stable units, thus ruling out the systematic omission of a text passage. Looking at the missing passages that do not result from the natural loss of broken bamboo strips in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", it becomes clear that the sequences in question always number around thirty characters or, doubled, sixty characters. The same holds true also for the sequences that reappear at different junctures in the manuscript. All of this is further evidence that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was copied from a *written Vorlage* fixed on bamboo strips that were inscribed with about thirty characters each. The hypothetical *Vorlage* was already in disarray when it served as the source text for the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

The Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" did not draw from the same *Vorlage*, at least not at the time when that *Vorlage* was in disarray. Figure 21 presents possible models of the history of the two manifestations. The arrows indicate their relationship with the imagined *Vorlage*.

As argued, it is highly unlikely that the extant manuscripts both stem from the same *Vorlage* (V). Model 1 accounts for this: the *stemmata* describe two individual lines of text history. That no direct contact of the two manuscripts can be reconstructed suggests a parallel—and separate—history of these manuscripts.[107] But whereas it is possible

[107] Martin West would call these different 'recensions'. He distinguishes between "closed recensions" and "open recensions". According to his definition, recensions are linked in *stemmata* that can be traced back to archetypes (which does not need to mean an urtext). See West 1973, 14. For a critique of his terminology, see the introduction.

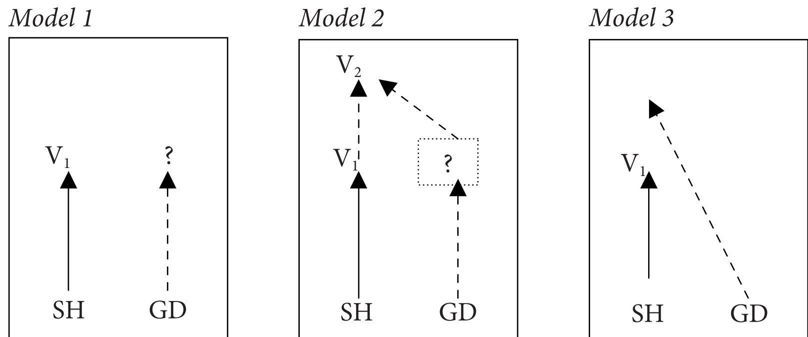

Figure 21: Three Models of Text Development

to make an informed guess as to the nature of the direct *Vorlage* of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (V_1), this is impossible for the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū". There can, of course, be no question that the two manifestations of the text had some sort of shared source that accounts for their similarity. Model 2 accounts for this. Whereas it is relatively clear that the two manuscripts did not result from the same—direct—*Vorlage* (V_1), it can be assumed nevertheless that the imagined *Vorlage* (V_1) must have had some common ancestor (V_2) with the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" (or its predecessors). The hypothesised shared ancestral text (V_2) might have been either written or oral. This cannot be reconstructed. Lastly, it is also possible that the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" shared the same *Vorlage* (V_1) —but the Guōdiàn One manuscript drew on that source at a much earlier date. This would imply that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was copied from that source text at a stage when the imagined *Vorlage* was already in disarray.

It is clear that these three models oversimplify historical reality. A text is always a synchronic artefact. It may thus incorporate different diachronic text layers. These intermediate stages may account for an asynchrony of textual transmission. None of these idealised models can account for this. In contrast, they should be understood as attempts to order the complexity of reality by highlighting certain characteristics of a given phenomenon.

PART II

TEXT AND PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER FIVE

TEXT, STRUCTURE, MEANING

In Chapters 1–4 I analysed the way in which argument-based texts are made up of stable and distinct units, or building blocks. In most cases, they contain a decidedly formulaic language. The different building blocks are linked up with one another by a system of cross-referential links, so that they constitute larger entities. Various notions are thereby connected into greater schemes—and finally into a coherent whole. The individual building block of argument-based texts is therefore not an isolated unit but a feature of a larger, integrated entity, through which the texts become truly systematic treatments of philosophical concerns.[1] The formal structure of argument-based texts that integrates the various building blocks into larger consistent wholes thus is a vital element in generating meaning beyond the level of the lexicon and syntax. It fulfils a semiotic function in that it opens up a meaningful level beyond the verbatim content of the text and so proves philosophically relevant as a mode of meaning creation. Conceptual definitions are established, and fully fledged philosophical reflections on a topic are made possible. As a result, argument-based texts facilitate systematic treatments of philosophical concerns, which reduces the degree of contextualisation necessary to grasp their ideas.

Obviously, there is no unified argumentative pattern that is used to present an organised discussion of a philosophical concern and that applies consistently to all argument-based texts. However, some patterns do recur: for example, overlapping structure, double-directed parallelism of a text segment, principal insertion, micro-macrostructure correspondences, and systematic references—either direct or indirect—to the intellectual environment in which these texts were produced.

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[1] Whilst agreeing with William Boltz that building blocks are characteristic of early Chinese texts, my analysis suggests that we should not conclude from this that the feature of the building block results in a "composite nature" of these texts that opposes "integral, structurally homogeneous texts" (see Boltz 2005, 70–71).

That argument-based texts develop organised reflections on philosophical issues has important implications when evaluating the written philosophy of the period. On the level of macrostructure, these texts present methodically consistent treatments of certain philosophical concerns. This suggests that the concept of a philosophical text as a coherent and self-contained unit was already well established in those circles that were participating in the philosophical discourse of the period and that were producing this type of philosophical text. This will be made explicit below.

In what follows, I shall place the argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One into the broader context of the intellectual activities of Warring States élite circles. To highlight their distinctiveness, I contrast the techniques of meaning construction advanced in these texts with those of texts that have predominantly non-argument-based features. I shall further generate a descriptive definition for the non-argument-based texts and discuss the issues of authorship and writing in the intellectual world of the Warring States. This will ultimately lead me to explore different ways of philosophising in early China, as well as to examine the groups that were working with the different philosophical texts. I refer to these groups as the 'textual communities' of the Warring States period.[2]

The Deliberate Production of Texts

As discussed in chapter 1, the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" is composed of strictly organised building blocks. They contain a recurring scheme of ab-ab-c correspondences. In this scheme, the second ab group further specifies the contents of the first ab group. At the same time, it continues the argument presented and so forms an overlapping structure. The information in the building block is concluded in its final c component. Strikingly, this pattern is also realised on the level of the macrostructure of the text. By relating the various building blocks to one another according to that scheme, the macrostructure of the text is able to specify the conceptual dimensions of the ruler—in this context called 'gentleman' (*jūnzǐ* 君子)—as pictured by the authors

[2] On the phenomenon of communities that coalesce around particular texts and so constitute 'textual communities', see the discussion by Stock (1983) of textual communities in medieval England.

of the text. The formal structure makes clear that only by realising his immanent nature as specified in the text, namely by behaving with fidelity (*zhōng* 忠) and trustworthiness (*xìn* 信), will the ruler become a human reflection of the cosmic elements Heaven (*tiān* 天) and Earth (*dì* 地); and this should be the goal of every ruler.

The penultimate building block of the text (building block 5) breaks away from this uniform pattern. This unit spells out the rules that define a norm of behaviour, to be fulfilled by the ideal(ised) ruler. The interruption of the mantra-like rhythm of the text at this juncture is a device for stating the argument of the text. It transforms the abstract account into a concrete request addressed to the ruler of a state, stating that if the ruler accepts the position as presented in the text as true, he cannot but follow the request as articulated. Building block 5 thus marks the culmination of the argument. It contains all the argumentative elements of the entire text. This must be specified in the context of the argumentative purpose of the text overall. As the analysis of the textual materials from the tomb corpus of Guōdiàn One suggests, this break in the pattern is a recurring feature in argument-based texts. It spells out the overall concern of the text. I have defined it as 'principal insertion'. Since, in this case, the principal insertion applies to the text's macrostructure, it is a distanced type of this argumentative feature.

The brief review of the argumentative pattern of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" calls to mind the highly systematic way in which the text is organised. The philosophical position is established with great care, and it is by means of its formal structure that it achieves compelling argumentative force. The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" can only exist in this—*structural*—form. This is not a trivial remark. The fixed macrostructure that organises the argument of the text as a whole demonstrates that the very concept of *text as coherent composition*[3] is already fully realised in a text of this type. It makes the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" a self-contained unit. The highly balanced, coherent, and structurally closed nature of the text's composition suggests deliberate production by proactive authors. These authors are characterised by their control

[3] For an interesting comparative perspective on this, revolving around the idea of text as texture in the Greco-Roman world, see Scheid and Svenbro 1994. I thank Wolfgang Behr for alerting me to this publication.

over the materials they use.[4] Intentionally, they craft a highly balanced, coherent, and, on the level of its *compositional structure*, ultimately closed text. I come back to this below.

In its degree of systematic organisation, the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" proves to be unexceptional. As the comparison with other texts from Guōdiàn One shows beyond doubt, a high degree of systematisation is characteristic of argument-based texts. The "Qióng dá yǐ shí", discussed in chapter 2, may serve as an example. It deals with the tension between Heaven and Man. The formal structure of the text accentuates this dichotomy. At every level of composition, the tension described semantically is also made visible through the text's formal structure. By embedding its concern in a formal structure that also mirrors the thought of the text itself, the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" creates a persuasive environment for its uncomfortable concern—if it does not indeed achieve a mimesis of the philosophical idea on the level of its formal structure![5] As with the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" as a whole takes on the formal structure of one individual building block. The macrostructure of this unit therefore fulfils the same integrating function as that of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and so compounds the philosophy of these texts.

The ways in which the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" processes two individual argumentative lines—I have described them as lineal and hierarchical—at first sight may seem to be contradictory. However, a detailed study of the argumentative features of the text shows that the tension created is in fact an integral part of the text's strategy to emphasise its concern and to formulate a request addressed to the élite of that time. The formal structure of the text is highly balanced. Just as for the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", any additions to or omissions from the text—on the structural level—or even any relocation of the text's building blocks would disrupt the organisational coherence. Again, what results is a highly crafted text that works only in its given form. Argumentative lines are designed with great care over the length of the entire text, leading to well-balanced—and structurally closed—units: a further

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[4] Similar remarks were made by Wagner (1980, 37) concerning the Wáng Bì *Lǎozǐ*. Based on the structure of the text, Wagner also postulates that it was deliberately authored. Wagner's conclusion was criticised harshly by LaFargue (1994, 308–309, 596, n. 35).

[5] See also Schaberg (2001, 51ff.) on literary patterning that is conceived of as an image of the order that cultural achievements would bring about.

piece of evidence that at this time authors consciously composed philosophical texts as coherent units. Authorial self-consciousness and the intention to develop proper formal structures so as to process argumentative lines with compelling force can further be recognised when we look at those materials which stem from third sources but have been integrated into the argument-based texts under review. The "Qióng dá yǐ shí" incorporates stories and myths taken from a pool of shared cultural memory into its own argument. The stories are tailored in alternating parallel style so that they fit the overall tone of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí". The parallel form in which these stories were cast stresses the basic principle that underlies these six examples in an identical way, and the formal perfection of the account adds to the credibility of the stories themselves. Accordingly, the strict form of this passage accentuates the common truth underlying these stories. The coherent structure furthermore accounts for the fact that the materials assembled turn into a stable subcanto and can therefore function as a medium which presents a unified notion for processing the argument of the text overall.

Not only can evidence for the systematic composition of a philosophical argument be seen in the rather brief argument-based texts "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and "Qióng dá yǐ shí", but a high degree of authorial self-consciousness can also be recognised in the two long and highly complex argument-based texts "Wǔ xíng" and "Xìng zì mìng chū", which I discussed in chapters 3 and 4. These two texts are often considered to be highly problematic.

The "Wǔ xíng" targets the ruler of a state. It establishes a programme of self-cultivation according to which the imagined ruler will become like King Wén. The "Xìng zì mìng chū" presents a multilayered analysis of the relationship between human nature and the phenomenological world around the subject. Without postulating the notion of the mind as a blank slate, much attention is paid to the impact of the outside world, that is, the phenomenological world as a whole and society at large, in shaping the human mind.

The authors of the "Wǔ xíng" established a complex systematisation of ideas by constructing highly convoluted cross-referential links throughout the text. These links span various layers, which, at times, make it highly challenging to follow the train of thought. But the process of self-cultivation as described in the "Wǔ xíng" has the same underlying pattern as the formal structure of the text. Both take on a circular form. Just as the inner cultivation of one particular virtue

is shown to depend on the cultivation of the other ones, the various subcantos of the "Wǔ xíng" make full sense only with reference to the other units of the text. As seen from the other argument-based texts of this tomb corpus, form and thought are brought into perfect harmony.

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" also establishes a hierarchical system of referential links throughout the text. To pattern its argument and attain stability for processing the different trains of thought, a multilayered analysis of mind, human nature, and the world around the individual self is carried out by making use of various devices on the formal level of the text. Parallel a-b-c schemes, realised on different levels of the text and spanning various building blocks, authority-framed units, and other formal patterns, allow the vertical organisation of an argument—as opposed to only linear patterns. As with the "Wǔ xíng", some parts of the formal compositional structure of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" even reproduce the pattern underlying the formation of the mind (*xīn* 心), as imagined by the authors of this text. Just as seen in the "Wǔ xíng", the "Xìng zì mìng chū" describes a circular movement underlying the process of moral cultivation. The 'true ethical code', as I translate the concept of *dào* 道 in this context, always lies within the individual self. As the authors of the text see it, the individual simply has to become aware of the moral force (*dé* 德), which already is an integral element of the individual, to achieve moral cultivation.

The "Wǔ xíng" establishes a highly layered system of ideas. The five virtues which the text discusses are split up twice into two groups. A horizontal and a vertical differentiation of the five virtues is thereby established. The first distinction of the five virtues is that between those virtues that can only be aspired to (*zhì* 志) and those that can be acted upon (*wéi* 爲). The *zhì* 志 group of virtues concern the inner cultivation of the 'heavenly Way' (*tiān dào* 天道). The *wéi* 爲 group of virtues concern the transformation of this inner state into the 'Way of humans' (*rén dào* 人道). The second differentiation distinguishes between primary and secondary virtues. Primary virtues are sagacity (*shèng* 聖) and wisdom (*zhì* 智). They account for the formation of the secondary virtues.

The *wǔ xíng* theory establishes a strict hierarchy of the five virtues. Of the primary virtues, sagacity is considered the foremost one. Second to the primary virtues are benevolence and rightness because they account for the formation of ritual propriety (*lǐ* 禮). Rightness belongs to the *zhì* 志 group of virtues, which ranks higher than the *wéi* 爲 group. Benevolence belongs to the latter group but is corre-

lated with the primary virtues of the *wǔ xíng* theory. It seems that the authors of the text saw these two virtues as equally important. Accordingly, the *wǔ xíng* theory presents the following hierarchy of virtues: sagacity, wisdom, rightness/benevolence, and, lastly, ritual propriety.

By relating various trains of thought in a highly complex fashion, a coherent theory of self-cultivation is established in the text. Sagacity takes the lead in the formation of rightness. If paired with the right cognitive grasp, this ultimately leads to moral force (*dé* 德). Wisdom takes the lead in the formation of benevolence and ritual propriety. If paired with the right cognitive grasp, this ultimately leads to goodness (*shàn* 善). Moral force describes an abstract matter. It equals man's inner cultivation of the Way of Heaven (*tiān dào* 天道). Goodness, for its part, results from applying this inner state to one's actions in worldly affairs. Thus, what the text labels as the Way of humans (*rén dào* 人道) describes the conversion of man's moral force into action in the worldly sphere.

The "Wǔ xíng" thus presents a multilayered, coherent, and meaningful system, the *wǔ xíng* theory (and so does the "Xìng zì mìng chū" in its analysis of human nature). Different argumentative trains of thought are processed in parallel fashion vis-à-vis one another. At times, these lines are linked together, so that the text establishes a coherent whole in which all elements find their proper place and thus construct a meaningful system. That the two manifestations of the "Wǔ xíng"—the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" and that from Guōdiàn One—are organised differently does not contradict the conclusion that the two texts present one coherent and highly developed *wǔ xíng* theory. However, it *does* say something about the nature of texts in the Warring States period. Texts were subject to change even when presenting elaborate systems of thought. But the larger meaningful units remain consistent in both texts, and the argumentative lines remain fully coherent. The *wǔ xíng* theory remains unaltered.

The overall structure of the "Wǔ xíng"—and of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" (see below)—without a doubt is quite different from that seen in the shorter argument-based texts "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" or "Qióng dá yǐ shí". The "Wǔ xíng" cannot be considered a closed system. It is not immune to change on the structural level of composition. But the present *wǔ xíng* theory (and the concern of the "Xìng zì mìng chū") is nonetheless a highly reasoned system. Without ruling out that a text such as the "Wǔ xíng" may have evolved from the accumulation of different sources and traditions, which bears witness to the hybrid form of texts at that time (something that can be argued to apply to all

argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One), I hold that the *wǔ xíng* theory, which we see from both the Mǎwángduī Three and the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng", is a conscious, reasoned, and well-designed approach to a prevalent concern in early China.

The texts discussed all carefully establish different types of convoluted trains of thoughts. Argumentative lines can thus be processed on different levels. These texts not only present linear types of argument and thought processing but also take up philosophical concerns that were widespread and hotly debated in élite circles of the time and that they develop into systematic and reasoned systems of thought. Important for the present discussion is that in the Chinese world of those days, the notion of coherent texts and highly balanced argumentative lines was already well established. It is against this background that I postulate authors behind consciously crafted texts and theories. Mastering their arts, these authors were intentionally composing well-balanced and, structurally, even closed texts. Philosophy has found its way into self-contained writing.

Non-argument-based Texts of Warring States China

The building block forms the basic constituent of the argument-based text. The authors of these texts develop a complex discussion of a given philosophical topic by combining the different building blocks into larger meaningful entities of the pericope, the subcanto, canto, and finally the text overall. Hence, the building block of the argument-based text is not an isolated unit but literally a *building block of a larger whole*.

Non-argument-based texts differ in this respect. The idea to be transmitted does not reach beyond the level of the individual building block. Different building blocks are not related to one another on the formal level of the text. Taken together, they do not generate greater meaningful wholes. Formally, the building block of non-argument-based texts stands alone and is the one and only unit for communicating a concern. It represents what Rudolf G. Wagner has called a "unit of thought".[6] As this unit forms the only and ultimate level of

[6] See Wagner 1999a. Note that Wagner's concept is problematic insofar as it lacks a definition of what is actually meant by 'thought'. I use 'unit of thought' in this context to denote a textual unit that puts forward one isolated concern.

textual communication (for the moment I am not taking into account the face-to-face communication within a group that may have existed with respect to the written text but am simply concentrating on the written object unearthed), it also spells out the entire philosophy of the text. Every new unit reflects a different concern and must be conceived as an individual text in its own right. By implication, it seems that, for instance, what we call 'the' "Lǎozǐ" and 'the' "Zī yī" today are each composed of different discontinuous texts, resulting in florilegia of—at least formally—unrelated units. The denotation 'non-argument-based text' thus does not indicate an integrated, coherent whole.

Calling the ultimate units of textual communication in non-argument-based texts 'building blocks' is therefore misleading. Remaining isolated and, as will be shown, responsive, they do not 'build' or contribute to larger and coherent wholes on the formal level of such anthologies. Because of the conceptual difference between textual units in argument-based and in non-argument-based texts, I refer to the building block in non-argument-based texts temporarily simply as 'unit' (or, with Wagner, 'unit of thought'). Due to the isolated—and therefore ultimate—character of the unit of thought in non-argument-based texts, systematic and highly layered treatments of ideas of the kind developed in argument-based texts are absent in these anthologies. The units in non-argument-based texts provide only isolated, and therefore *situational*, statements about or responses to given concerns. It is reasonable to describe these isolated pronouncements as *occasional reactions to prevalent issues*. In the absence of argumentative force, meaning had to be constructed differently, and I shall describe those strategies in what follows.

"Lǎozǐ" and "Zī yī"

The florilegia of ideas that have been identified—or at least conventionally labelled so—as "Lǎozǐ" and "Zī yī" are non-argument-based texts par excellence. They are made up of distinct units of thought, which, in both anthologies, show no apparent relation to one another on the formal level of composition.[7] Rather than serving as a building block of a larger coherent whole that facilitates a systematic analysis of

[7] Pace Spirin (1976), who set out to demonstrate the opposite.

a given philosophical concern, each unit provides only a short statement about a given situation.

The two anthologies belong to the canon of transmitted texts. This makes them rather exceptional in the context of the corpus of texts under review. The other texts from Guōdiàn One at some point fell out of the transmission process. Argument-based texts such as the "Wǔ xíng", "Xìng zì mìng chū", and "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" survived only in the confined space of a tomb.

The "Lǎozǐ", in contrast, survived as the *Classic of the Way and Virtue*, or *Dào dé jīng* 道德經. The origin of this anthology is anything but clear. "Charming legends", as LaFargue calls them so tellingly, ascribe the work as a whole—the so-called *Classic of Five Thousand Words* (*Wǔ qiān zì jīng* 五千字經)—to the legendary figure of Lǎozǐ 老子.[8] The "Zī yī" has survived as one chapter of the *Record of Rites* (*Lǐ jì* 禮記), a ritualists' compilation of controversial provenance.[9] The "Zī yī" is generally thought to have originated in the circle around Zǐ Sī 子思,[10] and so it is often believed to belong to the otherwise-lost work of the so-called Zǐ Sīzǐ 子思子, the nature of which is almost completely unclear.[11]

The two anthologies "Lǎozǐ" and "Zī yī" have been handed down to the present day. Moreover, besides the Guōdiàn One versions, we have a "Lǎozǐ" (organised very differently from its transmitted counterpart) from the tomb Mǎwángduī Three and a "Zī yī" among the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts. These finds provide invaluable insights into non-argument-based texts during the Warring States period and

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[8] LaFargue 1994, 301. For a detailed description of some of the traditional views on the 'historical' figure Lǎozǐ and the *Dào dé jīng*, see Seidel 1969. See also Chan Wing-tsit 1963. It is doubtful whether the text ever contained five thousand words.

[9] The compilation of the *Lǐ jì* 禮記 most likely was completed only in the Western Hàn (206 BC–AD 23) by specialists at the court of the Hàn, but it seems that some parts of this anthology of independent texts (Shaughnessy 2006, 51) closely reflect ideas of ritualists from the pre-Hàn (Nylan 2001a, 175).

[10] Zǐ Sīzǐ 子思, named Kǒng Jí 孔伋 (ca. 483–402 BC), was the grandson of Kǒngzǐ.

[11] Most explicit about the identification of the "Zī yī" with the work of Zǐ Sīzǐ is probably the "Yīnyuè zhì" 音樂志 of the *Suí shū* 隋書, which quotes the words of Shěn Yuè 沈約 (441–513), saying: "The "Zhōng yōng", "Biǎo jì", "Fāng jì", "Zī yī" were all taken from the master Zǐ Sī" 中庸標記坊記皆取自子思子. Cited in Lǐ Xuéqín 李學勤 1999e, 76. Since the excavation of the strips from Guōdiàn One, Chinese scholars especially have attempted to reconstruct the work of Zǐ Sīzǐ. Publications on this issue are too numerous to be listed here. For a critical discussion of the "Zǐ Sīzǐ myth", see Csikszentmihalyi 2004.

help us to distinguish the special features of argument-based texts by comparison. No attempt to establish a watertight account of the nature of text and writing in the Warring States would have been possible without these finds. Not surprisingly, none of the excavated—or otherwise illegally procured—texts is identical to its supposed counterpart. Differences are found in phraseology, the individual units of thought, the formulae used when drawing on other sources, and the sequence of the units of thought in the anthology overall; and certain materials are absent in one or other of the manifestations.

The "Lǎozǐ" from Guōdiàn One

What is generally referred to as the "Lǎozǐ" from Guōdiàn One must in fact be described as unrelated materials found on three different bundles of bamboo strips. Consensus refers to these as "Lǎozǐ A" (老子甲), "Lǎozǐ B" (老子乙), and "Lǎozǐ C" (老子丙). The three bundles differ in the physical appearance of the strips and in the handwriting with which the various strips are inscribed. Because later copies of the "Lǎozǐ"—beginning with Mǎwángduī Three—contain materials which closely match those seen on the three bundles from Guōdiàn One, the textual materials from Guōdiàn One are customarily viewed as an earlier version of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*. Hence, the materials on the three bundles of Guōdiàn One bamboo strips are habitually considered to belong together. However, the tomb and its textual contents do not substantiate such claims.

Bundles A, B, and C

Bundle A contains thirty-nine strips. Unbroken strips have a length of ca. 32.3 centimetres and are tapered towards both ends. Most are well preserved; only one is in a fragmentary condition. Judging from the marks on the strips, two cords, about 13 centimetres apart, previously connected them.[12]

Bundle B consists of eighteen strips. Unlike bundle A, the bamboo strips are cut evenly on both sides. With a length of about 30.6 centimetres, these strips are slightly shorter than those of bundle A. As

[12] Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 111.

in bundle A, two cords, 13 centimetres apart, connected the strips.[13] However, of the eighteen strips that constitute bundle B, only eight are complete.

The bamboo strips of bundle C are remarkably shorter than those of the other two bundles: they measure only ca. 26.5 centimetres. The strips of bundle C are cut evenly on both sides. Two cords, 10.8 centimetres apart, were used to connect the strips. Bundle C contains twenty-eight bamboo strips, twelve of which are complete. Only fourteen strips can be identified clearly as belonging to the so-called Guōdiàn "Lǎozǐ". The remaining fourteen strips carry previously unknown materials. The editors of the Húběi Province Museum assume that these materials constitute yet another individual text. Originally carrying no title, these materials are now customarily referred to as "The Ultimate One Generates Water", or "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" 太一生水.[14] The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" describes the continuous process of how the world is created, starting with the "Ultimate One", *tài yī* 太一,[15] and reflects on the implications of this process for moral government.

Bundle A contains twenty units of thought. These can be identified with the following *zhāng* 章 of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*: 19, 66, 46 (middle and end), 30 (beginning and end), 15, 64 (end), 37, 63, 2, 32, 25, 5 (middle), 16 (beginning), 56, 57, 55, 44, 40, and 9—in this order.

Bundle B contains eight individual units of thought. These can be identified with the following *zhāng* 章 of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*: 59, 48, 20 (beginning), 13, 41, 52 (middle), 45, and 54.

Of the twenty-eight strips that constitute bundle C, fourteen strips together contain five units of thought, all of which can be identified with parts of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*: 17, 18, 35, 31 (middle and end), 64 (end). Taken as a whole, the three bundles contain about two-fifths of the materials known to us from the transmitted versions of the *Lǎozǐ*. A division of the materials into *dé* 德 and *dào* 道 parts is not even remotely present.

The three bundles contain different kinds of markings on the strips. Black dots of different sizes mark off some of the units. Yet this is

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[13] Ibid.

[14] For the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", see ibid., 13 (for a photograph of the strips), 123–126 (for text and notes).

[15] Since the excavation of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", studies on this manuscript run into the hundreds. For a detailed analysis of this text and further references, see Allan 2003. For a review of (mostly Chinese) scholarship on the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", see Chén Lìguī 2005.

not done consistently.[16] In bundle A, space has been left after some of these signs, thus marking the start of a new unit of thought. Bundle A also contains two tadpole symbols ( ),[17]on strips *a*32 and *a*39. After these symbols, the strips carry no further graphs. The strips of the two other bundles also contain markings. But only those of bundle C are used consistently: every single unit of thought in bundle C is followed by a black mark ( ).[18] One might be inclined to assume some kind of internal relation between units that are not distinguished from one another by such markings. One might even want to go so far as to propose that those instances that are not marked off as individual units of thought should not be conceived of as distinct units at all even though they are treated as such by other—transmitted—versions.[19] Nonetheless, when scrutinising more closely what has been written on these strips, the different units show no inherent relation with one another, and they differ appreciably in tone and style. Hence, it appears that most of these instances should indeed be conceived of as individual units of thought—even if not signalled as such. In most cases this accords with the transmitted versions of the *Lǎozǐ*. The marks on the strips must therefore be explained in a different way. Did they function as indicators of the importance of some of these units? Or did they only represent unusual breaks (or changes) in the rhythm?—we simply do not know.[20]

In the same vein, the tadpole symbol used in bundle A might further suggest a distinction between the different materials recorded on bundle A. But, looking at these units, the reasons for the tadpole symbols on strips *a*32 and *a*39 are in no way self-evident. One might feel inclined to understand the tadpole symbols as used in bundle A to signal the different origin of those units assembled in that anthology. Different procedures can be imagined. One may think of a scribe

[16] A mark that signals the end of the unit appears after the following units: A 1, 3, 7–12, 14, 15, 17–19. In unit A 4 such a mark appears right before the last character of that unit. This seems to be a mistake.

[17] Here taken from strip *a*32.

[18] Here taken from strip *c*3.

[19] Units that are not marked off by a black square on the strips are A 2, 5–6, 13, and 16. One could therefore argue that the following clusters are related: A 2 and 3; 4–7; 13 and 14; 16 and 17.

[20] Knowledge about the use of interpunctuation in early manuscripts is fairly limited. See, however, the survey by Péng Hào (2000, 34ff.) on punctuation marks in excavated manuscripts. See also Guǎn Xīhuá 2002.

who had to assemble different *Vorlagen* to 'complete' his collection of "Lǎozǐ" and indicated the different sources with the tadpole symbols. Or one could argue that there *was* no such compilation as "Lǎozǐ", and it could then be the case that the tadpole symbols signal different non-argument-based texts as collected on one bundle of bamboo strips. If this were the case, the materials on bundle A would have to be seen as three different collections of various unrelated units, all of which were anthologised and fixed on one and the same bundle of bamboo strips. This assumption is not implausible given the custom of assembling different texts on the same bundle of strips,[21] which is why it is essential to keep text and manuscript separate when analysing written philosophy of that time. We should beware of imposing modern ideas of text and writing on the production of text and manuscript in early China. That different textual materials are collected in one bundle of bamboo strips does not per se point to the mutual relatedness of these materials.

Units A 2 and A 3 provide one example of—presumably—different units of thought that are not marked as such. These are the first units in bundle A that are not demarcated by any sort of markings on the strips. The two units also appear in the transmitted versions, where they are clearly distinguished as individual *zhāng* 章.[22] No obvious textual or rhetorical relation between the two units can be recognised—neither in the Guōdiàn One text nor in transmitted versions. It thus appears that different units that were anthologised in that bundle were not necessarily signalled by signs on the strips:

A 2

江海所以爲百谷王，以其 *a3* 能爲百谷下；
是以能爲百谷王。

聖人之在民前也，以身後之。
　其在民上也，以 *a4* 言下之；
　其在民上也，民弗重也。
　其在民前也，民弗害也。

[21] The "Qióng dá yǐ shí", for instance, shares a bundle of strips with the "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī"; the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" shares a bundle of strips with the "Táng Yú zhī dào".

[22] *Zhāng* 66 and the middle and end of *zhāng* 46.

天下樂進而弗詹；
[a5] 以其不爭也，故天下莫能與之爭。

The reason rivers and seas are kings of the many valley streams is because of their [a3] ability to be below the many valley streams.
That is why they are kings of the many valley streams.

The wise man stands in front of the people because he puts them behind through his person.
He stands above the people because he puts [a4] them below in his words.
He stands above the people, and yet the people do not regard [him] as heavy.
He stands in front of the people, and yet the people do not harm [him].

The reason the entire world is delighted to advance him and avoids criticising him
[a5] is because he never competes; consequently, nobody under Heaven has the ability to compete with him.

A 3

罪莫重乎甚欲，
咎莫憯乎欲得，
[a6] 禍莫大乎不知足。

知足之爲足，此恆足矣。

Of all fault, none is heavier than excessive greed,
Of all blemish, none leads to more grief than craving gain,
[a6] Of all disasters, none is greater than not knowing when you have enough.

To understand that [having] enough is enough—this is to have enough eternally.

The example shows that the two units did not share any close relation with each other in terms of a formally coherent approach to a given issue. Even though to a certain degree the two units have a common concern—they adopt a position against greed and human striving for superiority—formally they do not share any related features. The common use of the negative distributive pronoun *mò* 莫 'none, nobody',[23] is not a symmetrical grammatical feature of the two units.[24] The two units of thought should therefore not be understood as parts of a larger

[23] That is, in the last line of unit A 2 (strip *a*5) and the first part of unit A 3 (strip *a*6).
[24] Whereas the negative distributive pronoun *mò* 莫 of A 2 negates an auxiliary verb, that of A 3 negates a full verb.

consistent composition of the kind seen in the argument-based texts discussed above. For non-argument-based texts it can be concluded that different units of thought need not be signalled by markings on the strips. The lack of these signs does not imply an internal relation of the different units so that together they form a coherent whole. Each unit of thought should be understood as presenting an isolated—and therefore ultimate—answer to a particular concern, regardless of the physical organisation of the bamboo strips. The end of an individual unit therefore marks the end of the engagement with a certain concern. It follows that each unit is to be considered a text in its own right.

Given that the different units remain unconnected and hence isolated standpoints on a certain issue, they cannot develop a systematic, or multilayered, analysis of a philosophical concern since that would imply an investigation of one matter from different perspectives. So whereas argument-based texts connect different ideas into greater meaningful wholes, the units under review state their point in a different way: they either use analogies of the kind seen in A 2, in which the good ruler is compared to rivers and seas, from which a lesson is drawn about the behaviour of the—idealised—ruler. Or they simply contrast right behaviour with wrong behaviour, as in unit A 3. In any case, these two units do not establish a complex approach. An organised analysis of a dominant issue from different perspectives is totally absent. The two units do not embody *argumentative force*. They rely on something else to make their point. For example, in unit A 3 the addressee simply has to accept as true the position "Of all fault, none is heavier than excessive greed" in order to believe that "To understand that [having] enough is enough—this is to have enough eternally". The recipient of the message is not guided through any kind of a balanced discussion. Confronting the imagined recipient directly with an intellectual position was considered fully sufficient to make the case. It can be assumed that meaning construction in these texts relied on the *authoritative force* of their statements rather than on an argumentative force attained by leading the recipient through a thought process.

This becomes evident from two observations. First, despite their brief and at times even enigmatic nature, these rather simplistic statements were nonetheless considered important enough to make the effort of fixing them on bamboo. And this is true not only for the immediate intellectual environment of Guōdiàn One—both spatially and chronologically—but for that of Mǎwángduī Three also. Second,

the units of thought collected in bundle A (and also in B and C) were handed down for generations. They all persisted in the later canonised compilation familiar to us as the *Classic of the Way and Virtue*. Despite the fact that most of these units took on an appreciably different form (certain words may differ, the internal structure of these units is not the same, some units are significantly shorter than their transmitted counterpart, and so on), the thought and tone in most cases nevertheless remain largely unchanged in the received classic.[25]

[25] Differences from the Guōdiàn One materials can nonetheless be seen in *zhāng* 17 and, especially, *zhāng* 18 of the transmitted versions. (In the following I refer to the Wáng Bì edition.) The beginning sentences of *zhāng* 18 of the transmitted text read "Cut short sagacity, discard wisdom, and the people will benefit a hundredfold; cut short benevolence, discard rightness, and the people will return to filiality and [parental] compassion; cut short artistry, discard profit, and robbers and thieves will have no existence" 絕聖棄智，民利百倍；絕仁棄義，民復孝慈；絕巧棄利，盜賊無有. This implies a disregard for values such as 'sagacity', 'benevolence', and 'rightness'. The text on bundle A, in contrast, reads: "Cut short wisdom, discard distinctions, and the people will benefit a hundredfold; cut short artistry, discard profit, and robbers and thieves will have no existence; cut short activity, discard deliberation, and the people will return [to the purity] of [unlearned] youngsters" 絕智棄辨，民利百倍；絕巧棄利，盜賊無有；絕爲棄慮，民復季子. This text apparently shows no disrespect for 'sagacity', 'benevolence', and 'rightness'. This has triggered a debate over which of the versions renders more closely the 'original spirit' of the *Lǎozǐ*—a debate that is renewed whenever there exists a close counterpart to an excavated text, as I have discussed at length in chapters 3 and 4. Briefly, there are two main currents in the way modern scholars explain the differences. One is to argue that the "Guōdiàn Lǎozǐ" [*sic*] represents the 'original spirit' of the *Lǎozǐ*; the transmitted versions represent later emendations, presumably made around the time of the appearance of the *Zhuāngzǐ*. Most representative for this view probably is Qiú Xīguī (2004a, 2006). The other view is that the "Guōdiàn Lǎozǐ" [*sic*] has been 'Confucianised' and thus represents a later emendation. Scholars making this assumption believe that the transmitted versions of the *Lǎozǐ* render its 'original spirit'. Most representative of this view probably are Zhōu Fèngwǔ (2000), Lǐ Líng (2002), and Lǐ Xuéqín (2002, 2005). Both types of reasoning represent monocausal lines of argument which, implicitly, assume straightforward *stemmata* for early text development. Such an approach neglects the complex processes of textual development. If we were to draw a *stemma codicum* for the development of early manifestations of a text, we should rather draw the complicated structure of a shrub, also referred to as a 'rhizome' (per Deleuze) by literary scientists. (Cf. West's [1973, 14] use of 'recensions', in which he distinguishes between 'closed' and 'open' recensions. West defines 'recensions' as *stemmata* that can be traced back to archetypes.) Lǐ Líng (2002) even assumes that the tomb occupant himself changed the text. This is just as unlikely. It cannot be assumed that the occupant wrote any of these texts at all. What is more, we cannot even be certain of any kind of relation between the tomb occupant and the texts under review. Hence, I have chosen to call the materials a 'tomb corpus' instead of a 'tomb library', as the latter denotation inevitably invites us to assume—groundlessly—that the texts were selected by the tomb occupant himself. For the concept of 'rhizome', see Deleuze and Guattari 1980.

Because these units of thought were considered important enough to fix on bamboo and all units persist to the present day, the units anthologised in bundle A (and likewise in bundles B and C) must have been commonly known and also highly respected, at least in some circles of intellectual activity in the Warring States period. That they were written down, anthologised, and, to some extent, remained unchanged casts light on the authoritative character of these statements. Groups (this certainly does not denote only a narrowly confined circle of people but rather refers to an abstract cultural identity) were constituted around these authoritative pronouncements. This further stabilised their authoritative character. However, the fact that these units have already taken on the shape of authoritative ideas prevalent in some élite circles does not necessarily imply the inverse conclusion that the authoritative character of these statements results from the existence of a prevalent concept of one authoritative "Lǎozǐ" behind them. Without a doubt, such a concept would connect these units of thought to one philosophically prevalent current, lending a group identity to those circles. However, as William G. Boltz has put it, we should beware of labelling a late fourth-century BC manuscript "with a name, for which our first evidence is a century or more later."[26] The same applies, it seems to me, to concepts.

To conclude, meaning in this type of text relies on reference to some kind of authority. The nature of this authority, its origin, and its dialectical processes so far remain unclear. Whether derived from masters, wisdom, or antiquity, it is certainly something coming from *outside* these texts and thus *imposed on* the different units. It can, nevertheless, be asserted that the authority underlying these units of thought is dependent on context, and so too is the successful construction of the meaning of these units. As will be discussed below, the authority underlying these texts therefore was not static but changed over time. The transmission of these isolated units of thought to the present day furthermore shows that texts of this type were highly successful in their approach to meaning construction. To differentiate texts of this type from stand-alone argument-based texts, I shall refer to them as 'context-dependent texts'.[27]

[26] See Boltz 1999a, 596.
[27] In previous publications I have called these texts 'authority-based'.

The "Zī yī" from Guōdiàn One

Another example of a context-dependent text from the tomb corpus of Guōdiàn One is the "Zī yī". Just like the units collected in bundles A, B, and C, the "Zī yī" does not create a reasoned set of ideas by blending different units of thought into greater meaningful wholes of pericope, subcanto, canto, and finally the text as a whole. In contrast, as with the materials of bundles A, B, and C, meaning is constructed by reference to authority.

The "Zī yī" from Guōdiàn One is written on forty-seven strips. These are each about 32.5 centimetres long. The strips are tapered towards both ends and are well preserved. Not a single strip is in a fragmentary condition. As can be judged from the marks on the strips, two cords, 12.8–13 centimetres apart, previously bound the strips together.[28]

The text of the Guōdiàn One "Zī yī" is complete. Each unit is followed by a heavy black marking, dividing the entire work into twenty-three units of thought. This number is also mentioned explicitly at the end of the text. Somebody has closed it. In contrast to the materials assembled on bundles A, B, and C, the Guōdiàn One "Zī yī" was apparently considered one entity during the Warring States period, at least by certain communities.

The Guōdiàn One "Zī yī" contains 1,156 characters. As such, it is notably shorter than the transmitted version of the text, now a chapter of the *Record of Rites, Lǐ jì* 禮記, which contains about 1,549 characters.[29] Compared with the received version, the exhumed units are organised more tightly. Two—maybe three—units of the received version of the *Lǐ jì* are not extant in the excavated text. Interestingly, the formal organisation of these units differs markedly from the rest of the work. Due to the otherwise consistent scheme of the individual units and the fact that they are not extant in either of the exhumed context-dependent texts (a version is also extant in the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts), one might be tempted to understand these passages of the received *Lǐ jì* as later intrusions. Lastly, similar to the materials collected on bundles A, B, and C, the units in the Guōdiàn One "Zī yī" also appear in a very different sequence from that of the transmitted counterpart.

[28] Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 129.
[29] See Shaughnessy 2006, 66.

"Zī yī": Two Manifestations on Bamboo and the Transmitted Text

The two manifestations of the "Zī yī" on bamboo—one from the tomb corpus of Guōdiàn One and the other from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts—are strikingly similar. Ignoring for a moment the fact that the Shànghǎi manifestation of the "Zī yī" is badly preserved, the two manuscript versions of the text apparently share the same length, the same contents, and even the same textual order of the units of thought assembled in them.[30] Notwithstanding the extraordinary overlap of the two, which in this form is exceptional, it nevertheless seems that neither of the two manuscripts was directly used as *Vorlage* for the other, because many of the characters of the two texts differ substantially, both structurally and phonetically. This needs to be explored in more detail.

Most of the different characters can be explained by 'graphic variation', as defined by William G. Boltz.[31] That means that in the two manuscripts different graphs were used for expressing essentially the same word. Many of the variations were obviously phonetically orientated.[32] This phenomenon might point to a text that was relatively

[30] The Shànghǎi instantiation of the "Zī yī" is written on twenty-four strips that are about 54.3 centimetres long when complete (today only eight strips remain intact). Originally, the strips were connected by three binding straps. For the "Zī yī" from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, see Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:43–68, 169–213.

[31] See Boltz 1997, 258.

[32] In many cases, the phonophoric remains consistent in the two versions, whereas the signific changes or is left out entirely. For instance, the Guōdiàn One text writes *yà* 亞 (OC *ʔˤrak-s) where the Shànghǎi text reads *wù* 惡 'to hate' (OC *ʔˤak-s) (see strip *zy*6/18 of the Guōdiàn One text; *Zy*4/3 of the Shànghǎi manuscript). The two graphs are in the same *xiéshēng* series and share the same phonophoric. They fulfil the criteria for loans in Old Chinese. Another example for a phonetically based graphic variation is *měi* 美 'beautiful' (*mrəjʔ): the Guōdiàn One manuscript writes 娧 (strip *zy*1/5), whereas the Shànghǎi text replaces the signific 頁 'leaf' with 女 'woman' (strip *Zy*1/4). The phonophoric remains the same in both texts. They belong to the same *xiéshēng* series and have the same Old Chinese reading: *měi* 美 'beautiful' (*mrəjʔ); *wēi* 微 (OC *məj). (Note that Gassmann [2005] connects variations such as in the case of *měi* 美 to grammatical functions. I consider this scenario rather unlikely. Scribes and philosophers were not identical during the Warring States period, and there is no good reason to assume that such variations reflect strict grammatical features rather than mere scribal idiosyncrasies.) On strip *zy*2/2, the Guōdiàn One manuscript writes *yí* 儀 'model' (OC *ŋ(r)aj) with the phonophoric *wǒ* 我 (OC *ŋˤajʔ) and the signific 心 'heart', whereas the Shànghǎi manuscript uses the signific 土 'earth' (strip *Zy*1/24). In unit 2 of the manuscript versions (what would be *zhāng* 章 11 of the received "Zī yī" from the *Lǐ jì* [strips *zy*2/10–3/12 of the Guōdiàn One text; strips *Zy*1/32–2/16 of the Shànghǎi text]; by 'received "Zī yī"', I refer to the version in the *Lǐ jì zhèng yì* 禮記正

stable in wording but unstable in writing. It could, however, also point to a situation in which a scribe was reading the text aloud to himself while he was in the process of producing another copy of it. As discussed in the analysis of the "Xìng zì mìng chū", this situation would ultimately result in a phonetically based copy of the text rather than a text that reproduced the graphs of the *Vorlage*. This would explain the graphic variations in these—structurally—very stable texts. Graphic variations that are stable phonetically are therefore of no use in determining whether the scribes used one of the two manuscripts or a third unknown but commonly shared manuscript as *Vorlage* for producing the Guōdiàn One and Shànghǎi manuscripts of the "Zī yī". Accordingly, the assumption that a scribe was pronouncing aloud the text before him while he was producing another copy of it might seem most appealing, as this would explain the extraordinary similarity of

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義, which is part of the Ruǎn Yuán 阮元 (1764–1849) edition of the *Thirteen Classics* of 1815]) the Guōdiàn One text writes *jiàn* 見 (most likely for *shì* 視) for what the Shànghǎi text expresses with *shì* 眡, both of which mean 'to show'. (See *Shuōwén jiězì*, 132.) *Shì* 視 has the Old Chinese reading *[g]ij-s or *[g]ijʔ-s (and *jiàn* 見 has the Old Chinese reading *kˤe[n]-s or *N- kˤe[n]-s). The reconstruction of *shì* 眡 is perhaps more problematic. According to Zhèngzhāng Shàngfāng, *shì* 眡 can be reconstructed as *gij-s—as can many other items in the 氏 series. However, according to Baxter and Sagart, the Old Chinese reconstruction for *shì* 眡 reads *[d]i[j](ʔ)-s. If that were true, it could either imply a palatalisation of velars before front vowels, possibly a Chǔ dialect feature, or indicate that a scribe mixed up velars and dentals when dictating to himself, an error known as "coronal substitution". (Other examples include *[g]eʔ for *[d]eʔ; *tet as phonophoric in place of *ket-s). Examples of a mere phonetic borrowing of otherwise probably unrelated words include the use of *shòu* 獸 'to hunt (wild) animals' (OC *n̥uk-s) in the Guōdiàn One manuscript for *shǒu* 守 'to maintain, keep, guard' (OC *[s-t]uʔ) in the Shànghǎi text (strip *zy*38/21 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript; *Zy*19/36 of the Shànghǎi manuscript). This often occurs in palaeographic materials. This loan becomes an option only after OC *n̥- and *s-t- had merged, which had happened at least by the time of Middle Chinese, when both become sy-, namely *shòu* 獸 < syuwH and *shǒu* 守 <syuwX. The use of *shòu* 獸 and *shǒu* 守 seems to indicate that the merger of *n̥- and *s-t- had already occurred by the late fourth or early third century BC (Baxter, personal communication, May 2008). Moreover, in a quotation from a now lost chapter of "Documents", namely the "Proclamation of Yǐn" (*Yǐn gào* 尹誥) (*zy*5/9 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript; *Zy*3/15 of the Shànghǎi manuscript), the Shànghǎi manifestation of the "Zī yī" has *kàng* 康 (OC *k-l̥ˤaŋ) for *tāng* 湯 (OC *(kə-)lˤaŋ) in the line: 隹 (惟) 尹 身 (允) 及湯 "It was only Yǐn 尹 who truly reached Tāng 湯 [OC *l̥ˤaŋ] [唐]". Both roots begin with a lateral, but since the one in 唐 is voiceless, they are homorganic. In unit 21, we see the use of *bì* 駜 'robust horse' (OC *[b]i[t] or *[b]ri[t]) for *pǐ* 匹 'mate; adversary, enemy' (OC *pʰi[t]) (*zy*42/13 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript; *Zy*21/41 of the Shànghǎi manuscript), although this might also be lexically related, since *pǐ* 匹 was used as a classifier for horses since the earliest inscriptions. Loans of this kind do not rule out the possibility that the scribe might have dictated the text to himself.

the two manifestations of the “Zī yī” on bamboo, despite the variations in their lexicons.

But there are also other types of variation in the lexicon which yield yet further information about the textual relationship of the two manifestations of the text. These are, in particular, those graphs that in principle express the same concept but *do not* share the same phonetic value. One example appears in a quotation from the “Documents”, namely from the “Lord Yǎ” (“Yǎ jūn” 雅君), where the Guōdiàn One version writes *cāng* 滄 (OC *[tsˤʰ]aŋ) for *hán* 寒 (OC *[g]ˤa[n]).[33] The main vowel of the two words is identical, but they have a different position of articulation of the initial, and they do not share the same coda. The two words basically have the same (broader) meaning but a different phonetic value. Variations of this kind suggest that we should not assume that the scribes produced either of the two manuscripts by copying—and dictating to himself!—one manuscript directly from the other one. Thus, in spite of the similarity attested, each of the two manuscript versions of the “Zī yī” should be considered an isolated manifestation of that text, as further examples of similar changes suggest.[34] This observation demands an explanation for why the two isolated manifestations of the “Zī yī”, from the tomb corpus of Guōdiàn One and the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, display such a neat structural textual coherence—and stability—but, at the same time, differ substantially from the transmitted version of the text. A model is needed that accounts for the coherence of the two exhumed, fully *stable* manifestations of the context-dependent text “Zī yī” but that, at the same time, acknowledges that the two were *isolated* instances of fixing the “Zī yī” on bamboo. The “Zī yī”, as we see from the two isolated manifestations on bamboo, seems to have enjoyed the status of a stable work already during the mid- to late Warring States—at least in the confines of the contemporaneous textual communities in

[33] See strip *zy*10/8 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript; *Zy*6/20 of the Shànghǎi manuscript: 晉冬旨滄 (*Zy*7/20 寒) “In the sharp cold of the extreme winter…” That these changes apply predominantly to the quotations from the “Documents” bears further witness to the open nature of its—truly unstable—body during the Warring States period.

[34] Other differences include variations in which the graph used has both a different reading *and* a different meaning, such as, for instance, seen in a quotation from the “Odes”, namely “King Wén” (*Wén wáng* 文王; *Máo* 235) (*zy*34/6 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript; *Zy*17/29 of the Shànghǎi manuscript), in which the Shànghǎi version writes *yì* 義 (OC *ŋ(r)aj-s) for *jìng* 敬 (OC *kreŋʔ-s).

which the two manifestations of the "Zī yī" were circulating. The fact that the Guōdiàn One text explicitly names the number of units at the end of the text (*èrshí yòu sān* 二十有三) further strengthens this assumption.[35]

The two manifestations of the "Zī yī" on bamboo are organised in the following fashion. The opening unit can be identified with what would be *zhāng* 章 2 of the transmitted "Zī yī" from the *Lǐ jì*. After what would be *zhāng* 2 of the transmitted "Zī yī" come units 11, 10, 12, 17, 6, 5, 4, 9, 15, 14, 3, 13, 7 (which is split up into two units in the manuscript versions), 8, 23, 18, 22, 21, 19, 20, 24—in that order. What would be *zhāng* 1, 16, and the first part of 18 of the transmitted text are not extant in either of the two excavated manifestations of the "Zī yī".

The general structure of these units can be described as follows. Every unit—both in the transmitted text as well as in the versions on bamboo—is introduced by quoting the master's words. In most cases, this statement is headed by the formula "The master says" (*zǐ yuē* 子曰). Only the first unit in the manuscript versions introduces the master's words with *fū zǐ yuē* 夫子曰. This formula basically carries the same meaning as *zǐ yuē* 子曰 (if 夫 is not read as a particle *fú*), signifying "and now (the master says)", suggesting that this unit directly connects to a preceding discourse generally known to the text's addressee.[36] It seems that this formula was used to signal the first unit of the context-dependent text of twenty-three units of thought.[37]

The introductory statement of each unit is in general relatively brief. It ranges from eleven graphs (in unit 20) to fifty-nine graphs (in unit 11) in the text of the manuscripts and is only slightly longer in the canonised "Zī yī". The master's words of the introductory statements are always followed by reference to another authoritative source. In the manifestations on bamboo this can be either from the "Odes" or a quotation from what consensus identifies as the "Documents"—or

[35] Strip *zy*47/5–8. The number has been written on the middle of the strip with blank areas above and below.

[36] This would be in line with the use of the particle *fú* 夫 in the *Huáinánzǐ*, the first word of the text. For a discussion of the particle *fú* 夫 in the *Huáinánzǐ*, see Ess 2007. For a study on the rhetorical function of the initial *fú* as a phrase status marker in Chinese philosophy, see Wagner, forthcoming.

[37] In the transmitted version of the "Zī yī", units 1 and 7 have different introductory formulae.

by reference to both.[38] The authors of the "Zī yī" themselves do not appear in the text with their own voices—neither in the text of the manuscripts nor in the transmitted "Zī yī". Ideas are given expression only through reference to the pool of a shared cultural identity. Just as seen from the various units assembled in bundles A, B, and C, the various units of thought that constitute the "Zī yī" rely on the authoritative force implied in these statements to convey meaning:

> "Guōdiàn One Zī yī" unit 1
>
> *zy1* 夫子曰：「好美如好緇衣，惡惡如惡巷伯，
> 則民咸服而型不頓。」[39]
> 詩 *zy2* 云：「儀型文王，萬邦作孚。」
>
> *zy1* Now the master said: "Love beauty as [I] love the Black Robes,[40] hate wickedness as [I] hate the Senior Palace Eunuch[41]—and the people will then all submit [to you], and [your] model will not fray away." In an ode *zy2* it is said: "A model of decorum, that was King Wén—the ten thousand states [all] acted sincerely."[42]

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[38] *Zhāng* 18 of the transmitted "Zī yī" strongly differs in style from both the other units of the manuscript manifestations and the canonised "Zī yī". It has two—different—introductory statements from unspecified master(s), commonly understood to be Kǒngzǐ. Only the second of these statements is followed by the reference to "Odes" or "Documents". The first statement does not appear in the manuscript versions of the text. Units 1 and 16 of the transmitted text—both of which are not extant in the manuscript versions of the "Zī yī"—also differ from the overall style of the work. Unit 1 quotes the master's words without any further reference to an ode or a passage from the "Documents". Based on this, Shaughnessy (2006, 75, 77) believes that unit 1 belongs to the "Biǎo jì", which heads the canonised "Zī yī" of the *Lǐ jì*. Unit 16, in contrast, lists four different quotations from the "Documents", otherwise unseen in the "Zī yī". It seems that this is a later insertion. Also, the transmitted "Zī yī" once quotes the *Changes, Yì* 易, namely in the concluding line of the final unit, 24, which also is not seen in the manuscripts. The manuscript versions of the "Zī yī" make no reference to the *Changes* at all.

[39] I follow the suggestion of the editors of the Shànghǎi "Zī yī" (see Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:175) and the editors of the Guōdiàn One "Zī yī" (see Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 131, n. 4) and read *zy*1/17 with *xián* 咸 'all' instead of *zāng* 臧 'good'. For the graph *zy*1/18 *fú* 服 'to submit' (它 in the manuscript) I follow Shaughnessy (2006, 94, n. 39), as the archaic forms of 服 and 孚 (the last word of the ode cited) are cognate. For the graphs *zy*1/21 ('model') and 23 ('crumble') I also follow Shaughnessy 2006, 72–74 (see also Shaughnessy [Xià Hányí 夏含夷] 2004, 294–295).

[40] Black robes were used as court dress for high-ranking ministers during the Zhōu dynasty (ca. 1025–256 BC). Moreover, "Black Robes" is also a song in the "Odes" (*Máo* 75).

[41] *Xiàng bó* 'Senior Palace Eunuch' was a title used in the Zhōu court. It is also the title of an ode (*Máo* 200).

[42] Quoting the ode "Dà yǎ: Wén wáng" 文王 (*Máo* 235).

"Guōdiàn One Zī yī" unit 2

子曰：「有國者章好章惡，以視民厚，則民 zy3 情不[糸弋]。」
詩云：「情共爾位，好是正直。」

The master said: "If he who possesses a state displays what he loves and displays what he hates so as to show the common people what he values as important, then the zy3 sentiments of the people will not be flawed." In an ode it is said: "Be thoughtful and deferential in your position; love those who are upright and righteous."[43]

As is characteristic of context-dependent texts, the units under review rely on authority to construct meaning.[44] This may either be odes or the words of an unspecified master (or masters), traditionally taken to be Kǒngzǐ 孔子. None of these units attempts to convey meaning by employing a systematic approach to the issue. Different units of thought are not integrated into a larger and coherent whole—at least not on the formal level of composition. Instead, as seen from the materials assembled in bundles A, B, and C, the different units remain formally unrelated and fully isolated. Even though the two units under review share the same focus, namely proper rule, and refer to authoritative sources similarly, they do not advance an integrated treatment of the subject in the fashion of argument-based texts. Instead, as seen from the materials collected in bundles A, B, and C, in which what LaFargue calls "Laoist sayings" corroborate a generally shared belief, meaning construction relies on the reference to authority, whether to unspecified masters or to other sources of cultural authority.[45] The recipient simply has to trust that "If he who possesses a state displays what he loves and displays what he hates", then the feelings of the common people "will not be flawed". Or the recipient has to accept the analogy drawn in the second unit quoted, namely that loving beauty and hating wickedness—as the masters love the Black Robes and hate the Senior Palace Eunuch—will result in the people's submission to the ruler. He will be like King Wén, the model of proper rule and the ideal of every ruler. As seen from the materials collected in bundles A, B, and C, the recipient is supposed to accept the positions advanced in

[43] Quoting the ode "Xiǎo yǎ: Xiǎo míng" 小明 (*Máo* 207).
[44] I have randomly chosen the first two units of thought to discuss, but other units present the same picture.
[45] For LaFargue's ideas on the "Lǎozǐ", see LaFargue 1992, 1994. On his notion of "sayings from the oral tradition of a small 'Laoist' community", see LaFargue 1992, 190ff.

the different units of thought as true simply because they are authoritative. The texts do not aim to persuade the recipient by providing a balanced treatment of certain ideas. The recipient either subscribes to the positions advanced or he or she does not.

This does not imply that the individual units of the manuscript versions of the "Zī yī" lack a consistent outlook. They consistently state the matter by quoting the masters' insights, which function as introductory formulae marking off the beginning of each unit of thought. The masters' words are followed by a reference to authoritative and well-known sources, namely ancient odes and, to a lesser extent, passages from the "Documents". Despite the fact that the different units are not blended into a unified whole structurally (formally, they remain fully isolated, and hence specific answers to a given concern), the uniform pattern of each of these units nevertheless creates a sense of consistency and allows the recipient to identify with the work as a whole. The pattern and the thought of the work harmonise. Moreover, as Martin Kern has already pointed out, the macrolevel consistency of the excavated "Zī yī" is also an effective tool for ensuring textual stability—both for the individual unit of thought and for the work as a whole.[46] It follows that even though the individual units of thought of the "Zī yī" remain separate, the macrolevel consistency of the work nevertheless allows the conclusion that the "Zī yī" was already conceived of as one work during the Warring States period. The kind of variation seen in the lexicon of the two isolated manifestations of the manuscript versions of the "Zī yī" further suggests that the text was predominantly transmitted orally rather than in writing. At the same time, this context-dependent text was a structurally closed entity already in the pre-unification Kingdom of Chǔ, and it was also recognised as such. The structural consistency between units of thought ensured textual stability and at the same time also made them easy to recognise as part of the "Zī yī".

Before closing this chapter, I want to draw attention to the observation that the first unit provides the hermeneutical key (*Leseanleitung*) for each particular unit of thought as assembled in this work, as well as for the "Zī yī" as a whole. Masters state that one should love beauty as they themselves love the Black Robes, and that one should hate wickedness as they hate the Senior Palace Eunuch. Clearly, more than just

[46] See Kern 2005b, 300–301.

the literal meaning is involved here. 'Black Robes' and 'Senior Palace Eunuch' cannot simply refer to the physical court dress of high ministers at the court of the Zhōu and its ritual meaning and to the office of the Senior Palace Eunuch and his potential influence on the ruler. Instead, the two references allude to odes and trust that the recipient understood this reference to cultural authority. But they do not draw on what is articulated in the odes themselves. Instead, the authors of the "Zī yī" use the phrases 'Black Robes' and 'Senior Palace Eunuch' to refer to what certain cultural communities agreed was the masters' particular interpretation of these odes. As will be discussed below, the authors of the "Zī yī" could safely assume that within the confines of certain textual communities, knowing "Black Robes" implies both *knowledge of* a particular cultural interpretation of the ode by the textual community which the authors had in mind when composing the "Zī yī", and also the *identification* of it *with* the—unstated—interpretation of these odes. Knowledge alone would not suffice to convey meaning. And meaning construction in the "Zī yī" *was* successful, at least with respect to certain textual communities. We know this because the effort was made to fix the different units on bamboo (at least twice) and because the work as a whole maintained considerable stability during the Warring States so that the units survived to the present day in canonised form. To understand the allusion to "Black Robes" one would have to know about the virtuous behaviour of Duke Huán of Zhèng 鄭桓公 (r. 806–771 BC) and of his son Duke Wǔ 武公 (r. 770–744 BC), as, for instance, suggested by the *Máo* reading of the ode, and, at the same time, one would have to *identify* this knowledge with the unit of thought in question.[47] In the same vein, the "Senior Palace Eunuch" refers to the wickedness of a senior palace eunuch during the reign of King Yōu of Zhōu 周幽王 (r. 781–771 BC), if one again follows the *Máo* reading at this point. When this cultural—and thus group-based—interpretation is borne in mind, this unit appears in a completely different light. The references can be appreciated only by understanding that mentioning these odes does not describe masters' bias toward or reservations about the odes themselves but refers to the complex cultural interpretation of these odes as agreed on by

[47] It is, of course, conceivable that the authors of the "Zī yī" bore an interpretation in mind that differed radically from the, later prevalent, reading of the "Odes" as given by the *Máo* tradition.

certain textual communities which consistently identify a corpus of texts, written or oral, as authoritative and agree on one consistent interpretation of these texts.

In summation, meaning construction in the "Zī yī" can be successful only if the recipient is equipped with special cultural training. Mentioning "Odes" in exactly this way requires at least one hermeneutical step to be taken before the unit of thought becomes meaningful. To make complete sense, the different quotations in the various units of thought must be taken as integrated cultural wholes. Reference to an ode always implies the reference to a particular cultural understanding of it, as agreed on by certain textual communities. By demanding a particular strategy to generate meaning, the first unit of thought reveals that the other units of this work ought to be read in exactly this fashion. Functioning as a hermeneutical key to the "Zī yī" at large, it is not surprising that this unit begins the "Zī yī"—and that it is marked accordingly.[48]

The fact that the construction of meaning in a text like the one under review largely lies in its reference to authority and, crucially, its—implicit—cultural interpretations, but not in the written text itself, makes it plain that meaning is generated by pointing to the world beyond the written text. These texts rely on the philosophical contextualisation of their units, and so they crucially remain bound to the triangular relationship between the text, the mediator of meaning, and the recipient of the message that characterises the structure of meaning conveyance underlying context-dependent texts. This casts light on another feature of context-dependent texts: the ambiguity of the given text and, accordingly, the *suitability* of the units of thought for use in different contexts. They become widely applicable modules.

Here I should point out that it has been argued that the "Zī yī" developed out of a connected discourse and became a sequence of isolated units only at a later stage of text development.[49] According to this hypothesis, the primary text layers were reflections on rulership to which elements such as the formula *zǐ yuē* 子曰 (or *fú zǐ yuē* 夫子曰), '[and now] master(s) said' and lines from the "Odes" were added. Consequently, the connected discourse was broken up and the text

[48] As noted, only the first unit of thought in the "Zī yī" is introduced by the formula *fūzǐ yuē* 夫子曰 instead of simply *zǐ yuē* 子曰.

[49] See Kalinowski 2000–2001.

assumed its modular form. In a third step, the individual units were reshuffled and additional use of authoritative references was made, so that the received version finally lost the meaningful progression of statements present in the primary text layer(s).

Although we can discern dominant themes in the "Zī yī", it is probably too early to substantiate this hypothesis with conclusive evidence. Even if one were to accept this hypothesis of text development, however, it would not alter the reading of the Guōdiàn One "Zī yī" as a context-dependent text. In the course of the pictured placement of the authoritative quotations, the units clearly gained primacy over previous hypothesised text layers. Already by the time of the Guōdiàn One manifestation of the text it had lost the form of a connected discourse. The number of units given at the end of the text, and the fact that they were rearranged in the received version make this plain. Whether certain textual communities might have made sense of the "Zī yī" primarily against the background of earlier text layers or, in fact, in the context of a mediated, cultural knowledge is thereby irrelevant. In the textual communities in which the "Zī yī" as manifested on bamboo was circulating, meaning was generated by reference to evocative structures that lay in the intellectual environment beyond the actual—written—text but not in the modular "Zī yī" itself.

Conclusion

Unlike the argument-based texts, the context-dependent texts from the same corpus of texts do not articulate any concern in writing beyond the level of the particular unit. The individual unit remains formally isolated and must be approached in its own right. No formal elements blend the different units into larger integrated wholes of pericope, subcanto, canto, and finally the text as a whole. On the formal level of the text, context-dependent texts should be taken as anthologies of diverse units of thought.

Despite this, the example of the "Zī yī" as materialised on bamboo shows that a context-dependent text can nevertheless have a consistent outlook. Even more importantly, a discontinuous context-dependent text may even have been composed—and understood—as an entity already in the pre-unification Kingdom of Chǔ. As discussed, the initial unit of the "Zī yī" features as a *Leseanleitung* (hermeneutical instruction) for the anthology of ideas as a whole, and it is marked

accordingly. That the entire collection of thoughts was taken as one fixed corpus in those textual communities in which the "Zī yī" under review was circulating is also shown by the number appearing at the end of the last unit, signalling that the text is complete. The macrolevel consistency that applies to the text as a whole further highlights this.

The macrocoherence of the "Zī yī" furthers the recognition of the various units. It allows the identification of the recipient with the work at large. In a reverse process, this also furthers the text's stability, which, again, reinforces a greater acceptance of what is expressed in the various units of thought, leading again to additional textual stability.

The macrolevel consistency of the "Zī yī" suggests that it is unlikely that this anthology is an accidental collection of otherwise-unrelated materials. This is relevant insofar as it reveals that the compositional difference between argument-based and context-dependent texts is not sufficiently explained by postulating a teleological model of text generation that would point to an earlier date for the arguably 'less mature' context-dependent texts.

Argument-based texts seek to establish their point by achieving argumentative force. The recipient is persuaded to accept the philosophical position presented in the text as good and, accordingly, as something that can be put into practice. Context-dependent texts, in contrast, rely on authority to state their concern. Reliance on authority that is not contextualised in the given text implies ambiguity and susceptibility to use in different contexts. Whether sayings of masters or references to "Odes", "Documents", or the '*kulturelles Gedächtnis*' of élite groups at that time,[50] the acceptance and identification of the text with these sources of cultural identity are necessary preconditions for any successful conveyance of ideas. And meaning construction in these texts *was* successful, as the different manifestations of this text suggest, thus pointing to the agreement of the recipient with the ideas transported and highlighting the predominantly oral contexts underlying meaning construction in these texts. The structure underlying the process of meaning conveyance in context-dependent texts, as well as that of philosophising on the basis of these texts, was that of a triangular relationship between text, the mediator of meaning, and the recipient of the message.

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[50] For cultural memory, *kulturelles Gedächtnis*, see J. Assmann 1999, esp. 19–24.

It follows that meaning in context-dependent texts was imposed on the written units from the outside. Ideas are not given expression in writing but rely on a group-based expatiating and contextualising of the various units of thought. Without mediated efforts of clarification, the different units remain unspecific and ambiguous. But the explanatory element of the text is never really part of the context-dependent text itself. It remains a feature that is external to the given text. Since none of the context-dependent texts yield such an explanatory element in writing (e.g., in the form of a commentary attached to the different units of thought), it becomes clear that expatiating and contextualising the various units of thought had to be a predominantly oral exercise—at a time when these texts had already taken material form on bamboo. For context-dependent texts, it thus remains a group's decision how to understand the—in itself unspecific and enigmatic, sometimes epigrammatic—units of thought. The different units therefore remain open to a wide range of interpretations. In each case, the particular textual community around a context-dependent text decides on the best way to make sense of it. Later exegetical efforts concerned with the context-dependent text *Lǎozǐ*, and the consequent appropriation of that text by different groups according to different needs, make this plain.[51] Textual communities around context-dependent texts were not static but changed over time.

In contrast to context-dependent texts, the argumentative nature of argument-based texts facilitated the accessibility of these texts to a potentially wider audience. By reasoning on a certain philosophical topic, these texts advance systematic approaches in order to be persuasive. Even though they may also cite the lore of a shared élite group's identity, the construction of meaning goes beyond the mere recognition of authority. Meaning becomes accessible to everyone who is able to read and has access to these texts. It can safely be assumed that texts of this type were detached from oral contexts and circulated independently in writing. Ironically, it is exactly the texts that worked in oral contexts which finally survive in the written textual tradition, while the early written texts all drop out. This needs to be explained and I come back to this further below in this study.

[51] See in this context the informative contribution by Robinet 1998.

CHAPTER SIX

APPLYING THE METHODOLOGY: "TÀI YĪ SHĒNG SHUǏ" 太一生水 "THE ULTIMATE ONE GIVES BIRTH TO WATER" AND "LǍOZǏ" 老子

Three bundles of bamboo strips from tomb Guōdiàn One—tentatively called bundles A, B, and C—contain textual materials that closely resemble roughly two-fifths of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*. These materials naturally generate many questions. On the one hand, they resemble the transmitted *Lǎozǐ* closely in spirit and tone. On the other hand, they differ considerably from the transmitted text in style and content. Despite the fact that they have been placed in the same tomb, the texts are fixed on different bundles of bamboo strips, and they also seem to be inscribed by different hands.[1] As for the internal organisation of these texts on the different bundles of strips, the sequence of the individual units of thought differs significantly from that of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*, and they furthermore often deviate substantially from the transmitted text in lexicon, length, as well as their internal structure and composition. In addition to this, some fourteen strips of bundle C also contain textual materials otherwise unknown and thus not part of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*. Present-day scholarship refers to these as "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" 太一生水 (The Ultimate One Gives Birth to Water), a title based on the first four characters of the text. The finding of the textual materials on the three bundles once more calls for a reevaluation of the nature of what we today call the *Lǎozǐ*. In this chapter, I shall apply the methodology outlined in the preceding chapters to these materials and elaborate on their textual relationship.

Due to the fact that the textual materials of the context-dependent texts[2] collected in bundles A, B, and C display such grave differences from the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*, a great many scholars also understand the

[1] See Boltz 1999a, 592.

[2] Note that the materials were not only collected on different bundles of bamboo strips but also distinguished by different markings on the strips, such as, for instance, the two tadpole symbols in bundle A. This might suggest *different texts* or sources collected in one bundle. Thus, the fact that Mǎwángduī Three contained a complete *Lǎozǐ*—even though organised in a substantially different way than the transmitted

otherwise unknown materials collected on bundle C as surviving elements of a so-called "Warring States Proto-Lǎozǐ" which, however, did not make it into the transmitted text. In the following I shall outline an alternative view. Briefly, I hold that the text of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is not an integral part of an imagined coherent composition that would include the texts recorded on bundles A, B, and C—an envisioned "Guōdiàn Lǎozǐ" or Ur-Lǎozǐ. Instead, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" should be understood as an argument-based text in its own right. Even though it shares some notions that are given expression also in the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*, a closer look at the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" nevertheless suggests that both the formal structure of composition of the text and the main ideas presented in it are not in congruence with the context-dependent texts of bundle C (or, in fact, A, B, and C). Thus, the fact that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is collected in one bunch of bamboo strips together with other context-dependent texts does not necessarily suggest their close relationship. Instead, during the Warring States period it was common for a text to share a material carrier with unrelated texts—for reasons that so far remain beyond full comprehension.[3] As a general tendency, however, the explanation for this custom seems to lie in the physical availability of certain materials rather than an internal relationship of the texts collected. During the Warring States, a manuscript culture gradually came into existence. The increase in the number of written texts brought about changes in the production of manuscripts, and it may be assumed that texts increasingly became at tradable commodity. This might have led to the professionalisation of manuscript production, including the division of labour. It is likely that professional scribes copied texts onto those suitable objects that were available for writing, probably prepared by other hands. Even if we assume that a manuscript was produced by the same person, the different steps in the production of a manuscript were quite certainly streamlined. It can thus be assumed that, usually, the physical objects were not produced per text, but the texts were fitted on the physical objects prepared in advance and made available for manuscript production. Despite this,

versions—does not substantiate the assumption that the materials from Guōdiàn One should likewise be seen as one text, only because *later* anthologies do so.

[3] The "Qióng dá yǐ shí" and the "Lǔ Mù gōng wèn Zǐ Sī", for instance, were also collected in the same bundle of bamboo strips even though the two share no close relationship with each other.

it still seems rather unlikely to find competing materials on one and the same material carrier. But this has more to do with the customs of *collecting* available textual materials (possibly those with which the collector wanted to be identified) rather than with the abstract objective of writing down related texts on a shared material carrier.

Whatever the precise process of manuscript production might have been, a text can be defined as the formulation of an idea abstracted from its material carrier. As such, it could travel independently of material contexts. Hence, we need to draw a clear methodological distinction between text as matter to be transmitted and the manuscript as the physical instantiation of a text. For the written philosophical texts from the Warring States it follows that it is methodologically ill-founded to hypothesise about their intellectual orientation based primarily on their material condition such as the length or the cutting of the bamboo strips or the observation that texts were grouped together on the same material object. Such an approach would inevitably lead to a preconditioned understanding of the texts.

"Tài yī shēng shuǐ": An Argument-Based Text

Bundles A, B, C differ in length,[4] modes of manufacture,[5] and calligraphy. The texts were written on bamboo by at least three different hands. The textual materials were probably collected at different places, maybe even at different times, or possibly copied from different *Vorlagen*.

How do we explain this state of affairs? Was there no single coherent *Vorlage* to consult? And if there was no such *Vorlage*, did one *Lǎozǐ* exist at all during the Warring States? And if it did, why were only certain units selected instead of the text being copied in its entirety? What happened to the remaining three-fifths of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ* that did not find its way on to at least one of the three bundles of bamboo strips, now referred to as A, B, and C? And if the units chosen were indeed taken from an already complete text, then why would

[4] Bundle A contains strips that are 32.3 centimetres long; B, 30.6 centimetres; and C, 26.5 centimetres.

[5] The strips of bundle A are tapered towards both ends, whereas those of bundles B and C are cut evenly at both sides.

only parts of it be copied? Why would even structurally coherent units be shortened, since some of the modules seen in the three bundles are appreciably shorter than those of the transmitted text? As shown by the analysis, these would be theoretically stable units of thought. Why was the tadpole symbol inserted twice in bundle A? Other materials from Guōdiàn One suggest that this symbol signals the end of either an individual text or of self-contained parts of it. These questions all point to the dispute about whether the transmitted *Lǎozǐ* was written by one historical figure—maybe around the late sixth or fifth century BC[6]—or whether it should rather be understood as an anthologised collection of different ideas, composed by different people in different periods.[7]

As a result of losing confidence in the existence of *one* composition identified with the *Lǎozǐ* in the Warring States period (or even in the existence of the entire concept of a "Lǎozǐ" itself), a number of scholars consider the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" an integral part of materials collected on bundle C. This would be the final blow against the concept of a coherent "Lǎozǐ", since, as mentioned, none of these materials found their way into the later versions of the text. I fully subscribe to these hesitations concerning the notion of one *Lǎozǐ* composed in its entirety by one person, whenever that is proposed to have taken place. However, I do so for different reasons.

The problem with considering the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" an integral part of the materials collected on bundle C—the so-called "Guōdiàn Lǎozǐ C"—which, at first sight, might seem to be the logical step in a methodologically accurate text critique, is the fact that the materials now referred to as "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" are organised in a completely different fashion from the other materials collected in that bundle of bamboo strips. The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" contains materials that extend over fourteen strips. In contrast, none of the other units of thought collected on bundles A, B, and C need more space than three to four bamboo strips—at the very utmost. Thus, the sheer length of more

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[6] As, for instance, Chén Gǔyìng (1992a) argues provocatively. Shaughnessy notes that this view has by now received "some consensus status in China" (2005, 443).

[7] This was first argued by Gù Jiégāng (1932). Representative of Western views on the *Lǎozǐ* is the highly influential study and translation by Lau (1963). In several monographs and articles, LaFargue (1992, 1994, 1998) has deepened this understanding of the *Lǎozǐ*.

than four times the average unit of thought in the discontinuous context-dependent texts collected in bundles A, B, and C makes it rather unlikely that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is an inherent part of these collections of thoughts, if one were to accept the supposed unity of the text. But the unity of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" itself is not undisputed. Subsequent to what is generally perceived as a cosmogony (strips 1–8), the text changes its focus and shifts to a politico-philosophical level (strips 9–14). As a result, the materials are sometimes split into two individual texts and interpreted as lost parts of a "Warring States Proto-Lǎozǐ".

Plausible as this assumption might seem at first sight, it is ill-founded for being ultimately shaped by the mere observation that the textual materials now called "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" were collected on one and the same bundle of strips with the individual units of thought assembled in bundle C, which, based only on much later findings, are correlated with the ideas anthologised in bundles A and B. The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is given no room to be understood in its own right. Yet, as detailed, collecting different texts in one and the same bundle of bamboo strips was a common practice during the Warring States. It does not imply that they were ever considered as integral parts.

As mentioned, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" consists of two parts, a cosmogony and a politico-philosophical discussion. But these two parts are not individual texts. Instead, they were two parts of a consistent whole. By implication, when applying the methodology of textual analysis as developed in this study, it becomes clear that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" as a whole establishes one coherent argument. Unlike the remaining units anthologised in bundle C, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is, as I will show, an argument-based text. The politico-philosophical discussion is an integral part of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" and is based on the preceding cosmogony and has to be contextualised accordingly. The politico-philosophical discussion of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" should thus be seen as the concrete application of the insights gained from the cosmogony presented in the text.

The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" addresses the source of political power of a state. The text can be understood fully only when taken in its entirety. The concern of the text is to explain the conceptual meaning of the 'Way' (*dào*) as pictured by the authors of the text, and from this to draw the relevant conclusions for proper rule.

Part 1: Cosmogony

ty1太一生水，水反薄太一，是以成天；[A]
天反薄太一，是以成地。
天地□□□[復相薄]ty2也，是以成神明； †[B]
神明復相薄也，是以成陰陽；
陰陽復相薄也，是以成四時；
四時ty3復 [相] 薄也， 是以成滄熱；
滄熱復相薄也，是以成溼燥；
溼燥復相薄也，成歲ty4而止。

ty1The Ultimate One gives birth to water, water returns and joins with the Ultimate One—this is how it completes Heaven.
Heaven returns and joins with the Ultimate One—this is how it completes Earth.
Heaven and Earth {*repeatedly join with each other*} ty2—this is how they complete the spirits and the illuminated.[8]
The spirits and the illuminated repeatedly join with each other—this is how they complete the shadowy and the sunny.
The shadowy and the sunny repeatedly join with each other—this is how they complete the four seasons.
The four seasons ty3repeatedly join {*with each other*}—this is how they complete coldness and heat.
Coldness and heat repeatedly join with each other—this is how they complete moisture and dryness.
When moisture and dryness repeatedly join with each other, completing the year, ty4[the circle] stops.

故歲者，溼燥之所生也；
溼燥者，滄熱之所生也；
滄熱者，四時 [之所生也]; † [C]
[四時]ty5 者，陰陽之所生；
陰陽者，神明之所生也；
神明者，天地之所生也；
天地ty6者，太一之所生也。

Therefore, the year is begotten by moisture and dryness.
Moisture and dryness are begotten by coldness and heat.
Coldness and heat {*are* begotten} by the four seasons.
The ty5 {*four seasons*} are begotten by the shadowy and the sunny.
The shadowy and the sunny are begotten by the spirits and the illuminated.
The spirits and the illuminated are begotten by Heaven and Earth.
ty6Heaven and Earth are begotten by the Ultimate One.

[8] On the concept of *míng* 明, see Maspéro 1933.

是故太一藏於水、行於時、周而又 □ [始。] †
□□□ [故][太一][為] [ty7]萬物母，一缺一盈，以己爲萬物經。† [D]
此天之所不能殺，地之所[ty8]不能埋，陰陽之所不能成。[E]
君子知此之謂[聖人]□□□□□[□] † [F]

From this it follows that the Ultimate One is stored in the water, moves with the [four] seasons, [finishes] a circle, and then {*starts over again*}.†
…{*Hence the Ultimate One is*} [ty7]the mother of the myriad things; at times lacking, at times full, it takes itself to be the alignment of the myriad things. †
This is what Heaven is unable to kill, Earth [ty8]is unable to smother, the shadowy and the sunny are unable to complete.
The gentleman (*jūnzǐ*) who grasps this is one whom we call a {*sagacious person*}… †

Part 2: Application

…[ty10]下，土也，而謂之地；[G]
上，氣也，而謂之天。
道亦其字也。請問其名？ [H]

…. [ty10]Below is soil, yet we call it 'earth'.
Above is vapour, yet we call it 'heaven'.
'*Dào*' likewise is [only] a style name for it—May I [thus] ask for its [real] name?

以[ty11]道從事者必托其名，故事成而身長。[I]
聖人之從事也，亦托其[ty12]名，
故功成而身不傷。

He who [ty11]carries out his service according to the '*dào*' necessarily consigns himself to its [real] name; this is why [his] task is completed and his person can endure.
In carrying out his service, the sagacious person also consigns himself to its[ty12][real] name; this is why [his] achievements are completed and his person will not suffer harm.

天地，名字並立，故過其方，不思相當 □□□† [J]
[天不足] [ty13]於西北，其下高以強。
地不足於東南，其上□□□□□□□□ [高以強][…]† [K]

As for Heaven and Earth, their name and style name are established simultaneously; as a result, once moving beyond these realms, one does not think [of them] appropriately… †
…{*If Heaven does not suffice*} [ty13]in the northwest, what is below it rises in strength.
If Earth does not suffice in the southeast, what is above it {*rises in strength*}… †

[ty9]天道貴弱，削成者以益生者；[L]
伐於強，責於□ [X…] †[M]
□□□□□□ [是故不足於上] [ty14]者，有餘於下；†
不足於下者，有餘於上。

[ty9]The Way of Heaven is to value weakness—it reduces what is completed so as to add to what is living.
Cutting back on strength, requesting from {…}.
{*This is why what does not suffice above*},.. [ty14]will have a surplus below.
[And] what does not suffice below will have a surplus above.

As with nearly every new text that comes to light, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" generates more questions than one can answer. Its philosophical affiliation is debated with great passion, and some of its concepts remain obscure.[9] Even the proper order of the strips is still an open question. Especially the position of strip *ty*9 remains a focus of dispute, as this particular strip does not connect to continuous sentences above or below.[10] For the moment, I tentatively place it right before strip *ty*14. In this I follow Qiú Xīguī 裘錫圭, who sees a coherence of the three clusters *ty*1–8, *ty*10–13, and *ty*9 and 14.[11]

Based on the fact that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" has been fixed on the same material carrier as those units which consensus refers to as "Guōdiàn Lǎozǐ C", the majority of studies discussing the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" focus on its supposed relation to these units.[12] The fore-

[9] Lǐ Xuéqín (1998a, 1999c) sees a close affiliation of this text to ideas of the so-called Guān Yǐn 關尹 Daoists; his viewpoint has received much support, especially in China. Huáng Zhāo (2000), for his part, sees a close affiliation of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" with Jìxià 稷下 scholarship. Most scholars follow Dīng Sìxīn (2002) in dating the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" to the late Warring States period. On Warring States concepts of the Ultimate (or Great) One, see Allan 2003.

[10] As Qiú Xīguī notes, the editors of Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998 originally placed strip *ty*9 before strip *ty*13 and after *ty*12. It was only due to Qiú's demur that the editors finally located it following strip *ty*8. See Qiú 2000b, 219–220. Later Qiú withdrew his earlier proposal to insert strip *ty*9 following *ty*8 and before *ty*10. According to his current view, strip *ty*9 should be placed right before the final strip *ty*14 and after *ty*13, thus arriving at the following order: 1–13, 9, 14. See Qiú 2000b, 220. As is so often the case, once made public, his view enjoyed much agreement among scholars. Whereas Chén Wěi (1999, 2000b) suggested placing strip *ty*9 following *ty*12 and before *ty*13—a view shared by Cuī Rényì (1998, 37) and Liú Xìnfāng (1999, 76, 78)—he subscribed to Qiú's view after having seen his article; see Chén Wěi 2003, 24.

[11] See Qiú Xīguī 2000b, 221. According to this order, strips *ty*1–8 outline the cosmology of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ". The cluster *ty*10–13 discusses the importance of proper naming, the cluster *ty*9, 14 discusses the fact that the "Ultimate One" in itself values weakness.

[12] See Cuī Rényì 1998; Lǐ Xuéqín 1998a; William Boltz 1999a; Chén Wěi 1999, 2000b; Dīng Sìxīn 2002; Chén Lìguī 2005; among others.

most goal of my brief discussion of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is to show that it did not belong to any of the context-dependent texts assembled in bundles A, B, or C, let alone to an imagined text spanning these three bundles of bamboo strips. In what follows below, I will discuss how the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" works as an argument-based text in its own right.

The Structure of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ"

It has been repeatedly argued that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" displays a considerable overlap of ideas with some units of thought of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ* (and with some units collected in bundles A, B, and C).[13] It is held accordingly that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" should be understood as a hermeneutical device that explores the concerns expressed in some of those units of thought—as an early commentary to the anthology of ideas called *Lǎozǐ*, so to speak. This would nicely explain, as argued, why it shares the same bundle of bamboo strips with these units.[14] It is against this background that some scholars split the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" up into separate units, each of which is considered to relate exclusively to one individual *zhāng* 章 of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*.[15] It is even suggested that the units of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" were set apart from one another by black markings on the strips—as seen in the context-dependent text of bundle C and to a lesser extent also seen in the context-dependent texts from bundles A and B.[16] By implication,

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[13] William Boltz (1999a, 595), for instance, notes that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" contains passages corresponding to *zhāng* 17, 18, 35, 31, and 64 of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*. See also Qiú Xīguī 2000b.

[14] Lǐ Xuéqín (1998a), for instance, reads the first eight strips of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ"—the part that lays out a cosmogony—as a complementary elaboration of *zhāng* 42 of the transmitted (Wáng Bì) *Lǎozǐ*. See also Qiú Xīguī 2000b.

[15] Chén Wěi (1999, 2000b) divides the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" into three units. As Chén hypothesises, these are concerned with *zhāng* 42, 25, and 77 of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ* and must, by implication, be understood as a further elaboration of these. If this were indeed the case, it would imply that the context-dependent texts collected in bundles A, B, and C represent a selection from a, by that time already complete, *Lǎozǐ*. I doubt this.

[16] See Qiú Xīguī 2000b, 220ff. According to Qiú, each of the units *ty*1–8; 10–13; 9 and 14 were followed by black markings on the strips. Just like Chén Wěi (1999, 2000b, 2003), Qiú also believes that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is a further elaboration of the *Lǎozǐ*. Yet, unlike Chén, he does not see a one-to-one relation between the units from the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" and *zhāng* 42, 25, and 77 of the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*. At the end of the text, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" was indeed closed by a black sign on the final

the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is made into a compilation of otherwise unrelated units of thought, whether part of the materials collected on bundles A, B, and C or a hermeneutical tool elaborating them. The problem with this approach is that it is ultimately determined by the transmitted *Lǎozǐ*. I propose instead to test a reading which considers whether the fourteen strips that constitute the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" may be understood as a coherent whole despite the fact that they share a material carrier with the context-dependent texts of bundle C. I shall hence investigate whether it is possible to detect a coherent system behind the composition of the text as a whole.[17]

One of the keys for testing the overall coherence of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is a close reading of the third building block of this text (strips *ty*6/8–*ty*8/end). This unit closes the cosmogony of the text by focusing on the characteristics of the Ultimate One. It also brings into play the gentleman (*jūnzǐ* 君子).

> 是故太一藏於水、行於時、周而又 □ [始。] †
> □□□ [故][太一][為] [ty7]萬物母，一缺一盈，以己爲萬物經。† [D]
> 此天之所不能殺，地之所 [ty8]不能埋，陰陽之所不能成。[E]
> 君子知此之謂[聖人]□□□□□[□] † [F]

> From this it follows that the Ultimate One is stored in the water, moves with the [four] seasons, [finishes] a circle, and then {*starts over again*}.†
> …{*Hence the Ultimate One is*} [ty7]the mother of the myriad things; at times lacking, at times full, it takes itself to be the alignment of the myriad things. †
> This is what Heaven is unable to kill, Earth [ty8]is unable to smother, the shadowy and the sunny are unable to complete.
> The gentleman (*jūnzǐ*) who grasps this is one whom we call a {*sagacious person*}…†

The final sentence that mentions the gentleman reads as follows:

> 君子智(知)此之胃(謂)□□□□□□□[□] "The gentleman (*jūnzǐ* 君子) who grasps this is one whom we call a □□□□□□[□]".

Unfortunately, strip *ty*8 breaks off exactly at this juncture. However, we can still reconstruct that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is about to provide

strip. But since many bamboo strips are fragmentary, we cannot say with certainty whether such markings also divided the different textual units.

[17] Note that a negative outcome of this test would not per se allow the reverse conclusion that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" was part of something like a "Warring States Proto-Lǎozǐ".

a positive definition for 'gentleman' (*jūnzǐ* 君子): as someone who is characterised by having grasped the essence of what has been outlined in the cosmogony of the text. After this passage, that is, after having provided a definition for gentleman (*jūnzǐ* 君子) as someone who has grasped the essence of the cosmogony, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" no longer speaks of a gentleman. Instead, the subsequent passages only speak of the 'sagacious person' (*shèng rén* 聖人). According to the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", the sagacious person is someone who carries out his service according to the *dào* 道. I come back to this below.

Because a crucial part of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is missing, nothing can be said about this text with absolute certainty. Despite this, by paying close attention to its compositional features, it is still possible to gain a satisfactory picture of this defective text. I am confident that these features help to explain the missing parts of the text. The characteristic formal device of composition of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is the repeated contrast of different concepts with each other in order to define their conceptual meaning. This formal device is *the* decisive characteristic of the text. It applies to the different levels of the composition.

Assuming for the moment the unity of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ"—which can be demonstrated only by describing the different compositional features of the text—it can be shown that the concept 'sagacious person' (*shèng rén* 聖人) of the second part of the text is in fact correlated to the concept 'gentleman' (*jūnzǐ* 君子) in canto 1 (the first part of the text). The sagacious person is described as having grasped the essence of cosmogony, which is then defined. Due to the damage to the bamboo strip, this definition of the essence of cosmogony is now lost. But if it holds true that 'sagacious person' is indeed the qualitative definition for the 'gentleman', namely as someone who grasps the essence of the cosmogony as described in the text, and it is reasonable to assume that it *is*, then it becomes clear that the unit under review fulfils two functions. It concludes the first part of the text and, simultaneously, leads the argument over to the next part of the text. This can be described as follows. First, this passage *concludes* the first part of the text by summing up the concrete characteristics of the Ultimate One, the *tài yī* 太一. As it is stated therein, the *tài yī* commences the process that generates the cosmos and, crucially, also imbues the cosmos with all of its characteristics. Second, the unit under review further provides the information that it is necessary for a gentleman to comprehend the cosmogonic process described and—even

more importantly—appreciate the essence of the Ultimate One and what results from it. This makes a gentleman (*jūnzǐ* 君子) become a sagacious person (*shèng rén* 聖人). By implication, the unit articulates an implicit request addressed to the gentleman. If he fulfils this request, the gentleman can be redefined as a 'sagacious person'. By so doing, the unit under review (building block 3) leads the argument of the text from the cosmogony to a politico-philosophical level. Seen from the postulated macro perspective, it is another instance of a double-directed feature of a text segment in that this building block combines two parts of that text. Connecting two cantos of a consistent text—as will be shown below—it is a distanced type of this feature.

Accepting these preconditions for the moment, the following becomes clear. The 'sagacious person' of canto 2 relates to the 'gentleman' of canto 1. But 'sagacious person' should now be read as a concept meaning 'a gentleman who has grasped the very nature of the Ultimate One (and, by implication, of the cosmos at large)', as described in canto 1 of the text. In the same way in which the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" no longer uses the appellation 'gentleman' after having provided a more substantive definition for the person who has grasped the essence of the Ultimate One and the cosmos at large (and so what results from it), the text also redefines the other important concepts. On the whole, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is all about providing conceptual definitions for the things and concepts that surround us. But it is concerned, not with 'proper naming', but rather with defining the actuality of these things. As such, it comes close to the Aristotelian idea of defining 'the what it is' (*to tiesti* το τι ἒστι) of a thing. In particular, it is concerned about the actuality of the 'Way', the *dào* 道.[18]

The Actuality of the 'Way' (Dào)

Canto 2 of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" proceeds to describe the sagacious person in further detail, namely in his relation to the *dào* 道. The *dào*, it may seem, is an otherwise unspecific and highly abstract concept. It is noteworthy that the two concepts which feature so importantly in canto 1 of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" are so prominently absent in canto 2

[18] In this the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" differs greatly from what is sometimes referred to as a '*rú*-ist' discourse of names and appellations. For a good discussion of the dispute of Warring States philosophers on names and concepts, see Makeham 1994.

of the—supposedly coherent—text. These two concepts are the 'Ultimate One' (*tài yī* 太一), defined as the force commencing the process that generates the cosmos and, simultaneously, pertaining the cosmos in its entirety; and 'gentleman'. By taking the next step in testing the argumentative nature of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" as a whole, it will become apparent that the correlation of 'Ultimate One' (*tài yī* 太一) with the 'Way' (*dào* 道) is structurally the same as that of 'sagacious person' with 'gentleman'. The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" implicitly defines these concepts through its formal structure. Ideas are correlated with one another and on different levels of the text, and so their conceptual meaning is made accessible.

Canto 2 of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" articulates the philosophical concern of this text. This becomes obvious from a close reading of the fourth building block (strip *ty*10/1–23). Building block 4 puts forward the idea that only by knowing the '[real] name' (*míng* 名) of a thing can one grasp the essence of it. '[Real] name' discloses the actuality of a thing, whilst 'style name' (*zì* 字) refers only to a mere denotation that cannot grasp the full meaning of a thing. See the following figure of building block 4:

…*ty*10 下，土也，而謂之地；[G]
上，氣也，而謂之天。
道亦其字也。請問其名？[H]

….*y*10 Below is *soil*, yet we call it 'earth';
Above is *vapour*, yet we call it 'heaven'.
'*Dào*' likewise is [only] *a style name for it*—May I [thus] ask for its [*real*] *name*?

Figure 22a: Building Block 4

Building block 4 argues that 'heaven' and 'earth' are only style names of what 'vapour' and 'soil' (the real names) describe in their entirety. The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" contrasts this with the *dào* 道. As it is put, '*dào*' is only a style name, too.[19] As such, it remains an abstract appellation that cannot grasp the essence—that is, the actual meaning—of a thing. As this passage makes plain, this issue must have given many philosophers of that period a considerable headache. Despite the fact that '*dào*' is only a style name, it nevertheless remains the '*dào*'

[19] Strip *ty*10/15–23.

according to which one should perform service.[20] But only by knowing the real name of it, and thus grasping this concept in its entirety, can one endure. Hence, we have the blunt question posed by the authors of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", in which they ask for the real name of the concept, hoping to provide it with more substantial contents:

> 道（道）亦丌（其）怸（字）青（請）昏（問）丌（其）明（名）
>
> '*Dào*' likewise is [only] a style name for it—May I [thus] ask for its [real] name?[21]

If rendered in structural terms, meaning formation in this building block works as shown in figure 22b.

As shown in this figure, building block 4 contrasts real names—the essence of the things—with denotations that are, as can be assumed, commonly used, yet are devoid of actual meaning. By so doing, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" establishes a correlation between real names and their mere denotations. 'Heaven', by implication, is nothing other than the style name for what 'vapour' describes in its entirety. Real name, it turns out, is the phenomenological actuality behind an otherwise rather abstract concept. In the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", the phenomenological actuality behind the concepts used is fully disclosed by means of contrasting their style name and real name with each other and so establishing a correlation between them. As I will show, this technique is *the* device of meaning construction of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ". It

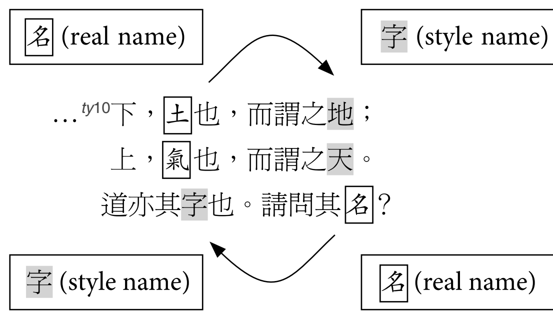


Figure 22b: Structural Representation of Building Block 4

[20] Strips *ty*10/24–12/14.

[21] For the reading of 青(青)昏丌(其)名 as 請問其名 "may I ask its name", see the seminal article by Qiú (2000b).

applies not only to building block 4 but also to the macrostructure of the text. Building block 4 can thus be taken as a hermeneutical key to the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" in that it reveals how to approach the text as a whole.

If only looking at this passage, that is, when reading the text in a merely linear fashion and not in the context of the whole text, the question posed in building block 4 remains an open one. The phenomenological actuality behind the otherwise abstract denotation '*dào*' would be left unspecified. Interpreting this particular passage as an isolated unit of thought would thus be to postulate a text devoid of meaning. However, when applying the same strategy underlying building block 4 to the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" as a whole, that is, reading the—postulated—macrostructure of the text as the deliberate attempt to contrast style name and real name with each other in order to establish a correlation between name and actuality, and thus disclose the phenomenological actuality behind the various concepts of the text, it becomes clear that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" does indeed provide a positive reading of the otherwise abstract concept '*dào*'.

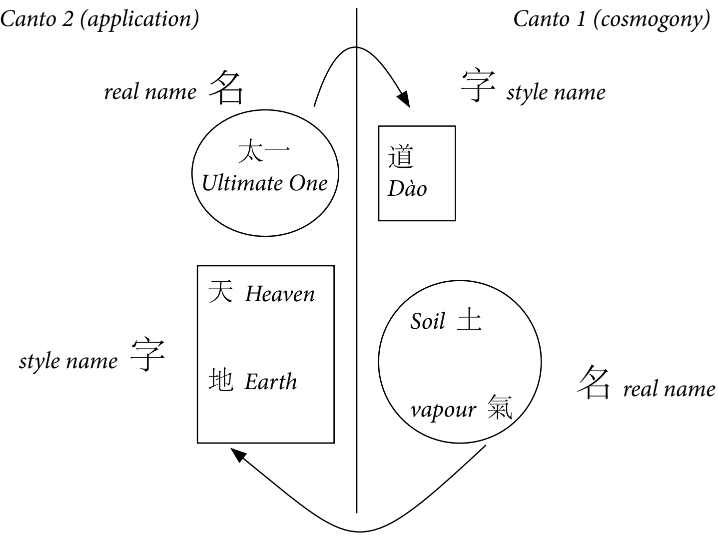
The two parts of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" are related on formal grounds. They mirror each other structurally. Canto 2 elaborates on the insight of the cosmogony outlined in canto 1. Just as postulated for the hierarchical argumentative line of the macrocomposition of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", which I discussed in chapter 2, the two parts of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" show a similar, complementary relationship (see fig. 23).[22]

Just as in building block 4, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" as a whole contrasts real names with their style names. The macrostructure establishes a correlation between the essence of a thing and its commonly used denotation. Isolated from the actual thing, these denotations are unable to describe the thing itself. Just as 'heaven' and 'earth' prove to be nothing other than style names for what 'vapour' and 'soil' describe in their entirety (thus describing the phenomenological actuality of a thing and so presenting their 'real names'), the 'Ultimate One' (*tài yī* 太一) is considered to be the phenomenological actuality behind the style name '*dào*'.[23]

[22] Cf. chapter 2, figure 12.

[23] As mentioned, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" defines, not words, but the phenomenological actuality of things. In this respect, the definition of *dào* 道 (style name; *zì* 字) as 'cosmos-generating principle that simultaneously pertains cosmos in its entirety'—the phenomenological actuality which the text calls 'real name', *míng* 名—does not tell us the meaning of the *word* 'dào'. Instead, it tells us what *dào* is said to be with respect to itself.

23a: *The Macrostructure of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ"*



23b: *Microstructure of Building Block 4*

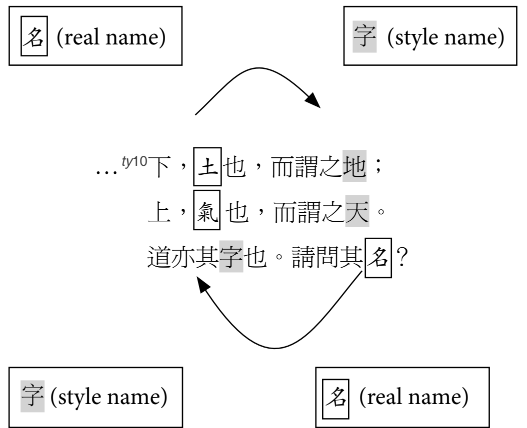


Figure 23: The Correlation of the Two Parts of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" in Comparison to Building Block 4

Only when reading the text as a whole does it become clear that '*dào*'—the style name of another concept that the text aims to grasp in a more substantial way—is in its entirety explained through the formal structure of the text. Just as 'gentleman' and 'sagacious person' were correlated with each other in cantos 1 and 2 to explain their conceptual meaning, building block 4 (strip *ty*10/1–10/23) also contrasts the essence of 'heaven' and 'earth'—'vapour' and 'soil'—with their abstract style names and thereby shows that the concept '*dào*' is likewise nothing other than the style name of something more substantial. Then, in the same way in which the various concepts are contrasted—and so correlated—with one another on formal grounds so as to elucidate their substantial meaning and fill these concepts with more concrete contents, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" defines the essence of *dào* by relating it to the cosmogonic process pertaining to the world as a whole.

Thus, when looking at the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" from a macroperspective, the text as a whole works in the very same way as the individual building block. In this, it is very much like the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and the "Qióng dá yǐ shí". But the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" goes one step further. The text as a whole not only mimics the structure of the individual building block as seen in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" but is designed so that the individual building block functions as the hermeneutical key for the compositional structure as a whole.

By relating the two parts of the text—that is, the cosmogony and the politico-philosophical discussion—with each other according to the same principles that also apply to the individual building block, the text further explains that the cosmogony it presents goes much further than only describing the ontological process of how the cosmos is generated. The way that it defines and interchanges different concepts also shows that the cosmogonic process described explains nothing other than the phenomenological account behind the otherwise abstract concept of the *dào*. By implication, such as 'heaven' and 'earth' in their relation to vapour and soil, '*dào*' is but a technical term for what underlies the whole cosmos.

Meaning in the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ' is constructed by relating different building blocks with one another. The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" thus works in a fundamentally different way from the imaginary context-dependent text of bundle C, of which so many scholars believe it was

an inherent part. By definition, it cannot be a lost part of an imagined "Proto-Lǎozǐ".

Conclusion

The analysis has shown that the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is an argument-based text in its own right. Regarding the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" as different units of thought would prevent the modern interpreter from accessing the politico-philosophical message of the text. Instead, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" works as a unit spanning the entire length of fourteen bamboo strips. The attempt to interpret it as a collection of otherwise unrelated units of thought because it shares its material carrier with the context-dependent text now tentatively called C is misguided. The cosmogony outlined throughout the first eight strips of the text cannot be understood in isolation. Likewise, it is not a mere 'commentary' or the elaborate explanation of another unit of thought of the context-dependent text transmitted as *Lǎozǐ*. Instead, the cosmogony of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" is the necessary element for understanding the conceptual meaning of the politico-philosophical concept '*dào*' as it is used in the text. It fills the concept with concrete contents.

According to the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", good rule should follow the principle of the *dào*. '*Dào*', for its part, is only the style name of the 'Ultimate One', and the Ultimate One is what pervades the cosmos. By implication, the idea underlying the text is that ruling a state by means of the *dào* implies nothing other than following the inherent patterns of the cosmos. Good rule thus results from a proper understanding of the cosmos. The application of the cosmogonic principles described in the first part of the text (canto 1) to good rule as provided in the second part of the text (canto 2) therefore turns the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" as a whole into a consistent cosmology. Once and for all, we can dismiss all kinds of attempts to interpret the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" as a lost part of the context-dependent text of bundle C. Instead of construing an entirely new text only through the channels of tradition, we should allow the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" the necessary room to be understood on its own terms, that is, from its specific argumentative structure.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WRITING MEANING: MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF MEANING CONSTRUCTION IN WARRING STATES PHILOSOPHY

Having explored the distinction between two fundamentally different strategies of meaning construction and philosophising in early China, I shall now explore the material conditions for reading and writing in the Warring States period. To contextualise the material and intellectual conditions underlying the exchange of written ideas will help to deepen our understanding of the intellectual world at that time. Focal questions are: What are the material prerequisites for meaning construction in philosophical discourse? How are these factors manifested in the texts under review? How does this affect the study of early thought?

Writing and Thought

Based on the differentiation between the two ideal types of texts, the discussion has cast light principally on two contrasting modes of meaning construction in the philosophical world of the Warring States. Of these, the context-dependent texts were defined as those texts that rely primarily on outside information for getting their concern across. Formally, the individual unit of context-dependent texts represents the final—*materialised*—engagement with a given concern. As such, it remains situational and bears witness to an occasional response to a perceived problem. Instead of generating a self-contained philosophical position with argumentative force the way argument-based texts do, the units of context-dependent texts rely primarily on authority to advance their positions. This feature contributed to the longevity of their use, as their ambiguity provoked an ongoing need for explanatory settings. As a result, these units came to be used in different contexts and, crucially, they became steady but moveable modules.

This suggests that a—now lost—oral discourse underlying the process of meaning construction for the individual modules of context-dependent texts should be postulated. It connected the various modules

to identified traditions and so contextualised them within a given intellectual horizon. The structure underlying the process of meaning construction of the "Zī yī" plainly shows this. The direct reference to authorities is isolated from elaborating contexts. The modules remain ambiguous on the literary level of the text, and so context-dependent texts require both a predetermined acquaintance *with* and identification—and consent—*of* the cultural, that is, the group-based application of knowledge behind the stories and quotations referred to. Since these texts point outside themselves instead of generating meaning from within, they must be embedded in a certain intellectual context in order to function as platforms for a broader philosophical engagement. This wider context of meaning construction was necessarily an oral one, and this is true even for those examples which at some point were copied on bamboo. The discussion of the modules collected in bundles A, B, and C, as well as the manifestations of the "Zī yī" from Guōdiàn One and the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, has made this plain. How to read the quite enigmatic modules of context-dependent texts was largely a group-based decision.

In an environment where it is a largely oral—and group-based—exercise to give meaning to the modules of context-dependent texts, guidance becomes necessary; this is true especially where the preexisting consent of the recipient to some kind of cultural interpretation behind the text is required. This guidance falls back on a mediator of meaning. The mediator of meaning could be envisioned as a master (or masters). Or it could be the preexisting cultural consent of defined groups, which, in turn, had to be established by some kind of masters. Conversations with a master on the basis of the text therefore constitute the necessary referential frame in which context-dependent texts became meaningful. This casts light on the dialectical processes of meaning construction between the texts and the textual communities as something imposed on the context-dependent texts from the outside.

'Argument-based texts', on the contrary, are defined as philosophical texts written in a continuous mode. But argument-based texts too are made up of particularly stable units that are clearly distinct from one another, even if they may construct narrative patterns of the kind seen, for instance, in the authorial layers of the *Xúnzǐ*. These units are the basic constituents of this type of text. Despite the characteristics shared with the modules of context-dependent texts, meaning con-

struction in argument-based texts works by linking up the individual units with one another. Much larger meaningful entities are generated accordingly. Notions advanced at different junctures in the texts can thus be connected into greater schemes—and finally into a coherent whole. Cross-referential links between different textual units enable conceptual definitions of otherwise idiosyncratic notions to be established. Therefore, unlike the module in context-dependent texts, the units of argument-based texts are not isolated entities but building blocks of a bigger picture. By fusing them into integrated wholes, the texts advance weblike structures that make possible referential and, as a result, systematic development of a philosophical concern. This facilitates self-contained types of reasoning. By weaving the individual building blocks into larger wholes, these texts generate an additional meaningful level for advancing their philosophical agenda. Accordingly, these webs clearly fulfil a semiotic function. They broaden the lexicon and syntax of a text by providing conceptual definitions for the various concepts used in them, and so they open up a meaningful level behind the verbatim content of the individual units of the texts. I refer to them as the 'semiotic webs' of the argument-based texts.

Reference versus Self-Reference

As I have argued, the semiotic webs of argument-based texts facilitate the systematic discussion of philosophical concerns. Connecting the different notions advanced in these texts into greater schemes, they facilitate precise definitions of the conceptual meaning of terms, even when used in a rather idiosyncratic way. Notions introduced at one point in the text are elaborated by other textual units, and persuasive definitions established. The triangular relationship between text, mediator, and recipient that characterises the conveyance of meaning in context-dependent texts is therefore no longer the required structure underlying the process of meaning construction. Argument-based texts relocate the intellectual effort from the oral contexts to the given text as materialised on bamboo. Here one should think of the means by which a text such as, for instance, the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" plays with certain ideas and concepts, such as the immanent nature of the 'real gentleman', *jūnzǐ*, by correlating this concept repeatedly and on different levels of the text with certain characteristics of the natural

world. In the same fashion, the authors of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" have defined the concepts *zhōng* 忠 'fidelity' and *xìn* 信 'trustworthiness' in a quite distinctive way.

Through their semiotic webs, argument-based texts become self-contained and, therefore, autonomous philosophical units. Referentially consistent, they turn into structurally closed compositions and stand-alone philosophical edifices. The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", as discussed in chapter 6, may serve as an example. The consistent links and references advanced in the text allow it as a whole to turn into a consistent cosmology because the compositional structure of the text links the ontological discussion about the steady process of cosmos generation directly to the political sphere, by which the text finally advances a concrete directive for proper rule. The semiotic webs of argument-based texts thus prove philosophically relevant as modes of meaning construction. They are the prerequisites for advancing a stand-alone philosophical position with argumentative force.

Because in argument-based texts the different notions advanced in the individual building blocks are connected into greater evocative schemes, these texts become coherent and finally, on the level of the composition, complete (and completed) wholes. To a different degree, these texts no longer require further—oral—contextualisation. The form analysis has shown furthermore that, *structurally*, texts such as the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" and the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" are fully fixed. They can exist only in their given form. It is reasonable to assume proactive authors behind their makeup, who produced coherent systematic philosophical arguments. Argument-based texts, it can be concluded, are the self-contained products of deliberate philosophising.

Structure and Meaning

Remaining outside the given texts, the elaborating structures of context-dependent texts are what I shall call 'silent' structures. That means they are inexplicit and so culture-dependent because the construction of meaning relies on masters or a preexisting cultural consent within specific textual communities. The semiotic webs of argument-based texts, in contrast, are 'voiced'—or explicit—structures, as they generate meaning from within the text by advancing meaningful compositional patterns. Explicitly—in the formal structure of the texts—argument-based texts achieve what may reasonably be called systematic dis-

cussions of philosophical concerns. Without the need for cultural contextualisation from the outside, texts of this type facilitate the individual's engagement with thought.

Since the formal patterns of argument-based texts are the modes by which meaning is constructed, they make argument-based texts meaningful objects in and of themselves. As a result, the philosophical actuality no longer lies in the triangular relationship between master, student, and text which determined the successful communication of thought in context-dependent texts. Instead, reflecting the structure of the argument, reading argument-based texts becomes *itself* a philosophical performance. As a result, the philosophical idea becomes accessible to whoever had access to these texts and was able to read. Since the compositional structure of some of these texts constitutes a formal device that, as argued, compounds the thought central to these texts,[1] it may be argued that the philosophical reality, within some intellectual traditions, even lies in the texts themselves.[2]

These observations have vital implications for the study of early thought. On the one hand, argument-based texts represent structurally closed entities. The relevant references are established within the texts themselves, by which they become direct mediators—possibly even manifestations—of the argument. But this is not to say that argument-based texts eliminate different readings and varying interpretations. No text can ever be definite in the interpretations it facilitates.[3]

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[1] Texts such as the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", "Qióng dá yǐ shí", and "Wǔ xíng" may serve as examples.

[2] It may be noted in this context that the European history of ideas witnessed a hiatus between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on the one hand, and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, on the other, in which attempts to explain the *world* on the basis of the *text*, that is, the Bible, shifted to attempts to explain the text on the basis of the world. Scriptural religions such as Judaism and Protestantism take scripture itself to contain the 'truth' (see, e.g., Psalm 119), and something similar might also be the case for argument-based texts. The Renaissance thinker Pico believed that the structure of texts contained the structure of truth (see Farmer 1998, 34), and at least within some intellectual traditions of the Warring States, argument-based texts may similarly have been taken as an embodiment of the philosophical truth. These texts would therefore represent the unity of practice and thought and, as a result, facilitate the neutralisation of the distinction between philosophy and its performance.

[3] Even though the argument-based texts establish semiotic webs that in and of themselves guide their reading, they nevertheless still allow certain degrees of difference as to how certain aspects are to be taken. As for these texts, one might not want to go as far as the German writer and experimental physicist Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742–1799) in his famous dictum on the variety of interpretations as advanced in his *Sudelbücher* (*Waste Books*): "Ein Buch ist ein Spiegel, wenn ein Affe hinein sieht,

Nonetheless, they represent premediated, and philosophically coherent, concepts which, usually, require no third mediator besides text and exegete.

Context-dependent texts, in contrast, were generated—and meaningful—against the background of oral dialogue. The oral discourse underlying context-dependent texts not only constitutes a vital element of the individual unit of thought but also connects the various ideas to certain traditions and, by implication, to integrated, culturally meaningful wholes. It is imperative to keep this difference in mind when dealing with philosophical texts from the Warring States because of its implications for reconstructing early thought. Whereas it *is* possible to reconstruct something like a philosophical edifice behind argument-based texts like "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", "Qióng dá yǐ shí", "Wǔ xíng", "Xìng zì mìng chū", and "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", no such claim can be made when engaging with context-dependent texts such as, for instance, an imagined Warring States "Lǎozǐ". The connection with authorities of whatever kind guaranteed the continuing importance of these texts and ensured their transmission. This might have applied to some of the argument-based texts as well, before they, for reasons discussed below, nonetheless slipped entirely from view for nearly twenty-five hundred years. But unlike the contained argument-based texts, the modules of context-dependent texts were easily adapted to different settings and interpretations. It follows that the contexts in which they were used changed over time, just as is true of the textual communities. Different textual communities decide on the 'best' interpretation of these textual units: for their purposes and according to their reading of "Odes", "Documents", or any other authority linked to these modules. Since different textual communities could come up with different readings, the authority shifted gradually from textual authority—authorities mentioned in the texts, as exemplified by formulae such as *zǐ yuē* 子曰 'master(s) say' or *shī yún* 詩云 'in an ode it is said'—to that of different masters/groups and their interpretations. It shifted from the texts to the textual communities. In other words, because they generate new contexts, the modules of context-dependent texts move among textual communities and interpretations. This

so kann kein Apostel heraus gucken" (A book is like a mirror, when an ape peeks in, no apostle can peep out). Individual readings must, nonetheless, also be kept in mind when discussing written thought.

renders the reconstruction of a *Gegentext* to these modules impossible. The productive environment against which these texts were produced is lost for good.

(Re)constructing Early Thought

The foregoing analysis has made clear that the concept of a "Lǎozǐ" from the Warring States is in fact compounded in a number of unrelated modules, but no coherent, let alone fixed, text. Even *if* there was an actual text known as "Lǎozǐ" during the Warring States—just as there was one during the Hàn, as archaeological records suggest[4]—the triangular relationship of meaning conveyance that determined the successful communication of thought in texts of this type nevertheless was still irretrievably lost. Because of changing contexts and different textual communities, the reconstruction of a *Gegentext* to these enigmatic, isolated, and ambiguous modules is, as argued, unattainable. Any attempt to (re)construct an imagined Warring States "Lǎozǐ" therefore lacks a coherent and well-defined text on the basis of which such an analysis could be carried out. Even more importantly, the referential system behind the makeup of such an imagined text remains irretrievably lost. It follows that even if one were to regard the unrelated materials from bundles A, B, and C as (one) particular instantiation of a Warring States "Lǎozǐ", the philosophical system behind its makeup would still be missing. Since the philosophical concerns of context-dependent texts were expressed, not in the texts themselves, but in the oral discourse surrounding their various modules, they can be thought of only in highly tentative and hypothetical terms.

This dilemma of text and thought in context-dependent texts is opposite that of text and meaning in the "Odes" of the Warring States period. Quotations in text fragments from excavated manuscripts give us a glimpse of the different interpretations of the "Odes" that were circulating during the Warring States period before they were finally ousted by the—now predominant—set of interpretations as determined by the *Máo* 毛 tradition. But apart from the bits and pieces available from different excavated texts, the *text* of the "Odes" circulating during the Warring States is largely missing. It remains open

[4] I have in mind the copy of the *Lǎozǐ* from Mǎwángduī Three.

to interpretation, and so every single quotation from the "Odes" is in fact a reinvention of its text. For the context-dependent texts from the Warring States the opposite is true. Different excavated manuscripts provide the lexicon of a well-defined "Zī yī"; and others might even want to consider the materials in bundles A, B, and C as a Warring States instantiation of "Lǎozǐ". But the cultural context and the set of philosophical interpretations against which these texts were meaningful to the textual communities of those days are irrecoverable.

Any history of thought has to take this into account. To present the ideas of, say, 'Lǎozǐ', can mean only to provide an idiosyncratic interpretation of the bits and pieces we have, but, *nota bene*, not their referential framework. In a similar vein, a 'correct', let alone complete, picture of 'the' philosophy of 'Confucius' can only be guesswork. One may possibly reconstruct *a* reading of Kǒngzǐ as exemplified in the *Mèngzǐ*. The so-called Héshàng gōng 河上公[5] interpretation of *Lǎozǐ*—that of Wáng Bì 王弼 (226–249)—has already been successfully reconstructed.[6] But any attempts to reconstruct coherent, let alone closed, systems of thought of those intellectual traditions that are transmitted only in context-dependent texts are methodologically ultimately ill-founded. Context-dependent texts cannot be read in the fashion of the contained argument-based texts. Such an approach would neglect the third—that is, the oral (and vital)—component of meaning construction in context-dependent traditions; and in the case of a so-called "Lǎozǐ" there even *is* no such text.

In contrast, the semiotic webs of argument-based texts that turn these texts into structurally closed entities have largely replaced the secondary contextualisation from the outside necessary to engage with their ideas. These texts render coherent systems that enable the individual to engage with their ideas. Able to be read, they can be approached and their philosophical message unlocked. As argued, it can be safely assumed that argument-based texts were already detached from oral contexts at an early point in time and circulated independently in writing.

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[5] According to Wagner, the Héshàng gōng *Commentary* was written in the fifth century. See Wagner 2003a, 15.

[6] For a successful approach in making explicit one particular reading of the *Lǎozǐ*, see Wagner's trilogy on Wáng Bì's commentary on and reading of the *Lǎozǐ*: Wagner 2000, 2003a, 2003b.

Travelling Concepts and the Fusion of Ideas

The voiced—or explicit—structures of the argument-based texts and, accordingly, their independence from local contexts link these texts closely to writing. Another sign of written discourse as manifested in the texts of this type is their syncretic approach and the fusion of concepts they show. 'Syncretic' in this respect has no normative—let alone teleological—connotation. It is meant purely as a descriptive concept for the tendency in those texts to reconcile a multitude of ideas and traditions and incorporate them in a new philosophical entity.

The fact that argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One represent a written mode of reasoning that has produced structurally closed and self-contained entities does not mean that the representatives of this type of text do not also incorporate alien sources in their attempt at argument construction, which may even be of oral origin. Orality and literacy are no clear-cut matters. Early texts are synchronic artefacts and include a wide range of different sources and traditions. The philosophical texts were part of a larger intertextuality. Without reducing these texts to a "mosaic of quotations",[7] it becomes plain that they were produced against some kind of productive environment that clearly left its stamp on them. Authors of philosophical texts knew about all kinds of 'travelling concepts'[8] that were around at that time—orally passed from person to person or, in fact, in writing—which they *could* and *did* refer to. But the way in which alien concepts were utilised in the contained argument-based texts proves fundamentally different from how they were employed in context-dependent texts. Context-dependent texts did not explicate the quotations used. The philosophical enterprise was not made part of the text as materialised on bamboo. Argument-based texts, in contrast, grafted the philosophic discourse from the source referred to into the quoting text itself. Quotations in these texts no longer only *refer* to contexts as they do in context-dependent texts. Argument-based texts *construct* their contexts and so *fix* them in a certain way. Argument-based texts detach the quoted statements from their original contexts, explicate them, and integrate them into their own argument. The "Qióng dá yǐ shí" 窮達以時 can serve as an example. What could be defined as the second stable subcanto of this

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7 Kristeva 1980, 66.
8 Bal 2001.

text[9] is in fact one coherent module of references to travelling concepts taken from the pool of shared memory of contemporary élite groups. Different stories about humble worthies meeting the enlightened ruler so that they can act in the world are presented in a highly structured way, and so the stories are made to fit the overall tone of the text. The formal perfection of the obviously modified account adds to the credibility of the stories themselves. Unlike the modules of context-dependent texts, these stories are not isolated. The "Qióng dá yǐ shí" integrates them meaningfully into the text's philosophical framework. Taken together, they become a stable component in the overall argument of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí". A particular group-based reading of these instances plays no role in the communication of the message of the text.

A similarly straightforward use of quotations can be found in the long, multi layered, and decidedly complicated, yet largely consistent, programme of self-cultivation of the "Wǔ xíng" 五行. The "Wǔ xíng" quotes abundantly from the "Odes". Various techniques used in the text indicate that it refers to a widely known source.[10] But unlike the use of quotations in context-dependent texts, such as, for instance, the Warring States manifestations of the "Zī yī", the discussion of the "Odes" takes place within the argument-based text itself, and not in an oral discourse surrounding the text that must be assumed but that cannot be reconstructed with certainty. All the necessary references to how a quotation is to be taken are given in the argument-based text itself. The quotation itself therefore does not implant a group-defined interpretation of the "Odes" into the quoting text. On the contrary, the argument-based text explicitly *establishes* one particular interpretation of the quoted source within itself, and so the reference to widely known sources takes the opposite direction to that of the context-dependent texts. Whether stock phrases, technical terminology, or whole units of thought, argument-based texts integrate the quotation into the argument and so provide a particular reading for it.

Notice in this context that not only does the "Wǔ xíng" *comment* on the lines from the anthology called "Odes", but the quotations themselves are also a vital part of the text's strategy of argument construc-

[9] See my discussion in chapter 2.

[10] Whereas the Mǎwángduī Three version of the text explicitly introduces "Odes", the Guōdiàn One manifestation uses formulae such as "Now this is what this is about" [夫]此之胃(謂)□□ [也] (strip *w*11) or 此之胃(謂)也 (strip *w*30).

tion. A brief look at strips *w*9–12 may help to clarify this. This unit dwells on the mutual relationship of the virtues benevolence (*rén* 仁) with wisdom (*zhì* 知) and that of benevolence (*rén* 仁) with sagacity (*shèng* 聖):

> 不仁，思不能清，
> 不智，思不能長；
> 不仁不智，「未見君子」，
> 「憂心」[w10] 不能「惙惙」。
> 「既見」君子，「心」不能「悅」。
> 「亦既見之，亦既覯之，
> 我心則[w11] □□ [悅]」。
> [夫]此之謂□□ [也]。 †
>
> If not benevolent, one cannot be clear in one's thinking.
> If not wise, one cannot grow in one's thinking.
> If neither benevolent nor wise, "whilst not yet having seen a gentleman, the sorrowful heart" [w10] cannot be "disturbed."
> "Until [I] have seen" the gentleman, [my] "heart" cannot be "delighted."[11]
> "[But] when I have seen him, and when I have met him,
> then my heart will [w11]{X *be delighted*}." †[12]
> {X *Now this is*} what this is about. †
>
> [不] 仁，思不能清，
> 不聖，思不能輕。
> 不仁不聖，[w12]「未見君子」，
> 「憂心」不能「忡忡」；
> 「既見君子」，「心」不能「降」。
>
> {*If not*} benevolent, one cannot be clear in one's thinking.
> If not sagacious, one cannot be effortless in one's thinking.
> If neither benevolent nor sagacious, [w12] "whilst not yet having seen a gentleman", the "sorrowful heart" cannot be "agitated".
> "Until [I] have seen the gentleman", ["my] heart" cannot be "stilled."[13]

Just as was seen in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", the concepts used are torn from their original context. The references are transformed by a particular set of interpretations, and they are fused into a new framework, namely into that of the argument being advanced. By integrating the concepts referred to into a new train of thought, the argument-based text clarifies its idea. But at the same time, it also provides a particular interpretation for the very concept used, simply *because* it is torn out

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[11] Adapted from "Odes" (*Máo* 14).
[12] Adapted from "Odes" (*Máo* 14).
[13] Adapted from "Odes" (*Máo* 168).

of context, correlated with other notions, systematised and integrated into the new argument as advanced in the text. Unlike the function of references to authority in context-dependent texts, the fusion of contexts as processed in argument-based texts *removes* the ideas referred to from their original contexts and so creates a whole new setting for the ideas advanced.

What can be seen from this is the intercultural corroboration of an observation made by Eric Havelock in the early 1960s. In his attempt to explain the emergence of abstract philosophy in ancient Greece, Havelock observed the impact of writing on philosophy at large. According to Havelock, writing leads to syncretic tendencies. Unlike what was seen in context-dependent texts, where quotations simply *refer* to group-based traditions that remain outside the written text, writing facilitates the fusion of traditions and concepts and so leads to the systematisation of ideas. Early philosophy, in Havelock's view, made abundant use of this and was shaped by syncretic tendencies. The use of quotations in these texts should be understood as an attempt to unveil the truth hidden in widely known concepts. Thus, in his *Preface to Plato* Havelock stated:

> The saga [i.e., the *Iliad*] will contain a thousand aphorisms and instances which describe what a proper and moral person is doing. But they have to be torn out of context, correlated, systematised, unified and harmonised to provide a formula for rightness. The many acts and events must somehow give way and dissolve into a single identity.[14]

The emergence of abstract philosophy in ancient Greece would therefore be due—at least in part—to what was "exegetically 'wrung out' of the mythopoetic language of Homer".[15] The intellectual leadership of early Greece revolted against the "immemorial habit of self-identification with the poem", and only after the "spell of the poetic tradition has already been broken" did the poem become the "abstracted object of knowledge".[16] By destroying the "original syntax of the poem"[17] it became a systematised encyclopaedia, unseen and abstract.[18] To transform the saga into an abstract source of knowledge, aphorisms had to be "torn out of context, correlated, systematised, unified and

[14] Havelock 1963, 218.
[15] Quoting Havelock from Farmer 1998, 78, n. 50.
[16] Havelock 1963, 216, 219.
[17] Ibid., 218.
[18] Ibid., 217.

harmonised" to provide more abstract and universally valid formulae, a process ultimately linked to writing.[19] Removing travelling concepts from original contexts and fusing them systematically into new settings so as to elaborate and explain these notions applies not only to the Greek case. Havelock's description also seems to be consistent with what can be seen from the argument-based texts of the mid- to late Warring States period. Bernhard Karlgren has made similar observations in his study of systematic thought in Hàn China. As with Havelock's analysis of early Greek ideas, Karlgren understands the intellectual products of the Hàn dynasty systematisers as being ultimately 'worked up' from early legends and myths stemming from the age of the Zhōu.[20]

In both cases, these processes are closely linked to writing. Writing made possible the systematising fusion of mythopoetic concepts into abstract ideas, and it facilitated the layered organisation of thought. Steve Farmer, together with John B. Henderson and Michael Witzel, has cast further light on the complex correlation between early writing and abstract thought by exploring the way the systematisation of ideas appeared in the different cultural centres of the ancient world (China, Greece, India, and the Near East). In line with Havelock and Karlgren, their analysis suggests that abstract ideas grew out of exegetical processes in the engagement with mythopoetic concepts central to those societies. Exegetical tendencies and highly referential modes of processing ideas are typical of many cultural centres in the second half of the first millennium BC. They are simultaneously signs of writing and its actual result.

The Materiality of Meaning Construction

The concerted efforts of Farmer, Henderson, and Witzel have deepened the study of the correlation between (early) writing and abstract thought in early civilisations around the world.[21] They highlight the remarkable parallels in the appearance of philosophy and cosmology in the main cultural centres of the ancient world. In what they

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[19] Ibid., 218.

[20] See Karlgren 1946, 1968. See also Farmer 1998, 78–79, n. 51.

[21] See Farmer 1998, 2006; Henderson 1984, 1991, 1998; Witzel 1979, 1997, 1998; Farmer, Henderson, and Witzel 2002; Farmer, Henderson, and Robinson 2002.

call a "cross-cultural framework" (or "cross-cultural model"),[22] they link these developments to exegetical processes of exactly the kind described above. As Farmer and colleagues argue, these processes were fostered by "the first widespread use of lightweight writing materials, and the subsequent development of stratified textual traditions, that began simultaneously in all advanced world cultures in this period."[23]

Writing allowed the fusion of concepts and the highly layered organisation of thought. Just like the exegetical efforts characteristic of the "Wǔ xíng", the highly contextualised and convoluted modes of thought processing that can be witnessed in argument-based texts are both a sign of writing—from the perspective of the modern interpreter—as well as its actual result. They enable complex ideas in more intricate trains of thought to be expressed. The syncretic syntheses of travelling concepts ultimately resulted in the emergence of highly layered texts. This facilitated more sophisticated systems of thought. As has been argued, the beginning of this process was the endeavour to comment on textual authority.[24] The repeated effort to harmonise widely known sources led to ever more correlative visions of reality.[25] Given the structural differences in the ways quotations are used in the two ideal types of texts, the bulk of these efforts in the Chinese context can be seen in the argument-based texts. This accords with the observation made by Farmer and his colleagues that the links between the development of systematic ideas and syncretic processes is "suggested by the fact that similarly structured systems emerged in China, India, the Middle East, Europe, and Mesoamerica whenever information flows increased and tendencies to harmonise traditions reached extremes."[26] In their view, and I subscribe to it, the origins of abstract thought thereby lay not so much in literacy, as held, for instance, by Goody—let alone in the introduction of the alphabet, as suggested by Havelock[27]—but rather in the broad diffusion of light writing materials,

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[22] See, e.g., Farmer, Henderson, and Witzel 2002; Farmer, Henderson, and Robinson 2002.

[23] Farmer, 1998, 78–79.

[24] Ibid., 29.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Farmer, Henderson, and Witzel 2002, 51. See also Farmer, Sproat, and Witzel 2004.

[27] Such "determinist accounts" are now "generally discredited", as W. Johnson (2009, 3) notes. For a critique of what Brian Street (1984, 19ff.) called 'autonomous model', that is, the theory that the alphabetical system itself deeply affects society and

whether bamboo strips in China, palm leaves in India, parchment or papyrus in Greece, which facilitated the more systematic integration of previously unrelated oral and written traditions.[28] This process should be dated roughly to the second half of the first millennium BC,[29] the approximate date of the argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One.

The fact that we lack earlier bamboo-strip texts, however, does not in itself prove that bamboo was not already used as a writing material at an earlier date. Quite the contrary, we can be rather certain that bamboo *was* used as a carrier for writing long before the Warring States period and the—archaeological—appearance of argument-based texts. The question, however, is *to what extent* lightweight writing materials, such as bamboo and wood, were used before the wide appearance of written texts in the Warring States period.

Already for the so-called Ānyáng 安陽 period,[30] a fully fledged writing system can be attested that seems to have contained a repertoire of about four to five thousand characters. Robert Bagley assumes that such an elaborate writing system could not have performed well without lexical lists.[31] However, no such lists or any mention of something similar have survived to the present day. Bagley suggests that this does not rule out the existence of these lists but should instead be interpreted as indicating that they were written on materials—bamboo?—that did not survive.[32] This is, of course, highly speculative, although perhaps not groundless. But even if there *were* such lists (which I very much doubt), despite the fact that none of them have survived to the present day, why should we assume that they had to be fixed on a carrier such as bamboo or wood? Given that clay, if baked, is extremely durable and the advanced use of clay in the Chinese context (e.g., for

culture, see Street 1984, 44–65; Thomas 1992, 15–28; Olson 1994, 1–20, 36–44; as well as W. Johnson 2003, 10–13.

[28] Farmer 1998, 79, n. 52. For Goody's hypothesis, see Goody 1977. For Havelock's ideas, see Havelock 1963. On the use of palm leaves in India, see esp. Al Azharia Jahn 2006.

[29] See Farmer, Henderson, and Witzel 2002, 56.

[30] Yǐn 殷, the last capital of the Shāng 商 period, was located in modern Ānyáng, Hénán 河南 Province. The Ānyáng period roughly covers the last two centuries of the second millennium BC.

[31] See Bagley 2004, 222. Note that the writing system in Egypt did in fact perform well without such lists. The fact that the Sumerians *did* have lexical lists is probably more closely related to the fact that Sumerian was already a dying language at the time when those lists started to appear. See Van De Mierop 2004, 31. See also Krispijn 1992; Selz 1998. I thank Wolfgang Behr for alerting me to this debate.

[32] Bagley 2004, 222.

moulds in the production of bronzes),[33] it would not seem all that strange to assume that lexical lists might have existed also on materials other than bamboo, such as clay. Given all this, I feel inclined to call into question the existence of such lists in early China.

Another possible indication that bamboo was already used as a material carrier for writing in the earliest periods of the Chinese script is based on the fact that inscriptions on bronze and bone sometimes imitate brush writing. This hints at some kind of primacy of the latter.[34] The early existence of the writing brush and lampblack ink further supports this assumption.[35] Indeed, it is sometimes suggested that bronze inscriptions were copies of what most likely was first written on bamboo or wood.[36] The character *cè* 冊 (and the allographs 策 and 筴) 'to announce', 'to recite' (the charge or bestowal)[37] further corroborates these assumptions, as it appears in inscriptions that date back as far as Shāng 商 times (ca. 1600–1100 BC). The character *cè* 冊 is thought to represent bamboo strips bound together with a string into one bundle.[38] The fact that the word *cè* 冊 (OC *[tsˤʰ]rek) probably was cognate with *jī* 積 'to pile up; accumulate' (OC *[ts]ek)—Laurent Sagart suggests that the medial *-r- indicated an object with repetitive structures[39]—might further indicate that any 'piled up' object could have been used as a carrier for writing.

In sum, there is much reason to assume that bamboo strips served as a carrier for script long before the second half of the first millennium BC. But even if bamboo strips already served as a writing carrier long before the Warring States period, and even if the material had some kind of primacy over bronze inscriptions, this does not imply

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[33] For the technological aspects of the casting of bronze vessels, see Shaughnessy 1991, ch. 2.

[34] See Bagley 2004, 218.

[35] Even for the late Shāng period, we have evidence of writing characters on smooth surfaces such as jade with a brush. See *Kǎogǔ xuébào* 考古學報 1981, 504; Bagley 1999; Boltz 1999b, 108. For the assumption that some oracle-bone inscriptions were written with a brush before they were incised, see Keightley 1985, 46–47. The graphic structure of the character *yù* 聿 'writing brush' further corroborates the assumption that the writing brush was used in Shāng times.

[36] See, e.g., Falkenhausen 1993, 163–164.

[37] The character *cè* 冊 is conventionally rendered 'to write down' (on bamboo strips); see, e.g., Schüssler 1987, 2007. Kern (2007b, 152ff.) has, however, convincingly argued against this interpretation.

[38] See also Chavannnes 1905.

[39] See Sagart 1999, 214.

that bamboo strips (or wood) were used *extensively* for this purpose before the Warring States period. I prefer to think that, although the technology of writing and manuscript production is certainly old, the *extensive use of light writing materials was a mid- to late Warring States 'innovation'*. This innovation fostered the spread of a manuscript culture that can be assumed with relative certainty to have existed during that period. Different excavated manuscript finds indicate this. The analysis suggests that the extent of literacy that is sometimes assumed for the Western Zhōu 周 (ca. 1099/56–771 BC),[40] or even earlier, is much exaggerated.[41] None of the indicators of a widespread manuscript culture, such as elaborate systems of correspondences and syncretic systems of ideas, can be traced to before the second half of the first millennium BC—and this holds true not only for China but also for Greece and India. The widespread use of light writing materials, it is argued, fostered the systematic development of these 'default conditions'.[42] Therefore, although the textual component was necessary for the systematic development of ideas and concepts to be processed in a nonlinear fashion, it was, as archaeological data indicate, certainly not sufficient.[43]

The disadvantage of a model such as that laid out here is that to some extent it has to rely on assumptions rather than on concrete facts. The positive aspect is that these assumptions about the material conditions of roughly the second half of the first millennium BC are subject to disproof by new finds. As far as I am aware—or as I interpret the different accounts—no such evidence has been found. As a result, I feel justified in regarding the framework developed initially by Karlgren and Havelock, and much furthered by Farmer and his colleagues from different fields, as a plausible background to my conclusions concerning the written nature of the late fourth century BC argument-based texts from the Warring States tomb Guōdiàn One.

[40] For the dating, see Shaughnessy 1991, xix.
[41] See Farmer, Henderson, and Witzel 2002, 79.
[42] Ibid., 64.
[43] Space forbids me to discuss the impact of constant political and social reshapings on the development of cognitive competence and abstract thinking. For a discussion, see Otto 1947; Kirk and Raven 1957; Humphreys 1983; Naddaf 2005; among others; all of which suggesting that abstract reflections crucially result from societal changes, not the other way round.

Conclusion

Similar to the distinction between argument-based and context-dependent texts, which I have drawn to highlight the different strategies of meaning construction, the distinction between oral and written texts is in no way absolute. Texts are fundamentally synchronic artefacts and may appear in hybrid form. Ancient oral texts come to us in writing. Otherwise, of course, we would have no evidence of their existence. A written text may contain oral layers through the integration of oral stock phrases, the use of lines from the "Odes"—which, during the mid-to late Warring States period, were still unwritten as a corpus—and reference to concepts that appear in other philosophical contexts. The analysis of the argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One suggests that these texts were not creations ex nihilo. Instead, their authors clearly worked from a mine of materials, from which they used stock phrases, ideas, and terminology. These materials may have been available to them in written form as well as orally in the form of memorised concepts and building blocks. But unlike the texts that remain bound to the triangular relationship of meaning conveyance, the way in which argument-based texts combine these oral elements productively into a new setting to fix their meaning and advance a new idea is fundamentally a written one, so that, in the end, texts of this type become independent entities. Writing this kind of stand-alone philosophical text was facilitated by the widespread use of light writing materials such as bamboo. Even though the technology of writing is much older, texts of this type coincide with the appearance of an emerging manuscript culture during the Warring States period. They are as much the result of a rising manuscript culture as they are facilitators of it.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: WRITING PHILOSOPHY

Excavated philosophical materials from the Warring States period provide insights into the complex relation between texts, their material carriers, textual communities, and the intellectual activities of early China. The trigger for this study was the rich potential of these texts for gaining a better understanding of the social practice of reading and writing in the intellectual world of the Warring States. Based on a close reading of the textual materials from Guōdiàn One, I have distinguished two ideal types of meaning construction in a diverse corpus of texts, which, for ease of argument, I have arranged into argument-based and context-dependent ones. This differentiation is not an absolute one but methodologically necessary to order the complexity of reality by highlighting the common characteristics of diverse materials.

Traditional analysis customarily sees texts from the distant past as mere vessels of thought. The study of ancient Chinese philosophy is in general characterised by an overt bias for literary evidence and a relative neglect of the much more complex intellectual, as well as material, reality of meaning construction and philosophising. This has led to some serious misrepresentations of ancient realities. Artificial boundaries were imposed between textual traditions and philosophical affiliations that were in fact far more fluid than the exclusive focus on literary evidence from selected passages might suggest.

Instead of following the traditional approach, which so often still attempts to retrieve an imagined urtext or hypothesises about the intellectual origins or the source texts of later textual recensions whenever a new text comes to light from supervised excavation sites (or, increasingly, by roundabout and illegal ways from tomb looters), I have proposed shifting the focus of analysis. Rather than giving priority to the *ideas* expressed in texts and so, implicitly, reducing the texts from the distant past to mere vessels of thought, I like to think of texts as meaningful objects. In so doing I suggest that the *text when studied as a meaningful object* can reveal vital information about the *text as a cultural phenomenon*, including the production, use, and function

of philosophical texts in China more than two thousand years ago. Hence, instead of studying what I think is a methodologically problematic, idealised world of thought, I have proposed shifting the focus to analysing the *practice* of *philosophising* in the ancient world as it can be judged from material evidence.

The Production of Philosophy

One can easily talk about the *production of philosophy* when examining a shift that occurred when philosophical texts of ancient China no longer constructed meaning in predominantly oral ways. I do not mean that text production in early China was largely a by-product of economic activity in the sense that literary superstructures are understood as essentially an effect of the developing material base.[1] Instead, I have thought about material conditions in a more narrow sense. As argued in this book, I hold that with the widespread use of light writing materials during the second half of the first millennium BC in China a shift took place in philosophical productivity that enabled new forms of philosophical enterprise to occur. This shift in writing and thought was partly dependent on a rising manuscript culture, made possible in China by the first widespread use of bamboo as a writing carrier.

Before the spread of light writing materials, texts, including those with a philosophical orientation, were largely part of a wider oral performance. They recorded dialogues or imagined teaching scenarios and were generally so ambiguous that further contextualisation was required to access their meaning. But this contextualisation—we may call this the illocutionary force of the text—was nowhere provided in the recorded text itself. A lost oral discourse underlying the process of meaning construction for these texts must be postulated. This oral discourse connected the various modules to identified traditions and so contextualised them within a given intellectual horizon. Texts of this type functioned predominantly as platforms for broader philosophical engagement and were only fragments of the bigger philosophical picture. As a result, the texts remained essentially bound to a triangular relationship of meaning construction between the text, the mediator of meaning, and the recipient. I have called these forms of texts 'context-dependent'.

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[1] For this position, see, e.g., Caudwell 1946, 201, 130.

With the widespread use of bamboo as a light and readily available writing material in China there appeared forms of philosophical productivity in writing that were characterised by webs of cross-referential elaborations. Notions introduced at one point in the text were explicated by other textual units, and so these new forms of written communication were able to establish conceptual definitions of text-specific ideas. For the first time in the history of those territories which we today call China, certain texts made explicit the illocutionary force of the text. I have called these new forms of written philosophical productivity 'argument-based texts'. Texts of this type became stand-alone entities that made possible the systematic discussion of philosophical ideas. Unlike context-dependent texts, they were independent of locally based interpretations. These texts were both the sign of a manuscript culture and its immediate result.

However, as discussed in this study, the use of bamboo as a material carrier for writing in China can be traced to the earliest layers of written communication and so predates these new forms of philosophical production. There is evidence that some oracle-bone inscriptions were brush-written before they were incised,[2] and it is sometimes suggested that bronze inscriptions were only the copies of what was first written out on bamboo or wood.[3] Mere technological availability therefore was not the sole factor in the development of these new forms of text. However, as I have argued in this study of text and meaning construction in early Chinese philosophical discourse, at that time bamboo was quite certainly not used extensively, and writing for whatever purpose remained an activity restricted to rather small and narrowly defined groups, as the oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions make plain. Writing remained an aide-mémoire of what a particular textual community wished to remember, and the texts capture only the gist of a larger ritual activity.[4] Prior to the second half of the first millennium BC when a manuscript culture began to develop, there existed no extensive written literature in China with stand-alone texts.

This picture is given further support by a careful evaluation of excavated texts, especially when contrasting the textual history of the "Odes" with that of the new forms of philosophical productivity at

[2] See Keightley 1985, 46–47.

[3] As, e.g., held by Falkenhausen 1993, 163–164.

[4] For the function of bronze inscriptions in ritual, see Kern 2009, 152ff. See also Kern 2007b.

that time. As manuscript finds show, during the Warring States period philosophical texts circulated in different manifestations. This suggests a relatively wide diffusion of manuscripts at that time. Despite this, the philosophical texts are not quoted in other texts. There exists no single quotation in which one philosophical text refers verbatim to another one, to indicate either agreement or disagreement with its intellectual position. This does not mean that different philosophical texts did not present opposing positions. Quite the contrary. Also, as I have shown in this study, examples abound in which the intellectual environment in which these texts were produced can be reconstructed with some certainty, and it becomes clear that the philosophical texts from early China were in fact part of a larger Warring States period intertextuality in which travelling concepts informed a multitude of ideas. Concepts are borrowed and given new readings.

The "Odes" from the Warring States render the reverse picture. To date, no single manuscript has been found that contains "Odes" alone. They exist only in quotations. Given the wide use of "Odes" in pre-imperial China and the importance the anthology enjoyed as both an encyclopaedia of knowledge and the lingua franca of contemporary diplomacy, this is remarkable. Verbatim quotations of "Odes" in philosophical texts abound. To a large degree, they are used to corroborate a certain philosophical position by lending it authority. At the same time, many texts present their own reading of the passage quoted. Hence, there exists a variety of readings of selected passages of the "Odes" in the Warring States period that reflect the different interpretations of this anthology at that time. Comparison of the various quotations of "Odes" in exhumed texts has furthermore shown that, phonologically, they prove comparatively stable. The lexicon of the cited text is, however, surprisingly loose. No single quotation is entirely uniform. Significantly, in the Warring States period, the text of the "Odes" remains an object of interpretation, such that every single quotation of the "Odes" is a reinvention of its text. As demonstrated by Martin Kern, we are informed about various readings of the "Odes" during the Warring States period without having their actual text.[5] This phenomenon points to the oral nature of this anthology during the Warring States, and it strongly suggests that this anthology of cultural heritage and encyclopaedia of knowledge was never fixed

[5] See the discussion in Kern 2007a.

in writing *as one corpus* in pre-imperial China. This stands in plain opposition to contemporaneous argument-based texts, which, clearly, circulated in writing *independently* as stand-alone entities and so without any need for contextualisation by masters of the texts. It can be concluded therefore that with the illocutionary force made explicit in philosophical texts from the Warring States period, there appeared new forms of communication that attempted to establish philosophically sound positions in exclusively written form. These new forms of philosophical productivity that turned texts into stand-alone philosophical entities were the immediate result of an evolving manuscript culture. The spread of light, easily extendable, readily used, and portable writing materials fostered new forms of writing and, hence, of philosophical production.

Writing Philosophy

Scholars such as Marshall McLuhan, Jack Goody, Ian Watt, David Olson, Walter Ong, and many other theoreticians of literacy and written communication have long pointed to the particular kind of internal influence which writing has on the matter to be communicated.[6] Writing, consensus has it, is of special importance for the advancement of philosophical concepts. It is more than just the "transcription" of speech.[7] Aristotle's famous formula that speech can reproduce thought, whereas writing can only reproduce speech, seems to be mistaken.[8] Instead, it appears, as Goody puts it, that "writing has a particular kind of internal influence since it changes not only the way we communicate, but the nature of what we communicate".[9] Seen as an "instrument of cognitive development", writing is often held to impart "a degree of abstraction to thought which is absent from oral discourse".[10] In this respect, it is no wonder that text and writing as devices of meaning construction have turned into objects of research

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[6] McLuhan 1962; Goody 1986, 1987, 1997, 2000; Goody and Watt 1968; Olson 1980, 1994; Ong 1976, 1982.

[7] See Olson 1994, 258.

[8] Aristotle, *Organon*. According to A. Assmann and J. Assmann, writing would thus be nothing more than "the mimesis of mimesis". See A. Assmann, J. Assmann, and Hardmeier 1998, 265.

[9] See Goody 2000, 136.

[10] Olson 1994, 7.

themselves. Although rejecting the repeatedly mentioned hypothesis that writing itself brings about an evolution in thinking,[11] I agree with Lloyd that, at the very least, it advances the availability of certain types of argument construction.[12] The argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One are a good example of this. These texts, I hold, are ultimately products of written reasoning.

The Hybrid Form of Texts

Just as the distinction of argument-based and context-dependent text describes two extremes on a continuous scale of texts rather than absolute categories, so too does the distinction between the written and the oral text. Philosophical texts from the Warring States period are principally synchronic artefacts. As shown in this study, the philosophical texts from early China were part of a larger intellectual discourse in which travelling concepts informed a multitude of ideas in different ways. Texts that reflect an orally based activity come to us in the form of written artefacts, and written texts were not transmitted exclusively in written form. Changes in different manifestations of essentially written texts make this plain. Oral stock phrases and the like repeatedly appear in texts of the written tradition, and the repetitive nature of the mantra-like language of many of the building blocks appearing in ultimately written texts such as the argument-based text "Wǔ xíng" point to oral contexts of some textual materials and layers. But the meaningful integration of these oral contexts into the new context of a consistent philosophical entity that becomes an autonomous product of thought would not have been possible without writing. And writing this type of text would have been difficult without the context of a manuscript culture, such as arose in the Warring States period.

The syncretic tendencies and convoluted patterns of argument construction as seen in argument-based texts are clear signs of writing. Writing both facilitated and fuelled the generation of new types of reasoning. That coherent concepts are advanced in structurally consistent entities further demonstrates the premeditated confrontation with a problem of some kind. The systematic engagement with ideas

[11] See the discussion by Halverson 1992. See also Falk 1990.
[12] See Lloyd 1990.

in structurally coherent texts casts light on deliberate attempts to find reasoned solutions for philosophical problems.

The Decline of Argument-Based Texts

The particular type of reasoning manifested in argument-based texts should not be taken simply as an oddity of tomb Guōdiàn One. This is made plain by the find of argument-based texts from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts. Yet, as far as we can see today, the end of the Warring States period also saw the end of this type of philosophical reasoning in writing. It is ironic that none of the texts of the written type survived outside tombs to the present day, but those texts from the same corpus that worked in oral contexts all persisted into received traditions! Whereas light writing materials continued their triumphant advance through the millennia, certain types of philosophising that, to a large extent, had been made possible by the broad diffusion of these materials ceased. This calls for an explanation.

Parallel to the decline of the tradition of the argument-based texts, China witnessed great changes. We are clouded by uncertainty as to the beginning of institutionalised writing in early China. Certainly by the time of the Qín, at least, the office of erudites was established, whose position was further manifested under the Hàn. It is in this context of offices and Imperial Library that the 'hardening' of philosophical traditions took shape and that the closure of the canon advanced, as enforced particularly under Hàn Wǔdì 漢武帝 (r. 141–87 BC).[13] But these changes in the intellectual climate do not in themselves explain how a whole tradition of systematised philosophising came to an end at the dawn of the imperial age.

What are the reasons, then, for this decline? Did the type of philosophising as reflected in argument-based texts become obsolete? Were texts of this type transformed into new types of philosophical reasoning? Could these texts not survive the 'banning of writings' outside official institutions and the Imperial Library because they lacked strong patronage from particular groups? Were the argument-based texts

[13] Petersen (1995) and Kern (2000, 184ff., also for further references), among others, provide a detailed discussion of changes in the intellectual climate following the Warring States period. Michael Nylan (2009, with further references) claims that the influence of imperial patronage after 221 BC might be overstated.

simply too difficult to remember in those days, in which the physical possession and use of these texts was becoming a dangerous habit?

The banning of writings, as allegedly demanded by Lǐ Sī 李斯 (ca. 280–208 BC), was directed in particular against uncontrolled learning. Banned texts included "Odes" (*shī* 詩) and "Documents" (*shū* 書) circulating outside groups of officials and, in particular, uncontrolled 'anecdotes' (*yǔ* 語) of the 'manifold lineages' (*bǎi jiā* 百家). The subsequently implemented ban also included the various archives, except for those of the Qín.[14] As Kern has demonstrated, these measures of the Qín imperial court—habitually a place of "traditional ritual and classical scholarship"—seem to have been aimed at controlling texts rather than at suppressing scholarship as a whole.[15] As the comparison with other societies and cultures shows, this was a typical process in the establishing of a canon.[16] The number of texts that fell out of the transmission process during these times must have been quite large. The destruction of texts, one may further argue, caused by the devastating fire that raged for months in the Imperial Library of the Qín, the home of the banned texts, when Xiàng Yǔ 項羽 took the capital Xiányáng 咸陽 by force in 206 BC[17] furthermore erased a considerable body of texts from the memory of later generations. Yet text finds such as the manifestation of the "Wǔ xíng" in the early Western Hàn tomb Mǎwángduī Three make it plain that some argument-based text did in fact survive the early imperial age. The banning of selected texts outside the Imperial Library certainly was too short-lived for the majority of texts to be disremembered. References to the banning of writings and the destruction of the Imperial Library therefore cannot sufficiently explain the disappearance of argument-based texts as a philosophical tradition.

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[14] *Shǐ jì*, 6:255, 87:2546–2547. See also Petersen 1995; Kern 2000, 190–191.

[15] See Kern 2000, 188ff. For a competing view on the Qín, see Hé Jìn 1999.

[16] See A. Assmann and J. Assmann 1987. The appointment of a specialist in cultural memory whose task it was "to comprehend the past and present" (*tōng gǔ jīn* 通古今) (see, e.g., *Hàn shū* 漢書 19A, p. 726) is just one indication of the deep roots in textual and ritual traditions of the Qín. Martin Kern (2000, 184–191) holds that the infamous burning of writings, now sometimes inadequately referred to as 'bibliocaust', was rather a move to monopolise classical learning and thus comparable to Hàn Wǔdì's 漢武帝 appointment of erudites for the five canons and the simultaneous expulsion of competing doctrines in 136 BC.

[17] An act of violent destruction such as this one certainly was no isolated instance. As Mark Lewis (2007, 101) reports, capitals were burned to the ground "whenever a new dynasty took control".

The measures of the Qín, continued in different form under Hàn Wǔdì, can be read as directed primarily against heterogeneous and, by implication, uncontrolled ideas in written form. This may have had a direct effect on argument-based texts. Texts like the "Wǔ xíng" not only quote canonical texts but also establish a particular reading of them. In many cases, these interpretations differ substantially from those singled out under imperial patronage, such as, for instance, the interpretation advanced by the *Máo Odes*. It is possible that the paid professionals at court felt undermined by such unorthodoxy.[18] Losing their function as exegetical tools for authoritative sources, texts of this type might have slowly dropped—or been forced—out of the transmission process.

But what about texts like the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", "Qióng dá yǐ shí", and "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" that, among other argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One and the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, do *not* integrate—explicitly or implicitly—references to later canonical works into their own argument? It seems therefore that the mere reference to imperial patronage in the attempt to establish a canon after the end of the Warring States period is also insufficient to explain the dissolution of the philosophical tradition exemplified by the argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One.

Yet another way to look at this phenomenon is to see these changes in the context of natural text development. Argument-based texts, the analysis has shown, are characterised by the way they expound all the relevant information necessary to generate meaning within the written text itself, and so these texts tend to transport largely self-contained philosophical systems. No specific contexts are necessary to access their message. This does not mean that this is achieved at every text layer or in every reference to shared knowledge. Some explanations may fail and some references may remain unidentified and unspecified, as happens from time to time especially in the manifestations of the long argument-based texts analysed in this study. But meaning is nonetheless borne by the overall coherence of the argument. Text flow and rhythm further help to bridge uncertainties. The text on the whole is relatively unfettered by unspecific passages or unsuccessful references in the construction of an argument. By becoming

[18] The *Máo* 毛 tradition eventually displaced other interpretations of the "Odes" during the reign of Hàn Wǔdì (ca. 133).

independent of locally based interpretations, argument-based texts were potentially accessible to whoever had access to them and was able to read. Oral contexts became less important, and, as discussed, already at a relatively early point in time, these texts circulated independently in writing. As structurally closed entities, they left less room for interpretation and so were themselves prone to change. Argument-based texts almost 'invite' permutation. Ideas expressed in these texts come to fruition in other contexts, so that, in the course of time, these texts become redundant as stand-alone entities. Certain ideas and concepts expand into new textual environments and traditions, and argument-based texts dissolve as independent entities. The hypothesis concerning the text development of the modular "Zī yī" might hint at such processes of textual change.

In contrast to argument-based texts, the modules of context-dependent texts locate the intellectual activity not within the written text but in the different textual communities around them. The modules of these texts function predominantly as platforms for all sorts of philosophical conversations, and so they remain crucially bound to the triangular relationship of text, mediator, and recipient. Because these modules did not establish the relevant reference within the written text but left it to be construed in the oral context of group-based communications, the modules remained ambiguous even when written down. But their intrinsic connection with authorities of whatever kind guaranteed their importance and ensured their transmission. Their ambiguity required explanatory settings, and these modules were easily adapted to the different contexts in which they were used. Context-dependent texts therefore beg for *repetition*. Being applied here and there but always calling for different interpretation each time, they permuted their contexts. Accordingly, authority shifted gradually from the texts to the textual communities who decided—and still do decide—how to read and interpret these modules, and so the modules of context-dependent texts could move among textual communities and interpretations. *Because* these texts were so open to interpretation, they could be applied to all kinds of arguments and situations. The ever-evolving act of interpretation endlessly reconstitutes the context-dependent text. In the end, their very ambiguity and need for interpretation kept them alive. As a result, it is the oral texts from the Warring States period that survived in the written textual tradition, while the early written texts dropped out of the transmission process.

PART III

TEXTS, RECONSTRUCTIONS, AND PHILOLOGICAL NOTES

CHAPTER NINE

RECONSTRUCTING THE "ZHŌNG XÌN ZHĪ DÀO" 忠信之道

This chapter provides the text and translation of the argument-based text "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", followed by philological notes. In both the transcription and the translation of the text, a superscript letter *z* refers to the manuscript ("Zhōng xìn zhī dào"), and the number immediately after the *z* is the strip number. In my discussion of the text, *z*1, for instance, refers to strip 1 of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", and *z*1/9, to the ninth graph on that strip.

Some parts of the text are marked with a cross. This indicates that the text on the strips (or the strip itself) is corrupt or that a graph cannot be identified with certainty. The translation must then be tentative, too. Missing parts that I reconstruct on the basis of the continuous argument of the text are marked by curly parentheses {}. The reconstructed passage is set in italics. The letters in brackets refer to the philological discussion at the end of this chapter.

Text and Translation: "Zhōng xìn zhī dào"

The "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" consists of two cantos and six building blocks.

Canto 1

1.1a [z1] 不訛不害，忠之至也；[A]
1.1b 不欺弗知，信之至也。
1.2a 忠積則可親也；
1.2b 信積則可信也。
1.c 忠[z2]信積而民弗親信者，未之有也。

1.1a [z1] Not to be pretentious and not to be destructive is the culmination of fidelity.
1.1b Not to cheat and not to be cunning[1] is the culmination of trustworthiness.

[1] *Zhī* 知 must be understood as positive knowledge that prevents one profound understanding. In the *Lǎozǐ* 老子 the expression *zhī* is often used in the negative sense for artfulness, cunning.

1.2a When fidelity is accumulated [by the ruler],[2] [he] can be approached [by the people].
1.2b When trustworthiness is accumulated [by the ruler], [he] can be trusted [by the people].
1.c That fidelity [z2] and trustworthiness have been accumulated [by the ruler] and the people did not approach and trust [him]—there has never been such a case.

2.1a 至忠如土，化物而不伐。[B]
2.1b 至信如時，比至而不結。[C]
2.2a 忠人亡[z3]訛；
2.2b 信人不背。
2.c 君子如此，故不誑生、不背死也。[D]

2.1a The highest fidelity is like the soil; it transforms the things but does not attack them.[3]
2.1b The highest trustworthiness is like the seasons; [they] succeed [one another] and [the circle] does not end.
2.2a Men of fidelity have no [z3] pretension;
2.2b Men of trustworthiness are not perfidious.
2.c The gentleman-ruler goes along with this, and therefore, [he] does not cheat life, nor does [he] turn his back on death.

3.a 大舊而不渝，忠之至也。[E]
3.b 大古而諸常，信[z4]之至也。†[F]
3.c 至忠亡訛，至信不背，夫此之謂此。

3.a To hold old ways in high esteem and never render [them] impure[4] is fidelity in its culmination.
3.b To hold antiquity in high reverence and take it as a principle is trustworthiness [z4] in its culmination.
3.c The highest fidelity has no pretension; the highest trustworthiness is not perfidious. Now this is what this is about.

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[2] The concept of accumulating (*jī* 積) moral conduct is also prominent in the *Zhuāngzǐ* 莊子. In the "Xiāoyāo yóu" 逍遨遊 it is, for instance, said: 水之積也不厚，則其負大舟也無力 "When the accumulation of water is not deep, then it will lack the strength to carry a large boat" (see *Zhuāngzǐ zuǎnjiān*, 1993, 2).

[3] These natural forces do not create the thing itself but merely make it work. The idea behind this is probably that of changing the *form* (*eĩdos* εἶδος, or *morphē* μορφή) instead of the *matter* (*hùlē* ὕλη) of a thing.

[4] The *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字 (1998, 571) explains *yú* (渝) as 渝變污也 "*yú* means to become impure". The ode "Gāoqiú" 羔裘 (*Máo* 80) reads: 彼其之子，舍命不渝 "That man there, he is steadfast unto death." See Karlgren 1950, 54.

Canto 2

4.1a 大忠不悅；[G]
4.1b 大信不期。
4.2a 不悅而足養者，地也；
4.2b 不期[z5]而可要者，天也。[H]
4.c 配天地也者，忠信之謂此。[I]

4.1a The highest fidelity is not pleasant for [the people].
4.1b The highest trustworthiness is not restricted in time.[5]
4.2a Not pleasant for [the people] and yet providing enough to nourish, such is the Earth.
4.2b Not to be restricted in time [z5] and yet able to be met with, such is Heaven.
4.c To be in tune with Heaven and Earth, this is what fidelity and trustworthiness are about.

5.1 口惠而實弗從，君子弗言爾；
5.2 心{疏} □□ [而形][z6]親，君子弗申爾；†[J]
5.3 古行而鯖悅民，君子弗由也；[K]
5.C 三者，忠人弗作，信人弗爲也。

5.1 If kind with words but in fact not acting in accordance with them, the gentleman-ruler rather refrains from speaking so.
5.2 If letting the mind loose, {*and yet being*} [z6] intimate in appearance, the gentleman-ruler rather refrains from displaying this.
5.3 If acting according to the old but pleasing the people by serving [them the special taste of] *zhēng*,[6] the gentleman-ruler is one who refrains to relying on this.
5.C As to these three [ways], the man of fidelity refrains from doing them, and the trustworthy man refrains from applying them.

6.1a 忠之爲 [z7] 道也，百工不楛而人養皆足；[L]
6.1b 信之爲道也，群物皆成而百善皆立。
6.2a 君子，其施也[z8]忠，故蠻親附也；[M]
6.2b ----- 其言爾信，故亶而可受也。[N]
6.c 忠，仁之實也；信，義之基也。[O]

是故古之所[z9]以行乎蠻貉者，如此也。[P]

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[5] The *Zhuāngzǐ*, "Zé Yáng" 則陽 reads: 今計物之數，不止於萬，而期曰萬物者，以數之多者號而讀之也 "If today the number of objects was calculated, one would not stop at ten thousand. But the fact that one is limited and calls [them] 'ten thousand' is due to the high number [of them], so [they] are called out aloud that way". The Chéng Xuányīng 咸玄英 subcommentary explains: 期限也 "*qī* means *limited*". See *Zhuāngzǐ zuǎnjiān* 1993, 218.

[6] *Zhēng* is probably a dish of fish and meat mixed together, as in medieval times. See *Xījīng zájì* (1991, 2:73–74).

6.1A When fidelity becomes the [z7] way [in the state], then all kinds of skilled labour will not decay, and the nourishing of the people will all be sufficient.[7]

6.1b When trustworthiness becomes the way [in the state], then all groups of things will be completed, and all kinds of good deeds will thus be established.

6.2a Thus, when the gentleman-ruler in the way he conducts himself is indeed [z8] of fidelity, [even] the Mán barbarians will come close to and follow [him].

6.2b [And] when his words are indeed trustworthy, [they] are sincere and can be passed on.

6.c Fidelity is the realisation of benevolence (*rén*);
[And] trustworthiness is the basis for rightness (*yì*).

It was for this reason that what [the gentleman-ruler] applied to the Mán and Mò barbarians in the days of old [z9] was something of this kind.

Notes on the Text and Translation

[A]: Zhōu Fēngwǔ 周鳳五 identifies the character *z*1/4 as *dá* 達 'to arrive at'. He explains *z*1/4 on the basis of its similarity to the graph *dá* 達 as seen in manuscript "Lǎozǐ" A, strip *a*8/14: .[8] The identification of *z*1/4 with the character *dá* 達 is, however, problematic. The contexts in which the two graphs were used differ greatly, and the two graphs differ enough structurally that I think it unreasonable to identify *z*1/4 as *dá* 'to arrive at'. Reading the character as *dá* as proposed by Zhōu would also distort the overall pattern of this passage, which reads as follows:

> A: no [*x*] and no [*y*]; that is *zhōng* in its culmination;
> B: no [*c*] and no [*d*]; that is *xìn* in its culmination.

According to the underlying structure of the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào", this passage clearly demands a negative term. Hé Línyí 何琳儀 proposes to read the graph as *tāo* 慆 'to be weary about something'.[9] Chén Wěi 陳偉 accepts this reading.[10] On the basis of similarities to a graph written

[7] The 'different kinds of skilled labour' (*bǎigōng* 百工) is also a prominent concept in the *Mòzǐ* (see, e.g., *Mòzǐ*, "Jié yòng zhōng", 255).
[8] See Zhōu Fèngwǔ 1998, 121ff.
[9] See Hé Línyí 2001, 164.
[10] See Chén Wěi 2003, 75.

in the same style appearing in the *Shuìhǔdì* 睡虎地 (8.1),[11] Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 identify the character as *hài* 害 'to harm'.[12] I accept their reading.

[B]: Qiú Xīguī 裘錫圭 reads the character *z*2/17 —identified as *guǐ* 蟡 by the Húběi Province Museum editors—as *huà* 化 (to develop).[13] The character *guǐ* 蟡 consists of the graph 虫 and the phonophoric *wéi* 爲 (Old Chinese *[ɢ]^{w}(r)aj). *Wéi* (*[ɢ]^{w}(r)aj) is phonetically close to *huà* 化 (OC *q$^{\text{ʕwh}}$raj-s), and I follow Qiú.

Qiú Xīguī identifies the character *z*2/21 (⿰彳戈) as *fá* 伐 'to attack'.[14] This perfectly corresponds with the structure of the text, and I follow Qiú.

[C]: Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 identify the character *z*2/26 (⿰才匕), which consists of *cái* 才 and the phonophoric *bǐ* 匕 (OC *pijʔ), as *bì* 必 (OC *pi[t]) 'necessarily'.[15] The loan characters are not a perfect match but are possibly close enough phonetically in the underlying Chǔ 楚 dialect. Another suggestion is provided by Liú Zhāo 劉釗, who proposes to read the graph as *bì* 比 'close together; successive'.[16] The Old Chinese reading of *bì* 比 is *[b]ij-s, and so it is the more likely reading of this graph.

[D]: Throughout the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" cases of ligature (héwén 合文) appear that are not marked explicitly—for instance, by a stroke. The concept *jūnzǐ* 'gentleman', for instance, is written throughout as one graph (⿱尹子).

[E]: Lǐ Líng 李零 reads graphs *z*3/17–18 (here identified as *dà jiù* 大舊) as *tài jiǔ* 太久 'very old'.[17] Liú Zhāo follows his reading.[18] The problem with this reading is that it neglects the parallel structure of the passage under review, which I discuss under [F].

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[11] Cf. *Shuìhǔdì Qín jiǎn wénzì biān* 1994, 117.
[12] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 66.
[13] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 163, n. 3.
[14] Ibid.
[15] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 67.
[16] See Liú Zhāo 2005, 162–163.
[17] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 501.
[18] See Liú Zhāo 2005, 163.

[F]: The Húběi Province Museum editors identify *z*3/26 as *táo* 匋 'a kiln for burning pottery or earthenware'.[19] This reading makes it difficult to construct any sense out of this line. The editors admit that this sentence might be corrupt, and most editors struggle to reconstruct any meaningful reading. I suggest reading *z*3/26 as a ligature writing a putative predicate-object construction, namely *dà gǔ* 大古 'to hold antiquity in high reverence', which can be corroborated by reference to the structure of this passage (3. A read as *dà jiù* 大舊). The two characters are written close together and are therefore hardly legible. One may be inclined to interpret this by saying that *dà gǔ* 大古 'to hold antiquity in high reverence' was a standard concept in certain traditions and so the graphs were purposely written close together (just like the compound *jūnzǐ* 君子; see [D] above). However, given the conditions of manuscript production in the Warring States period, I feel that we simply cannot be sure whether this is a scribal idiosyncrasy or rather a graphic hint at an implied meaning, although the existence of similar examples from different manuscripts seem to favour the view that it is a scribal idiosyncrasy.[20]

The Húběi Province Museum editors identify the characters *z*3/28–29 (here read as *zhū cháng* 諸常 'to take as a principle') as *zhě shàng* 者尙.[21] *Zhě* (*tAʔ) and *zhū* (*ta) belong to the same rhyme group and *xiéshēng* 諧生 series. The same holds true for *cháng* 常 (*[d]aŋ) and *shàng* 尙 (*[d]aŋ-s), which also belong to the same rhyme group. The verbalization of *zhū* 諸 (= 之於,*tə + [ʔ]a) is perhaps a Chǔ-specific usage.

[G]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum identify the character *z*4/20 兌 as *duó* 奪 'to snatch away' (OC *-lˤot).[22] Qiú Xīguī suggests

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[19] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 163, n. 6.

[20] One instance in which two graphs are written so close together that they are easily mistaken for one is on strip *Zy*17 of the Shànghǎi "Zī yī". These graphs (*Zy*17/29–30) are generally read as *jǐ* 幾 (see, e.g, Shaughnessy 2006, 113). It is, however, likely that ligature instead concatenates two graphs (絲熙) so closely together that they are easily mistaken for one word. This reading also seems to be the better option because the quotation of "Odes" in the Shànghǎi "Zī yī" matches the length of that in the Guōdiàn One text and also the received version.

[21] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 163.

[22] Ibid.

the reading *shuō* 說 'to speak' (OC *l̥ot-s).[23] The same character, however, reappears on strip *z*6/10, and Qiú reads it there as *yuè* 悅 'to be pleased' (OC *lot). Belonging to the same rhyme group, the characters *shuō* and *yuè* are interchangeable. I consistently read the graph as *yuè* 悅 'to be pleased' in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào".

[H]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum leave graph *z*5/3 unexplained. Qiú Xīguī reads it as *yào* 要 'to restrain'.[24] Chén Jiàn 陳劍 thinks that the upper part of the graph is similar to *xià* 夏 (OC *[ɢ]ˤraʔ), as based on bronze inscriptions. He suggests accordingly the direct transcription 𡔛 for .[25] The graph 𡔛 could then be read as *yà* 迓 (OC *[ŋ]ˤrak-s) 'to meet; to receive'.

After the obvious end of the sentence "天也" ("[such] is Heaven"), and therefore the end of 2B, the Húběi Province Museum editors continue the sentence up to what I define as the end of the first sentence of building block 5. However, the character *yě* 也 here serves as a marker to end the sentence. The sentence above (4.2A) talks about the Earth, followed by the sentence about Heaven. The following line (4.C), 配天地也者 "to be in tune with Heaven and Earth,..." (discussed under [I]), obviously concludes the information given in building block 4 on *zhōng* and *xìn*.

[I]: The correct identification of the character *z*5/7 is problematic. Zhōu Fèngwǔ 周鳳五 identifies it as *xùn* 巽 'to follow'.[26] This graph was originally transcribed as *jié* 節 'to regulate' by the Húběi Province Museum editors.[27] Lǐ Líng 李零 reads it as *sì* 似 'to resemble'.[28] Chén Jiàn 陳劍 suggests reading it as *pèi* 配 'to be in tune with, to match', as commonly used in the bronzes and "Odes" in this meaning.[29] As for the right part of the graph , Chén Jiàn sees some justification for reading it as *bā* 巴, just as in *féi* 肥, as a comparison with other manuscripts suggests.[30]

[23] Ibid.
[24] See ibid., 164, n. 10.
[25] See Chén Jiàn 2002b, 5–6.
[26] See Zhōu Fèngwǔ 1998, 125.
[27] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 163.
[28] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 502.
[29] See Chén Jiàn 2002b, 3.
[30] Cf. (Bāoshān strip 203); (Bāoshān strip 250); (Wàngshān no. 1, strip 116). Quoted from Chén Jiàn 2002a, 225.

[J]: After the character *xīn* 心 ‘mind’, strip 5 breaks off, leading to 心[X][X][X]親 on the remaining strip. The Qiú Xīguī reconstructs 心[疏][而][X][口/貌]親 “letting the mind loose (心疏), and yet to be intimate in [one’s] appearance,…”.[31] The shape of the character identified in this Guōdiàn One manuscript as *shēn* 申 ‘to state, to express’, strongly resembles the character which the *Shuōwén jiězì* explains is the ancient script variant (*gǔ wén* 古文) of *shēn* 申.[32]

[K]: Most scholars read the character z6/6 *gǔ* ‘old’ (古, *kˁaʔ) as *gù* ‘therefore’ (故, *kˁa(ʔ)-s), which would be the concluding particle after a chain of arguments. This, however, runs counter to the formal structure of this passage, which works as follows. The unit is an enumeration. I have marked this with the numbers 1–3 in the translation, and it is followed by a concluding remark. This becomes apparent, first, due to the strict usage of 君子弗[*x*]爾/也 “then the *jūnzǐ* would rather not *x*;” second, the concluding remark (C) states 三者 “these three [above-stated] fallacies”. The structure of this section is the following:

To do [*x*] (=positive) but (而) thereby to do [*y*] (=negative), the *jūnzǐ* would rather not [*x*]. By implication, the character *gù* 故 here must be read as *gǔ* 古 ‘old’, since the chain of argumentation still continues.

The phonophoric of the character z6/9 鯖 is 青 *s.r̥ˁeŋ (or *[ts]ˁʰeŋʔ). On this basis, Liú Zhāo 劉釗 suggests reading the graph as *zhēng* 爭 (OC *[ts](ˁ)reŋ) ‘to compete; to struggle’. Another reading would be to take its direct reading, namely *zhēng* 鯖, which describes a special dish of fish and meat mixed together as mentioned in the medieval source *Xījīng zájì* 西京雜記.[33] Neither of the two possibilities would alter the structure or the message of the present statement.

[L]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read graph *z*7/6 as *gǔ* 古 ‘old’ (*kˁaʔ). Qiú Xīguī proposes reading it as *kù* 楛 ‘to decay’.[34] *Gǔ* 古 ‘old’ (*kˁaʔ) and *kù* 楛 ‘to decay’ (*[g]ˁaʔ) share the same phono-

[31] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 164, n. 13.
[32] See *Shuōwén jiězì*, 753. See also Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 164, n. 14.
[33] See *Xījīng zájì* 1991, 2:73–74.
[34] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 164, n. 16.

phoric and fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components. I follow Qiú's proposal.

[M]: Lǐ Líng reads graph *z*8/3 (䜌) as *liàn* 戀 'to feel persistent attachment'.[35] Zhōu Fèngwǔ states that the character is *mǎn* 懣 (OC *mˤo[n]ʔ), which should thus be interchangeable with *luán* 䜌 (OC *mə.rˤo[n]), which he reads as *mán* 蠻, the name of a non-Zhōu tribe (OC *m-rˤo[n]).[36] I follow Zhōu.

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum transcribe the character *z*8/5 *fù* 尃 (OC *pʰ(r)a)as *fù* 附 'to adhere to' (OC *N-p(r)oʔ-s).[37] Phonologically, this is unlikely. Liú Zhāo reads it as *fù* 傅, which shares the phonophoric with the graph on the strips.[38]As he notes, *fù* 傅 is also used in the sense of 附 'to adhere to; to follow'.[39] The fact that the *Hàn shū* 漢書 uses the two interchangeably suggests that in Hàn times, at the latest, their reading was close enough (in some dialects) to be interchangeable. The Middle Chinese reading for *fù* 附 is bjuH; that of *fù* 傅 is pjuH. It is possible that in some—Chǔ?—dialects, this change occurred quite early.[40] Hence, although *-a and *-o clearly were distinct in (early) Old Chinese, they had merged by Hàn times after

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[35] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 503.

[36] Zhōu Fèngwǔ 1998, 127.

[37] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 163.

[38] See Liú Zhāo 2005, 166.

[39] Ibid.

[40] This is a reasonable suggestion because something similar can also be seen in the use of graphs in other Warring States manuscripts. Note in this context that the reconstruction of Old Chinese is not that of one language with sudden drastic changes but one that has to deal with a variety of dialects and different gradual changes. An example of the early change to the Middle Chinese reading already in the Zhōu period can be seen in the Shànghǎi manuscript "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn" 孔子詩論. The transmitted *Odes* read *wéi chī wéi xì* 爲絺爲綌 'I make fine cloth and coarse cloth' (*Máo* 2) (after Karlgren 1950, 3). The Shànghǎi manuscript displays the characters at this juncture (strip *kz*24/2–3), for which Chén Jiàn proposes the direct transcription □莸菝 (the left part of the first character is missing) (see Chén Jiàn 2002a, 222). The phonophoric of the former of the two graphs (*chī* 絺 in the transmitted version) is *dī* 氐. *Dī* 氐 has the Old Chinese reading *tˤij. The transmitted graph *chī* 絺 'fine cloth' should be reconstructed with *t-qʰrəj. This does not fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components as defined above. The Middle Chinese reading for *chī* 絺, however, is trhij, and it is reasonable to assume that the change of *t-qʰrəj already occurred in the Zhōu period. (As a side note to this, it is thus plausible to assume that *chī* 絺 is the earlier use, not *dī* □莸.)

labial initials like *p in some rhyme classes, and they may already have merged in the dialect of the strips. Accordingly, I follow Liú's reading until a better solution is found.

[N]: I follow Qiú Xīguī's suggestion to read graph *z*8/12 as *tán* 亶 'sincere'.[41]

[O]: Graph *z*8/23 (⿱我口) is a particular writing for *yì* 義 'rightness' in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" manuscript.

Chén Wěi 陳偉 proposes reading graph *z*8/25 in the sense of *jī* 基 'basis' (OC *k(r)ə) instead of *qī* 期 'temporality' (OC *[g](r)ə). He does so on the basis of similarities between this passage and the *Qián fū lùn* 潛夫論, "Wù běn" 務本.[42] According to him, the line 忠仁之實也 should also be understood as the parallel counterpart to 義信之期(基)也. On this basis this line can be read as a parallel counterpart to the previous statement, which makes 'basis' (*jī* 基; OC *k(r)ə) the counterpart to 'nucleus' or, better, 'realisation' (*shí* 實; OC *[g](r)ə). Phonologically this would be a sound assumption, because the two words fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components. They have the same position of initial articulation (a velar as initial consonant) and share the same main vowel and the same coda. I know of no other passage in which a notion appears similar to 信義之期也 "Trustworthiness is the limitation for rightness". But as suggested by the *Qián fū lùn*, there were notions similar to that of 義信之期(基)也 "Rightness is the basis for trustworthiness". Accordingly, I follow Chén's suggestion.[43]

[P]: The use of *shì* 氏 'clan, lineage' for *shì* 是 'this' can be seen in many texts from the Warring States. *Shì* 是 has the Old Chinese reading *[d]eʔ; *shì* 氏 can be reconstructed as *[g]eʔ. This does not fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components since the initials of the two do not have the same position of articulation (*shì* 氏 has a velar initial; *shì* 是 has a

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[41] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 164.

[42] See Chén Wěi 2003, 81–82.

[43] Note the similarity of the phrase 忠仁之實也 "fidelity is the realisation of benevolence" (6.C) to *Dà Dài Lǐ jì* 大戴禮記 9.4/54/26: 聖知之華也，知仁之實也，仁信之器也，信義之重也，義利之本也 "Sagacity is the blossom of wisdom. Wisdom is the fruition of benevolence. Benevolence is the vessel of trustworthiness. Trustworthiness is the replication of rightness. Rightness is the root of benefit".

dental initial). The common use of *shì* 氏 'clan, lineage' for *shì* 是 'this' may therefore be explained by diachrony, by suggesting that this use reflects Chǔ dialect, or by reconstructing a prefix with a velar, as lately suggested by William Baxter and Laurent Sagart: *[g]eʔ~ *k.deʔ ~ *kə.deʔ. Evidence for this can be found in both the *xiéshēng* rhyme groups and borrowings in other languages (*zhǐ* 紙 'paper' *[k.t]eʔ).

The reconstruction of the additional statement is problematic. The character below *hū* 乎 (*z*9/4:) consists of the graphs *yòu* 又 (OC *ɢʷəʔ-s) and *mén* 門 (OC *mˁə[n]). The direct transcription of it is 閔. Zhōu Fèngwǔ reads it as *mán* 蠻 (OC *m-rˁo[n], southern barbarian).[44] Obviously, this is problematic on phonological grounds. Furthermore, Zhōu considers the character *z*9/5 to be *mò* 貉 (OC*mˁrak), the name of a northern barbarian tribe.[45] The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read graph *z*9/5 as *lóu* 嘍 (OC*[r]ˁo) 'to chatter, to mutter'.[46] Lǐ Líng only hesitatingly transcribes the characters in question (9/4–5) as 閔 and 婁 with 口 below.[47] Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 suggest reading the two graphs as *kāilóu* 開嘍 'to expound and promote'. This would give the reading 是故古之所以行乎開嘍者如此也 "it was for this reason that in days of old [the sovereign] enacted expounding and promoting followed this [principle of *zhōng* and *xìn*]."[48]

For the time being this must remain an open question. I refer to Zhōu's transcription, even though it seems that it is, from a phonological perspective, problematic.

[44] Zhōu Fèngwǔ 1998, 128.
[45] Ibid.
[46] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 163.
[47] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 503.
[48] Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 75–76.

CHAPTER TEN

RECONSTRUCTING THE "QIÓNG DÁ YǏ SHÍ" 窮達以時

This chapter provides the text and translation of the argument-based text "Qióng dá yǐ shí", followed by philological notes. In both the transcription and the translation, a superscript letter *q* refers to the manuscript ("Qióng dá yǐ shí"), and the number immediately after the *q* is the strip number.

Text and Translation

Canto1

[q1]有天有人，天人有分。
察天人之分而知所行矣。
有其人，無其 [q2] 世；
雖賢弗行矣。
茍有其世，何難之有哉？

[q1]There is Heaven and there is Man, and there are distinctions between Heaven and Man.
When investigating the distinction between Heaven and Man, [one] will know what they act upon.
There might be the right man, but no right [q2] times for him.
Even if he was a worthy one, he would not enact it (his worthiness).
However, if only there were the right times, what difficulties could there then be?

(1) 舜耕於歷山，[A]
陶拍[q3]於河滸。[B]
立而爲天子，遇堯也。

Shùn ploughed [the fields] at Mount Lì, and he made pottery [q3] on the banks of the Yellow River.†
The reason he became established as Son of Heaven was his encounter with Yáo.

(2) 邵謠衣枲蓋帽絰蒙巾。[C]
[q4] 釋板築而佐天子，
遇武丁也。[D]

Shào Yáo wore a hemp coverlet, covered [his head] with a hemp hat, and swathed himself in a [protecting] scarf.†

[q4]The reason he became the assistant of the Son of Heaven when he escaped the wooden barriers for building earthen walls was his encounter with Wǔdīng.

(3) 呂望 爲臧棘津，戰監門 [q5] 棘地。[E]
行年七十，而屠牛於朝歌。
擧而爲天子師，遇周文也。

Lǚ Wàng was a slave at the ford of Jí, and trembling he [q5] watched the gates of the territory of Jí.†

Seventy years went by during which he slaughtered oxen at Zhāogē.

The reason he was elevated to become the tutor of the Son of Heaven was his encounter with [King] Wén of Zhōu.

(4)[q6]管夷吾拘囚束縛。[F]
釋械柙，而爲諸侯相，
遇齊桓也。

[q6]Guǎn Yíwǔ (Guǎn Zhòng) was detained in prison, where he was bound and tied up.

The reason he became minister of the feudal lords when he escaped the weapons and his prisoner's cage was his encounter with [Duke] Huán of Qí.

(5) [q8]孫叔三斥期思少司馬。[G]
出而爲令尹，
遇楚莊也。

[q8]Sūnshū (Sūnshū Ào) thrice declined [the position of] vice minister of war at Qīsī.

The reason he became the senior official when he came out [of seclusion] was his encounter with [King] Zhuāng of Chǔ.

(6) [q7]百里[奚]轉賣五羊，爲伯牧牛。[H]
釋板[?]而爲朝卿，†[I]
遇秦穆。

[q7]Báilǐ [Xī] was sold for the price of five rams and became the elder of the ox herders.

The reason he became minister at the court when he escaped [?] was his encounter with [Duke] Mù of Qín. †

[q9] 初韜晦，[J]
後名揚，†
非其德加。

子胥前多功，[K]
後戮死，
非其智 *q*10 衰也。

*q*9[Thus, the fact that] in the beginnings [these worthies] were of little value and in obscurity,
[and yet] their names were later praised,
is not because their virtue (*dé*) has been added to.

[That Wǔ] Zǐxū was very meritorious at first,
[and yet] he later fell into disgrace and was put to death,
is not because his wisdom *q*10 had weakened.

驥厄張山，騏控於卲棘；†[L]
非亡體壯也。

窮四海，致千 *q*11里，
遇造[父]故也。†[M]

遇不遇，天也。

That [even] the thoroughbred horse becomes distressed at Mount Zhāng,
and the black-mottled grey horse halts at the thorns of Shào,
is not because they have lost their physical strength.

[But] that [they] exhaust everywhere within the four seas, reaching as far as a thousand *q*11 *lǐ* [in each direction],
is because they encountered the [excellent rider] Zào Fù.†

To encounter or not—this lies with Heaven.

Canto 2

動非爲達也；
故窮而不*q*12 □□□ [怨；隱不] 爲名也；† [N]
故莫之知而不吝。

□□□□□□ [芝蘭生於幽谷] † [O]
*q*13□□□□ [*q*13非以無人]嗅而不芳†[P]
璑璐瑾瑜包山石，不爲 □□□ (□?)([無人知其]*q*14 善† [Q]
伓己也。†[R][1]

[1] This difficult passage has yet to be confirmed. The Húběi Province Museum editors transcribe it as follows: 無茖堇愈 [illegible]山石不爲□□□*q*14 善伓己)也 (Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 145). Lǐ Líng's transcription reads: 無茖堇愈寶，山石不爲□□□[開，非以其] *q*14 善負己也 (Lǐ Líng 1999, 494). Tú and Liú read: 無茖募愈[illegible]，山石不爲□□□[所用，夫為]善伓己也 (Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001). I suggest 不爲[無人知其]善伓己 because this would logically connect to the passage above and to the conclusion below. See also my discussion below.

[Thus], to move is not [necessarily] to succeed.
This is why [the worthy one] does not *q*12 {*harbour resentment*} even if becoming exhausted.†
{*He* [*simply*] *hides and does not*} go after achieving a name.†
And so he is without regret even if nobody knows [him].

{*The* [*flower*] zhīlán *grows in dark valleys*}; *q*13 {*it is not because it cannot be*} smelled {*by man*} that it is not fragrant. †
The beautiful stone of jade is covered in mountain stones; it is not because {*no one knows its*}*q*14 goodness that it neglects itself.[2]†

窮達以時，
德行一也，譽毀在旁。
聽之一母，緇白*q*15不釐；
窮達以時，幽明不再。
故君子惇於反己。[S]

Failure and success appear at their respective times.
Virtue (*dé*) and conduct [may] be one, [and yet] fame and slander stand by their side.
[But if] acuity reaches the 'one mother', black and white need *q*15 not be distinguished [anymore].†
Failure and success appear at their respective times, [yet] dark and bright do not get reiterated [along with them].
It is for this reason that the gentleman esteems self-examination.

Notes on Text and Translation

[A]: The identity of Mount Lì (Lìshān 歷山) cannot be determined with certainty.[3] Most scholars follow Qián Mù, who identifies Mount Lì with Mount Léi Shǒu 雷首, which is near the confluence of the Fén 汾 and Yellow rivers in modern southwest Shānxī 山西.[4]

[B]: The character *q*3/3 appears as *hu*? (⿷匚古) on the bamboo strips. Lǐ Líng 李零 transcribes it as *hú* 滸 'bank of a river'.[5] Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 suspect that the character is a loan for

[2] Although it is quite impossible to know the 'original' reading of this passage since too many characters are simply absent, an approximate reading may still be reconstructed on the basis of the lines "故莫之知而不吝" even if nobody knows [him], he is without regret), and "嗅而不芳" (not fragrant *since no* [X] smell [it]). See my discussion below.

[3] Cf. *Zhōngguó lìshǐ dìmíng dà cídiǎn* 1995, 145.

[4] See Qián Mù 1962, 42.

[5] Lǐ Líng 1999, 493; 2002, 87. See also Jì Xùshēng 2001, 118.

gū 沽 (OC *kˤa). This would be the name of a river, thus making 河沽,[6] which would perfectly correlate with 歷山. Liú Zhāo 劉釗 reads it as *pǔ* 浦 (OC *pˤʰaʔ), 'banks of a stream'.[7] A transcription of the character as *hú* 滸 (OC *qˤʰaʔ) 'bank of a river' is also conceivable as it correlates with the story in *Shǐ jì* 史記 1 "Wǔ dì běn jì" 五帝本記 ("Basic Annals" 1), which notes that Shùn made pottery on the banks of the Yellow River (陶河濱).

[C]: The name Shào Yáo 卲謠 does not appear in transmitted texts. Accordingly, Lǐ Líng 李零 does not combine the two characters to generate the reading of a personal name but explains *q*3/13 (*yáo* 謠, OC *law) as *yào* 鷂 (OC *law-s) and considers it to be an attribute of *yī* 衣 'clothing', thus making 'shabby clothing'.[8] He further assumes that *q*3/12 (卲) is either a mistaken character or a variant of a personal name. Lǐ's interpretation of reading *yáo* 謠 (OC *law) as *yào* 鷂 (OC *law-s) and thus taking only *q*3/12 as a personal name would also be a valid interpretation. None of these readings would change the overall interpretation of this passage. Despite this, the structure of this enumeration of semihistorical stories in the present subcanto is consistent in that a predicate immediately follows the name of the person. Therefore, it is more plausible reading *q*3/12–13 as a personal name, followed by the predicate *yī* 衣 'to cover oneself', 'to wear'.

I follow Lǐ's interpretation and read *q*3/14 as *xǐ* 枲 'male nettle hemp'.[9]

[D]: Legendary materials often refer to Wǔdīng (whose temple name was Gāo Zōng 高宗; Wǔdīng was the first of the nine historic rulers of the Shāng dynasty; Robert Bagley puts the reign of Wǔdīng at around 1200 BC)[10] in connection with Fù Yuè 傅說, whose situation is described in similar ways to that of Shào Yáo in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí".[11]

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[6] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 29.

[7] See Liú Zhāo 2005, 170.

[8] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 493, as well as 2002, 87.

[9] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 86.

[10] See Bagley 1999, 181.

[11] See also the *Mòzǐ* "Shàng xián zhōng" (尙賢中第九), 57ff.: 古者舜耕歷山，陶河瀕，漁雷澤，堯得之服澤之陽，舉以爲天子，與接天下之政，治天下之民。伊摯，有莘氏女之私臣，親爲庖人，湯得之，舉以爲己相，與接天下之政，治天下之民。傅說被褐帶索。庸築乎傅巖，武丁得之，舉以爲三公，與接天下之

[E]: I follow Qiú in his reading of graphs *q*4/15–17 (牂丠䀘) *zāng jí jīn* 臧棘津.[12] Tales about Lǚ Wàng mention the place name Jíjīn (棘津) in context with Lǚ Wàng.[13] The ford of Jí (Jíjīn) is situated in modern Hénán.[14] The phonologically unproblematic reading of *zāng* 牂 (ewe; OC *[ts]ˤaŋ) as *zāng* 臧 (slave; *[ts]ˤaŋ) further suits the context of the tale.

Lǚ Wàng, also known as Lǚ Shàng, was one of King Wǔ's advisors. He received the titles Tàigōng wàng 太公望 'Our Great Ancestor's Hope' and Tutor Shàngfù 師尚父. Sarah Allan has compared the historical evidence of Lǚ Wàng's service as a minister of Kings Wén and Wǔ of the Zhōu dynasty with the many references to him in Zhōu and Hàn literature and concluded that these accounts are very contradictory. Lǚ Wàng was a nobleman of the Jiāng 姜 clan, which traditionally intermarried with the Zhōu royal family. It is possible that he was the uncle of King Chéng of Zhōu.[15] However, legendary material always describes him—just as in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí"—as a humble man, who was raised up from obscurity by King Wén and subsequently made minister.[16]

Zhāogē 朝歌 is the former capital of Yīn 殷 located northeast of Qí 淇 County, in modern Hénán. Western Zhōu period Wèi 衛 established its capital there, while Zhāogē belonged to Wèi 魏 throughout the Warring States.

[F]: The character *q*6/5 [graph] appears as *yáo* 繇 (instead of 缶, 言) (OC *l[aw] or *lu) on the strips. Qiú Xīguī, however, argues that this character should be read *qiú* 囚 ('prison', OC *[s-m-l]u).

政，治天下之民 "In antiquity, Shùn ploughed [the fields] at Mount Lì; he made pottery on the banks of the [Yellow] River and fished in the lake of Léi (lake of Hùo 濩, Zézhōu 澤州). Yáo discovered him at Fú Zé (uncertain name), made [him] the Son of Heaven, handed him the government of all under Heaven so that [he] should rule the entire people under Heaven. Yī Zhì (Yī Yǐn) used to be the private counsellor of the daughter of the clan Yǒu Xīn, [and then] was employed as a cook. Tāng discovered him [and] made [him] his personal senior official so that [he] should rule the entire people under Heaven. Fù Yuè wore coarse hemp cloth and belted it with a rope; his labour was to build earthen walls at Fù Yán. Wǔdīng discovered him, made [him] one of the Three Dukes, handed him the government of all under Heaven so that [he] should rule the entire people under Heaven."

[12] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 146, n. 6.

[13] See Allan 1972–1973, 74.

[14] See Tán Qíxiāng 1991, 1:24–25.

[15] See Allan 1972–1973, 60–72.

[16] Cf. Allan 1981, 21.

The story of Guǎn Zhòng can be found in *Shǐ jì* 62 "Guǎn Yàn liè zhuàn" 管晏列傳 ("Memoir" 2).

[G]: Chén Wěi proposes to interchange strips *q*7 and *q*8. Strip *q*7 records the story of Báilǐ Xī (see [X] below). In the organisation of the text as presented by the Húběi Province Museum editors, this was the fifth of the six cases of men who rose from destitution to fame. Strip *q*8 carries the story of Sùnshū, originally the last of the six examples.[17]

Chén bases his reorganisation of the text on two considerations, the first of which is chronological evidence. Báilǐ Xī served Duke Mù of Qín 秦穆公 (r. 656–621 BC); Sùnshū Ào served King Zhuāng of Chǔ 楚莊王 (r. 613–591). Báilǐ Xī thus preceded Sùnshū Ào by at least three decades. The second is physical evidence. At the bottom of strip *q*7 is a black stroke. Chén Wěi argues that this marks the end of the list of examples.[18] To follow Chén in placing *q*8 before *q*7, which I do, does not influence the reading of the present subcanto. If the subcanto remains intact—that is, as long as no strips are added or removed from the group of strips *q*2/16–*q*8/end—and as long as none of the six examples are distorted by changing the order of strips *q*2–*q*5, the order of strips *q*6–*q*8 does not alter the content of this passage. They are stable components that may be placed in any position within this subcanto. Despite this, it is plausible that the list of anecdotes was continued in chronological order, since strips *q*2/16–*q*5/end of the present subcanto—their sequence is beyond doubt—clearly listed them in chronological order: Shùn, served Yáo (traditionally, r. 2366–2356); Shào Yáo served King Wǔdīng (r. ?–1189); Lǚ Wàng served King Wén of Zhōu (r. 1099/56–1050).[19] Unnoticed by Chén Wěi, strip *q*7 furthermore is the only instance in which the example given does not end with a concluding *yě* 也 but carries the black mark instead. So, when interchanging *q*7 with *q*8, the black stroke could feature as the ending mark of this section, which would, furthermore, be in perfect chronological order. Also left unnoticed by other scholars, this change is corroborated by the parallel form of what I have termed the A and B pattern of the present account.

I follow Qiú, who reads graph *q*8/4 as *chì* 斥 'to decline'.[20]

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17 See Chén Wěi 2003, 47.
18 Ibid.
19 See Shaughnessy 1999, 25–26.
20 See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 146, n. 11.

Graph *q*8/5 was originally transcribed as [亙邑]. As Chén Wěi correctly adds, throughout the Guōdiàn One manuscripts, the graph 亙 is often exchanged with 亟.[21] The two graphs 亟 (OC *k(r)ək and *k^h(r)ək-s) and 期 (OC *[g](r)ə) are similar in sound. Together with *q*8/6 it would be read Qīsī 期思, a place-name in Chǔ. This accords with a record in *Xúnzǐ* 5.1 "Fēi xiàng" 非相 ("Contra Physiognomy").[22] Since at the time of these texts, *k^h(r)ək-s might possibly have changed to *k^h(r)ə-s, I follow Chén in his reading.

The title Shào Sīmǎ 少司馬 is a variant of Xiào Sīmǎ 小司馬 "vice minister of war".[23] In Chǔ the senior functionary was termed *lìngyǐn* 令尹.[24] However, in various sources, Sùnshū Ào was consistently termed chancellor.[25]

[H]: On interchanging strips *q*7 and *q*8, see [G].

Qiú Xīguī reconstructs this part as 百里奚轉賣五羊 "Bǎilǐ Xī was sold for the price of five rams",[26] based on the *Huáinánzǐ* "Xiū wù xùn" 脩務訓 ("Endeavour and Duty"), where the phrase appears as follows: 百里奚轉鬻 "Bǎilǐ Xī was sold".[27] The story of Bǎilǐ Xī can be found in *Shǐ jì* 5 "Qín běnjì" 秦本記 ("Basic Annals" 5).

[I]: The character *q*7/13 remains obscure. According to the context of the story, it is clear that it must have to do with "ox and sheep tending".

From early antiquity, the term *qīng* 卿 was used for eminent officials, sometimes particularised with further qualifications. Throughout the Zhōu it meant 'minister', denoting the highest category of official serving the king and feudal lords.[28]

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[21] See Chén Wěi 2003, 46.

[22] 楚之孫叔敖，期思之鄙人也，突禿長左，軒較之下，而以楚霸 "[A]s for Sùnshū Ào from Chǔ, he was a native of the small hamlet Qīsī. [He] was partly bald and [his] left foot was too long; so short [was he] that [he could] go under the poles of a state carriage. Despite this [he] made [the sovereign] of Chǔ protector over the states".

[23] See Hucker 1995, 416.

[24] See Loewe 1999, 1018.

[25] Cf. *Shǐ jì* 83 "Lǔ Zhònglián Zòu Yáng lièzhuàn" (Memoir 23).

[26] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 146, n. 9.

[27] See *Huáinánzǐ* 19/203/6.

[28] See Hucker 1995, 173.

[J]: Strip *q*9 is one of the most controversial passages of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí". Neither Chén Wěi nor Chén Jiàn connect strips *q*9 and *q*8 (both suggest placing *q*9 between *q*14 and *q*10). Moreover, the proper reading of some of these graphs is as yet an open issue. Originally, the two graphs *q*9/2–3 were transcribed as *tāo* 滔 and *hǎi* 醢 (also written 醢). Lǐ Líng transcribes the character *q*9/2 as *tāo* 韜 'to sheathe'. As he states, *tāo* 韜 (OC *l̥ˤu) is derived from *yǎo* 舀 (OC *[l]u), which, throughout early manuscripts, is commonly confused with (OC *l̥ˤu). He furthermore transcribes graph *q*9/3 as *huì* 晦 (OC *m̥ˤək-s) 'obscure, dark'.[29] Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 follow the suggestion made by the Húběi Province Museum editors and transcribe the graph in question as *tāo* 滔 'overflow, a torrent, rushing water'. In its borrowed meaning of *ní shuǐ* 泥水 'muddy waters' it also carries the meaning 'of little value'.[30] Zhào Píng'ān 趙平安 approaches the two characters rather differently.[31] He believes that the two graphs should be read *tǎn hǎi* 醓醢 'a boneless brine of pickled minced meat', which, with reference to the *Chǔ cí*, he reads in a borrowed meaning that denotes a certain kind of torture. As Zhào presumes, this torture should refer to the historical figure of Bǐgān 比干,[32] who, in various sources, is often named with Wǔ Zǐxū.[33] For this explanation to work (the name never appears on the strips), Zhào proposes adding an unknown number of strips between *q*8 and *q*9, thus arguing that the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" must be incomplete. I doubt this. As demonstrated in my discussion of the text,[34] the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" not only is complete but also has a very rigid and argumentatively concise composition.

That neither Chén Jiàn nor Chén Wěi connects strip *q*9 with *q*8, but with *q*14, is problematic for various reasons. Despite the fact that strip *q*9 structurally marks a break after subcanto 2 and introduces a new aspect—crucially, this leads to the 'open argument' of subcanto 3[35]—both scholars read the whole passage in one go. When focusing

[29] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 495–496; 2002, 88.
[30] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 32, 33.
[31] See Zhào Píng'ān 2002, 18–19.
[32] Prince Bǐgān served under King Zhòu of Yīn 殷紂王, by whom he was killed. The story of Prince Bǐgān can be read in *Shǐ jì* 3 "Yīn běnjì" ("Basic Annals" 3).
[33] See Zhào Píng'ān 2002, 20.
[34] See chapter 2.
[35] See my discussion in chapter 2.

on the structure of subcanto 2, the pattern of two parallel passages that run in the form of 3-3-4, 3-3-4 [也] becomes apparent. This parallel sequence would be destroyed by reading the sentences continued in *q*14 and *q*8 (善鄙己也，窮達以時。德行一也，譽毀在旁，聖之弋母之白[q14]初滔[酉有][36] ，後名揚，非其德加。子胥前多功，後戮死，非其智[q9]衰也。...).[37] We would thus have the—very unlikely—structure of 4-4-4-4-9(!)-3-4-5-3-5.

For the identification of character *q*9/2, I follow Lǐ Líng's interpretation.[38] For phonetic reasons I read graph *q*9/3 as *huì* 晦 (OC *m̥ˤək-s) 'obscure, dark', as a phonetic loan for *hǎi* 醢. The only received reading of 醢 is *yòu* (MC <hjuwH, which gives the Old Chinese reading *[ɢ]ʷəʔ-s. Interpreting *huì* 晦 (OC *m̥ˤək-s) as *hǎi* 醢 works only if the *m̥ˤ- initial in *m̥ˤək-s and the *qˤʷʰ- in 醢 had already merged. Although entirely conceivable, it nevertheless would besurprising if this merge had occurred at such an early date.

[K]: Compare the similarity of this account with the story in the *Hán shī wài zhuàn* (ch. 7):[39] 伍子胥前多功後戮死，非[其]智有盛衰也；前遇闔閭，後遇夫差也 "The fact that in the beginning Wǔ Zǐxū was very meritorious, [and yet] he later fell into disgrace and was put to death, was not because his wisdom had [periods of] flourishing and decline [but] because he first met Hélǚ 闔閭[40] and later Fūchāi 夫差[41]". The account in the *Shuō yuàn* 說苑 17 "Zá yán" 雜言 ("Miscellaneous Sayings") records the case by saying: 非其智益衰也 "It was not that his wisdom either increased or decreased".[42] The story of Wǔ Zǐxū, including not only his success in taking revenge for his father's and brother's unjust deaths but also his own execution, appears repeatedly in early texts.[43] Briefly, after Wǔ Zǐxū's father and elder brother were murdered by the king of Chǔ, Wǔ Zǐxū fled to the State of Wǔ.

[36] [酉有] read as one character.
[37] Transcription follows the one chosen by Chén Jiàn 2004, 317.
[38] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 495–496; 2002, 88.
[39] See *Hán shī wài zhuàn* 7.6/50/24.
[40] Hélǚ (?–496 BC), also Wǔzǐ Guāng 吳子光, Gongzǐ Guāng 公子光 (or simply Guāng 光), or Hélǚ 闔盧, ruled the State of Wǔ from 514 to 469 BC. He was one of the Five Hegemons.
[41] Fūchāi 夫差 (?–473 BC) ruled the state of Wǔ from 495–473. He was son of Hélǚ.
[42] See *Shuō yuàn* 17.17/144/10.
[43] See Lewis 1990, 84. On the various accounts, see D. Johnson 1981; 1980a; 1980b.

In the State of Wǔ he gained the favour of the king, whom he helped to defeat Chǔ. Later, however, Wǔ Zǐxū fell into disgrace and was executed by order of the king’s successor.

[L]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum transcribe the character *q*10/4 as *dí* 馰 (OC *[t]ˤewk) ‘horse of good quality’. Lǐ Líng identifies it as *è* 厄 (OC *ʔˤrek) ‘in difficulty, distressed’.[44] He justifies this by referring to the *Shuō yuàn* 17 “Zá yán”, in which the graph *è* 厄 also appears in combination with *jì* 驥 ‘a thorough bred horse’ (驥厄罷鹽車).[45] This reading is confirmed by the fact, unnoticed by Lǐ, that in the subsequent—and entirely parallel—sentence, the second graph also is a verb, which describes the difficulties of a ‘good horse’ when facing a seemingly insuperable difficulty.

The character *q*10/5 *zhāng* 張 can be read as ‘nervous, in tension’, as mentioned also by Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn.[46] However, referring to the pattern of the subsequent sentence (‘fine horse’—verb describing difficulties—place-name), I rather view *zhāng* 張 as a place-name which can be identified with the name of a place in Jìn during the Spring and Autumn period.[47] Reading *zhāng* 張 as ‘nervous’ would destroy the parallel structure of the passage.

The editors of the Húběi Province Musem transcribe the character *q*10/7 as *qí* 騹 ‘a piebald horse’.[48] *Qí* 騹 is further read as *qí* 騏 (OC *[g](r)ə). Lǐ Líng identified it as *jùn* 駿 ‘a fine horse’.[49] However, the combination of *jì* 驥 and *jùn* 駿 is unattested in transmitted records (as opposed to that of 騏驥).[50] Later, Lǐ corrected his transcription to

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[44] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 496; 2002, 88.

[45] See *Shuō yuàn* 17.17/144/11.

[46] See *Lǐ jì zhùshù* 禮記注疏 21 “Zá jì xià” 雜記下 (“Miscellaneous Records”), 5:751: 張而不弛，文武弗能也；弛而不張，文武弗爲也。一張一弛，文武之道也 “strained and yet without relaxation, Kings Wén and Wǔ were incapable of this; relaxed and without tension, Kings Wén and Wǔ would refrain from acting so. Once strained, once relaxed, that is the way of Kings Wén and Wǔ”. See also Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 34.

[47] See *Zhuǒ zhuàn*, “Xiānggōng, year 23”, 604; Píshào yì 郫邵邑, also referred to as Píshào 郫邵, Shàotíng 邵亭, or simply Shào 邵; the place in Jìn 晉 is located in Hénán, west of modern Jìyuán Municipality 濟源 (see *Zhōngguó lìshǐ dìmíng dà cídiǎn*1995, 926).

[48] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 145.

[49] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 496.

[50] See *Xúnzǐ* 23 “Xìng è” 性惡 (“Nature Is Bad”): 23/117/14. See also *Zhuāngzǐ* 17 “Qiū shuǐ” 秋水 (“Autumn Floods”). In *Zhuāngzǐ zuǎnjiān* 1993, 131.

qí 騏 'black-mottled grey horse', understood in the sense of *jì* 驥 'a thoroughbred horse' and also referring to 'fine horses'.[51]

[M]: Qiú Xīguī remarks that the story of the excellent rider Zào Fǔ 造父 also appears in chapter 7 of the *Hán shī wài zhuàn* 韓詩外傳 and in *Shuō yuàn* 17 "Zá yán". On this basis, Qiú argues that the character *q*10/15 should be read as *zhuàng* 狀; *q*10/20 as *zhì* 致; and *q*11/3 as *zào* 造, referring to the rider Zào Fù. Qiú further argues for adding the character *fǔ* 父 after *q*11/3 and so completing the name of the famous horse rider.[52]

[N]: Strip *q*12 is broken at both ends. At the top of strip *q*12, presumably three graphs are missing. Lǐ Líng reconstructs 怨非爲.[53] According to the underlying structure, I suggest reconstructing the present passage as follows. The topic of subcanto five is action that bears no result. The pattern runs: "failure, and yet no *X* [something negative, intercepted by preceding 'no']."[54]

The next sentence contains two elements, each bolstering up the other: (A-element) "although *A*", (B-element) "*B* to achieve a name." In this case the following sentence reveals the reading of the previous statement: (A-element) "although nobody knows him", (B-element) "he is without regret".[55] Thus, even though it is impossible to reconstruct the exact reading of this unit, an approximate reading can still be reconstructed. The pattern applies to the entire passage and reoccurs on strips *q*11–*q*14. It always reads: "*X* (something negative), and yet *Y*".[56]

[O]: Lǐ Líng argues that at the bottom of *q*12, presumably six graphs should be added. Based on the *Xúnzǐ* 28 "Yòu zuò" and the *Hán shī wài zhuàn* (ch. 7), both of which record a similar story, he adds the

[51] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 89.
[52] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 146, n. 13.
[53] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 496; 2002, 88.
[54] Consequently, the reading *yuàn* 怨, 'resentment'.
[55] Accordingly the reading of the A-element "[he] hides" and of the B-element "[and yet] is without regret".
[56] This is another indication that this passage is a unit and should not be disrupted, contrary to what both Chén Wěi and Chén Jiàn argue.

graphs 芝蘭生於幽谷.[57] This suggestion does indeed fit the context of the passage. First, the top of the first—corrupted—graph is still visible. This seems to be the 'grass-component' . Second, this reading can easily be brought into line with the next sentence "[*not*] not fragrant because [*x*] smells it".[58] This perfectly fits the pattern I have described above (strips *q*11–12:A- and B-element). Since this reading is corroborated by transmitted texts (*Xúnzǐ* 28 "Yòu zuò" and *Hán shī wài zhuàn*, ch. 7), I follow Lǐ's suggestion.

[P]: Presumably four graphs are missing at the top of strip *q*13. According to the pattern of the present subcanto—described under [N], above—it is in fact possible to come up with an informed guess on the approximate reading of the passage by completing the pattern "*X* (something negative), and yet *Y*", based on the subsequent four characters (嗅而不芳 "[*x*] not fragrant *since no* [*y*] smell [it]").[59]

[Q]: Presumably four graphs are also missing at the bottom of strip *q*13. Since the subsequent line is still visible on strip *q*14 (善伓己也 "goodness, neglect itself"), an informed guess can be made as to the approximate reading of this passage based on the remaining graphs. Taking the A- and B-elements of the pattern "*X* (something negative), and yet *Y*" into account, the approximate reading should be {無人知其}善 "{*nobody knows its*} goodness", this leads to:"[x] does not do [y—"neglect itself"] because *nobody knows of its* goodness", or something along those lines.

The visible characters *q*13/5–9 have caused commentators considerable headaches. My reading of 瑹璐瑾瑜 'beautiful stone of jade' and 包 'contain' follows the reading of Liú Lèxián 劉樂賢,[60] Liú Zhāo 劉釗,[61] Yán Shìxuàn 顏世鉉,[62] and Chén Jiàn 陳劍.[63]

[R]: On the position of strip *q*14 in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", see my discussion under [J].

[57] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 496; 2002, 88.
[58] Compare the pattern I have described for this passage.
[59] Hence 非以無人 as approximate reconstruction.
[60] See Liú Lèxián 2000.
[61] See Liú Zhāo 2000, 2005, 175.
[62] See Yán Shìxuàn 顏世鉉 2000.
[63] See Chén Jiàn 2004, 316.

[S]: The character *q*14/19 is transcribed as *yì* 弋 (OC *lək) 'a dart; to shoot with bow and arrow', and it is difficult to make any sense of that reading.[64] I suggest a parallel reading with *q*14/11, which should be directly transcribed as 弌 instead of *yì* 弋 (OC *lək). My suggestion to read the graph as *yī* 一 (one; OC *[ʔ]i[t]) offers a simple and sound reading, as it can be justified phonetically and perfectly connects to the explanation of one's behaviour in accordance to the 'one *dé*' from above. The reading of this graph as *yī* 一 'one' is well attested.[65]

Even though phonetically somewhat problematic, I tentatively follow Lǐ Líng in reading *zhī* 之 (a particle; OC *tə) as *zī* 緇 'black'[66] (OC *[ts]rə), for it connects best to the pairing of *yōu/míng* below (*q*15/7, 8).

Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn suggest reading *q*15/2 as *lì* 釐 'small, minute; to regulate'.[67] The direct transcription of the graph is . It seems to consist of two phonophorics, namely *lǐ* 里, which can be reconstructed as OC *(mə.)rəʔ, and *lái* 來, which can be reconstructed as OC *(mə.)rˤə (<*mə.rˤək). These phonophorics match the Old Chinese reconstruction for *lì* 釐 (OC *[r]ə), and I follow the suggestion made by Tú and Liú.

[64] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 37.
[65] See Kern 2005a, 187–188, n. 43. See also Hé Línyí 1998, 1080.
[66] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 496; 2002, 88.
[67] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 37.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

RECONSTRUCTING THE "WŬ XÍNG"

This chapter provides the text and translation of the argument-based text "Wŭ xíng", followed by philological notes. In both the transcription and the translation, a superscript letter *w* refers to the manuscript ("Wŭ xíng"), and the number immediately after the *w* is the strip number.

Text and Translation

Subcanto 1

1.1. [w1] 五行
仁形於內謂之德之行；
不形於內謂之行▪。[A]
義形於內謂之德之[w2] 行；
不形於內謂之行▪。
禮形於內謂之德之行；
不形於內謂之□□□ [w3] [行▪] 。† [B]
[智形] 於內謂之德之行；†
不形於內謂之行▪。
聖形於內謂之德 [w4] 之行；
不形於內謂之德之行▪。[C]

[w1] The five aspects of [virtuous] conduct (*wŭ xíng*) [are as follows]:
When benevolence is manifested internally, we call it 'virtuous conduct';
When it is not manifested internally, we call it 'conduct' [only].
When rightness is manifested internally, we call it 'virtuous [w2] conduct';
When it is not manifested internally, we call it 'conduct' [only].
When ritual propriety is manifested internally, we call it 'virtuous conduct';
When it is not manifested internally, we call it [w3] {*'conduct'* [*only*]}. †
{*When wisdom is manifested*} internally, we call it 'virtuous conduct'; †
When it is not manifested internally, we call it 'conduct' [only].
When sagacity is manifested internally, we call it 'virtuous [w4] conduct';
When it is not manifested internally, we [still] call it 'virtuous conduct'.

1.2. 德之行五　和謂之德善；
四行和謂之。
[善]，人 w5 道也。
德，天道也。[D]

[Hence], virtuous conduct comprises five [aspects]; when they are brought into harmony, we call it 'virtue';
When [only] four [aspects] of conduct are brought into harmony, we call it 'goodness'.
Goodness, this is the Way w5 of humans.
Virtue, this is the Way of Heaven.

2. 君子無中心之憂，則無中心之智。
[無中心之智]，則無中心 w6 □□□□□ [之悅]。[E]
[無中心之悅，則不] 安。
不安則不樂。
不樂則無德。[F]

When the gentleman (*jūnzǐ*) lacks concern in his inner mind, then [he] will be without wisdom in his inner mind.
When [he] lacks wisdom in his inner mind, then [he] will be without w6{*delight*} in his inner mind.
{*When* [*he*] *lacks delight in his inner mind, then* [*he*] *will not*} be at ease.
When not at ease, then [he] will not be joyful.
When not joyful, then [he] will be without virtue.

3. 五行皆形于內而時行 w7 之，[G]
謂之君 □ [子]。†
士有志於君子道，謂志士。[H]

When all aspects of conduct are manifested internally, and w7 they are conducted at their [appropriate] time, then we call [him] a 'gentle{*man*}'.
The scholar-knight who sets his aspiration on the gentleman-way is whom we call 'aspiring scholar'.

4. 善弗爲無近。[I]
德弗 w8 志不成。
智弗思不得。
思不清不察，† [J]
思不長不形。[K]
不形]不安；
[不安]不樂；
[不樂] w9 無德。

Goodness—when refraining from acting for it, there will be nothing for approaching [it].

Virtue—when refraining from w8 aspiring to it, [it] will not be accomplished.
Wisdom—when refraining from thinking about it, [it] cannot be attained.
[This is because], if thinking is not clear, one will not be investigating, †
[and] if thinking does not grow, it will not manifest.
If [thinking] is not manifested, one cannot be at ease;
If not at ease, one cannot be joyful;
If not joyful, w9 one will be without virtue.

Subcanto 2

5.1. 不仁，思不能清，[L]
不智，思不能長；
不仁不智，「未見君子」，
「憂心」 w10 不能「惙惙」。[M]
「既見」君子，「心」不能「悅」。[N]
「亦既見之，亦既覯之，
我心則 w11 □□ [悅]」。[O]
[夫]此之謂□□ [也]。† [P]

If not benevolent, one cannot be clear in one's thinking.
If not wise, one cannot grow in one's thinking.
If neither benevolent nor wise, "whilst not yet having seen a gentleman, the sorrowful heart" w10 cannot be "disturbed."
"Until [I] have seen" the gentleman, [my] "heart" cannot be "delighted."
"[But] when I have seen him, and when I have met him,
then my heart will w11 {X *be delighted*}." † [1]
{X *Now this is*} what this is about. †

5.2 [不] 仁，思不能清。
不聖，思不能輕。
不仁不聖，w12「未見君子」，
「憂心」不能「忡 忡」；
「既見君子」，「心」不能「降」。

{*If not*} benevolent, one cannot be clear in one's thinking.
If not sagacious, one cannot be effortless in one's thinking.
If neither benevolent, nor sagacious, w12 "whilst not yet having seen a gentleman", the "sorrowful heart" cannot be "agitated".
"Until [I] have seen the gentleman", ["my] heart" cannot be "stilled." [2]

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[1] The lines "亦既見之亦既覯之我心則兌[悅]" quote "Odes", "Shàonán: Cǎochóng" 草蟲 (*Máo* 14). As Csikszentmihalyi (2004, 283) notes, when a "before/after" structure is used—such as 未見君子 "while I have not yet seen a gentleman"—the gentleman's effect on others is emphasised.

[2] This passage appears in "Xiǎoyá: Chū jū" 出車 (*Máo* 168): 未見君子，憂心忡忡，既見君子，我心則降 "when I have not yet seen my lord, my grieved heart

Subcanto 3

6.1. 仁之思也清。
[清] w13 則察，[Q]
[察]則安，
[安]則溫，[R]
[溫]則悅，
[悅]則戚，
[戚]則親，
[親]則愛，
[愛]則玉色，
[玉色] 則形，
[形]則仁。

The thinking of the benevolent one is clear.
[This is because, only] if one's [thinking] is clear, w13 will one be investigating.
If investigating, one will be at ease.
If at ease, one will be gentle.
If gentle, one will be delightful.
If delightful, one will be intimate.
If intimate, one will be affectionate.
If affectionate, one will be caring.
If caring, one will be of a jadelike coloration.
If being of a jadelike coloration, one's [thinking] will be manifested.
If one's [thinking] is manifested, one will be benevolent.

6.2. w14 智之思也長。
[長]則得，
[得]則不忘，
[不忘] 則明，
[明] 則見賢人，
[見賢人] 則玉色，
[玉色] 則形，
[形] w15 則智。

w14 The thinking of the wise one is growing.
[This is because, only] if [one's thinking] grows, will one be attaining.
If attaining, one will be nonforgetting.
If nonforgetting, one will be clairvoyant.
If clairvoyant, one will see the worthy person.

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is agitated. When I have seen my lord, then my heart will calm down" (Karlgren 1950, 113, emended); and in "Shàonán: Cǎochóng" 草蟲 (*Máo* 14): 未見君子，憂心忡忡，亦既見止，亦既覯止，我心則降 "when I have not yet seen my lord, my grieved heart is agitated. Let me have seen my lord, let me have met my lord, and my heart will then calm down" (Karlgren 1950, 9, emended).

If seeing the worthy person, one will be of a jadelike coloration.
If being of a jadelike coloration, one's [thinking] will be manifested,
If one's [thinking] is manifested, [w15] one will be wise.

6.3. 聖之思也輕。
[輕] 則形，
[形] 則不忘，
[不忘] 則聰，
[聰] 則聞君子道，
[聞君子道] 則玉音，
[玉音] 則形，
[形] [w16] 則聖。

The thinking of the sagacious one is effortless.
[This is because, only] if one's [thinking] is effortless, will [it] be manifested.
If [one's thinking] is manifested, one will be nonforgetting.
If nonforgetting, one will be clairaudient.
If clairaudient, one will hear the Way of the gentleman.
If hearing the Way of the gentleman, one will be of a jadelike tone.
If being of a jadelike tone, one's [thinking] will be manifested.
If one's [thinking] is manifested, [w16] one will be sagacious.

Subcanto 4

7.1. 「淑人君子，其儀一」也。[S]
能爲一，然後能爲君子。
慎其獨也。

"The polite man, the gentleman, unified in his deportment he is."[3]
Only after one is able to be unified [in one's deportment] will one be able to become a gentleman.
[Hence, the gentleman] is mindful of his singularity.

7.2. [w17] □□□□「[瞻望弗及]，泣涕如雨」。[T]
能「差池其羽」，然後能至哀。
君子慎其 [w18] □□□□ [獨也] [U]

[w17] "{*I looked after her yet I could not reach her*}, and my tears fell like rain."[4]

[3] "Odes", "Guófēng: Shījiū" 鳲鳩 (*Máo* 152).
[4] This passage also appears in the "Guófēng: Yànyàn" 燕燕 (*Máo* 28): 瞻望弗及，泣涕如雨 "I looked after her, and yet I could not see her; my tears fell like rain." The Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" quotes the same ode but cites two more lines.

Only after one is able to "disarray the wings" will one be able to develop utmost grieving.[5]
[Hence], the gentleman is mindful of his w18 {*singularity*}.

8. [君] 子之爲善也，
有與始，有與終也。
君子之爲德也，
w19 □□□□□ [有與始，無與] 終也。 † [V]

In his acting for goodness, there is [always] something with which the {*gentle*}man begins and something with which [he] ends.
In his acting for virtue, {*there is* [*always*] *something with which*} the gentleman {*begins, but there is nothing with which*} [he] ends.[6] †

9. 金聲而玉振之， 有德者也。[W]
金聲善也；
玉音聖也。
善，人 w20 道也；
德，天□□ [道也] 。† [X]
唯有德者，然後能金聲而玉振之。

The "sound of bronze and jade [stones] resonating along with it",[7] this is a person possessing virtue.
The "sound of bronze" is goodness;
The "tone of jade" is sagaciousness.
Goodness is the w20 Way of humans;
Virtue is the {*Way*} of Heaven. †
Only after there is a virtuous person can there be the "sound of bronze and jade [stones] resonating along with it."

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[5] This passage also appears in the ode quoted above: 燕燕于飛，差池其羽 "the swallows in the air, their wings are unruly." The Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" quotes the same ode but includes two more lines.

[6] The Mǎwángduī version of this sequence reads: 君子之爲善也，有與始也有與終也；君子之爲德也，有與始也亡與終也 (8.1–2).

[7] *Mèngzǐ* 5B1 reads: 孔子之謂集大成。集大成也者，金聲而玉振之也。金聲也者，始條理也；玉振之也者，終條理也。始條理者，智之事也；終條理者，聖之事也 "Kǒngzǐ is said to have 'gathered great achievements'; 'gathering great achievements' is 'the sound of bronze and jade [stones] resonating along with it. 'The sound of bronze' is the beginning of an inherent pattern; 'jade stones resonating along with it' is the end of an inherent pattern. Beginning an inherent pattern is a matter of the wise one; ending an inherent pattern is the matter of the sagacious one." Mèngzǐ offers a rather different interpretation of this sequence than the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" does. This suggests that the two did not copy this line from one another but drew on different sources. Compare this line with "Odes", "Xiǎo yǎ: Bái jū" 白駒 (*Máo* 186): 其人如玉， 毋金玉爾音, which was used in another context and has been understood differently.

Subcanto 5 (Canto 2)

10. 不聽不明，不聖不 w21 智。[Y]
[不智] 不仁，
[不仁] 不安，
[不安] 不樂，
[不樂] 無德。■ [Z]

If neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant, one can be neither sagacious nor w21 wise.
[This is because,] if not wise, one will not be benevolent [either].
If not benevolent, one will not be at ease [either].
If not at ease, one will not be joyful [either].
If not joyful, one will lack virtue.

11. 不戀不悅。[Aa]
[不悅]不戚，
[不戚] 不親，
[不親]不愛，
[不愛] 不仁。■

If not [having feelings] of love, one will not be delighted [either].
If not delighted, one will not be intimate [either].
If not intimate, one will not be affectionate [either].
If not affectionate, one will not be caring [either].
If not caring, one will not be benevolent.

12. 不直不泄。[Ab]
[不泄] 不果，
[不果] w22 不簡，
[不簡] 不行，
[不行]不義。■

If not upright, one will not be resistant [either].
If not resistant, one will not be decisive [either].
If not decisive, one w22 will not be dignified [either].
If not dignified, one will not carry out [one’s tasks either].
If not carrying out [one’s tasks], one will not be righteous.

13. 不遠不敬。
[不敬]不嚴，
[不嚴]不尊，
[不尊]不恭，
[不恭]無禮。■

If not keeping [appropriate] distance, one will not be respectful [either].
If not respectful, one will not be stern [either].

If not stern, one will not show honour [either].
If not showing honour, one will not be reverent [either].
If not reverent, one will lack ritual propriety.

Subcanto 6

14.1. 未嘗 [w23] 聞君子道，謂之不聰 。[Ac]
未嘗見賢人，謂之不明。
聞君子道而不知 [w24] 其君子道也，謂之不聖 。 ■
見賢人而不知其有德也，謂之不智。■

Never [w23] having heard of the Way of the gentleman is what we call 'not clairaudient'.
Never having seen a worthy one is what we call 'not clairvoyant'.
Having heard of the Way of the gentleman and yet not understanding [w24] that it was the Way of the gentleman is what we call 'not sagacious'.
Having seen a worthy person and yet not understanding that he possessed virtue is what we call 'not wise'.

14.2. [w25] 見而知之，智也。■
聞而知之，聖也。■
「明[明]」，智也；■
「赫[赫]」， 聖也 。■
「明[明]在下，赫 [赫] [w26] 在上」，此之謂也。■

[w25] [But] to see and understand him [as a worthy one] is 'wisdom'.
To hear and understand it [as the Way of the gentleman] is 'sagacity'.
"To illuminate the luminous" is 'wisdom'.
"To hold in awe the awe-inspiring" is 'sagacity'.
"To illuminate the luminous refers to below" [and] "to hold in awe the awe-inspiring [w26] refers to above" are what this is about.[8]

15.1. 聞君子道，聰也。
聞而知之，聖也。
聖人知而（<天>）[w27] 道也 。[Ad]
知而行之，義也。
行之而時，德也。

To hear the Way of the gentleman is 'clairaudience'.
To hear and understand it is 'sagacity'.
The sagacious one understands the Way of [w27] Heaven.

[8] This passage also appears in "Odes", "Dàyǎ: Dàmíng" 大明 (*Máo* 236): 朋明在下，赫赫在上 "shedding light on the bright is below, awing the awe-inspiring is on high".

To understand and enact it is 'rightness'.
To enact it according to its time is 'virtue'.

15.2. 見賢人，明也。
見而知之，[w28] 智也。
知而安之，仁也。
安而敬之，禮也。[Ae]

To see a worthy one is 'clairvoyance'.
To see and understand him [w28] is 'wisdom'.
To understand and be at ease with him is 'benevolence'.
To be at ease and show respect to him is 'ritual propriety'.

15.3. 聖知禮樂之所由生也，五 [w29] □□□□ [行之所和] 也。[Af]
和則樂，
[樂]則有德，
[有德] 則邦 家興。[Ag]
「文王」之見也如此。
「文 [w30] □□□□□ [王在上於昭] 于天」。 †[Ah]
此之謂也。

Sagacity and wisdom are those [virtues] from which ritual propriety and music originate, [w29] {*and by which*} the five [aspects] {*of* [*virtuous*] *conduct will be harmonised*}.
When harmonised, one will be joyful.
When joyful, there will be virtue.
When there is virtue, states and families will revive.
The way "King Wén" appeared was like this.
"When {*King*} Wén [w30] {*was on high, he was illuminated by*} Heaven".[9]
That is what this is about.

16.1. 見而知之，智也。
知而安之，仁也。
安 [w31] 而行之，義也。
行而敬之，禮也。

To see and to understand [the worthy one] is wisdom.
To understand and be at ease with him is benevolence.
To be at ease [w31] and use is rightness.
To use and show reverence to him is ritual propriety.

16.2. 仁義，禮所由生也，
四行之所和也。
和 [w32] 則同，
[同] 則善。

[9] Here the "Wǔ xíng" draws on "Odes", "Dàyǎ: Wén Wáng" 文王 (*Máo* 235).

Benevolence and rightness are those [virtues] from which ritual propriety derives
and by which the four [aspects] of [virtuous] conduct are harmonised.
When harmonised, [w32] there will be congruence.
When there is congruence, there will be goodness.

Subcanto 7

17. 顏色容貌溫，戀 也。
以其中心與人交，悅也。
中心悅旃，遷 [w33] 於兄弟，戚也。[Aj]
戚而信之，親；
[親] 而篤之，愛也。
愛父 ，其繼愛人，仁也。[Ak]

When facial coloration, look, manner, and appearance are gentle, this is ‘love’.
When using the inner mind to interact with others, this is ‘delight’.
When the inner mind is delighted by this and transferred [w33] on to elder and younger brothers, this is ‘intimacy’.[10]
To feel closeness and to extend this feeling is ‘affection’.
To be affectionate and to be genuine about it is ‘caring’.
To care for one’s father and, secondarily to this, to care for others is ‘benevolence’.

18. 中心 [w34] 辯然而正行之，直也。
直而遂之，泄也 。
泄而不畏強禦， 果也。[Al]
不 [w35] 以小道害大道，簡也。
有大罪而大誅之，行也。
貴[貴]，其等尊賢， 義也。†

When the inner mind [w34] rightly enacts something by being discriminative, this is ‘uprightness’.
To [be] upright and to perpetuate this is ‘resistance’.
To [be] resistant and not to fear the strong and powerful is ‘decisiveness’.
Not [w35] to harm the great Way for the sake of the petty ways is ‘grave demeanour’.
To punish severely if there is a great crime is ‘carrying out [the Way properly]’.
To venerate [the noble ones] and, to their level, to honour the worthy ones according to their level is ‘rightness’. †[11]

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[10] Reading the graph *xìn* 信 as ‘to extend, to spread out’.
[11] Ikeda Tomohisa (2003, 164ff.) explains graph w35/20 (*zhǐ* 止) as *sì* 寺, which he reads as *cì* 次 (secondarily); this would make this sentence read: 貴[貴]，其次

19. w36 以其外心與人交，遠也。
遠而莊之，敬也。
敬而不 懈 ， 嚴也。 † [Am]
嚴而畏 w37 之，尊也。
尊而不驕，恭也。
恭而博交，禮也。

w36 To use the outer mind when interacting with others is 'keeping [appropriate] distance'.
To keep [appropriate] distance while being dignified is 'being respectful'.
To be respectful and not remitting is 'being stern'.
To be stern and fearful w37 is 'showing honour'.
To show honour without being arrogant is 'being reverent'.
To be reverent when widely interacting with others is 'ritual propriety'.

Subcanto 8

20. 不簡不行；不匿 不辨w38 於道； † [An]
有大罪而大誅之，簡也。
有小罪而赦之，匿也。
有大罪而弗大 w39 誅也，不[行]也 。† [Ao]
有小罪而弗赦也，不辨於道也。

1A 簡之爲言猶練 w40 也，大而罕者也 。† [Ap]
1B 匿之爲言也，猶匿[匿]也，小而軫者也。† [Aq]
2A 簡，義之方也 。
2B 匿， w41 仁之方也。
C 「剛」，義之方；「柔」，仁之方也。[Ar]
「不強不梂，不剛不柔」，[12] 此之謂 w42 也。

What is not succinct should not be enacted; what is concealed cannot be discriminated by the w38 Way. †
When there is a serious transgression, and it is punished severely, this is 'to be succinct'.
When there is a minor transgression, and it is pardoned, this is 'concealment'.

尊賢，義也 "to venerate the noble one and, secondarily, to honour the worthy one, this is 'rightness'." This reading implies a clear preference for the nobility *above* the worthy one, who, despite this, must still be honoured (yet in secondary position only). The reading according to Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998 instead suggests that honouring the worthy person is just on one level with venerating the worthy one to *his level*. Hence, in his search for appropriate men, the ruler is not necessarily urged to choose a man of high social standing.

[12] *Máo* 304.

When there is a serious transgression, and one refrains from [w39] punishing it severely, this is 'not enacting [the Way properly]'.
When there is a minor transgression, and one refrains from pardoning it, this is 'not being discriminated according to the Way'.

'To be succinct' as a term is something like 'to soften raw silk by boiling' [w40]; it is great but rare. †
'To conceal' as a term is something like 'to hide the what is to be hidden'; it is small but numerous. †
To be succinct is an aspect of rightness.
To conceal is an aspect of benevolence.
[Just as] 'hardness' is an aspect of rightness, 'softness' is an aspect of benevolence.
To be "neither forceful nor pressing, neither hard nor [too] soft" is what this is [w42] about.[13]

21.1. 君子集大成； [As]
1A 能進之爲君子。
1B 弗能進也，各止於其里。
2A 大而 [w43] 罕者 ，能有取焉。
2B 小而軫者， 能有取焉。
C 疋(赫)膚-[膚](臚 臚)達者 (諸) 君子 道， 謂之賢。 † [At]

The gentleman "gathers great achievements";[14]
When able to advance in this, one can become a gentleman.
Those unable to advance in this [should] all remain in their hamlets.
As for what is great but rare, [w43] [the gentleman] is able to take from it. †
As for what is small but numerous, [the gentleman] is able to take from it.
He who shines brightly when reaching the Way of the gentleman is whom we call 'a worthy one'. †

21.2. 君 [w44] 子知而舉之，謂之尊賢。
知而事之，謂之尊賢者也。 [Au]
後，士之尊賢者也。

When the gentleman [w44] understands [the worthy one] and lifts him up, this we call 'honouring the worthy one'.
When [the gentleman] understands and serves him, this we call 'one who honours the worthy person'.
The latter means that a scholar-knight honours the worthy one.

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[13] This sentence also appears in "Odes", "Shāngsòng: Cháng fā" 長發 (*Máo* 304), which reads: 不競不絿，不剛不柔 "[he was] neither forceful nor pressing; [he was] neither hard nor [too] soft" (Karlgren 1950, 265, emended). The Guōdiàn One passage reads *qiú* 棣 (the fruit of a chestnut-leaved oak) in place of the ode's *qiú* 絿 'hasty'. I believe that this is a mere writing variant, referring to *qiú* 絿 'hasty'.
[14] Cf. *Mèngzǐ*, "Wànzhāng xià" (萬章下 5B1). In *Mèngzǐ zhèng yì* 1992, 397.

Subcanto 9

22. *w45* 耳目鼻口手足六者，心之役也。 [Av]
    心曰唯，莫敢不唯；
    諾，莫敢不諾；
    w46 進，莫敢不進；
    後，莫敢不後；
    深，莫敢不深；
    淺，莫敢不淺。
    和則同，同則善。

    w45 Ears, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, and feet, these six [parts of the body] are slaves to the mind.
    When the mind says, "So be it", none dares not to be with it.[15]
    When [it says,] "Agree", none dares not to agree.
    w46 When [it says,] "Advance", none dares not to advance.
    When [it says,] "Retreat", none dares not to retreat.
    When [it says,] "Profound", none dares not to [take it as] profound.
    When [it says,] "Shallow", none dares not to [take it as] shallow.
    When [parts of the body] are harmonised [through mind], then there will be congruence. When there is congruence, then there will be goodness.

23. *w47* 目而知之，謂之進之；
    喻而知之，謂之進之；
    譬而知之，謂之進之；
    w48 幾而知之，天也。
    「上帝賢汝， 毋貳爾心」。 † [Aw]
    此之謂也。

    w47 When understanding something by the eye, we call it 'to advance in it'.
    When understanding something by analogy, we call it 'to advance in it'.
    When understanding something by example, we call it 'to advance in it'.
    w48 [But] when understanding something [only] by an omen, it is [through] Heaven.
    "When God on high regards you as worthy, be not duplicitous in your heart".[16]
    This is what this is about.

24. 天施諸其人 ，天也。 [Ax]
    其 *w49* 人施諸 人 ， �envelope也。† [Ay]

[15] Uttering the sound of *wéi* is used to show agreement.
[16] Line w48/7–14 quotes "Odes", "Dàyǎ: Dà míng" 大明 (*Máo* 236). The line reads: 上帝臨女，無貳爾心 "God on high looks down on you; do not be unfaithful in your heart" (Karlgren 1950, 188, emended).

When Heaven is bestowing on its people, this is '[through] Heaven'.
If w49 people are bestowing on others, this is 'reliance'. †

25. 聞道而悅者，好仁者也；
聞道而畏者，好w50 義者也；
聞道而恭者，好禮者也；
聞道而樂者，好德者也。

He who hears the Way and is delighted upon this is 'someone who is fond of benevolence'.
He who hears the Way and is fearful upon this is 'someone who is fond w50 of rightness'.
He who hears the Way and is reverent upon this is 'someone who is fond of ritual propriety'.
He who hears the Way and is joyful upon this is 'someone who is fond of virtue'.

Notes on Text and Translation

[A]: Following each line in this building block is a mark: ▪ (■). Its precise function remains unclear, but it probably signals the end of the different positions stated.

[B]: The top of strip *w*3 has broken off. Presumably three to four characters are missing. Due to the recurring pattern of the statements in this building block, it can be reconstructed as…德之行 'virtuous conduct'. The manifestation of the "Wŭ xíng" from Măwángduī Three corroborates this assumption.[17]

[C]: In the last line of the first building block a change in the formal pattern appears. The structure of this passage suggests 謂之行 "we call it 'conduct' [only]" instead of 謂之德之行 "we call it 'virtuous conduct' ". This might be a scribal error, for the other lines in this building block read 不形於內謂之行 "When it is not manifested internally, we call it 'conduct' [only]". According to this reading, *dé* would not be connected to the negation of the process. Yet, it can also be assumed that the author(s) of the text regard '*shèng*' 聖 as a virtue that, in any case, is an expression of 'virtuous conduct' (*dé zhī xíng* 德之行),

[17] For the transcription of the Măwángduī Three "Wŭ xíng", see Măwángduī Hàn mù bóshū zhěnglĭ xiăo zŭ 1980, vol. 1. The "Wŭ xíng" is written in columns 170–351 of the so-called "Lăozĭ A" manuscript.

excluding the negation of the case per se. I regard this assumption as more likely to be true. In the Mǎwángduī Three manifestation of the "Wǔ xíng", the text consistently holds to the pattern of this building block and reads 不形於內謂之行 "When it is not given shape internally, we call it 'conduct' [only]".[18]

The Mǎwángduī Three version lists the qualities *rén* 急 (仁) 'benevolence', *yì* 義 'rightness', *lǐ* 豊 (禮) 'ritual propriety', *zhì* 智 (智) 'wisdom', and *shèng* 聖 (聖) 'sagacity' from the Guōdiàn One text in the following sequence: *rén, zhì, yì, lǐ, shèng*.

[D]: The Mǎwángduī Three manifestation of the "Wǔ xíng" exhibits the same sequence as the Guōdiàn One text.

[E]: The top of strip *w*6 has broken off. Presumably four graphs are missing. The editors of the Húběi Province Museum reconstruct this part as 之-說(悅)-則不-, adding a sign for repetition after each of the three graphs as seen also in the preceding lines. Most interpreters follow this suggestion. This reconstruction is based on the Mǎwángduī Three text, which reads [君子] 175 无(無)中心之憂則无(無)=中=心=之=聖= (無中心之聖則無中心之)說 无(無)=中=心=之=說 (無中心之說) 則不=安= (不安)則不=樂= "When the gentleman (*jūnzǐ*) lacks concern in his inner mind, then [he] will be without sagacity in his inner mind. When [he] lacks sagacity in his inner mind, then [he] will be without delight in his inner mind. When [he] lacks delight in his inner mind, then [he] will not be at ease. When [he] is not at ease, then [he] will not be joyful".[19] The two passages differ in that the Mǎwángduī Three version speaks of 'sagacity' (*shèng* 聖), and the Guōdiàn version of 'wisdom' (*zhì* 智).

[F]: The Mǎwángduī Three text is identical to this passage in the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" except that it has *wú* 毋 (OC *m(r)o) where the Guōdiàn One text has *wáng* 亡 (無) (OC *m(r)a). Furthermore, the Mǎwángduī Three repeats this passage but replaces *zhì* 智 'wisdom' with *shèng* 聖 'sagacity' in the second row.

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[18] Column 172.
[19] Columns 174–175.

[G]: Graph *w*6/12 *yú* 于 appears as (see below). Graph *w*6/15 *shí* 時 appears as . This line differs slightly in wording from the Mǎwángduī Three version.

[H]: In the line 士又志於君子道胃之峕士, the graph *yú* 於 is written as (於), and the two graphs for *zhì* as (志) and (峕).

[I]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum suggest reading graph *w*7/20 as *jìn* 近 (OC *[g]ərʔ-s) 'to come close, to approach'.[20] Chén Wěi 陳偉 offers a different explanation. He suggests reading it as *xīn* 忻 (OC *qʰər) 'delight, to be joyful'. Quoting the *Shuōwén jiězì*, the line in question refers to the *Sīmǎ fǎ*. It reads 善者忻民之善 "he who is good takes joy in the goodness of the people".[21] Reference to the Bāoshān corpus, however, suggests reading the graph in question as *jìn* 近 'to approach'.[22] I could find no single instance where *jìn* 近 was used in the meaning of *xīn* 忻, and I follow the reading as suggested originally by the Húběi Province Museum editors.

[J]: The Mǎwángduī Three version has *chá* 察 (177) where the Guōdiàn One strips have (*w*8/13). The editors of the Húběi Province Museum follow the Mǎwángduī Three reading.[23] This graph also appears in the Bāoshān corpus, where it is read *chá* 察 throughout. But this reading cannot be verified with certainty. The structure of the subsequent lines is as follows: "when *X* is not *a*, then it will not be *b*; when it is not *b*, it will not be *c*; etc. Hence, it seems to make more sense to read graph *w*8/13 as 'to grow' or the like, just as in the next sentence. The same graph also appears on strip *w*13/2. Most interpretations follow Lǐ Líng's suggestion to read it as *chá* 察.[24]

[K]: Following the line "思不倀 (長) 不-型 (形)-" (*w*8/14–18), the Mǎwángduī Three text adds "不得思不輕(徑)不=形= (177).

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20 See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 147.
21 See Chén Wěi 2003, 52.
22 Téng Rènshēng 1995, 794.
23 See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 147.
24 See also under [Q].

[L]: At line *w*9/3–8 不𢚧 (仁) 思不能清(清) the Mǎwángduī Three version has *jīng* 精 'essential' (178) instead of *qīng* 清 'clear'.

[M]: Graph *w*10/2 (*néng* 能), which also appears in the quotation of the "Odes", is written differently in the previous instances.

[N]: Most editors read graph *w*10/9 as *bù* 不.[25] Ikeda reads it as *bì* 必.[26] The graph differs markedly from other instances of the characters *bù* and *bì*, and the passage also differs from that appearing in the "Odes" (*Máo* 14), and so these are of no help in identifying the present graph.

[O]: The top of strip *w*11 has broken off. Presumably one character is missing. The Mǎwángduī Three manifestation of the "Wǔ xíng" has *yuè* 悅 at this place (180).

This passage also appears in the "Odes", where it differs noticeably from the Guōdiàn One version.[27] The Mǎwángduī Three version introduces the quotation (strips *w*9–11) with *shī yuē* 詩曰 "in an ode it is said" (179).

[P]: Strip *w*11 is broken. The editors of the Húběi Province Museum assume that two characters are missing. In accordance with the Mǎwángduī Three version, they add the graphs *yě* 也 to the previous sentence and *bù* 不 to the subsequent one.[28] However, when looking at the strips, it looks as if the missing part contains at least three characters. Accordingly, I add the character *fū* 夫 and a mark that signals the end of the passage in my reconstruction.

Image of the missing part of strip *w*11 compared with strip *w*10

[25] Cf. Lǐ Líng 1999, 488; Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 386.

[26] See Ikeda Tomohisa 1999, 23.

[27] See *Máo* 14: 未見君子，憂心惙惙；亦既見止，亦即覯止，我心則說 "when I have not yet seen the lord, my grieved heart is sad; but when I have seen him, when I have met him, my heart will then be pleased" (Karlgren 1950, 9, emended).

[28] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 149.

[Q]: Qiú Xīguī suggests reading graph *w*13/2 as *chá* 察 'to investigate'. I follow his suggestion.

[R]: Graph *w*13/6 has been transcribed as 恩[29] (OC *ʔˁə[n]). Most scholars read 恩 in the sense of *wēn* 溫 (OC *ʔˁun) 'gentle'. Chén Wěi 陳偉 suggests that this graph consists of the phonophoric 函 (OC *[g]ˁəm or *[g]ˁr[ə]m; as the latter is a place-name, it might be the more likely reading) and the signific *xīn* 心 'heart'.[30] Hé Línyí 何琳儀 states that the graph 溫 has 函 as its phonophoric.[31] Phonologically, this is somewhat unlikely. The reconstruction of 溫 is *ʔˁun and that of 函 is *[g]ˁr[ə]m.

[S]: The passage 叏 (淑) 人君子其義 (儀) 罷 (一) 也 (*w*16/3–10) also appears in the "Guófēng: Shījiū" 鳲鳩 (*Máo* 152): 鳲鳩在桑，其子其兮，淑人君子，其儀一兮 "the Shījiū bird's offspring is seven; the polite man, the gentleman, unified is he in his deportment." The Mǎwángduī Three version also has the following two lines preceding: 尸叴在桑，其子七氏 (184) "the Shījiū bird's offspring is seven."

[T]: The top of strip *w*18 has broken off. Based on the ode quoted, it can be reconstructed as 瞻望弗及 "{*I looked after her, yet I could not see her*}".

[U]: The top of strip *w*18 has broken off. Judging from the manuscript counterpart Mǎwángduī Three (186), it seems that the missing passage originally contained two graphs, which can be reconstructed as *dú yě* 獨也. Due to the length of the lost part, it can be assumed that these graphs were followed by markings on the strip.

[V]: The top of strip *w*19 has broken off. The missing passage probably contained five graphs. Taking the Mǎwángduī Three version into account (186), we might reconstruct [有與始無與] 終也 "{*there is* [*always*] *something with which*} the gentleman {*begins, but there is nothing with which*} [he] ends".

[29] Ibid. See also Zhāng Guāngyù [Cheung Kwong-yue] 1999, 539.
[30] See Chén Wěi 2003, 52–53.
[31] See Hé Línyí 2001, 1130.

The shapes of graphs *w*18/11 (咅) and *w*19/1 (舟) differ markedly. They are both read in the sense of *zhōng* 終.

[W]: Graph *w*19/4 聖 (+聖) (*l̥eŋ-s) is presumably used to express the word <*shēng* 聲> (*l̥eŋ). Mark Csikszentmihalyi hypothesises that this is more than just a phonetic loan. He assumes instead that the connection is "more like the relationship between *lè* 樂 'joy' and *yuè* 樂 'music'," and he considers this to be an "unstated philosophical argument".[32] I doubt this.[33] Phonetic loans appear throughout the entire Guōdiàn One corpus, so that one may well speak of scribal tendencies but not of well-defined standards. Scribal mistakes throughout the texts of the Guōdiàn One corpus in fact suggest that the scribe(s) did not necessarily fully understand what they were copying. Philosophy and writing must be conceived of as different activities, and the philosopher most likely was not the one who fixed a particular manifestation of a philosophical text on bamboo. To assume that the scribe(s) in question was punning with loans would imply that he fully grasped the philosophical subtleties of this text and also had the intellectual ability to play with it, if author and scribe were not indeed considered one and the same person.

[X]: Following *w*20/4, the bamboo strip is broken. In accordance with the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" (188), the missing part can be reconstructed as *dào yě* 道也.

The graphs *ér* 而 and *tiān* 天 are well-nigh indistinguishable in early Chinese manuscripts. Following the structure of the argument as well as the Mǎwángduī Three text of this passage, graph *w*20/3 should be read as *tiān* 天 'heaven'.

[Y]: Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 argues that this line 不聣(聰)不明不聖(聖)不—*w*21 智(智)—reflects a scribal mistake. Following the Mǎwángduī Three version, he argues that marks for repetition should be inserted into the line 不明不聖. Ikeda further assumes that 不聰不明 itself is not a causal series.[34] I doubt Ikeda's line of reasoning.

[32] See Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 169.
[33] Cf., however, Behr 2006 on the etymology of this word family.
[34] See Ikeda Tomohisa 1999.

The first line of this passage does not form an argumentative chain but works parallel to the two features introduced earlier on. The text identifies these features as the characteristics of either the sagacious or the worthy one.

[Z]: This passage does not occur at the same place in the text in the Mǎwángduī Three manifestation of the "Wǔ xíng". In the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" it follows the discussion of the three charismatic aspects *rén*, *yì*, *lǐ*.

[Aa]: The Húběi Province Museum editors read graph *w*21/11 (㝈) as *biàn* 變 (OC *pro[n]-s).[35] As Csikszentmihalyi states, both Ikeda and Páng Pú connect this graph to a complex of graphs carrying a meaning similar to *liàn* 戀 (OC *(mə.)ron-s) 'feeling, affection'.[36] Phonetically this is close enough to fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components. I follow their suggestion.

[Ab]: Graph *w*21/23 (*dé* 德) is read as *zhí* 直 in the Mǎwángduī Three version. It is therefore sometimes understood in the sense of "rightness in carrying out official duties; a core aspect of rightness".[37]

Lǐ Líng and Wèi Qǐpéng suggest reading *w*21/25 as *sì* 肆.[38] *Sì* should be understood in opposition to *zhí*, above. It thus refers to statements such as the following one from the transmitted *Lǎozǐ* (ch. 58): 是以聖人方而不割，廉而不害，直而不肆，光而不曜 "this is why the sagacious person makes square but does not trim [others], makes clean but does not injure [others]. [He] straightens but does not intimidate [others], enlightens but does not investigate [others].[39] Unlike the statement in the *Lǎozǐ* (聖人 x 而不 y), this passage does not oppose terms directly but forms an argumentative chain. Accordingly, I hesitate to read a term with a negative connotation here.

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[35] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 151, n. 26.

[36] See Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 292. See also Ikeda Tomohisa 1999, 32; Páng Pú 2000, 27.

[37] See Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 293.

[38] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 489; Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, 28.

[39] Wagner 2003a, 318–320, emended.

Ikeda Tomohisa, Wèi Qǐpéng, and Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 read the graph as *xiè* 泄 'to disperse, to release'.[40] The editors of the Húběi Province Museum explain the graph, in accordance with the Mǎwángduī Three version, as *lì* 迣 'to intercept', to which reading Liú Xìnfāng also refers.[41] Mark Csikszentmihalyi notes that this graph rarely appears in early transmitted texts. The commentator on the *Hànshū*, Jìn Zhuó 晉灼 (fl. ca. AD 208), recognised *lì* as an older form of *liè* 迾 'to block, to obstruct', for which reason Csikszentmihalyi translates it as 'resistant'.[42] I follow his suggestion.

[Ac]: This unit (14.1) comes significantly later in the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng". See my discussion in chapter 3.

[Ad]: Ikeda Tomohisa has proposed reading *w*26/22 as *tiān* 天 'heaven' instead of *ér* 而.[43] The editors of the Húběi Province Museum and most commentators follow this suggestion.

Mark Csikszentmihalyi suggests that the short sentence from *w*26/19 to *w*27/2 聖 (聖) 人智 (知) 而<天> [w27] 道(道)也 is a misplaced commentary because it seems to interrupt the flow of this passage.[44] As discussed in chapter 3, this is rather unlikely.

[Ae]: Mark Csikszentmihalyi notes that the phrase 安而敬(敬)之豊(禮)也 appears reversed in the *Xúnzǐ*, "Jūndào".[45] The passage reads: 故君子之於禮敬而安之 "therefore, the gentleman is respectful in his attitude to ritual propriety and at peace with it".

[Af]: The top of strip *w*30 is broken. Judging from the broken piece, three to four characters are missing. According to the underlying structure, either 行之所和 or 行所和 should be reconstructed here.[46]

[Ag]: For graph *w*29/11 in the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng", the Mǎwángduī Three version reads *yǔ* 與 (200). Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and

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[40] See Ikeda Tomohisa 1999, 33, n. 36; Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, 28; Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 400.

[41] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 152, n. 27.

[42] See Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 293.

[43] See Ikeda Tomohisa 1993, 364.

[44] See Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 397.

[45] Ibid., 297.

[46] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 153, n. 35.

Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 read *w*29/11 as *jǔ* 舉, here 'to revive'.[47] The two graphs share the same phonophoric.

Instead of graph *w*29/9 (邦 *bāng* 'country'), the Mǎwángduī Three version reads *guó* 國 (column 199). This seems to be due to a taboo against writing the personal name of the founder of the Hàn dynasty, Liú Bāng (256–195 BC).[48]

[Ah]: The top of strip *w*30 is broken. Here the "Wǔ xíng" draws on "Odes", "Dàyǎ: Wén Wáng" 文王 (*Máo* 235), which reads: 文王在上，於昭於天 "when King Wén was on high, he illuminated Heaven". Accordingly, the missing part can be reconstructed as 王在上於昭.

[Ai]: Instead of the line 𢡊(仁)義豊 (禮) 所䌛(由)生也 as in the Guōdiàn One text of the "Wǔ xíng" (*w*31/12–18), the Mǎwángduī Three version reads 仁義禮智之所繇(由)生也 (202), thus adding the character *zhì* 智 and so creating a different chain of development.

[Aj]: Qiú Xīguī identifies the two graphs *w*32/23–24 as *zhān qiān* 旃遷; the Mǎwángduī version reads *yān qiān* 焉遷 (191; *zhān* is an allegro form of 之 and 焉). The "Guófēng: Zhìhù" 陟岵 (*Máo* 110) reads: 上慎旃哉，猶來無棄 "May he be cautious, that he may come back and does not remain [there]". With the exception of Wèi Qǐpéng,[49] most interpreters follow Qiú's suggestion.[50]

[Ak]: The Húběi Province Museum editors suggest reading *w*33/18 as *yōu* 攸 'to follow'. Qiú Xīguī interprets it as a variant of *jī* 稽, which should be read *jì* 繼 'to follow'.

[Al]: The Húběi Province Museum editors read *w*34/19–20 as *qiáng yù* 強禦 'strong and powerful'. Most interpreters follow this reading.[51] Páng Pú 龐樸 notes that this combination also occurs in the "Odes", "Dàyǎ: Zhēng mín" 烝民 (*Máo* 260): 不侮矜寡，不畏彊

[47] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 410.
[48] On the custom of taboo observances during the Hàn, see Mansvelt Beck 1987.
[49] See Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, 37.
[50] See, e.g., Lǐ Líng 1999, 489, 491–492; Ikeda 1999, 39; Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 412–414.
[51] See, e.g., Lǐ Líng 1999, 490; Páng Pú 2000, 56; Tú and Liú 2001, 415–417.

禦 "[Zhongshan Fu], he did not intimidate the widow and the poor and did not fear the strong and powerful."

[Am]: The identity of graph *w*36/19 is still uncertain. In the Mǎwángduī Three version it is read as *xiè* 懈 'to remit' (194). The Húběi Province Museum editors suggest reading it as *jié* 節, but Qiú remains hesitant about this suggestion.[52] Lǐ Líng follows the Mǎwángduī Three reading for this graph.[53] Wèi Qǐpéng proposes reading the graph as *gēng* 耕 'to till'.[54] Tú and Liú suggest reading it as *guò* 過 'go to, transgress'.[55] In the Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng", the combination 而不 (such as in *w23–24* 聞君子道而不知其君子道也謂之不聖見賢人而不知其有德也謂之不智 *w34* 迣而不畏強禦果也) always appears in the construction "to be/do X 而不 do/be Y; that is Z". Thus, what is named subsequent to 而不 always seems to be another entity but never the result of 'X'. By implication, the suggestion made by Tú and Liú to read the graph as *guò* 過 'to indulge, transgress' can be ruled out. I follow the Mǎwángduī Three version at this point.

[An]: Graph *w*37/17 appears as *dōng* 東. Apparently it is written for *jiǎn* 柬 (OC *kˤr[a]nʔ). Most interpreters read *jiǎn* 柬 as a loan for *jiǎn* 簡 (OC *kˤre[n]ʔ) 'dignified, sedate; grave demeanour.' This is the case throughout the "Wǔ xíng" (see, e.g., *w*35/7).

The word *jiǎn* is used structurally identically to the word *nì* 匿 'to conceal; what is concealed' to construct the argument of this passage (both words appear twice and combined with a definition of terms). It seems rather unconvincing to read graph *w*37/17 as *jiǎn* 柬 and graph *w*38/10 as *jiǎn* 柬 <*jiǎn* 簡>, as suggested by the editors of the Húběi Province Museum.[56] Note that the second appearance of the word *jiǎn* is written , thus similarly to *w*37/11, yet markedly different from other instances of the word <*jiǎn* 簡>.

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[52] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 153, n. 48. The editors assume that the graph in question is corrupt.
[53] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 490, 492.
[54] See Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, 42.
[55] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 417–419.
[56] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 150.

The Húběi Province Museum editors read graph *w*37/23 (the last graph on strip *w*37) as *chá* 察. Qiú remains hesitant about this suggestion.[57] Lǐ Líng follows their reading.[58] The Mǎwángduī Three version has either *biàn* 辨 (OC *[b]renʔ) 'to discriminate' or *biàn* 辯 (OC *[b]renʔ) 'to dispute' (204), and I follow the first of those two suggestions here.

[Ao]: The upper part of strip *w*39/4 is missing. Based on the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" (204) as well as the remaining fragment of the graph, it can be reconstructed as *xíng* 行.

[Ap]: According to the editors of the Húběi Province Museum, *w*39/23 (練 *liàn*; OC *[r]ˤen-s) should be understood as a borrowing for *jiān* 間 (OC *kˤre[n]). The Mǎwángduī version reads *hè* 賀 (OC *m-kˤajʔ-s), which Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 assume was used instead of *héng* 衡 (OC *[g]ˤraŋ) 'balance',[59] and which Liú Xìnfāng 劉信芳 (2000, p. 131) believes to be a homophone for *hé* 何 (OC *[g]ˤaj).[60] It is read here in the sense of *dān* 擔 'to carry' (which makes it *hè* 何 [OC *[g]ˤajʔ]). Based on the *Shuōwén jiězì tōngxùn dìngshēng*, Tú and Liú suggest that *liàn* 練 (OC *[r]ˤen-s) was used for *jiǎn* 柬 (*kˤr[a]nʔ).[61]

The Húběi Province Museum editors state that as in the Mǎwángduī Three version (204), graph *w*40/4 (*yàn* 晏; OC **ʔˤra[n]-s) 'late' should be read as *hǎn* 罕(OC *qˤʰa[r]ʔ) 'scarce, few'.[62]

[Aq]: The character following *w*40/13 only appears as a repetition of the former graph. Nonetheless—or *because* of this—the correct reading of this graph is as yet uncertain. Wèi Qǐpéng reads the second character as *nì* 暱 'intimate; to approach'. He sees justification for this in the *Zuǒ zhuàn*, year 25 of the reign of Duke Xiāng 襄公, which reads 而知匿其暱 "and know to conceal the familiar".[63] The Mǎwángduī Three text reads *nì* 匿 (205). Páng Pú argues that the sec-

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[57] Ibid., 154, n. 50.
[58] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 490.
[59] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 421.
[60] Liú Xìnfāng 2000, 131.
[61] Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 421.
[62] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 154, n. 53.
[63] See Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, 45.

ond character should be read as *tè* 慝 'deprived; to do evil', thus referring to the earlier seen *xiǎo zuì* 小罪 'minor crime'.[64]

If we accept the reconstruction of the character as different from the previous graph, it implies that the latter graph must be a homophone, and the scribe, writing from dictation or memory, did not know that he should write a *different* graph—or the scribe *saw* another *written* master copy with a repetition mark instead of an individual character. As detailed in chapter 5, the latter scenario is unlikely. Since we still lack information about the process of copying, reading, and writing in ancient China, I shall read the second character as identical with the first.

Chén Wěi reads this line with two identical graphs. He justifies this by noting a similar use of doubling terms in the Guōdiàn One manuscript "Liù dé" (strips *l*32–33), in which *róng róng* 容容 can be viewed as analogous to *nì nì* 匿匿 in the "Wǔ xíng".[65]

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum state that graph *w*41/17 must be a variant of *zhěn* 診 (OC *tə[n]ʔ), which in turn must be a borrowing of *zhěn* 紾 (OC *tə[n]ʔ) 'numerous'. This is substantiated by the Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng", which reads *zhěn* 紾 (205), as well as by the recurring sentence on slip *w*43, which reads 少(小)而紾者 (strip *w*43/8–11).

[Ar]: It seems that *w*41/5 (*qiáng* 強; OC *[g]aŋ) must be reconstructed as *gāng* 剛 (*kˁaŋ) 'hard'. The two fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components. This assumption is further substantiated by the fact that the sentence *w*41/18–21 appears identically also in "Odes", "Shāngsòng: Cháng fā" 長發 (*Máo* 304): 不競不絿，不剛不柔 "[he was] neither forceful nor pressing; [he was] neither hard nor [too] soft".[66] The Mǎwángduī Three version is nearly identical with this line. The same passage is quoted, but the introductory formula 詩曰 "it is said in an ode" is added (204–205).

[As]: The line *w*42/2–6 君子集(集)大成(成) also occurs in similar fashion in the *Mèngzǐ*, "Wànzhāng xià" (5B1): 孔子之謂集大成 "Master Kǒng is said 'to have gathered great achievements'."

[64] See Páng Pú 2000, 71.
[65] See Chén Wěi 2003, 56–58.
[66] Karlgren 1950, 265, emended.

[At]: For *w*43/15–16 *pǐ fū* (*fū*) 疋膚- (膚) the Mǎwángduī Three version reads *suǒ lú* (*lú*) 索纑= (纑) (207). Lǐ Líng reads graph *w*43/16 as *xū* 胥; for *w*43/15 he suggests *pǐ* 疋 'foot'.[67] Ikeda reads *sǒu* 搜 'to seek' for this graph. He also regards the repeated graph *lú* (thus, *lú lú* 盧盧) as onomatopoeia for 'barking'.[68] Páng Pú reads the line in accordance with the Mǎwángduī Three version. He argues that 索纑纑 is a variant of the name Suǒlú Shēn 索盧參, a thief who later became a disciple of Mòzǐ.[69] As Mark Csikszentmihalyi notes, Suǒlú 索盧 was indeed a surname in Warring States China, but he thinks that it is unlikely that the characters here indicate a proper name.[70] I agree with Csikszentmihalyi. In this instance, a proper name would be out of place. Wèi Qǐpéng identifies graph *w*43/15 as *yǎ* 雅 (OC *[ŋ]ˁraʔ), which he reads as *hè* 赫 'brilliant' (qˁʰrak). At least phonologically this is plausible (the brackets around *[ŋ] indicate that a uvular initial with a nasal prefix might have been involved; so the connection with *qˁʰrak would be plausible). Wèi further explains that if this graph is combined with *lú* 臚—a 'variant' of *w*43/15, *lú* 膚—we get "shining brightly", which can be understood as a description of the worthy one.[71] I follow his suggestion.

Qiú Xīguī suggests reading *w*43/18 as *zhū* 諸.[72] Also, the Mǎwángduī Three version reads *yú* 於 (207) for what appears as *zhě* 者 in the Guōdiàn One copy (*w*43/18).

[Au]: Following the sentence *w*44/14–19 胃(謂)之隮(尊)臤(賢)者也, the Mǎwángduī Three version adds 前王公之尊賢者也. This line does not appear in the Guōdiàn One version.

[Av]: The proper reading of graph *w*45/11 is still unresolved. The Mǎwángduī Three "Wǔ xíng" has *yì* 役 'servant' (209). Lǐ Líng follows this reading.[73] Ikeda Tomohisa notes that the graph is written differently in the Mǎwángduī version. The reading of *yì* 役 'servant' for the

[67] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 490.
[68] See Ikeda Tomohisa 1999, 49.
[69] See Páng Pú 2000, 74.
[70] See Csikszentmihalyi 2004, 306.
[71] See Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, 49.
[72] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 154, n. 57.
[73] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 490.

Guōdiàn One "Wǔ xíng" therefore cannot be justified on palaeographical or phonological grounds.[74] Tú and Liú read it as *fǎn* 返 'to return'.[75] I read graph *w*45/11 in the meaning of the Mǎwángduī Three text.

[Aw]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum point out that graph *w*48/9 (野) bears a strong resemblance to an inscribed graph seen on a vessel of King Cuò of Zhōngshān.[76] The Mǎwángduī Three version reads *lín* 臨 'to look down upon (favourably)'. Qiú Xīguī is in doubt whether this graph should be seen as a scribal error for *lín* 臨.[77] This reading makes sense, as the ode cited reads *lín* 臨, too.[78]

[Ax]: Lǐ Líng and Wèi Qǐpéng read *w*48/19 as *tiān* 天 and not as *dà* 大 as proposed instead by the editors of the Húběi Province Museum.[79] The Mǎwángduī Three passage (212) has 天生諸其人天也, which corroborates Lǐ Líng's and Wèi Qǐpéng's suggestion. Moreover, according to Wèi, 天施 is a combination seen throughout early texts.[80] Also, reading *tiān* 天 instead of *dà* 大 offers a clear and simple interpretation of this passage. Hence, I follow their suggestion and read this graph as *tiān* 天.

[Ay]: How to read *w*49/5 is still unresolved. Lǐ Líng suggests reading it as *xiá* 狎 (OC *[g]ˤr[a]p). According to Lǐ, this should be close in sound and meaning to *xí* 習 (OC *s-m-l[ə]p). But this is not the case.[81] Páng Pú adds that Lǐ Líng's suggestion would in fact help to contrast the two issues 'natural' versus 'learned'.[82] Despite this observation, the suggestion made is problematic on phonological grounds. Liú Xìnfāng reads the graph as *jù* 據 'to depend, to rely on',[83] and I follow Liú.

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[74] See Ikeda Tomohisa 1999, 46.
[75] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 426, 7.
[76] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 154, n. 64.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Line *w*48/7–14 is a quotation of "Odes," "Dàyǎ: Dà míng" 大明 (*Máo* 236), which reads: 上帝臨女，無貳爾心 "God on high looks down on you; do not be unfaithful in your heart" (Karlgren 1950, 188, emended).
[79] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 151. See also Lǐ Líng 1999, 492; Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, 54.
[80] See Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, 54.
[81] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 492.
[82] See Páng Pú 2000, 85.
[83] See Liú Xìnfāng 2000, 167.

CHAPTER TWELVE

RECONSTRUCTING THE “XÌNG ZÌ MÌNG CHŪ” 性自命出

This chapter provides the text and translation of the argument-based text “Xìng zì mìng chū”, followed by philological notes. The philological discussion not only refers to the text as reconstructed but also points to differences and similarities between the two manifestations of the text: from Guōdiàn One and from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts. In both the transcription and the translation, a superscript letter *x* refers to the manuscript “Xìng zì mìng chū”. Discussing the Shànghǎi “Xìng qíng lùn” I use *xq* to refer to the various bamboo strips.

Text and Translation

The Core Text: Canto 1

Canto 1 contains twelve pericopes. Pericopes 2–12 can be grouped into three subcantos, headed by the introductory pericope 1.

Pericope 1: Introduction

1. ^{x1} 凡人雖有性，心無奠志；[A]
待物而後作，
待悅而後行，[B]
待習而後 ^{x2} 奠。[C]

喜怒哀悲之氣，性也；[D]
及其見於外，則物取之也。
性自命出，命 ^{x3} 自天降；[E]

道始於情，[情]生於性。[F]
始者近情，終者近義。[G]
知 □□□ [情者能] ^{x4} 出之，知義者能納之。 † [H]

好惡，性也；
所好所惡，物也。[I]
善不 □□□ [善，性也]。 † [J]
^{x5} 所善所不善，勢也。[K]

[x1] Generally speaking, even though all humans have a nature, they have no settled will in their minds.
It requires the things; only thereafter can it rise.
It requires delight; only thereafter can it evolve.
It requires repetitive practice; only thereafter can it [x2] settle.

Emotions such as rejoicing, anger, grief, and sadness are human nature.
When they appear on the outside, then this is caused by the things [in the world].
Human nature is brought forth by decree; decree [in turn] [x3] is sent down from Heaven.

The true ethical code (*dào*) begins with the unshaped feelings; unshaped feelings [in turn] are begotten by human nature.
In the beginning [the true ethical code (*dào*)] approximates the unshaped feelings; in the end [it] approximates rightness.
{*He who*} understands {*the unshaped feelings may*} [x4] manifest them [at the outside]; he who understands rightness may take it in.

To love and to hate is human nature.
That which one loves and hates are the things [in the world].
To be good or not {*good is human nature*}.
[x5] That which one considers good or not good is [determined by] conditional forces.

Subcanto 1

2. 凡性爲主，物取之也：[L]
金石之有聲，□□□□□□□ [弗扣不 [x6] 鳴]。† [M]
[猶人之] 雖有性，心弗取，不出。† [N]

Generally speaking, that which becomes the dominating aspect of human nature is caused by the things [in the world]:
"Bronze and stone have a sound", [yet] {*if they are not struck, they will not* [x6] *sing*}.
{*This is just like with humans*}. Even though {*they*} have a nature, if [their] minds fail to accept it, it will not be manifested.

3. 凡心有志也，無與不□ [定]；†
□□□□ [心之不能] [x7] 獨行，猶口之不可獨言也。† [O]
牛生而長，鴈生而伸；
其性□□□ [使然，人] [x8] 而學或使之也。† [P]

Generally speaking, mind has a will—[yet] if not nourished, it will not {*be settled*}.
{*That mind cannot*} [x7] evolve on its own is just like the inability of the mouth to speak on its own.

After oxen are born they grow [big]; after geese are born they stretch [their necks].
It is their nature {*which makes them be like this*—as for *humans*,} x8 in contrast, it is learning that eventually shapes them.

4. 凡物無不異也者；[Q]
剛之柱也，剛取之也。† [R]
柔之 x9 約，柔取之也。
四海之內其性一也，其用心各異，[S]
教使然也。[T]

Generally speaking, of the things, there is none that is not different.
That the hard becomes straight is because hardness takes it up.
That x9 the soft becomes flexible is because softness takes it up.
That human nature is one within the four seas, [yet] in the application of the mind each [man] differs, is something brought forth by education.

Subcanto 2

5. 凡性 x10 或動之，或逆之； [U]
或交之，或厲之；[V]
或出之，或養之，
或長之；

Generally speaking, as for human nature x10 there is something that moves it, something that conforms to it;
Something that interacts with it, something that grinds it;
Something that makes it manifest [at the outside], something that nourishes it;
[And] something that makes it grow.

6. 凡動性 x11 者，物也；[W]
逆性者，悅也； † [X]
交性者，故也；
厲性者，義也；
出性者，勢也；[Y]
養性 x12 者，習也；[Z]
長性者，道也。

Generally speaking, that which moves human nature x11 are the things [in the world].
That which conforms to human nature is delight.
That which interacts with human nature are the causes.
That which grinds human nature is rightness.
That which makes human nature manifest [at the outside] are the conditional forces.
That which nourishes x12 human nature is repetitive practice.
That which makes human nature grow is the true ethical code (*dào*).

7. 凡見者之謂物，[Aa]
快於己者之謂悅。[Ab]
物 x13 之勢者之謂勢，[Ac]
有爲也者之謂故。

義也者，群善之蕝也，
習也 x14 者，有以習其性也。[Ad]
道者，群物之道。[Ae]

Generally speaking, that which can be seen is what we call 'the things [in the world]'.
That which generates satisfaction in oneself is what we call 'delight'.
That which is the power of x13 the things is what we call 'conditional forces'.
That which makes [something] happen is what we call 'causes'.

'Rightness'—this is the status indicator for the [different] types of goodness.
'Practice'— x14 this exists for practising one's human nature.
'The true ethical code (*dào*)'—this is the Way (*dào*) of the [different] groups of things.

Subcanto 3: Digression

8. 凡道，心術爲主。
道四術，唯 x15 人道爲可道也。
其三術者，道之而已。[Af]

詩、書、禮、樂，[Ag]
其始出皆生 x16 於人。[Ah]
詩有爲爲之也； [Ai]
書有爲言之也；
禮樂有爲舉之也。 [Aj]

聖人比其 x17 類而論會之，
觀其之先後而逆順之； [Ak]
體其義而節文之，[Al]
理 x18 其情而出納之。
然後復以教。
教所以生德於中者也。[Am]

禮作於情， x19 或興之也； † [An]
當事因方而制之，其先後之序則宜道也。 † [Ao]
有? 序爲 x20 之節，則 文 也。 †
至(致?)容貌，所以 文節也。

君子美其情，貴□□ [其義] ，† [Ap]
x21 善其節，好其容，[Aq]

樂其道，悅其教，
是以敬焉。[Ar]

拜，所以 □□□ [為敬X] [x22] 其數文也；† [As]
幣帛，所以爲信與徵也；[At]
其詞宜道也。† [Au]

笑，喜之薄澤 也。[Av]
[x23] 樂，喜之深澤也。

Generally speaking, as for the true ethical code (*dào*), the skills of the mind are the dominant [feature].
The true ethical code (*dào*) diverges into four skills, [but] only [x15] the Way of humans is the one that can be followed.
As for the [other] three skills, one can only talk of them.

"Odes", "Documents", rites, and music—in every case their first appearing was given birth by [x16] man.
"Odes" came into being by acting them out.
"Documents" came into being by speaking them.
Rites and music came into being by exalting them.

The sagacious persons [then] juxtaposed them according to [x17] their categories, collated and joined them together.
[They] beheld them in their temporal sequence to arrange them in their proper sequence.
[They] shaped their meaning to regulate and pattern them.
[They] ordered [x18] the feelings [expressed in them] to be manifested [at the outside] and to be internalised.
Only when this was achieved, did they turn toward teaching.
Teaching is that by which [the sagacious persons] generate moral force (*dé*) in [their] centres.

As for rites, they were created on the basis of unshaped feelings— [x19] [but] eventually, they [also] might stimulate them. †
Relying upon methods according to each case—the proper sequence of what comes first and what comes last thus befitted the Way (*dào*).
Once the proper order of actions was [x20] regulated, they were culturally refined. †
To extend this to one's manner and appearance, that was the reason for cultural refinement and regulations.

[Hence], the gentleman finds beauty in their unshaped feelings and values {*their rightness*}.
[He] [x21] considers their regulation as good and esteems their manners.
[He] finds joy in their true ethical code (*dào*) and delights in their teaching.
Therefore, he shows respect for them.

Bending [his hands] {*is how respect for X is expressed*}; [x22] the repetition of it is [cultivated] pattern. †

Offering presents of silk is how trustworthiness and evidence are established. †

Declining them [should be done in a way] befitting the true ethical code (*dào*).

Laughter is the shallow march (= surface aspect) of rejoicing.
[x23] Music is the deep march (= the underlying aspect) of rejoicing.

9. 凡聲其出於情也信，然後其入撥人之心也厚。[Aw]
[x24] 聞笑聲則鮮，如也斯喜。
聞歌謠則舀，如也斯奮。[Ax]
聽琴瑟之聲 [x25] 則悸，如也斯嘆。[Ay]
觀<<賚>>、<<武>>則齊，如也斯作。
觀<<韶>>、<<夏>>則勉，如也 [x26] 斯儉。

詠思而動心，喟如也；[1] [Az]
其居次也久，其反善復始也 [x27] 慎，[Ba]
其出入也順，始其德也。[Bb]
<<鄭>>、<<衛>>之樂，則非其聲而從之也。[Bc]

Generally speaking, all sounds emanating from unshaped feelings are trustworthy; only when they enter and agitate the heart of man do they become profound.

[x24] [Therefore,] to hear the sound of laughter is precious—when it comes to it, then there will be rejoicing.

To hear the sound of chanted songs is highly gratifying—when it comes to it, one will become elated.

To listen to the sound of lute and zither is [x25] exciting—when it comes to it, one will have to sigh.

[And likewise,] to watch the [performance] of the [ritual dances] "Lài" and "Wǔ" [makes one] solemn—when it comes to it, then one will be stirred.[2]

To watch the [performance] of the [ritual dances] "Shāo" and "Xià" is inciting—when it comes to it, [x26] then one will become humble.[3]

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[1] The character *sī* 思 seems to be a particle for emphasis here.

[2] The "Lài" 賚 (*Máo* 295) and "Wǔ" 武 (*Máo* 285) are part of the "Zhōu hymns" that praise King Wǔ's victory over Shāng. The odes were part of a larger performance together with ritual dances. Accordingly, the passage says 'watching'.

[3] The songs of Shāo and Xià are the music of Shùn 舜 and Dà Xià 大夏 (or Yǔ 禹). They were performed together with ritual dances. According to Liáo Míngchūn (2002b), the lyrics of the songs also state that Wǔ and Yǔ have their own deficiencies; accordingly, the character *jiǎn* should be read as 'humble, modest' or 'self-deprecating'.

When moving the mind by cantillating aloud a thought—the sighing sound ‘*wei*’ will follow.
It is long that it occupies the second position, [and] when by returning to the good and starting from the beginning, one [x27] has to be sincere, †
[and] when by entering and coming out it is compliant—this is something which initiates one’s moral force.

The music of Zhèng and Wèi, in contrast, is not of this sound; but one [easily] indulges in it.

10. [x28] 凡古樂隆心，益樂隆指；[Bd]
皆教其人者也。
<<賚>>、<<武>>樂取，<<韶>>、<<夏>>樂情。[Be]

Generally speaking, [x28] music of old (= the music of Shùn and Yú) highly exalts one’s mind; the latter music [of King Wǔ of Zhōu] exalts one’s ambitions.
They are both for educating the people.
[The latter] music [of King Wǔ] “Lài” and “Wǔ” is that of grasping [ambitions]; [the former] music [of Kings Yáo and Shùn] “Shāo and “Xià” is that of unshaped feelings. †

11. [x29] 凡至樂必悲，哭亦悲；[4]
皆至其情也。[Bf]
哀、樂其性相近也。[Bg]
是故其心 [x30] 不遠：

哭之動心也侵殺，其烈戀戀如也， † [Bh]
戚然以終。

樂之動心也 [x31] 濬深鬱陶，其烈 則流如也以悲，
悠然以思。[Bi]

[x29] Generally speaking, most refined music certainly is necessarily sad—crying is also [an expression of being] sad.
They both reach out to their corresponding feelings.
The corresponding natures of grief and joy are close to each other.
It is for this reason that their minds [x30] do not deviate far:

The way in which crying moves the heart is encroaching and shattering—[but in] its blazing fierceness [it] is all-consuming, and one remains grieving till the end.

[4] *Zhì* means the high point. *Yuè* could be explained as both music and pleasure. However, since the following part clearly talks about waning and grief, *yuè* at this point should be understood as pleasure, the counterpart to grief.

The way in which music moves the heart x31 is profound and deep, dense and delightful—[but in] its blazing fierceness [it] is like a steady flow that leads to grief, and one becomes mournful in thoughts. †

12. 凡憂思而後悲；
x32 凡樂思而後忻；
凡思之用心爲甚。

歎，思之方也。[Bj]
其聲變，則 □□□□ [心從之矣] 。 † [Bk]

x33 其心變，則其聲亦然：
吟由哀也。[Bl]
噪由樂也。
啾由聲[也]， [Bm]
(口戲)由心也。[Bn]

Generally speaking, to have thoughts of sorrow results in sadness thereafter.
x32 Generally speaking, to have thoughts of joy results in delightedness thereafter.
Generally speaking, the impact of one's thoughts on mind is extreme.

Sighing, this is a mode of [expressing] thoughts.
When the sound of it changes, then {*the mind will follow along as well*}.
x33 [And] when the mind changes, then the corresponding sound of it also [changes] accordingly:
Sighing proceeds from grief.
Chirping proceeds from joy.
Murmurs proceed from the tones [of music].
Singing out loud proceeds from the mind.

[end of overlap of canto '1']

x34 喜斯陶，[Bo]
陶斯奮，
奮斯詠，
詠斯猶， [Bp]
猶斯舞。[Bq]
舞，喜之終也。
慍斯憂，
憂斯戚，
戚 x35 斯歎，
歎斯辟，
辟斯通 (踊)。
踊，慍之終也。 ✓ [Br]

x34 When there is rejoicing, then there will be delight.
When there is delight, then there will be enthusiasm.
When there is enthusiasm, then there will be chanting.
When there is chanting, then there will be waving [of one's hands].
When there is waving [of one's hands,] then there will be dancing.
[Hence,] dancing is the end result of rejoicing.

When there is exasperation, then there will be sorrow.
When there is sorrow, then there will be grief.
When there is grief, x35 then there will be sighing.
When there is sighing, then there will be the beating of one's breast.[5]
When there is the beating of one's breast, then there will be jumping up and down [as an expression of one's grief].
[Hence], jumping up and down is the end [result] of being exasperated.

The Application of the Theory: Canto 2

Canto 2 contains two clusters of pericopes that remain stable in both manifestations of the text: pericopes 13–15 (19–21 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") and pericopes 17 to the first part of 20 (or 15–18 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

Subcanto

13. x36 凡學者求其心爲難，[Bs]
從其所爲，近得之矣；
不如以樂之速也。
x37 雖能其事，不能其心；不貴。

求其心有僞也，弗得之矣。[Bt]
人之不能以僞也， x38 可知也。[Bu]
[不] 過十舉，其心必在焉。† [Bv]
察其見者，情焉失哉？[Bw]

恕 義之方也。 † [Bx]
x39 義，敬之方也。[By]
敬，物之節也。

篤，仁之方也。[Bz]
仁，性之方也，
性或生之。

[5] For the translation of *pì* 辟 as 'beating one's breast', see the ode "Bó zhōu" 柏舟 (*Máo* 26): 靜言思之，寤辟有標 "in the quietude I brood over it, awake I knock and beat my breast" (Karlgren 1950, 16).

忠，信 x40 之方也。
信，情之方也。
情出於性。[Ca]

愛類七，唯性愛爲近仁。[Cb]
智類五，唯 x41 義道爲近忠。[Cc]
惡類三，唯惡不仁爲近義。
所爲道者四，唯人道爲 x42 可道也。[Cd]

x36 Generally speaking, whenever one learns, to seek for the [right] mind is difficult; by following what is brought about by it, one will already have come close to obtaining the [right] mind.
But this is not as good as inviting [the right mind] with music.
x37 Even if one were capable in one's tasks, if one were unable in one's mind, this was not to be honoured.

If seeking the [right] mind has something artificial to it, one will fall short of obtaining it.
That humans cannot employ artificial means [for seeking the right mind] x38 is something that can be ascertained.
Before having tried ten times, one's mind will necessarily be exposed through it. †
When investigating what can be seen of it, how could one possibly miss the unshaped feelings?

To be fair is a mode of rightness.
x39 Rightness is a mode of respect.
Respect is the regulation of the things [in the world].

Genuineness is a mode of benevolence.
Benevolence is a mode of human nature.
Human nature is what eventually gives birth to it (i.e., benevolence).

Fidelity (*zhōng*) is a mode of trustworthiness (*xìn*).
Trustworthiness is a mode of unshaped feelings.
Unshaped feelings originate from human nature.

Of the categories of love there are seven—[yet] only the love of human nature is close to benevolence.
Of the categories of wisdom there are five—[yet] only x41 the Way (*dào*) of rightness is close to fidelity.
Of the categories of hate there are three—[yet] only the hate of the non-humane is close to rightness.
[Finally], what constitutes the true ethical code (*dào*) is fourfold—[yet] only the Way (*dào*) of humans x42 can be followed.

14. 凡用心之躁者，思爲甚。[Ce]
用智之疾者，患爲甚。[Cf]

用情之 x43 至者，哀樂爲甚。[Cg]
用身之弁者，悅爲甚。[Ch]
用力之盡者，利爲甚。[Ci]

目之好 x44 色，耳之樂聲，[Cj]
鬱陶之氣也，人不難爲之死。[Ck]
有其爲人之節節如也，[Cl]
x45 不有夫簡簡之心，則彩。[Cm]
有其爲人之簡簡如也，
不有夫恆殆之志，則漫。[Cn]

人之巧 x46 言利辭者，
不有夫拙拙之心，則流。[6] [Co]

人之悅然可與和安者，[Cp]
不有夫奮 x47 作之情，則瞀 。† [Cq]

有其爲人之快如也，弗牧不可。[Cr]
有其爲人之淵如也，x48 弗補不足。† [Cs]

Generally speaking, impatience in the application of mind will be accompanied by excessive thinking.
Haste in the application of knowledge will be accompanied by excessive worries.
Extremes in the application of unshaped feelings x43 will be accompanied by excessive grief and pleasure.
Privileging the role of the body will be accompanied by excessive [seeking for] pleasure.
The exhausting application of strength will be accompanied by excessive [seeking for] profit.

The eye's affection for x44 female beauty, and the ear's joy in sounds, these are the airs of pent-up delightedness—man would easily die for them.
If in one's comportment as a human being one is acting as very restrained x45 but does not in fact have a very simple mind, then this is [only] ornamentation.
[And] if it happens that in the very simple comportment as a human being one does not in fact intend to make the perennial endangerment nonexistent, then this is boundless.

As for a man's skilful x46 words and advantageous speeches, if one does not [also] have a very unornamented mind, then this will be ephemeral.

[6] *Liú* 流 functions as a loan for *fú* 浮.

As for a man's state of being delighted about getting along and being comfortable with himself, if this is not actually coupled to the x47 unshaped feelings of striving to create, then it will be delusion.

If it happens that in one's comportment as a human being one acts as if satisfied, failing to be taken care of is impermissible.
If it happens that in one's comportment as a human being one acts as if recondite, x48 failing to be corrected will not suffice.

15. 凡人僞爲可惡也。[Ct]
僞斯吝矣，
吝斯慮矣，[Cu]
慮斯莫與之 x49 結矣。[Cv]

愼，仁之方也，然而其過不惡。[Cw]
速，謀之方也，有過則咎。[Cx]
人不愼，斯有過，信矣。[Cy]

Generally speaking, a human's artificial activities are hateful.
When one is artificial, then one is bound to regret it.
When one regrets, then one is bound to be cunning.
When one is cunning, no one will have [friendly] x49 relations with you.

Caution, [in contrast], is a mode of benevolence—yet if it is flawed, one will not be hated.
Hastiness, [however], is a mode of contrivance—if it has flaws, one will be blamed.
It is truly the case that, if men are not cautious, flaws are bound to occur.

[strips x50 through x59/9] [Cz]

17. 凡悅人勿吝也，[Da]
身必從之，
言及則 x60 明；
舉之而毋僞。[Db]

Generally speaking, in delighting others, one ought not to be petty-minded [towards them]—as a person, one has to go along with them.
When words reach [the things] (i.e., they are to the point), they x60 are illuminating.
Raise them and be without artificiality!

18. 凡交毋烈，必使有末。† [Dc]

Generally speaking, do not be fierce in relations—it will necessarily lead to triviality.

19. 凡於徵毋畏，毋獨言。 † [Dd]
獨 x61 處則習父兄之所樂。[7] [De]
苟無大害，少枉入之可也，[8] [Df]
已則勿復言也。

Generally speaking, when summoned, be without fear, [but also] do not raise a solitary voice. †
When x61 dwelling alone, then one should practise what father and elder brother have found pleasure in.
If only there are no greater calamities, when minor irregularities occur, this can be endured.
Once they are over, refrain from speaking about them again.

[end of overlap]

20. x62 凡憂患之事欲任，樂事欲後。[Dg]

x62 Generally speaking, concerning affairs of sorrow and calamity, one should wish to tackle them; concerning affairs of joy, one should wish to postpone [them].

Notes on Text and Translation

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" can be split up into 20 pericopes. Canto 1 (strips *x*1–35 of the "Xìng zì mìng chū"; strips *xq*1–21 of the "Xìng qíng lùn") contains pericopes 1–12.

Core Text: Canto 1

[A]: On the graph [graph] *xìng* 'nature' (OC *[s]eŋ-s) (*x*1/5) written with the phonophoric *shēng* 生 (OC *srəŋ) and the signific *mù* 目 (眚) (*x*1/5), see Henri Maspéro 1933.

For *xìng* 性 'nature', the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" predominantly uses the phonophoric *shēng* 生 (OC *srəŋ) (*xq*1/5). *Shēng* 生 is a common loan for *xìng* 性 in texts from the Warring States period.

Qiú Xīguī 裘錫圭 suggests reading *x*1/8 [graph] *diàn* 奠 'to put down' (also read *dìng*) as *dìng* 定 'to determine'.[9] *Dìng* 奠 is interchangeable with *dìng* 定, so there is basically no need to replace one word

[7] Reading *xí* 習 in the sense of 'to follow'.
[8] Reading *x*61/10 *wú* 毋 'do not' as *wú* 無 'have no'.
[9] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 182, n. 1.

by the other. For *dìng* 奠, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" reads *zhèng* 正 'righteous' (OC *[t]eŋ-s) (*xq*1/8). *Dìng* 奠 can be reconstructed as *m-tˤe[n]-s or *m-tˤeŋ-s 'set forth'; *-n is found instead of *-ŋ very frequently after the front vowels *i and *e. Apparently, *-iŋ changed to *-in in many dialects, and in some dialects *-eŋ *also* changed to *-en.

Following the last character of this line, *zhì* 志 'intention' (OC *tə-s), a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[B]: Following the last character of this line, *xíng* 行 (OC *-[g]ˤraŋ) 'to take effect', a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[C]: Following the last character of this line, *dìng* 奠, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". At this point, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" also reads *dìng* 奠 instead of *zhèng* 正, as used in the first line. Given the fact that the building block under review comes full circle, it seems reasonable to assume that the previous use of 正 (OC *teŋ-s) in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" should also be regarded as a borrowing for *dìng* (OC *m-tˤeŋ-s).

[D]: The similarity of this line with that from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", including in terms of writing peculiars, is striking. Only the graphs *aī* 哀 (Guōdiàn One: ; Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn":) and *qì* 氣 (Guōdiàn One: ; Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn":) are written differently in the two manuscripts.

As for the character *xìng* (*[s]eŋ-s) 'human nature', the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (*xq*1/31) also has the phonophoric *shēng* 生 (OC *srəŋ) and the signific *mù* 目 (眚), just like the Guōdiàn One manuscript (*x*2/8). This might be evidence that the same word (*xìng* 性 'nature') was also expressed in the previously where the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" only used the phonophoric *shēng* 生.

Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[E]: *Jiàng* 降 'descend; to send down' in the Guōdiàn One version appears as ; the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has (*xq*2/7).

Following the last character of this line, *jiàng* 降, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[F]: The character for *qíng* 情 in the Guōdiàn One manifestation is written as (靑 *x*3/7). In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" it appears as (情 *xq*2/11).[10] In the two versions, a (different) mark for repetition follows this character.

Both texts write *sī* 司 'to govern' (OC *[s]ə) for *shǐ* 始 'to begin' (OC *l̥əʔ) (*x*3/5).[11] It may have been the case that the graphical form 始 for 'to begin' was introduced fairly late in the Kingdom of Chǔ. To my knowledge, the first appearance of 始 in Chǔ occurs in the Yùnméng manuscripts from the Shuìhǔdì tomb, which dates to late Warring States/beginning of Qín.

Following the last character of this line, *xìng* 性, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[G]: In the Guōdiàn One manifestation of the "Xìng zì mìng chū", the character for *zhōng* 終 is written as (*x*3/15). In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", it appears as (夂 *xq*2/19).

Following the last character of this line, *yì* 義, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[H]: The end of strip *x*3/19 of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" has broken off. Judging from the lost part, presumably three or four characters are missing. The top of the first missing graph is still visible and suggests the reading *qíng* 情 'feelings'. Qiú Xīguī proposes reconstructing as *zhě néng* 者能, which accords with the overall structure of the passage.[12] If one looks only at the structure of the following line, Qiú's proposal seems correct. However, when comparing the length of the missing part with that of the other strips, one might

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[10] The two strokes at the bottom are a sign for repetition.

[11] Note that relationships such as this one are why Zhèngzhāng Shàngfāng (2003) reconstructs *sī* 司 as *slə.

[12] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 182, n. 2.

be inclined to reconstruct *four* graphs instead of just three.[13] But the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" seems to corroborate Qiú's suggestion. It reads: 智(知)情者能出之，智(知)義者能內(納) [之] "He who understands the unshaped feelings may manifest them [on the outside]; he who understands rightness may take {*it*} in" (*xq*2/23–).[14]

The Guōdiàn One text writes *yí* 宜 (OC *ŋ(r)aj) for *yì* 義 (OC *ŋ(r)aj-s). This is commonly seen in Chǔ manuscripts.

[I]: Instead of 所好所亞 (惡)，勿 (物) 也 "that which one loves and hates are the things [in the world]" (*x*3/13–18), the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" reads: 好亞 (惡)，勿 (物) 也 "to love and to hate is [determined by] the things [in the world]" (*xq*3/1–4).

[J]: After *x*4/20 the strip of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" has broken off. Presumably three characters are missing (the upper part of *x*4/20 is still visible on the strip and suggests a reconstruction as *bù* 不.) Qiú Xīguī reconstructs the entire passage as 善不善，X也.[15] Many modern editors accept his suggestion. Lǐ Líng, however, suggests reading the line as 善不善，性也, which is also accepted by many editors.[16] Lǐ Líng's proposal is supported by strip 3 of the Shànghǎi text "Xìng qíng lùn" 性情論.[17]

[K]: As for the graph *shì* 勢 (OC * ŋ̊ret-s) (*x*5/6), the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" only writes the phonophoric *shì* 埶 (OC *ŋ̊et-s 'setting'; or *ŋret-s) 'to sow, plant'. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds the signific *nǚ* 女 to this character (*xq*3/15).

[L]: As for the graph *zhǔ* 主 (OC *toʔ), the Guōdiàn One version writes (宁) (*x*5/11). The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds another stroke to it (宔) (*xq*3/20).

[13] For comparing the length of the missing part with the other strips, see ibid., 61.
[14] The end of strip *xq*2 has broken off, so the last character of this line is missing.
[15] See ibid., 182, n. 4.
[16] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 504.
[17] See Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:73.

Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也 (OC *lAjʔ) (*x*5/15), a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[M]: Following *x*5/20 (), which is the upper part of the character 聖 (聖 <聲>), the bamboo strip of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" has broken off. Lǐ Líng suggests reconstructing the line as 金石之又 (有) 聖 (聲) □□□□ [弗拓不 *x6* 鳴].[18] The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" should, instead, be reconstructed as follows: 弗鉤不鳴. *Gōu* 鉤 (OC *[k]ˤ(r)o) might also be read as *kòu* 扣 (OC *kˤ(r)oʔ-s) 'to knock, strike'. Compare this passage with that of the "Wǔ xíng", strips *w*19/3–20/17: 金聲而玉振之，有德者也。金聲善也；玉音聖也。善，人 *w20* 道也；德，天□□ [道也。]唯有德者，然後能金聲而玉振之 "The 'sound of bronze and jade [stones] resonating along with it'—this is a person possessing virtue. The 'sound of bronze' is goodness. The 'tone of jade' is sagaciousness. Goodness is the *w20* Way of humans. Virtue is the {*Way*} of Heaven. Only after there is a virtuous person can there be the 'sound of bronze and jade [stones] resonating along with it' ". The *Mèngzǐ* 5B1 reads: 孔子之謂集大成；集大成也者，金聲而玉振之也。金聲也者，始條理也；玉振之也者，終條理也。始條理者，智之事也；終條理者，聖之事也 "Kǒngzǐ is said to have 'gathered great achievements'; 'gathering great achievements', this is the sound of 'bronze and jade stones resonating along with it'. The 'sound of bronze' is the beginning of an inherent pattern; 'jade stones resonating along with it' is the end of an inherent pattern. Beginning an inherent pattern is a matter of the wise; ending an inherent pattern is the matter of the sagacious one."

[N]: This line is missing in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", and this omission does not result from a broken strip in that text. This is interesting insofar as the missing statement explains the technical quotation concerning the sound of bronze bells and resonating jade stones and thus is similar to that of "Wǔ xíng".

[O]: The bottom of strip *x*6 has broken off. Four or five characters are missing. Different editors come up with different reconstructions. Lǐ

[18] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 504.

Líng, for instance, reconstructs: 無與不 [可。人之不可] [x7] 獨行，猶口之不可獨言也.[19] Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 reconstruct: 無與不 [不悅。不悅不可] [x7] 獨行，猶口之不可獨言也.[20] Liú Zhāo reconstructs: 無舉不 [可。人之不可] [x7] 獨行，猶口之不可獨言也.[21] I suggest reading the passage as follows: 無與不 [定。心之不能] [x7] 獨行，猶口之不可獨言也. As for the structure of this passage, the reconstruction put forward by Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 is reasonable, for *yuè* is connected to *xìng*. However, it is the final aim to determine one's *xīn* 心 'mind'. Therefore, to read *xīn* simply in connection with one level of development is not a very felicitous choice.

[P]: After *x*7/19, the strip broke off. The upper part of *x*7/20, however, is still visible ( ), and it makes sense to reconstruct it as *xìng* 性 'nature' (, as in *x*1/5). Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 suggest the following reconstruction of this passage: 其性 [天之就也，] [x8] 而學或使之也.[22] Lǐ Líng suggests the following reading: 其性 [使然，人] [x8] 而學或使之也.[23] My reconstruction follows Lǐ.

The character 叓 (here: *x*8/4) often causes confusion. Generally, it is identified either as *shǐ* 使 'cause to' or as *biàn* 變 'to change'. In the context of the present text, Jì Xùshēng 季旭昇 suggests reading it as *biàn*.[24]

The entire building block *x*6/9–*x*8/6 is missing in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". But this unit is an important step in the process of argument construction in the "Xìng zì mìng chū". The process explained in building block 3 is analogous to that of the previous building block. What 'mind' fulfils in the process of developing one's nature (previous building block) is analogous to what 'intention' fulfils in the process of developing one's mind. The building block under review therefore directly corresponds to the last line of the previous building block. This is interesting insofar as the omission in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" must therefore be a structural one. This once more suggests two

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[19] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 105.
[20] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 148.
[21] Liú Zhāo 2005, 88.
[22] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 148.
[23] Lǐ Líng 2002, 105.
[24] See Lǐ Xùshēng 2004, 159.

isolated instantiations of writing down a verbally coherent text and excludes the possibility that the differences result from a defective transmission process of one and the same manuscript *Vorlage*.

[Q]: The character *x*8/11 *yì* 異 appears on the strips as ([illegible]). Chén Línqìng 陳霖慶, Zhèng Yùshān 鄭玉姍, and Zōu Jùnzhì 鄒濬智 identify it as *qí* 其 (OC *[g]ə), which they read as *qí* 期 (OC *g(r)ə) 'temporarily'.[25] The parallel structure of the present unit makes this an unlikely reconstruction. Instead, I follow the reading of the editors of the Húběi Province Museum and read it as *yì* 異 'different', although it is written with a different graph from character *x*9/18, namely as (畀).[26]

[R]: The identification of character *x*8/16 (梪) is problematic, and different editors read it differently. The general trend is to read it either as *shù* 樹 'cause to stand'[27] or as *zhù* 柱 'pillar, to support'.[28] Liú Zhāo supports his reading of the graph as *zhù* by quoting a line from the *Xúnzǐ* "Quàn xué" 勸學 that reads: 強自取柱，柔自取束 "what is [too] strong causes itself to be broken [easily]; what is flexible causes itself to be bound".[29] The Qīng 清 scholar Wáng Yǐnzhī 王引之 (1766–1834) argues with reference to the *Chūnqiū Gōngyáng zhuàn* 春秋公羊傳 (Duke Aī 哀, year 14) that *zhù* 柱 (OC *m-troʔ) 'pillar' should be read as *zhù* 祝 (OC *tuk) 'to break'.[30] If this were true, the line in the "Xìng zì mìng chū" may be read accordingly.

[S]: The first part of this building block is missing in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". This is due to the bad condition of the Shànghǎi strips and says nothing about the different manifestations of the text. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" continues after *x*9/9 *nèi* 內.

On the graph *yī* 一 'one', see my discussion of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" under [S].

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[25] See ibid., 158.
[26] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 182, n. 5.
[27] E.g., Lǐ Líng 1999, 504.
[28] E.g., Liú Zhāo 2005, 93–94.
[29] See *Xúnzǐ jí jiě* 1997, vol. 1 (1:5/2).
[30] 子路死。子曰：噫！天祝予 "Zǐlù died. Kǒngzǐ [thereupon] called out: 'Ai! Heaven breaks me!'" See *Chūnqiū Gōngyáng zhuàn zhù shū* (chap. 28), 357.

Compare the form of the graph *x*9/18 *yì* 異 () with that of *x*8/11 *yì* 異 (). The graph for *yì* 異, instead, appears as in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

Following the last character of this line, *yì* 異, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[T]: In the Guōdiàn One text the character for *jiào* 教 'to teach' (*x*9/19) is written with the signific *yán* 言 'words': ⿱爻言. In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" it is written with the signific *zǐ* 子 'son': ⿱爻子 (*xq*4/11).

The end of this building block is not formally marked off in either manuscript.

[U]: Graph *x*10/5 (⿺辶毛) causes considerable problems. The editors of the Húběi Province Museum hesitatingly read it as *féng* 逢 'to meet with'.[31] Lǐ Líng disagrees. He reads it as *nì* 逆 'go to meet; go against' because it is very similar to the graph *ch*32/13 of the "Chéng zhī wén zhī" 成之聞之, where it is read as the antonym of *shùn* 順. In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" the same graph—it appears as on the strips—is also rendered as *nì* 逆—hence my reading of the graph as *nì* 逆 'go to meet'.

[V]: In the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the character for *jiāo* 交 'to communicate with' is written only with the phonophoric *jiāo* 交 (OC *k$^{ʕ(w)}$raw) *x*10/8 . In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", the signific *xīn* 心 is added to it (*xq*4/24).

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read the graph *x*10/11 —*wàn* 萬—as *lì* 厲.[32] Whereas it is written only with the phonophoric 萬 (OC *ma[n]-s) in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" the signific *xīn* 心 is added beneath the same phonophoric (*xq*4/27).

[W]: Following *x*11/3 (*yě* 也), the last graph of this line, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

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[31] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 168.
[32] See ibid., 179.

[X]: For the character *x*11/4 (here read as *nì* 逆 'to meet'), see the discussion of the graph *x*10/5 in building block 5 (under [U]).

In the two manifestations, the graph is written only with the phonophoric *duì* 兑 (OC *lˁot-s). I always read it as *yuè* 悅 (OC *lot-s) 'to be pleased' in this context.

[Y]: As seen above, the signific *nǚ* 女 'woman' is added to the word *shì* 勢 (OC *hŋet-s) 'force (of circumstance); condition' in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (strip *xq*5/28), whereas it is written with only the phonophoric *shì* 埶 (OC *ŋ̊et-s 'setting'; or *ŋret-s 'to sow, plant') in the Guōdiàn One text.[33] Jì Xùshēng suggests reading it as *yì* 藝 'skill'—*yì* 藝 has the same phonophoric *shì* 埶 (OC *ŋ̊et-s or *ŋret-s) and is etymologically related to *shì* 勢—because, he contends, "Confucian texts commonly draw on this notion".[34]

[Z]: Following the last graph of this line, *yě* 也 (*x*12/3), a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". The same is true in the next line, *x*12/9, after *dào yě* 道也.

[Aa]: Following the last graph of this line, *wù* 勿 (物) (*x*12/15), a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Ab]: Instead of 快於吕 (己) 者之胃 (謂) 兑 (悅) "That which generates satisfaction in oneself is what we call 'delight'" as in the Guōdiàn One text, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" reads: (囿)於其者之胃 (謂) 兑 (悅). The character *yòu* 囿 (and also) can be reconstructed as OC *[ɢ]ʷ]ək or *[ɢ]ʷ]ək-s; the character *kuài* 快 is to be reconstructed as OC *kˁʷʰre[t]-s. The character *jǐ* 己 in the Guōdiàn One version has the OC reading *k(r)əʔ, while *qí* 其 from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has the OC reading *[g](r)ə. The difference between the use of *kuài* 快 (OC *kˁʷʰre[t]-s) and *yòu* 囿 (OC *[ɢ]ʷ]ək or *[ɢ]ʷ]ək-s) seems difficult to explain because these graphs neither match the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components nor are they graphically related. The different use of *jǐ* 己 (OC *k(r)əʔ) and *qí* 其 (OC *[g](r)ə), for their part, can be explained easily on phonetic grounds since these graphs match the criteria for

[33] See under [K] for the graph *shì* 勢 (*x*5/6).
[34] See Jì Xùshēng 2004, 163.

phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components. The difference at this point can thus be explained, for instance, by postulating a text that was stable in wording but rather unstable in writing or by ascribing it to changes that may have occurred in the process of copying the text by dictation.

[Ac]: After the last character of this line, *shì* 埶 (勢) (*x*13/6), a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". The same holds true below after *x*13/13 古 (故).

[Ad]: Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也 (*x*14/7), a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Ae]: Instead of *dào zhě* 道者, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" reads *dào yě* 道也…(or maybe 道也者). Due to broken strips, the following part is missing in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Af]: Following the last character of this line, *yǐ* 已 (*x*15/14), a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Ag]: Whereas in the Guōdiàn One manifestation the graph for *shī* 詩 is written (時) (*x*15/15), it is written with the components 止言 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (⿱止言) (*xq*8/22). The word *shū* 'writing', however, is written identically in the two texts, namely as 箸(書).

[Ah]: For the line 其司 (始) 出皆生 *x*16 於人 "in every case their first appearing was given birth by *x*16 man" in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" reads: 其司 (始) 出也並生於… "their first appearing was brought about side by side from…".

[Ai]: Following the graph *x*16/5 *wéi* 爲 appears a mark for repetition in both texts. The Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" uses—(as in: ; the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" uses = (very unclear on strip *xq*9/2).

[Aj]: Qiú Xīguī argues that the graph *x*16/18 should be read as *jǔ* 舉 'to rise; surge'. It is composed of the two elements 与 and 止 (⿱与止).

In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", the same graph consists of the two elements 與 and 止 () (*xq*9/15).

Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也 (*x*16/20), a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Ak]: The character *x*17/6 雚 (*guān* 觀 here: 'to behold') is written () in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (*xq*9/27). The character *x*17/8 *zhī* 之 (OC *tə) should in fact be read *xiān* 先 (OC *sˤər), as may be seen from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", where *xiān* 先 is used as well. Qiú Xīguī has already pointed this out.[35]

Lǐ Líng suggests reading the graphs *x*17/11, 12 as *nì shùn* 逆順. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" also reads *nì shùn* 逆順. Liú Zhāo argues that the combination *nì shùn* 逆順 should be read *shùn nì* 順逆 'in proper sequence'.[36]

[Al]: The character *x*17/14 *tǐ* 體 is written with a different signific, namely *ròu* 肉 () in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". The characters *x*17/18–19 are read as *jié dù* 節度 by Qiú Xīguī.[37] Lǐ Líng and also Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 follow this suggestion.[38]

Most scholars nowadays read *x*17/19 graph as *wén* 文 (OC *mə[n]). The direct transcription of the graph in question is ⿱民又; its phonophoric is *mín* 民 (OC *mi[n]). The reason the graph is constantly identified as *dù* 度 in the literature is simply that it was transcribed incorrectly, without the phonophoric *mín* 民 (OC *mi[n]).[39] William H. Baxter's approach to dating the *Lǎozǐ* on the basis of rhyme distinctions can be used for the passage under review. Based on rhyme distinctions, Baxter concludes that "it is linguistically quite plausible to date the bulk of

[35] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 182, n. 9.
[36] See Liú Zhāo 2005, 95.
[37] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 182, n. 10.
[38] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 505. Later, however, he corrects his earlier view and reads it as *jié wén*, as most commentators now do. See Lǐ Líng 2002, 106. See also Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 153.
[39] Chén Jiàn, personal communication, 01 September 2007.

the *Lǎozǐ* to the mid or early fourth century."[40] For instance, he demonstrates that the *Lǎozǐ* rhymes *xuán* 玄 (OC *[ɢ]ˤʷi[n]) with *mén* 門 (OC *mˤə[n]), which reveals that a substantial part of the *Lǎozǐ* dates from a time when the merger of *-in and *-ən had already occurred (or they were already close enough that they were a good rhyme).[41] In the same vein, it can also be assumed that the use of the phonophoric *mín* 民 for *wén* 文 must reflect either a rather late use (possibly mid- to late fourth century BC) or a geographical use (possibly the Chǔ region).

[Am]: As already seen, the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" use a different signific for the word *jiào* 教 'to teach'. Whereas the Guōdiàn One text uses the signific *yán* 言 ([illegible]) 'words', the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" uses the signific *zǐ* 子 'son' (孝). Following the graph *jiào* 教 'to teach', both texts use a mark for repetition (the Guōdiàn One text uses—; the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", =).

[An]: I follow Qiú Xīguī's suggestion to read the graph *x*19/2 (舁) as *xìng* 興 'to raise; start; rise'.[42]

Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Ao]: The word *zhì* 制 (OC *ket-s) is written with the graph (*zhé* 折; OC *[t]et) (*x*19/10) in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū". The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes *zhì* 裚 (*xq*11/11). It should be reconstructed as OC *ket-s.[43]

Following the last character of this line, *zhī* 之, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

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[40] See Baxter 1998, 249.

[41] It is also possible that there was a more limited merger—for instance, that *-in had changed to *ən only after labialised initials like *[ɢ]ˤʷ-.

[42] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 182, n. 11.

[43] The reconstruction of 制 *zhì* MC < tsyejH < OC *ket-s 'cut out, prepare' is based on the fact that the word 猘 *jì* < kjejH < *kret-s 'mad (dog)' in the same series. William Baxter has alerted me to the fact that if the reconstruction of the initial is correct, it would be parallel to the use of 氏 *shì* < dzyeX < *[g]eʔ 'clan' to write 是 *shì* < dzyeX < *[d]eʔ 'this'. This could reflect a Jìn/Chǔ dialect characteristic. It anticipates the merger (palatalisation of nonpharyngealised—type B—velars before front vowels) that had happened by Middle Chinese times.

Qiú Xīguī suggests reading the character *x*19/16 (⿱舍)(舍) as *xù* 序 (OC *[s-m-l]aʔ).[44] The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" also writes this graph as 舍 (*xq*11). Jì Xùshēng 季旭昇 suggests reading the graph as *xù* 敘 (OC *[s-m-l]aʔ) 'regulate; put in order; arrange (here: become regulated, come into the proper order)'.[45] I follow Qiú.

Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Ap]: The Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū writes the graph for *měi* 美 (OC *mrəjʔ) 'beautiful' with the signific *nǚ* 女, (媺 (*x*20/15). The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes it without a signific (*xq*12/8).

After *x*20/17 (情) the strip breaks off. The upper part of *x*20/18 is still visible and may reasonably be reconstructed as *guì* 貴 'to honour'. In the reconstruction of the following—presumably—two characters, I follow Qiú Xīguī.[46] The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" corroborates his suggestion.

[Aq]: Both manifestations of the text write *sòng* 頌 (OC *s-[ɢ]oŋ-s) for *róng* 容 (OC *[ɢ](r)oŋ) (*x*21/6). As Qiú Xīguī remarks, *sòng* 頌 (OC *s-[ɢ]oŋ-s) is commonly used for *róng* 容 (OC *[ɢ](r)oŋ).[47]

Only in the Guōdiàn One version is there a small reading mark— after the graph 頌 (容).

[Ar]: Following the last character of this line, *yān* 焉, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[As]: Due to broken strips, the last—presumably three—characters on strip *x*21 of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" are missing. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" is of no help here, as the corresponding strip has broken off too. About five graphs are missing in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". Because bending one's hands is an expression of respect according to the rites, I reconstruct the passage parallel to the subsequent line as follows: 拜所㠯(以) [爲敬 X]. Jì Xùshēng 季旭昇

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[44] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 182, n. 12.
[45] See Jì Xùshēng 2004, 172.
[46] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 182, n. 15.
[47] See ibid., n. 17.

recognizes a graphic similarity between *x*22/2 and *shuò* 數 in the Zhōngshān Wáng dǐng 中山王鼎.[48] Accordingly, I follow Jì Xùshēng in reading the graph as *shuò* 數 'frequently'.

[At]: Qiú Xīguī suggests reading the character *x*22/11 as *zhēng* 徵 (OC *trəŋ). The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has *dēng* 登 (OC *tˤəŋ) (*xq*13/12). The two graphs fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components.

[Au]: Graph *x*22/14 consists of the signific *yán* 言 'words' and the phonophoric *sī* 司 (OC *[s]ə). The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read it as *cí* 詞 (OC *[N-s]ə (?)) 'word; speech'.[49] The editors of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" read it as *zhì* 治 (OC *lrə-s) 'to regulate'.[50] Chén Línqìng 陳霖慶, Zhèng Yùshān 鄭玉姍, and Zōu Jùnzhì 鄒濬智 explain the graph as *yí* 詒 (OC *lˤəʔ), which they read as *yí* 貽 (OC *lˤəʔ) 'to hand over; gift'.[51] For the time being, I follow the suggestion made by the Húběi Province Museum editors because graphically and phonologically this is the easiest explanation and contrasts best with the shallowness of laughter, about which the "Xìng zì mìng chū" continues to talk in the next building block.

[Av]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum wrongly read the graph *x*22/20 as *lǐ* 禮.[52] Instead, the graph should be transcribed as 憙 (喜), as Qiú Xīguī has pointed out.[53] The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" also reads *xǐ* 喜 'rejoice' (*xq*13/20).

[Aw]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read the graph *x*23/19 as *bá* 拔 (OC *-[b]ˤrot) 'to pull up; uproot'.[54] Qiú Xīguī suggests reading it as *bō* 撥 (OC *pˤat) 'to stir up'.[55] I also follow Qiú's suggestion to read *x*23/24 (敂) as *hòu* 厚 'thick'.[56]

48 See Jì Xùshēng 2004, 174.
49 See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 180.
50 See Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:238.
51 See Chén Línqìng, Zhèng Yùshān, and Zōu Jùnzhì 2004, 174.
52 See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 180.
53 Quoting Dīng Yuánzhī 2002, 117, n. 1.
54 See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 180.
55 Ibid., 182, n. 20.
56 Ibid.

[Ax]: In this instance, the two texts have the same graph for *wén* 聞 (OC *mu[n]) 'to hear', namely 昏 (OC *m̥ˤun). The two texts also write the word for *gē* 歌 (OC *[k]ˤaj) 'song' identically, namely *hē* 訶 (OC *qˤʰaj). Chén Línqìng 陳霖慶 notes that *hē* 訶 (OC *qˤʰaj) is the ancient writing for *gē* 歌 (OC *[k]ˤaj).[57] The use of the word for *yáo* 謠 'to sing' in the two manuscripts is more revealing. Whereas the Guōdiàn One manuscript has (謠), the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has the graph *yào* 要 for—presumably—the same word (*xq*14/29). Both characters belong to the *xiāo* 宵 rhyme group, so most editors take this to be a good phonetic loan.[58] However, from rhyme evidence from the "Odes", William H. Baxter convincingly argues that the *xiāo* 宵 rhyme group has to be split into an *-aw rhyme (*xiāo* 宵 1) and an *-ew rhyme (*xiāo* 宵 2).[59] The graph *yáo* 謠 belongs to the *xiāo* 宵 1 rhyme (*-aw); *yào* 要 belongs to the *xiāo* 宵 2 rhyme (*-ew). Thus, it seems that the distinctions between *-aw and *-ew were not well preserved when the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was fixed on bamboo. Other fourth-century BC texts such as the *Lǎozǐ* also preserve this rhyme,[60] as Baxter has convincingly argued, and so do the "Odes". Baxter also notes that the "Inner Chapters" of the *Zhuāngzǐ* do show examples where *-et rhymes with *-at, and he assumes that "*-et had changed to something like *-iat by this time".[61] Examples like these may provide some clues for dating the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (late fourth, early third century BC?), and provide information on traces of dialects in early Chinese texts. We cannot exclude the possibility that the merger of *-ew and *-aw might be a Chǔ-specific dialect phenomenon.

[Ay]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read the graph *x*25/6 as *nán* 難 'to refute'. The graph is written with the signific 'heart' 心 beneath (戁). Qiú Xīguī suggests reading it *tàn* 歎 'to sigh'.[62] I follow Qiú.

[57] See Chén Línqìng, Zhèng Yùshān, and Zōu Jùnzhì 2004, 177.
[58] See ibid.
[59] See Baxter 1992, 526–532.
[60] Chapter 56 of the Wáng Bì version of the *Lǎozǐ*, however, has one stanza rhymed with *-at and *-et. Yet, as William Boltz has already shown, the irregular rhyme was a late insertion that does not appear in the Mǎwángduī Three "Lǎozǐ" (nor in the so-called Guōdiàn One "Lǎozǐ"). See Boltz 1984, 220–224; 1985 (quoting from Baxter 1998, 246).
[61] See Baxter 1998, 246.
[62] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 183, n. 23.

[Az]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum transcribe *x*26/3 as *yǎng* 羕 (OC *ɢ(r)aŋ-s) 'river'. Lǐ Líng reads it as *yǒng* 詠 (OC *[ɢ]ʷraŋ-s) 'to draw out; to chant'.[63] Pú Máozuǒ 濮茅左 notes that *yǎng* 羕 (OC *ɢ(r)aŋ-s) is the ancient form of *yǒng* 永 (*[ɢ]ʷraŋʔ),[64] which fully justifies Lǐ Líng's suggestion to read *x*26/3 as *yǒng* 詠 'to chant', and I follow Lǐ.

I follow Liú Zhāo 劉釗, who suggests reading the graph *x*26/8 (⿱艹胃) as *kuèi* 喟 (OC *[k]ˤʷʰrə[t]-s) 'to sigh loudly'.[65] In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" this word is written with the phonophoric *wèi* 畏 (OC *quj-s) (葨) (*xq*16/6).

[Ba]: As for *x*26/19 (⿰言𠃌), read as *shǐ* 始 (OC *l̥əʔ) 'to begin', the Guōdiàn One version has the phonophoric 𠃌 (*sī* 司) (OC *[s]ə) together with the signific *yán* 言 'words'. In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" only the phonophoric *sī* 司 (OC *[s]ə) is used for this graph (*xq*6/18). The last graph of this line, *x*27/1, is (訢), *shèn* 慎 (OC *[d]i[n]-s), which in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" consists of the elements *shí* 十, *yán* 言, and *jīn* 斤. A small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" after this graph.

[Bb]: Some editors explain the graph *x*27/7 as the abbreviated form of *si* 司 'to control' (OC *[s]ə). Yet, comparing this graph with *x*26/20 (⿰言𠃌),[66] it transpires that the direct transcription should in fact be ⿰台𠃌. In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", the graph is written with the signific *mì* 糸, which Pú Máozuǒ 濮茅左 reads as *zhì* 治 (OC *lrə-s).[67] Chén Línqìng 陳霖慶, Zhèng Yùshān 鄭玉姍, and Zōu Jùnzhì 鄒濬智 read the graph *dài* 殆 'to be remiss' (OC *lˤəʔ]).[68] Based on the previous line (*x*26/20, [⿰言𠃌] *shǐ* 始, OC *l̥əʔ), I read *x*27/7 ⿰台𠃌 as *shǐ* 始 (OC *l̥əʔ) 'to begin'.

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[63] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 109.
[64] See Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:243.
[65] See Liú Zhāo 2000, 91.
[66] See my note under [Ba] above.
[67] See Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:243.
[68] See Chén Línqìng, Zhèng Yùshān, and Zōu Jùnzhì 2004, 181.

[Bc]: Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Bd]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum transcribe the character *x*28/4 (and 8) as *lóng* 龍 (OC *mə-roŋ). In his earlier reading of the text, Lǐ Líng suggested reading it as *dòng* 動 (OC *[d]ˁoŋʔ),[69] which, however, he changed to *lóng* 龍 in his later edition of the text.[70] In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" the graph also appears as *lóng* 龍, which Pú Máozuǒ 濮茅左 reads as *lóng* 隆 (OC *[r]uŋ) 'to become extremely exalted'.[71] I follow this reading.

Chén Línqìng 陳霖慶 notes that *gǔ yuè* 古樂 'music of old' and *yì yuè* 益樂 'latter music' are complementary.[72] According to him, *gǔ yuè* 古樂 denotes the music of Shāo 韶 and Xià 夏, whereas *yì yuè* 益樂 means 'latter music'—but without the bad connotation of "new music"—*xīn yuè* 新樂, as discussed in the *Lǐ jì* 禮記, "Yuè jì" 樂記 chapter.

[Be]: Following the last character of this line, *qíng* 情, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Bf]: Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Bg]: The Guōdiàn One version writes the word *aī* 哀 (*[ʔ]ˁəj) as (悫) (*x*29/15). The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes it as (哀) (*xq*18/11). Because both graphs share the same phonophoric, they fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components.

Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Bh]: Both texts write the word *dòng* 動 (OC *-[d]ˁoŋʔ) as composed of the phonophoric *tóng* 童 (OC *-[d]ˁoŋ) and the signific of a hand 又 holding a stick (攴) (*x*30/5).

[69] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 505.
[70] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 109.
[71] See Mǎ Chéngyuán 2001–, 1:256.
[72] See Chén Línqìng, Zhèng Yùshān, and Zōu Jùnzhì 2004, 182.

When looking at strips *x*25–30 of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" it becomes particularly obvious from the spacing of the characters that in the course of manuscript production the strips were first bound together and only then inscribed with characters.

Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

Lǐ Líng transcribes character *x*30/8–9 as *jìn shā* 浸殺 in the meaning of 'to drown gradually'.[73] The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" at this instance reads (浸) (焊) (*xq*18/29, 30).

I follow Liú Zhāo and read the graph *x*30/11 (剌) as *liè* 烈 'fierce'.[74]

[Bi]: The character *x*31/13 (條) is generally read as *yōu* 悠 (OC *liw) 'melancholic, sad' or 'long lasting, drawn out'.[75] The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has the character *yōu* 攸 (OC *liw) 'flowing water' (*xq*29/24).

[Bj]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read *x*32/14 (戁) as *nán* 難 (OC *nˤar). Liú Xīnlán 劉昕嵐 suggests reading it as *tàn* 歎 (OC *n̥ˤar-(s)) 'to sigh'.[76] The two graphs share the same phonophoric (堇), and I follow Liú's suggestion.

[Bk]: Graph *x*32/21 (㝮) seems to have been only one form for writing the words *shǐ* 使 (*s-rəʔ) 'to cause' and *biàn* 弁 (OC *[b]ro[n]-s) 'cap', but the graph was also used for *biàn* 變 (OC *pro[n]-s) 'to alter, to change'. Probably at a later date, when the distinction between *-on and *-en was softened (early third century BC?)[77] or due to dialect differences (Chǔ?), it was also used for *biàn* 辨 (OC *[b]re[n]ʔ) 'to discriminate'. In the context of the present passage I believe we can be fairly confident in reading the graph as *biàn* 變 (OC *pro[n]-s) 'to alter'.

[73] See Liú Zhāo 2005, 98.
[74] Ibid.
[75] See, e.g., Lǐ Líng 2002, 109; Liú Zhāo 2005, 98.
[76] See Liú Xīnlán 2000, 341.
[77] It seems that in the *Lǎozǐ* the distinction between *-on and *-en is kept fairly strictly, whereas in the *Zhuāngzǐ* *-on and *-en did occasionally rhyme.

After *x*32/22 the strip has broken off. Presumably, three characters are missing. Qiú Xīguī suggests reconstructing the missing passage as follows: 丌(其) 聖 (聲) 貞 (變) 則[其心變].[78] Based on the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (strip *xq*20), the following reconstruction might be preferable: 丌(其) 聖 (聲) 貞 (變) 則[心從之矣] "when the sound of it changes, then the mind {*follows it* [*too*]}".

[Bl]: Character *x*33/9 has bleached out, but it seems to consist of the elements 言心金. Lǐ Líng suggests reading this as *yín* 吟 'to sigh'.[79] Most editors follow his suggestion.[80] The strips from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" have broken off at this junction, so they are of no help. For the time being this line cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

As for the graph *x*33/10 (and *x*33/14, 18, 22) (遊), it is written as in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (*xq*21/2, 6, 10).

[Bm]: According to the parallel pattern of the sentences under review, it seems that a character, namely *ye* 也, is missing after *x*33/19 聖 (聲).

For the character *x*33/17 (here transcribed as *jiū* 啾 'murmurs of singing') there exist different readings. My reconstruction follows that of Liú Zhāo.[81]

[Bn]: Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a large mark ■ is added to the Shànghǎi manuscript, possibly to subdivide the text. After this mark, the overall coherence of the two texts dissolves.

Even though bleached out, we can discern that the character *x*33/20 (豈戈) contains the elements 亡豆戈, of which *dòu* 豆 (OC *N.tˤo(k)-s) is likely to be a phonophoric. Lǐ Líng suggests reading the graph as *oū* 嘔 (here: 'the sound of singing'),[82] which should be reconstructed as Old Chinese *qˤ(r)o. *Dòu* 豆 (OC *N.tˤo(k)-s) and *oū* 嘔 (OC *qˤ(r)o) have the same main vowel and coda (the medial *-r- and the 'tone' category can be ignored). Yet the two do not share the same initial:

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[78] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 183, 32.
[79] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 106.
[80] See Dīng Yuánzhī 2002, 161; Chén Línqìng, Zhèng Yùshān, and Zōu Jùnzhì 2004, 189; Liú Zhāo 2005, 99; among others.
[81] See Liú Zhāo 2005, 99.
[82] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 110.

oū 嘔 (OC *qˁ(r)o) has a uvular, and *dòu* 豆 (OC *N.tˁo(k)-s) has a dental initial, so they do not share the same position of articulation. This shows that Lǐ Líng's suggestion of reading the character *x*33/20 as *oū* 嘔 is—at least phonologically—highly problematic. Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 suggest reading the graph as *xì* 戲 'quip' (OC *ŋ̊(r)ar-s).[83] Liú Zhāo reads it as *xì* (口戲) (OC *ŋ̊(r)ar-s) 'to sigh' (this graph does not seem to occur otherwise in pre-Qín texts). Even though this also seems to be difficult to justify phonophorically, it appears to be a more reasonable solution as far as the content of this passage is concerned. If I am not mistaken about the reconstruction of this passage, then it seems that due to either chronological or dialectal reasons the distinction between *-a and *-o was not well preserved in the "Xìng zì mìng chū". The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has 䖒 (*xq*21/9).

Following the last statement of this row (壴，遊心也) the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" continues with what would be pericope 16 in the Guōdiàn One manuscript. This loss cannot be explained by reference to the poor preservation of the Shànghǎi manuscript, because the next unit of the text continues on the same strip—that is, strip *xq*21. Two building blocks are absent. This loss in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" is discussed in chapter 7.

[Bo]: Lǐ Líng reads the character *x*34/3 (慆) as *táo* 陶, which Liú Zhāo explains as the appearance of being happy or cheerful.[84]

[Bp]: Liáo Míngchūn seems to have been the first to suggest reading *x*34/9 猷 (OC *[ɢ(r)]u (?)) as *yáo* 搖 (OC *l[a]w) 'to shake'. His reading is based on a commentary from Zhèng Xúan 鄭玄 (AD 127–200).[85] Most scholars follow this suggestion.

[Bq]: In his first edition of the Guōdiàn One manuscripts, Lǐ Líng read the graph *x*34/11 as *zuò* 作 'to get up'.[86] In his later edition, however, he corrects this suggestion and reads the graph as *wǔ* 舞 'dance'.[87] This seems to be the generally accepted reading now.

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[83] See Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, 162–163.
[84] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 106. See also Liú Zhāo 2005, 99; Dīng Yuánzhī 2000, 78.
[85] Quoted from Dīng Yuánzhī 2002, 164.
[86] See Lǐ Líng 1999, 506.
[87] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 106, 113, 114.

[Br]: Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也 (*x*35/10), a mark to subdivide the text is added to the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū". Following the mark, the strip bears no more writing. Such a mark, although distinct in form, also appears on strip *xq*21 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". It therefore seems that both manifestations of the text are subdivided at this junction.

The Application: Canto 2

[Bs]: Qiú Xīguī suggests reading the graph *x*36/4 (隶) as *qiú* 求 'to seek for'.[88]

Unlike the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" does not use the concept *xué* 學 (OC *m-kˤruk) 'learn' (學) (*x*36/2) but rather has *jiāo* 教 (OC *[k]ˤraw(-s)) 'to teach' (𡥈) (*xq*31/32). It is not certain whether this is a 'miswritten' *xué* 學—which indeed is similar in writing to *jiāo* 教 (隶/𡥈)—or whether this is meant to express another idea.

Except for the first six graphs of this building block, namely 凡學者求其心, the entire passage 凡學者 隶 (求) 丌 (其) 心爲難；從丌 (其) 所爲，丘 (近) 旻 (得) 之壴 (矣)；不女 (如) 𠃧 (以) 樂之遫 (速) 也。唯 (雖)能丌 (其) 事，不能丌 (其) 心，不貴 (貴)—in all twenty-seven characters—is missing in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". This loss cannot be explained by the poor preservation of the Shànghǎi bamboo strips, because the subsequent part that also appears in the Guōdiàn One manuscript continues on the same strip of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (*xq*32/2). It could be that this loss results from an accident occurring when quoting a written—third—source text (but again, not the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" because the loss is not one entire strip there) and, by mistake, leaving out one entire strip carrying about 27 characters.

[Bt]: Given the context of this passage, the character *x*37/15 (爲) should be read as *wèi* 僞 'artificial', as was also suggested by Qiú Xīguī.[89] The same holds true for *x*37/26 below.

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[88] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 183, n. 35.
[89] See ibid., n. 38.

[Bu]: The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has 爲 (僞) with the 'mind' signific beneath (*xq*32/14). Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Bv]: The first graph in this line (following *x*38/3) is missing. Qiú Xīguī suggests reconstructing it as *qí* 其.[90] The character *x*38/6 is composed of 与 and 止 ([illegible]). The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read it as *jǔ* 舉. I follow their suggestion.[91]

Instead of *shí* 十 (OC *[g][i]p) 'ten', the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" reads *zhí* 直 (OC *N-trek) (*xq*32/21).

[Bw]: I follow the suggestion made by Qiú Xīguī to read *x*38/12 ([illegible]) as *chá* 察.[92]

[Bx]: Graph *x*38/20 is problematic. The left part of the graph is *yán* 言 'words, speech'. The right part remains unclear. Chén Lái 陳來 (1999) transcribes the graph as *jiǎn* 簡 because of the line 簡義之方也 in the "Wǔ xíng" (*w*40/20–24). But another reference could be the line 剛義之方 (*w*41/5–8). As the right part of the character cannot be identified with certainty, it is impossible to judge whether *yán* 言 should be considered the signific or the phonophoric here. Liú Zhāo holds that the right part of this character is a 'deviant form of *nǚ* 女 'woman'. Scholars have also suggested that the graph might be *shù* 恕 'to forgive', as the two would share the same phonophoric.[93] Pú Máozuǒ 濮茅左 reads the graph in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" as *qū* 詘 'bent'. However, as the graph is nearly invisible now on the Shànghǎi strip, there are no grounds on which to judge this suggestion. For the time being, I follow Liú Zhāo.

Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[By]: Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

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90 See ibid., n. 39.
91 Ibid., 180.
92 Ibid., 183, n. 40.
93 See Liú Zhāo 2005, 100.

[Bz]: As for the graph *x*39/11 (箮), which is understood as *dǔ* 篤 'genuine', the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds the signific 'heart' at the bottom of the character (*xq*33/16).

[Ca]: Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Cb]: Following the last character of this line, *rén* 㤅, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Cc]: Note that the two texts always write the character *dào* 道 'true ethical code, Way' differently: as 衍 in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and as 道 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" also writes *zhōng* 忠 'fidelity' without the 'heart' signific.

[Cd]: Following the last character of this line, *yě* 也, there is a big mark ■ on the strip of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", probably signalling the end of this unit.

[Ce]: The graph *sào* 喿 (OC *[s]ˤaw-s), generally understood as *zào* 躁 (OC *[ts]ˤaw-s) 'quick-tempered', is written with the phonophoric *cháo* 巢 (OC *[dz]ˤraw) in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" *xq*35/10 (). The two graphs fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese of loan characters and phonetic components

Following the last character of this line, *shèn* 甚, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Cf]: Instead of *huàn* 患 (OC *[g]ˤron-s) (*x*42/18) as used in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has a graph consisting of the phonophoric *juǎn* 卷 (OC *[k]ro[n]ʔ) on top of the signific 'heart' 心 (*xq*35/20). The two fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese of loan characters and phonetic components.

[Cg]: Following the last character of this line, *shèn* 甚, a small reading mark '•' is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Ch]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read the graph *x*43/10 (皃) as *biàn* 弁 (OC *[b]ro[n]-s) 'hurry, hasty'.[94] Qiú Xīguī suggests reading it as *biàn* 變 (OC *pro[n]-s) 'to alter'.[95] The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has 叓, which can be read as either *shǐ* 使 (OC *s-rəʔ) or *biàn* 弁 (OC *[b]ro[n]-s)/*biàn* 變 (OC *pro[n]-s).[96] Based on the context of this passage, I follow the Húběi Province Museum editors and read it as *biàn* 弁 (OC *[b]ro[n]-s) 'hurry, hasty'.

[Ci]: Following the last character of this line, *shèn* 甚, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

As for the character *x*43/19 聿(盡), the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes *yù* 聿 (*xq*36/15). The two share the same phonophoric.

[Cj]: Both texts use *shèng* 聖 (OC *l̥eŋ-s) 'sage' to express the word *shēng* 聲 (OC *l̥eŋ) 'sound'. Although they belong to the same word family, this is a pure phonetic loan and should not be interpreted.

[Ck]: Graph *x*44/6 seems to consist of the phonophoric *huò* 或 (OC *[ɢ]ˁʷək) and the signific *ròu* 肉 (⺼). Lǐ Líng reads the combination of graphs *x*44/6–7 as *yù táo* 鬱陶 'smouldering melancholy'.[97] In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" the graphs are faint, so it is of no help in determining the proper reading of this passage. I suggest reading *x*44/6 as *yù* 緎 (OC *qʷək). It carries the same meaning as *yù* 鬱, which also has the phonophoric 或 (OC *[ɢ]ˁʷək) like .

In this line, the two graphs *rén* 人 'person' and *nán* 難 'difficult' are absent in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". The loss of the graph *nán* 難 can be explained by the fact that the top of Shànghǎi strip *xq*36 has broken off. The loss of the word *rén* 人, however, constitutes a dissimilarity in the text itself. Thus, instead of 人不難爲之死 'men would easily die for them' as in the Guōdiàn One version, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" just states 不[難]爲之死 'one would {*easily*} die for them'.

[Cl]: Both texts use a mark of repetition after the word, which the Guōdiàn One text has as *jié* 節 'to restrain'. In this instance, two differ-

[94] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 180.
[95] Ibid., 183, n. 42.
[96] See my disussion under [Bk], above.
[97] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 107.

ent graphs appear in the texts. In the Guōdiàn One text, the character *x*44/22 appears as (迎). In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", the character *xq*37/9 is written as ([illegible]). The mark for repetition is written differently in the two manuscripts. Whereas the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" indicates repetition with a single stroke—, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has a double stroke =.

[Cm]: After *x*45/4 there is a mark for repetition. The character itself is transcribed as *jiǎn* 柬 (OC *kˤr[a]nʔ) 'condensed, little', which is read as *jiǎn* 簡 (OC *kˤre[n]ʔ) 'righteous, tough and honest'.[98] Lǐ Líng suggests reading it in the meaning of *jiǎn* 謇 (OC *kra[n]ʔ) 'frank, righteous'.[99]

[Cn]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read the graph *x*45/21 ([illegible]) as *yí* 怡 'cheerful'. I follow Liú Zhāo and read it as *dài* 殆 (OX *lˤəʔ) 'in jeopardy'.[100] There seem to be no phonological connection between the graph *dài* 殆 'jeopardy, endangerment' (*x*45/21) and graph *xq*37/31 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" ([illegible]), which has the phonophoric *jīn* 斤 (OC *[k]ər).

[Co]: Following the last character of this line, *liú* 流, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Cp]: Graph *x*46/15 ([illegible]) *yuè* 悅 'pleasure' is written appreciably differently in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (*xq*38/15): ([illegible]).

[Cq]: I follow Liú Zhāo and read *x*47/5 ([illegible]) as *mào* 瞀 'to have troubled eyesight', here understood as 'confused, demented'.[101] Following the last character of this line, *mào* 瞀, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

98 See, e.g., Liú Zhāo 2005, 102; Dīng Yuánzhī 2002, 242.
99 See Lǐ Líng 2002, 110.
100 See Liú Zhāo 2005, 102.
101 Ibid.

[Cr]: Instead of *kuài* 快 (OC *[k]^{ʕwh}ret-s) ‘to be satisfied’ as on the Guōdiàn One strip (*x*47/11), the Shànghǎi “Xìng qíng lùn” has *huì* 慧 ([ɢ]^{ʕwh}[e][t]-s) ‘intelligent’ (*xq*38/36).

Following the last character of this line, *kě* 可, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi “Xìng qíng lùn”.

[Cs]: As for graph *x*47/23 (㝨) Chén Wěi states that this character allows two distinct readings: *yuán* 原 or *yuàn* 愿 ‘sincere’ and *yuān* 淵 ‘deep; silent’.[102] As the top of Shànghǎi strip *xq*39 has broken off, the Shànghǎi “Xìng qíng lùn” proves of no help for this passage. I tentatively follow Liú Zhāo and read the graph as *yuān* 淵 ‘deep; silent’.[103]

As for graph *x*48/2 (校), I follow Liú Zhāo in his identification of the graph as *bǔ* 補 (OC *(mə)-p^{ʕ}aʔ) ‘to correct’ (note, however, that Liú reads it in the sense of ‘to nourish’).[104] The graph consists of the signific *mù* 木 ‘wood’ and the phonophoric *fù* 父 (OC *[b](r)aʔ).

Following the last character of this line, *zú* 足, the Shànghǎi “Xìng qíng lùn” adds a large mark on the strips ■.

[Ct]: Both texts have the graph for *wèi* 僞 ‘artificial, fake’ (strip *x*48/7 and *x*48/12; *xq*39/8) as consisting of the signific ‘heart’ 心 and the phonophoric *wéi* 爲 (OC *[ɢ]^{w}(r)aj) (憑). In the Shànghǎi “Xìng qíng lùn” the graph is doubled by a sign for repetition =. Also, in both texts the graph for *è* 惡 is written without the signific ‘heart’ 心 (亞).

[Cu]: On graph *x*48/14 (㚇) read as *lìn* 吝 (OC *(mə-)rə[n]-s) (here in the sense of ‘to have the sense of shame’), see the article by Chén Jiàn on the “Kǒngzǐ shī lùn”.[105] The graph is composed of two ‘mouths’ and the phonophoric *wén* 文 (OC *mə[n]). The Shànghǎi “Xìng qíng lùn” also adds the signific ‘heart’ beneath the phonophoric *wén* 文 (*xq*39/14).

Following the last character of this line, *yǐ* 矣, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi “Xìng qíng lùn”.

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[102] See Chén Wěi 2003, 206.
[103] See Liú Zhāo 2005, 102.
[104] Ibid.
[105] See Chén Jiàn 2002a.

[Cv]: Instead of closing this building block with the particle *yǐ* 矣 as in the Guōdiàn One manuscript, there is a large mark ■ on the strips of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Cw]: As for graph *x*49/3 (訢) *shèn* 慎 (OC *[d]i[n]-s) 'carefully', the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has a graph consisting of *shí* 十 (OC *[g][i]p) and *yán* 言 (*ŋa[n]): *xq*39/26 (計).[106]

Instead of 息 (仁) (OC *ni[n]), Shànghǎi manuscript has *lǜ* 慮 (OC *[r]a-s) (*xq*39/18).

[Cx]: Following the last character of this line, *jiù* 咎, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Cy]: As for graph *x*49/25 (訢) *shèn* 慎 (OC *[d]i[n]-s) 'carefully', see my discussion in [Cw].

Following graph *x*49/29 (壴) (*xq*40/4 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"), *xìn yǐ* 訢(信)壴(矣) 'this truly is the case', both texts have the tadpole symbol. In the Guōdiàn One manuscript, however, the mark is bleached out. In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" the entire bamboo strip carries no further graphs after the tadpole symbol.

[Cz]: The beginning lines of strip *x*51 [x51(苟)又(有)亓(其)青(情)，唯(雖)未之爲，昇(斯)人信之壴(矣)]—in the passage *x*50/1–59/9—are missing in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", even though the strips are not broken at this point. This must be explained as a difference in the particular manifestation of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Da]: For a discussion of graph *x*59/15 (忞) *lìn* 吝 (here in the sense of 'to feel shame'), see [Cu]. Note that instead of adding the signific 'heart' *xīn* 心 beneath the phonophoric *wén* 文 (OC *mə[n]), the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has the signific 'earth' *tǔ* 土 (*xq*29/33).

[Db]: On graph *x*60/2 (㞷), see my discussion of graph *x*16/18 under [Aj].

[106] See also my discussion under [Ba].

As above (*x*48/7 and *x*48/12), I read *guì* as *weí* 僞 'artificial'. The two graphs share the same phonophoric and thus fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" also has *guì* 悬 (*xq*30/13).

[Dc]: On graph *x*60/10 (剌), see my discussion of *x*30/11 (剌) *liè* 烈 'fierce' (and *x*31/6) under [Bh].

On graph *x*60/12 (叓) *shǐ* 使 'to cause', see my discussion of *x*8/4 under [P].

Following the last character of this line, *mò* 末, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[Dd]: Graph *x*60/17 is problematic. Lǐ Líng holds that the transcription by the Húběi Province Museum editors is incorrect.[107] In his earlier publication, he proposed reading the graph as *zhēng* 徵 (here: 'to draft the capable and virtuous for public service').[108] Later he reads it as *lù* 路 'street' instead.[109] He finds corroboration for this in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (�georgia) (*xq*30/25). Whereas the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" has 凡於 <路> 毋愄 <思>, in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" graph *xq*30/25 (逄) is used in combination with *dào* 道. Most editors regard this as the 'correct' reading. Both texts write the graph 愄 for what—as most editors suggest—should be read as *sī* 思 'to ponder'.

Following the last character of this line, *yán* 言, a small reading mark • is added to the manuscript of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[De]: As for *chù* 處 'to dwell', the Guōdiàn One text has 凥 (*x*61/1), and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has 居 (*xq*30/32).

[Df]: Instead of *dà hài* 大害 'great calamity' as in the Guōdiàn One version, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has only *hài* 害.

107 See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 181.
108 See Lǐ Líng 1999, 507.
109 See Lǐ Líng 2002, 111.

[Dg]: For the graph *x*62/3, *huàn* 患 (*[g]ˤro[n]-s), the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has a graph consisting of the phonophoric *juǎn* 卷 (*[k]ro[n]ʔ) with the signific 'heart' beneath (惓) (*xq*31/22). The two forms clearly fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components.

Following the last character of this line, *hòu* 後, a huge mark ■ is added on the strip of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". The Guōdiàn One manuscript continues with pericope 20. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" continues with what is pericope 13 in the Guōdiàn One manuscript. The part with which the Guōdiàn One manuscript continues appears—in substantially different form—on strips *xq*27–28 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

RECONSTRUCTING THE "TÀI YĪ SHĒNG SHUǏ" 太一生水

This chapter provides the text and translation of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", followed by philological notes.

Text and Translation

The "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" consists of two cantos, the "Cosmogony" and its "Application".

Cosmology: Canto 1

ty1 太一生水，水反薄太一，是以成天；[A]
天反薄太一，是以成地。
天地□□□ [復相薄] ty2 也，是以成神明； † [B]
神明復相薄也，是以成陰陽；
陰陽復相薄也，是以成四時;
四時 ty3 復 [相] 薄也，是以成滄熱;
滄熱復相薄也，是以成溼燥；
溼燥復相薄也，成歲 ty4 而止。

ty1 The Ultimate One gives birth to water, water returns and joins with the Ultimate One—this is how it completes Heaven.
Heaven returns and joins with the Ultimate One—this is how it completes Earth.
Heaven and Earth {*repeatedly join with each other*} ty2 —this is how they complete the spirits and the illuminated.
The spirits and the illuminated repeatedly join with each other—this is how they complete the shadowy (*yín*) and the sunny (*yáng*).
The shadowy and the sunny repeatedly join with each other—this is how they complete the four seasons.
The four seasons ty3 repeatedly join {*with each other*}—this is how they complete coldness and heat.
Coldness and heat repeatedly join with each other—this is how they complete moisture and dryness.
When moisture and dryness repeatedly join with each other, completing the year, ty4 [the circle] stops.

故歲者，溼燥之所生也；
溼燥者，滄熱之所生也；

滄熱者，四時 [之所生也]; † [C]
[四時] ty5 者，陰陽之所生;
陰陽者，神明之所生也；
神明者，天地之所生也；
天地 ty6 者，太一之所生也。

Therefore, the year is begotten by moisture and dryness;
Moisture and dryness are begotten by coldness and heat;
Coldness and heat {*are begotten*} by the four seasons;
The ty5 {*four seasons*} are begotten by the shadowy and the sunny;
The shadowy and the sunny are begotten by the spirits and the illuminated;
The spirits and the illuminated are begotten by Heaven and Earth;
ty6 Heaven and Earth are begotten by the Ultimate One.

是故太一藏於水、行於時、周而又 □ [始。] †
□□□ [故][太一][為] ty7 萬物母，一缺一盈，以己爲萬物經。† [D]
此天之所不能殺，地之所 ty8 不能埋，陰陽之所不能成。[E]
君子知此之謂 [聖人]□□□□□[□] † [F]

From this it follows that the Ultimate One is stored in the water, moves with the [four] seasons, [finishes] a circle, and then {*starts over again*}. †
…{*Hence the Ultimate One is*} ty7 the mother of the myriad things; at times lacking, at times full, it takes itself to be the alignment of the myriad things. †
This is what Heaven is unable to kill, Earth ty8 is unable to smother, the shadowy and the sunny are unable to complete.
The gentleman (*jūnzǐ*) who grasps this is the one whom we call a {*sagacious person*}… †

Application: Canto 2

… ty10 下，土也，而謂之地；[G]
上，氣也，而謂之天。
道亦其字也。請問其名？ [H]

….ty10 Below is soil, yet we call it 'earth'.
Above is vapour, yet we call it 'heaven'.
'*Dào*' likewise is [only] a style name for it—May I [thus] ask for its [real] name?

以 ty11 道從事者必托其名，故事成而身長。[I]
聖人之從事也，亦托其 ty12 名，
故功成而身不傷。

He who ty11 carries out his service according to the '*dào*' necessarily consigns himself to its [real] name; this is why [his] task is completed and his person can endure.

In carrying out his service, the sagacious person also consigns himself to its [ty12] [real] name; this is why [his] achievements are completed and his person will not suffer harm.

天地名字並立，故過其方，不思相當 □□□ † [J]
[天不足] [ty13] 於西北 ，其下高以強。
地不足於東南，其上 □□□□□□□ [高以強][…] † [K]

As for Heaven and Earth, their name and style name are established simultaneously; as a result, once moving beyond these realms, [one] does not think [of them] appropriately…†
…{*If Heaven does not suffice*} [ty13] in the northwest, what is below it rises in strength.
If Earth does not suffice in the southeast, what is above it {*rises in strength*}…†

[ty9] 天道貴弱，削成者以益生者； [L]
伐於強，責於 □ [X] † [M]
□□□□□□ [是故不足於上] [ty14] 者，有餘於下； †
不足於下者，有餘於上。

[ty9] The Way of Heaven is to value weakness—it reduces what is completed so as to add to what is living.
Cutting back on strength, requesting from {…}.
{*This is why what does not suffice above*},… [ty14] will have a surplus below.
[And] what does not suffice below will have a surplus above.

Notes on Text and Translation

Cosmology: Canto 1

[A]: Graph *ty*1/1有 *dà* 大 (OC *[d]ˤa[t]-s) 'great' is read as *tài* 太 (OC *tˤʰa[t]-s) 'ultimate'. The term *dà yī* 大一 'the great one' (or 'ultimate one') also appears in the *Lǐ jì*, "Lǐ yùn" 禮運, where it denotes something that exists prior to Heaven and Earth, similar to what is described in the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ".[1] Chén Wěi remarks that throughout the Warring States period, the expression *tài yī* (OC *tˤʰa[t]-s ʔi[t]),

[1] The *Lǐ jì* "Lǐ Yùn" 禮運 reads: 是故夫禮，必本於大一；分而爲天地，轉而爲陰陽，變而爲四時，列而爲鬼神 "That is why the eminent rites by necessity are rooted in the 'Ultimate One': It split up and became Heaven and Earth. It turned around and became the 'shadowy' and the 'sunny'. It altered and became the four seasons. It distributed and became the ghosts and the spirits." See *Lǐ jì zhù shù* 1997, 438.

not *dà yī* *[d]ˤa[t]-s ʔi[t]), was used predominantly.[2] I agree with his observation and read the graph as *tài* (*tˤʰa[t]-s) throughout.[3]

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read graph *ty*1/6 (補) as *fŭ* 輔 (OC *b(r)aʔ) 'to assist'.[4] Chén Wěi proposes reading it as *bó* 薄 (OC *(Cə.)[b]ˤaʔ) 'to make contact with each other; to join each other'.[5] I follow Chén.

Throughout the text, the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" uses marks for repetition .

[B]: After graph *ty*1/21 the strip is broken. The upper part of graph *ty*1/22 is still visible . Based on the repetitive structure of this passage and the part remaining on the strips, the graph should be reconstructed as 陸 *dì* 地 'earth'.

Comparing the length of strip *ty*1 with the lengths of the remaining strips, we can estimate that three graphs are missing subsequent to the reconstructed graph 陸 (*dì* 地) 'earth'.

Based on the repetitive structure of the passage, it can be reconstructed as follows: [陸 (地)] 退 (復) 相補 (薄) 'Earth returns and joins with…'.

Comparison of the missing part of strip *t*1 with the end of strip *t*2

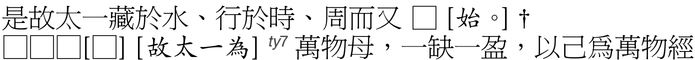
[C]: Strip *ty*4 ends with the two graphs *sì shí* 𠔀(四)時 'four seasons'. Strip *ty*5—whose position in the sequence is beyond doubt—starts with 者侌(陰) 昜(陽) 𣥺(之所)生. Hence, there is a clear break in the pattern. If we compare it with the previous sentence, the line in question should run as follows: 滄熱者，四時[之所生也；四時]者，陰陽之所生. It is unlikely that the pattern has been broken deliberately in order to signal a new idea. The four seasons, just like the shadowy (*yín*) and sunny (*yǎng*), would then have been created by "coldness and heat", which goes against the pattern. I therefore understand this

[2] See Chén Wěi 2003, 25.
[3] On the concept 'Ultimate One' (or 'Great One'), see also Allan 2003.
[4] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 125, n. 2.
[5] See Chén Wěi 2003, 26.

break, not as a systematic gap, but a mistake that occurred in the process of copying the text.

[D]: I follow Qiú Xīguī, who reads graph *ty*6/17 (迵) as *zhōu* 周 'to encircle, circle'.[6] Graph *ty*6/19 *huò* 或 should be read in the sense of *yòu* 又 'again'.

After *ty*6/19 the strip is broken. Based on the length of the missing part, presumably four or five graphs are missing. Qiú Xīguī reconstructs the missing passage as 以己爲 'to make itself into'.[7] However, considering the preceding sentence, it is more likely that the present line should continue with *shǐ* 始 'to start with, to begin with [again]'. Liú Zhāo reconstructs four graphs. He also begins the reconstructed passage with 'to start with, to begin with [again]' and then continues with Qiú's reconstruction.[8] This seems to be corroborated by the subsequent statement, which reads 㠯(以)㠯(己)爲𤔲(萬)勿(物)經 'it takes itself to be the alignment of the myriad things' (*ty*7/8–13). Nevertheless, I suggest reconstructing the passage as follows:


是故太一藏於水、行於時、周而又 □ [始。] †
□□□[□] [故太一為] *ty7* 萬物母，一缺一盈，以己爲萬物經

From this it follows that the Ultimate One is stored in the water, moves with the [four] seasons, [finishes] a circle, and then {*starts over again*}. †
{*Hence, the Ultimate One is*} *ty7* the mother of the myriad things; at times lacking, at times full, it takes itself to be the alignment of the myriad things. †

I take the first line as purely descriptive, ending with 'and then {*starts over again*}'. The second line is a clarification and definition of the Ultimate One based on the description: 'Hence, the Ultimate One is…'. The fact that the phrase 一缺一盈，以己爲萬物經 is a rhyme (盈: OC *leŋ; 經: OC *kˤeŋ), whereas the preceding line has no rhymed passage, seems to corroborate my assumption that only the last line is some type of defining statement and that the preceding line should stop after 始 'start over [again]'.

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[6] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 126, n. 12.
[7] Ibid.
[8] See Liú Zhāo 2005, 45.

The character *ty*7/4 (and *ty*7/6) (龍) is read *yī* 一 'one'.[9]

[E]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read graph *ty*8/3 (奞) as *lí* 釐 'diminish'.[10] As Lǐ Líng already noted,[11] in the *Xúnzǐ* "Rú xiào" there appears an identical line, which reads: 天不能死地不能埋 "Heaven is unable to kill [it]; Earth is unable to smother it."[12] Other sources also suggest that this notion was current during the Warring States period.[13] Accordingly, most scholars follow Lǐ Líng in his reading of *ty*8/3 as *mái* 埋 'to smother'.[14] At first sight, this reconstruction seems to be difficult to defend on phonological grounds since the phonophoric in 奞 (里) (OC *(mə.)rəʔ) has an initial *r-, and so does *lí* 釐 (OC *[r]ə) 'diminish' (both have the Middle Chinese *lái* 來 initial [OC *(mə.)rˤə < *mə.rˤək]), whereas *mái* 埋 (OC *m.rˤə) has the Middle Chinese *míng* 明 initial (OC *mraŋ), which is a bilabial one. One of the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components is that the initial of two words should have the same position of articulation. This is clearly not the case here. However, it cannot be ruled out that the bilabial initial *m- of *mái* 埋 'to smother' just reflects a prefix, and the word should indeed be reconstructed as *m-rˤə, which would make this a good phonetic loan.

[F]: The latter part of strip *ty*8 is broken off. Presumably seven or eight graphs are missing. The last graph on the strip is only partly visible , and what remains suggests that it should be read as *wèi* 胃 (謂) 'to call; be called'. For my reconstruction of the first missing graphs as *shèng rén* 聖人 'sagacious person', see my discussion in chapter 6.

Application: Canto 2

[G]: In the present edition of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", the editors of the Húběi Province Museum place strip *ty*9 after *ty*8 and before *ty*10. I have, instead, placed it immediately before strip *ty*14.[15]

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[9] For a detailed discussion of this graph, see Lín Hóngyīng, Murase Nozomu, and Furuya Akihira 2004.
[10] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 126, n. 14.
[11] See Lǐ Líng 2002, 33.
[12] See *Xúnzǐ jí jiě* 1997, 1:138.
[13] See Chén Wěi 2003, 29.
[14] See, e.g., ibid.; Liú Zǔxìn 2004, 254; Liú Zhāo 2005, 45.
[15] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 125.

The location of strip *ty*9 is still an issue. Originally, the editors of the Húběi Province Museum placed it before strip *ty*13 and after *ty*12. It was only due to a suggestion by Qiú Xīguī that they finally decided to locate it following strip *ty*8 and before *ty*10.[16] Later, however, Qiú withdrew his proposal. He now holds that strip *ty*9 should be placed right before the final strip, *ty*14, and after *ty*13.[17] Qiú's latest suggestion proposes the following order of strips: 1–13, 9, 14. This gives the following clusters: strips *ty*1–8 outline the cosmology of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ", strips *ty*10–13 discuss the importance of proper naming, and strips *ty*9 and 14 discuss the fact that the "Ultimate One" in itself values weakness.[18] Most editors of the text now follow this organisation.[19] I consider strips *ty*1–8 as composing canto 1 and strips *ty*10–13, 9, and 14 as composing canto 2.

[H]: I follow Qiú Xīguī in reading graph *ty*10/18 (⿱才心) as *zì* 字 'style name'.[20] Following *ty*10/18 is some type of marking on the strip . Its function remains unclear.

The Húběi Province Museum editors read the line *ty*10/20–23 青 (請) 昏 (問) 丌 (其) 明 (名) as 'may I ask for its name?' Many editors follow this suggestion.[21] However some argue for reading *ty*10/21 (昏) in its original form, that is, as *hūn* 昏 'dark'.[22] Qiú Xīguī strongly disapproves of this,[23] despite the fact that on merely palaeographical or phonological grounds both readings are possible. I follow Qiú's suggestion and read *ty*10/20–21 as 青 (請) 昏 (問)'may I ask [for]', which, however, I base not merely on the line *ty*11/5–8 but on the argumentative structure of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" overall.[24]

[I]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read *ty*11/6 (⿸厂⿱乇心) as *tuo* 託 'to entrust'.[25] Qiú Xīguī and Chén Wěi read *ty*11/5–8 as 必⿸厂⿱乇心 (托) 丌 (其) 明 (名) 'must [also] consign [himself] to its name'.[26]

[16] See Qiú Xīguī 2000b, 219–220. See also my discussion in chapter 7 of the present study.
[17] Qiú Xīguī 2000b, 220.
[18] Ibid., 221.
[19] See, e.g., Chén Wěi 2003, 24; Liú Zǔxìn 2004, 254; Liú Zhāo 2005, 46.
[20] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 126, n. 16.
[21] See, e.g., Wèi Qǐpéng 1999; Liú Zhāo 2005, 46.
[22] See, e.g., Lǐ Líng 2002, 32; Chén Wěi 2003, 30; Liú Zǔxìn 2004, 254.
[23] See Qiú Xīguī 2000b, 222ff.
[24] See my discussion of the "Tài yī shēng shuǐ" in chapter 7.
[25] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 125.
[26] See Qiú Xīguī 2000b, 223–224; Chén Wěi 2003, 29.

[J]: The end of strip *ty*12 broken off. Presumably three or four graphs are missing. The last graph on the strip is partly visible: . Qiú Xīguī notes that this could be either *shàng* 尙 or a graph written with the phonophoric *shàng* 尙 (OC *[d]aŋ-s), here read as *dàng* 當 (*tˁaŋ).[27] I follow Qiú's reconstruction of this passage: □□□ [天不足] *ty*13 於卤(西)北 '…{[*If*] *Heaven does not suffice*} *ty*13 in the northwest'.[28]

[K]: The end of strip *ty*13 is broken off. Presumably seven graphs are missing. Following the suggestion of Liú Zhāo, I reconstruct the first three graphs parallel to those on strip *ty*12.[29]

[L]: For the position of strip *ty*9, see [G] above.

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read graph *ty*9/5 (雀) as *jué* 爵 'dignity'.[30] I follow Qiú Xīguī's suggested reading as *xuē* 削 'to cut, reduce'.[31] *Què* 雀 can be reconstructed as Old Chinese *[ts]ewk; *xuē* 削 as Old Chinese *[s]ewk. The two fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components.

[M]: The end of strip *ty*9 is broken off. Given the length of the lost part, presumably seven graphs are missing. Although it is absolutely impossible to reconstruct the missing part of the line 伐於弜(強) 責(責)於 □[X] 'Cutting back on strength, requesting from {…}', it is indeed possible to reconstruct the subsequent passage with some certainty. The passage begins with the statement

> *ty*9 天逌(道)貴(貴)溺(弱)，雀(削)成(成)者㠯(以)益(益)生者；伐於弜(強)，責(責)於 □[X]

> *ty*9 The Way of Heaven is to value weakness—it reduces what is completed so as to add to what is living..
> Cutting back on strength, requesting from {…}.

Then about six or seven graphs are missing and the passage continues with

[27] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 126, n. 17.
[28] Ibid.
[29] See Liú Zhāo 2005, 47.
[30] See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, 125.
[31] Ibid., 124, n. 15.

□□□□□□ ty9 者，又(有)余(餘)於下；不足於下者，又(有)余(餘)於上 ty14

{…} ty14 will have a surplus below.
[And] what does not suffice below will have a surplus above.

It is clear that the first few lines provide background information for the last two lines, which, in turn, are parallel and seem to complement each other:

1. the Way of Heaven values weakness	(X does + on −)
2. it reduces what is accomplished to add to life	(X does − so as to +)
3. it cuts back on strength and requests from	(X does − […])
4. {…}	has a surplus below (X has + on 下)
5. and what does not suffice below	has a surplus above (X has + on 上)

Hence, I feel justified in reading the fourth sentence as parallel—but in opposition—to the fifth sentence:

'XX {*that what does not suffice above*} has a surplus below;

[And] that what does not suffice below has a surplus above'.[32]

[32] For this reading, see also Liú Zhāo 2005, 47: '{*This is why* (是故) *what does not suffice on high*}….

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