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Meaning-Construction in warring states philosophical discourse : a discussion of the palaeographic materials from Tomb Guōdiàn One
Meyer, D.

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Chapter 4

“WŪ XÍNG” 五行

4. “Wǔ xíng” 五行 (Five Types of Conduct)

The “Wǔ xíng” has attracted close attention from scholars. So far, scholarly efforts have led to the production of some hundred substantial works on this text. The present chapter discusses the two ‘editions’ (*ekdoseis*) of the “Wǔ xíng”, namely from Guōdiàn One and Mǎwángduī Three in combination with the philosophic agenda of these texts.

4.1. Introduction

The reasons for the popularity of the “Wǔ xíng” are manifold. To begin with, it seems to provide a key to the nature of the critique on Zǐsī 子思 and Mèng Kē 孟軻, ‘Mencius’ (traditionally ca. 380-290 BC), as pronounced in the “Fēi shí’èr zǐ” 非十二子 chapter of the *Xúnzǐ* 荀子 (traditionally ascribed to Xún Qīng 荀卿; ca. 310-238 BC), namely on what is called “wǔ xíng” 五行 ‘five types of conduct’.¹ The concept “wǔ xíng” 五行 itself never appeared in either the received *Mèngzǐ* 孟子, nor in any of the works attributed to Zǐsī, for which reason the target of critique remained obscure for centuries.² The “Wǔ xíng” manuscript, then, seems to resolve the puzzle: it explicitly uses the name “five types of conduct” (wǔ xíng 五行) and elaborates this concept in great detail. Due to the fact that the “Wǔ xíng” moreover displays a certain affinity with both the *Mèngzǐ* and also the “Zhōng yōng” (generally attributed to Zǐsī),³ it now is often seen as the ideal source for reconstructing the so-called ‘lineage’ of Zǐsī 子思, of which otherwise not much is known.⁴ What is more, the “Wǔ xíng” shows a “significant overlap” of technical

¹ 略法先王而不知其統 然而猶材劇志大 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 案飾其辭而祇敬之曰 此真先君子之言也 子思唱之 孟軻和之 世俗之溝猶瞽儒 嚙嚙然不知其所非也 遂受而傳之 以為仲尼 子游為茲厚於後世 是則子思 孟軻之罪也 (*Xúnzǐ jijiě*, pp. 94 f).

“[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-contradicting, 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. Zǐsī provided the tune for them, and Mèngkē harmonized them.’

The stupid, incisive, deluded present-day *Rú* are enthusiastic about them not recognizing in what it fails. Passing on what they have received, [they] believe that Kǒngzǐ and Zǐgòng were highly esteemed by later generations. It is in just this where the fault of Zǐsī and Mèngkē lies.” After John Knoblock (1988), vol. 1, p. 224; emended.

As the critique quoted above was articulated so harshly, scholars such as Homer H. Dubs subscribe to the view that the passage in question most likely is a later insertion. This view was first expressed by Hán Yīng 韓嬰 (ca. 200-120 BC), the compiler of the *Hánshī wàizhuàn* 韓詩外傳. See Homer H. Dubs (1928), pp. 79 f., n. 4; see also Mark Csikszentmihalyi (2004), pp. 59 ff; Páng Pú 龐樸 1980, pp. 71-88.

² See Páng Pú 龐樸 2000, p. 97. See also Scott Cook, 2000, p. 135.

³ See Scott Cook, 2000, p. 135. See also Páng Pú 龐樸, 1977. Shortly thereafter, doubts about this conclusion have been raised. See, Cook, 2000, p. 130, n. 42.

⁴ On the tradition of Zǐsī, see Csikszentmihalyi 2004, pp. 257-276.

terminology with the *Mèngzǐ* 孟子.⁵ As a result, many students of early Chinese thought consider it a ‘missing link’ for reconstructing the development of what is generally referred to as ‘*Rú*-thought’, or ‘Confucianism’, in particular as developed between Kǒngzǐ, ‘Confucius’, and the *Xúnzǐ*.⁶

The “Wǔ xíng” is embroidered with quotations. Many of these can be identified as stemming from the collection of songs, known to us as Odes, or *shī* 詩. This makes this particular mid to late Warring-States manuscript a prominent source for the study of the Odes in the Zhōu period, since the only version of this anthology surviving to the present day—the Máo 毛 tradition—dates as late as the Hàn dynasty.⁷ Also, the “Wǔ xíng” serves as a source for studies dwelling on the question of a Chinese textuality.⁸

⁵ Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 110.

⁶ With regard to Warring States philosophical discourse, Mark Csikszentmihalyi (2004, p. 58) explains the “Wǔ xíng” as a fourth century BC work which has developed a systematic “moral psychology of the virtues” as a counter to other philosophers’ positions. “Instead of simply deflecting the critiques found in the *Mòzǐ*, *Zhuāngzǐ*, and *Hán Fēizǐ*, 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’”. Ibidem. This, as Csikszentmihalyi argues, shows a clear sign that with the “Wǔ xíng”, the authors of a *Rú* program (ibid, p. 46) have internalized some elements of external critiques (ibid, p. 58). Scholars such as Chén Gǔyīng 陳鼓應 regard the “Wǔ xíng” a further development of the Mencian theory of the ‘four sprouts’ *sì duān* 四端. See idem 1992 (a), p. 394, n. 1.

⁷ Apart from the two versions of the “Wǔ xíng”, two excavated versions of the “Zī yī” (one copy from the ‘library’ Guōdiàn One, the other from the Shànghǎi corpus of Chǔ manuscripts), but also the “Kǒngzǐ shī lùn” 孔子詩論, and, to a lesser extent, the “Mín zhī fùmǔ” 民之父母 (both of which stemming from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts and labelled so by modern editors) contain fragments of Odes. Moreover, by now we also possess a badly damaged and incomplete anthology (see Kern 2003, p. 28) of the Odes from tomb Shuānggǔdū 雙古堆 (Ānhuì 安徽 Province, sealed 165 BC; see Giele 2000). “Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts” denotes the corpus of some 1,200 strips purchased by the Shànghǎi Museum through 1994 on the Hong Kong Antique Market; since 2001, the Museum has been publishing these. So far, volumes 1-6 have come out. See Mǎ Chéngyuán 馬承源 2001-.

The Máo 毛 tradition, which in 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)—first came into sight at the court of Liú Dé 劉德 (r. 133 BC), Prince Xiàn 獻 of Héjiān 河間 (see Jeffrey Riegel 2001, pp. 99 f).

⁸ Martin Kern 2003, p. 30. See also Martin 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.” See Martin Kern 2005 (a), p. xxi. The presentation of the Odes in excavated manuscripts can hardly be more different from that of Documents, *shū* 書 in excavated manuscripts. Quotations of the latter are highly unstable and inconsistent. From this observation Martin Kern concludes that the corpus later known as *Documents*, was “rather loose and heterogeneous,” which, in turn, suggests a retrospective standardization of these. See Martin Kern 2005 (c), p. 297, n. 9. In this respect he subscribes to a view similar to that of Chén Mèngjiā 陳夢家 1985, pp. 11-35; Liú Qǐyú 劉起鈞 1997, pp. 4-24; Mark Edward Lewis 1999, pp. 105-109; David Schaberg 2001, pp. 72-80, among others. Based on different quotations, Matsumoto Masaaki 松本雅明 (1966, p. 520), for his part, argues that by late fourth century

Even though the “Wǔ xíng” does not belong to the corpus of transmitted literature, we are nevertheless fortunate in having a close variant of this text: some 20 years before Guōdiàn One was opened, another ‘edition’ of the “Wǔ xíng” was excavated from the renowned Hàn-dynasty tomb Mǎwángduī 馬王堆 number Three.⁹ The fact that another copy of this text was excavated from a tomb that dates some 150 years later than Guōdiàn One shows the popularity which the “Wǔ xíng” once must have enjoyed for generations, before it finally fell into oblivion for roughly two thousand years. Having two excavated versions of the “Wǔ xíng”, it often is considered a source par excellence for case studies looking at the stability of philosophic texts in early China.¹⁰

A brief comparison of the different ‘editions’ of the “Wǔ xíng” shows astonishing similarities of the two texts—except that the Mǎwángduī Three version contains a commentary attached at the end of the text, which, one by one, refers to the various building blocks that constitute the second part of the text proper.

Striking, then, is the following: apart from minor dissimilarities between the two manuscripts that apply to phraseology, the formulae used when quoting Odes, and lastly, the length of these quotations, the two excavated copies differ markedly with respect to the internal arrangement of the individual units.¹¹ The situation can be compared to that

BC there most likely existed two or three different versions of the *shū* 書, namely a *Rú*-, a *Mò*- and a historian’s version of the same.

⁹ In winter 1973 archaeologists discovered the previously undisturbed tomb of Li Cāng 利蒼 (d. 185 BC), who became the Marquis Dài 軼. With regard to its location, the tomb was dubbed no. 3, Mǎwángduī (henceforth Mǎwángduī Three); its locus is near Chángshā 長沙, Húnán 湖南 Province. Due to a dated letter to the netherworld that belonged to the tomb inventory, 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. Next to the “Wǔ xíng”—the focus of the present chapter—the tomb also contained another version of the *Lǎozǐ*, which will concern us in Part two of this work below, among other texts. For excavation reports, see Húnán shěng bówùguǎn 湖南省博物館, Zhōngguó kēxué yuàn kǎogǔ yánjiū suǒ 中國科學院考古研究所 1974; Húnán shěng bówùguǎn 湖南省博物館, Zhōngguó kēxué yuàn kǎogǔ yánjiū suǒ 中國科學院考古研究所 1975; Chén Sōngcháng 陳松長 and Fù Jǔyǒu 傅舉有 1992, supplement. For comprehensive bibliographies on Mǎwángduī Three, see Zuǒ Sōngchāo 左松超 1989; Lǐ Méilù, 1989, among others.

¹⁰ See, for instance, Xíng Wén 邢文 1998; Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004. See also Boltz 2005.

¹¹ This situation also applies to the “Xíng zì míng chū” from Guōdiàn One as compared to the “Xíng qíng lùn” from the Shànghǎi corpus: whereas the first part of the two texts is highly consistent, except for minor

of the different “Lǎozǐ” versions which we possess today; or to the dissimilar versions of the extant “Zī yī”—both texts belong to the Guōdiàn One ‘tomb-library’ and will concern us later—or the different copies of “Yì” 易 ‘Changes’. All these instances show relatively consistent texts on the lexical level;¹² but the sequence of the building blocks differs markedly between the different ‘editions’ of these texts. For texts such as “Lǎozǐ”, or “Zī yī” (and also the “Yì”), this phenomenon of stable building blocks that do not (yet) have a fixed place in the larger organization of the text overall, is not surprising.¹³ Yet, different from the “Lǎozǐ” or the “Zī yī”, the “Wǔ xíng” is not a florilegium that collects rather unrelated ideas in distinct aphorisms or separated building blocks. Instead, the “Wǔ xíng” is an argument-based text *par excellence* in that it develops one idea over the length of the entire text; in this case some 1,200 characters. This has stirred scholars’ imagination. How can it be that the “Wǔ xíng” develops one vision overall, and yet the organization of the Mǎwángduī Three ‘edition’ differs so markedly from that of the Guōdiàn One version? The view has thus arisen that the dissimilar internal organization of the two texts must reflect a conscious editorial choice,¹⁴ and thus 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, I believe that it nevertheless reflects a rather modern idea of text and composition, which neglects the nature of a text during the Warring-States period. Instead of overemphasizing the differences between the

dissimilarities that mostly apply to the lexical level, the high degree of organizational analogy breaks away in the second half of the two texts. I shall refer to this briefly in chapter 5 further below.

¹² This leaves aside minor differences such as wording, the formulae when quoting another source, and the length of such quotation.

¹³ For a discussion of the non-argument-based texts that collect rather unrelated—but nonetheless stable—building blocks, such as for instance “Lǎozǐ” and “Zī yī”, see my discussion in chapter 6 further below. 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 Edward L. Shaughnessy 1997 (d).

¹⁴ Similar claims were also raised for non-argument-based texts some 15 years earlier before the excavation of the Guōdiàn One “Wǔ xíng” copy (see Edward L. Shaughnessy 1983, pp. 139-158; *ibid.*, 257-265. See also *idem* 1997, pp. 197-219). In his study, Shaughnessy claims that the location of the “Qián” 乾 and “Kūn” 坤 hexagrams at the head of the *Zhōuyì* 周易 are a logic necessity, and that their position in the *Zhōuyì* must echo a conscious editorial choice.

¹⁵ This was expressed most explicitly by Xíng Wén 邢文 1998. See also Boltz 2005; Shaughnessy 2006, p. 43.

¹⁶ This question is posed repeatedly by the scholars in the field. See, for instance Dīng Sìxīn 丁四新 2000 (a), p. 128.

two ‘editions’, I believe that we should regard them as rather ‘accidental’: Individual building blocks in concert constitute larger meaningful and stable units, to which in accordance with customs of Biblical studies I refer with “sub-cantos”.¹⁷ For the “Wǔ xíng”, these are the units that matter. It is the sub-canto in which a coherent idea is developed. As we shall see, in both instantiations of the “Wǔ xíng”, that is, the one from Guōdiàn One and the one from Mǎwángduī Three, the individual sub-cantos display a high consistency. The arguments developed therein do not differ. Accordingly, I argue that instead of being blinded by the *differences* of these two texts (better: ‘editions’ in the sense of *ekdoseis*), it is more instructive first to look at the *analogousness* of the two. Only then do we learn more about the real differences of these ‘editions’ and further our understanding of the nature of early Chinese argument-based texts overall.

In order to arrive at a fuller understanding of the particularities of the “Wǔ xíng”, we have to modify our focus of investigation. As in the previous chapters, this should be the analysis of the stable units of the text, namely the building blocks. Only by a proper analysis of these can we discover the various kinds of techniques, by which larger meaningful (and likewise stable) entities are achieved. Having identified these larger meaningful units or sub-cantos of the “Wǔ xíng”, the next step then is to describe the means by which these larger meaningful entities relate to one another. Only after having done so is it instructive to compare the two different manifestations of the text, namely from these particular aspects. We shall then see that in what matters, the two manifestations of the “Wǔ xíng” are not so different at all. Within certain parameters, which I shall define in the following, we can deduce the following: First, as long as the well-defined meaningful units remain intact structurally, and secondly, as long as these units remain in logically sound location to their corresponding part within the text overall, the arrangement of these does not matter too much. The argument remains intact. In view of that, I strongly disagree with the assumption lately reiterated by William Boltz, who assigns a meaningful significance to the different order in which stable units occur in a given version: “[T]he order in which passages such as these are assembled is a

¹⁷ See, for instance, Marjo Korpel 2000. For the use of the auxiliary term “sub-canto” in the form-analysis of the argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One, see also chapter 3 “Qióng dá yǐ shí”, p. 79, n. 25; see also my discussion further below.

meaningful inherent part of textual composition overall”, Boltz states accordingly.¹⁸ Thus, instead of seeing the dissimilarities between two versions of the one text in larger philosophical contexts, such as done by nearly all commentators of the “Wǔ xíng” after the finding of the Guōdiàn One ‘edition’ has been made public, an alternative (and first) approach should be to investigate the principles of text organization underlying the “Wǔ xíng”.

4.2. The Text on Bamboo

Compared with the other argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One, the “Wǔ xíng” is a rather lengthy text. Only the “Xìng zì mìng chū” requires more room for developing its argument, which takes up to some 1,550 characters.¹⁹

As for the physical shape of the strips, and the calligraphy with which the “Wǔ xíng” had been fixed on these, it strongly resembles the “Zī yī”, which is also part of the same assemblage of texts. It might be the case that the two had been fixed on the same bundle of strips.²⁰

The ‘argument’ as developed in the Guōdiàn One “Wǔ xíng” expands over 50 strips.²¹ The strips of the present manuscript are tapered towards both ends. Judging from the marks that remain visible on most of these, we can assume that two cords previously connected the strips at a distance of 12.9 to 13 cm.²² Unbroken strips have a length of ca.

¹⁸ See William Boltz 2005, p. 54.

¹⁹ On the “Xìng zì mìng chū” and its manuscript-counterpart “Xìng qíng lùn” from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts, see chapter 5 below.

²⁰ As noted in the Introduction (chap. 1), the congruence of their material carrier does not also imply any affinity of the two textual units “Wǔ xíng” and “Zī yī”. I shall discuss a similar example when referring to the imagined relationship of the materials now generally referred to as “Tài yī shēng shuǐ” and “Lǎozǐ C” in chapter 7 below.

²¹ On the use of ‘argument’ in the present work, see the Introduction under 1.3.

²² See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 149.

32.5 cm. Accordingly, they belong to the longest of the entire Guōdiàn One ‘library’.²³ As already noted earlier in the present work,²⁴ the length of the strips for writing down philosophic texts in Warring-States period does not reflect the status of the text in question, as it does later in imperial times.²⁵ Instead, just as different ‘editions’ of a text only reflect local instances of writing down (predominantly oral?) texts and thus have nothing in common with consciously edited recensions, in times when texts are not yet canonized, the diverse length of bamboo strips between the different texts likewise simply reflects different modes of manuscript production. I shall discuss this in more detail further below.

Of the fifty bamboo strips used for the “Wǔ xíng” manuscript from the so-called ‘library’ of Guōdiàn One, eleven have broken off at either side of the strip, or at its center. Accordingly, to make up for the lost parts, we need to reconstruct up to some thirty-eight graphs along with the development of the text’s argument. As for the arrangement of the strips within the Guōdiàn One manuscript itself, the “Wǔ xíng” is a rare example of general scholarly agreement.

Despite the general agreement concerning the proper arrangement of the strips, scholars come up with a wide range of arguments and ideas as to which of the two extant ‘editions’ of the “Wǔ xíng” should be considered to reflect the more ‘authentic’ or ‘original’ version of the text. This issue reappears throughout the literature. Xíng Wén 邢文, for instance, argues that we should regard the version from the Guōdiàn One assemblage as representing more or less the ‘original’ version of the so-called “Zísī and

²³ Of the Guōdiàn One assemblage, next to the strips of the “Wǔ xíng”, the “Zī yī”, the “Chéng zhī wén zhī”, the “Zūn dé yì”, the “Xíng zì mìng chū” and the “Liù dé” have a length of around 32.5 cm. The other manuscripts contain physically shorter strips.

²⁴ See the Introduction under 1.3.3.

²⁵ See Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (127-200 AD) in his preface to the *Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhèngyì* 春秋左傳正義 (7a): He notes the 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 correspond to 55.44 cm; one foot corresponds 23.1 cm. See Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (eds.) 1986, p. xxxviii.) According to Wáng Chōng 王充 (ca. AD 27-100), the “sayings of the ancients were written on tablets of two feet four inches”. See Tsien 2004, p. 116.

Mèngzǐ school.”²⁶ As he puts it, the Mǎwángduī-Three text simply displays the changes that were consciously made by later editors [sic].

As far as I am aware of the literature concerning the two texts, Xíng Wén also is the first to ascribe these changes directly to followers in the tradition of Shì Shuò 世碩,²⁷ this position is now widely shared by many of his Chinese colleagues. Yet, as Shì Shuò proves to be quoted twice in the commentary attached to the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng”, Dīng Sìxīn 丁四新, for his part, contends that this most likely stems from the work of a later disciple of Shì Shuò, but should not reflect the work of Shì Shuò himself.²⁸ As for proposing a later date for the origin of the Mǎwángduī Three version, he nevertheless shares Xíng’s view. Moreover, just as Xíng Wén, Dīng Sìxīn also holds that the differences between the two versions should indicate a conscious “editorial” choice. However, in contrary to Xíng, he regards the Mǎwángduī Three version to be inferior to the Guōdiàn One “Wǔ xíng” in terms of a so-called “logic stringency”. Yet, whereas Xíng assumes that the postulated editorial changes also echo different philosophic positions, Dīng contends that today we lack any means to judge the reasons for these changes with certainty.²⁹

As an alternative, Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 suggests that the Mǎwángduī Three version should be considered the ‘original’ text.³⁰ As he sees it, the Guōdiàn One version anticipates a conclusion; accordingly, it can only be that this reflects a later editorial choice.

²⁶ Xíng Wén 邢文 1998, pp. 59 f. See, however, Mark Csikszentmihalyi. (2004), pp. 86-100, who argues that ascribing the “Wǔ xíng” directly to Zísī or his school is, at least, “in part wrong” (ibid, p. 87). Csikszentmihalyi, for his part, discloses various layers of what he call the ‘Zísī myth’ (diacritics are added by myself). See also Csikszentmihalyi 2004, pp. 257-276.

²⁷ The *Hàn shū* “Yìwén zhì” records the work *Shìzǐ* 世子 to consist of twenty-one chapters. The personal name is Shuò 碩 and he is considered therein to be “a man of Chén” and “a disciple of the seventy masters” 陳人也 七十子之弟子. See *Hàn shū* vol. 2, p. 1724. Wáng Chōng 王充 (AD 27-ca. 97) describes his philosophic position as holding that man’s nature comprises both elements, “goodness” and “evil”. See *Lùn héng jiàoshì* 論衡校釋 vol. 1, p. 131.

²⁸ See Dīng Sìxīn 丁四新 2000, pp. 160-172.

²⁹ See Dīng Sìxīn 丁四新 2000, pp. 131.

³⁰ Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 1999.

Páng Pú 龐樸 also subscribes to the assumption that the different arrangement of the building blocks within the “Wǔ xíng” echoes a different philosophic position of the two versions.³¹ Accordingly, it should reflect a conscious editorial choice. Yet, whereas Xíng and Dīng regard the Guōdiàn One version as superior, from which Xíng then assumes that the Guōdiàn One version reflects the more “authentic” philosophy of the ‘wǔ xíng’-theory, Páng Pú rather subscribes to Ikeda’s view. He believes that the Mǎwángduī Three version displays the original organization of the text. According to him, it renders its pristine philosophy, and in comparison to the text from Guōdiàn One, it is also organized in a much more logical fashion.³²

Mark Csikszentmihalyi, for his part, sees in the “Wǔ xíng” from Guōdiàn One “as old as the text is”,³³ a composite of even older texts. In his view, the version from Mǎwángduī must have drawn on this conglomerate.³⁴ Csikszentmihalyi’s line of argumentation sets off from the observation that only some parts of the text treat the five virtues, that is, *rén* 仁 ‘benevolence’, *yì* 義 ‘righteousness’, *lǐ* 禮 ‘ritual propriety’, *zhì* 智 ‘wisdom’, *shèng* 聖 ‘sagacity’. Regarding the “Wǔ xíng” to be an extension of an older text, he believes that the latter merely treated the relationship of the two virtues, wisdom and sagacity. Following his argument, this older text (or layer) must then had been rewritten in a fashion that ‘wisdom’ was interchanged with either ‘goodness’, or with a series of virtues that together constitute ‘goodness’. Csikszentmihalyi believes that this accounts for “two of the major structural elements of the work: First, the binary pairing of goodness and the more perfect condition of sagehood, and second, the more complex distinctions between the four human virtues and the fifth perfect virtue of sagacity.”³⁵

³¹ See Páng Pú 龐樸 2000, p. 92.

³² Ibidem. His assessment that the Mǎwángduī Three version is organized in a more logical fashion equals Ikeda’s line of argument in that both scholars believe that the Guōdiàn One version anticipates a conclusion.

³³ Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 65.

³⁴ Ibid, pp. 65 ff.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 65.

Lastly, Martin Kern assumes that the Guōdiàn One version of the “Wǔ xíng” must be regarded as “directly ancestral” to the one from tomb Mǎwángduī Three.³⁶ Kern puts forward this assumption on the grounds of, first, the “high coherence” between the two versions; second, the chronological separation of these of “probably not more than about a century”;³⁷ third, their “geographical proximity”.³⁸ As already noted above, the Mǎwángduī version of the “Wǔ xíng” is equipped with an explanatory unit; that is, an additional part, which modern editors have dubbed *shuō* 說, ‘commentary’. The version from Guōdiàn One, instead, only contains the basic text, “not its explanatory sections”. As Martin Kern concludes, the illustrative unit 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”.³⁹ With this stand, he clearly disagrees with Jeffrey Riegel’s implicit assumption that the Mǎwángduī “Wǔ xíng” as a whole (that is, including the commentary attached to the end of the text) owes a “conceptual debt” to the *Xúnzǐ*. This assumption implicitly regards the *Xúnzǐ* to be the older of the two texts.⁴⁰ It also presupposes that the Guōdiàn One version only focused on the core text, leaving aside the so far already extant commentary. Yet, as the Guōdiàn One version of the “Wǔ xíng” most likely predates the *Xúnzǐ*, as Martin Kern and others assume⁴¹—a view, to which I also subscribe—Riegel’s assumption seems unlikely, if not wrong.

Nevertheless the positions outlined briefly above, I hesitate to attribute the high degree of consistency of the two texts to a direct ancestry of the former to the latter. With regard to the commentary that was physically attached to the Mǎwángduī version, the longer quotations from the Odes, the higher frequency of their use, and lastly, the clear

³⁶ See Martin Kern 2003, pp. 38 f.

³⁷ The Mǎwángduī version uses the graph *bāng* 邦 ‘state’. This suggests that the text in question must be a composition prior to 195 BC, as this character was tabooed hereafter. It is the given name of Liú Bāng 劉邦 (r. 202-195 BC), the first emperor of the Former Hàn.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 38.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 39. In his argument, it seems that Martin Kern has, by editorial mistake, interchanged the argument (a), that is, the “Mǎwángduī version includes a new set of explanation” with (b) “the Guōdiàn version is focused on the core text only, while leaving the already existing explanation aside”. In my brief outline of his argument, which I presented above, I have corrected this; I hope that by this I do not mistake his train of thought.

⁴⁰ Jeffrey Riegel 1997, p. 145.

⁴¹ Kern 2003 (a).

identification of the Odes by name, all of which apply to the Mǎwángduī version, I think that we are justified in assuming that this most likely reflects a later date of the particular manuscript that was excavated in winter 1973 from tomb Mǎwángduī Three. However, the comparatively later date of the Mǎwángduī Three text does not in itself prove any direct ancestral character of the Guōdiàn One version. So far, we miss any clear link concerning the development of the two texts that would allow us to draw a clear-cut *stemma codicum*, in which either of the two versions appears directly ancestral towards the other. Thus, instead of putting forward a linear development of the two texts, which would without a doubt help to explain the high coherence of the two, I argue that we should rather ascribe this extraordinary degree of textual overlap to the high stability of meaningful units from which the two texts eventually have evolved. All other influences, so far, remain beyond our sight.

4.3. Thought and Contents

At a first glance, the “Wǔ xíng, appears inscrutable in terms of logic and organization. It discusses five aspects of virtues conduct, *wǔ xíng* 五行, and shows how they cohered as a group. This scheme of how the five concepts hooked up together I call the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory. As I will eventually show in my analysis, the “Wǔ xíng” develops a coherent system behind the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory, which is established by careful links and references throughout the text.

The ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory propagates self-cultivation. The final goal is the nourishment of ‘potency’ (*dé* 德) within.⁴² Central to the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory are five virtues. Each of these describes one particular aspect of virtuous conduct. These five virtues are those which the *Mèngzǐ* names in combination with his idea of *sì duān* 四端 ‘four sprouts’, viz. ‘benevolence’ (*rén* 仁), ‘righteousness’ (*yì* 義), ‘ritual propriety’ (*lǐ* 禮), and ‘wisdom’

⁴² The reason why I translate *dé* 德 with ‘potency’ in the “Wǔ xíng”, and not with ‘charisma’ as I do in other texts, will be discussed further below.

(*zhì* 智),⁴³ but also ‘sagacity’ (*shèng* 聖). Interestingly, even though ‘happiness’ (*lè* 樂) also is an important aspect connected to the cultivation of potency, it is not an individual position in the theory of it. Nor is music.

Just like the other argument-based texts from *Guōdiàn One*, the “Wǔ xíng” puts forward a political agenda. The author(s) of the text do not address self-cultivation for its own sake. Instead, nourishing potency is a vital aspect of good rule. Accordingly, it seems that, whereas for instance 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 in particular addresses the group of advisors,⁴⁴ the “Wǔ xíng”, for its part, targets the ruler himself: only by cultivating his potency can his rule become like that of King Wén 文.⁴⁵

Note that in the philosophy of the “Wǔ xíng”, self-cultivation is not limited to men of high social pedigree. Quite to the contrary, 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 since, by default, such self-consciousness can be nourished in every human being.

4.4. Structure and Thought

For comparative purposes, in my exposition of the structure of the “Wǔ xíng”, I adopt the division of sections as proposed earlier by Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久.⁴⁶ However, since Ikeda’s division neither answers directly to any of the reading marks that appear in the “Wǔ xíng” from the so-called ‘library’ of *Guōdiàn One*, nor does it provide a fine-

⁴³ See the *Mèngzǐ* 2/A/6 and 6/A/6.

⁴⁴ See my discussion of the “*Qióng dá yǐ shí*” (chap. 3).

⁴⁵ See strip w29/12-13.

⁴⁶ Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 1993.

grained analysis of the building blocks proper, or identify them adequately, I make changes when necessary to show the relevant units of thought.⁴⁷

Most studies divide the “Wǔ xíng” into two greater parts (cantos), namely a general outline of the text’s philosophy and a rather detailed discussion of the same. Yet, as we shall see in the following, compared with other texts from the *Guōdiàn* One, this distinction is not vital for the analysis of structure and thought of the “Wǔ xíng”.

In his seminal paper on the “Wǔ xíng”, Xíng Wén has divided the “Wǔ xíng” on strip *w*20. According to his analysis, the first canto, or Part one, would thus contain units 1 through 9, running from the first graphs on strip *w*1⁴⁸ through strip *w*20/17.⁴⁹ Dīng Sixīn, for his part, ends canto one of the “Wǔ xíng” after strip *w*16/2.⁵⁰ As I deem the corresponding thought to end on strip *w*20/17, I follow Xíng’s division. Note, however, that this partition is not absolute. I come back to this further below.

The “Wǔ xíng” establishes cross-referential links throughout the text so as to patterning thought. These links can span over various layers. One unit of the “Wǔ xíng” introduces a notion, which then explains another aspect of the text. Yet, the notion introduced so as to explain another issue in many instances needs further explanation, too, in order to be fully comprehensible. Thus, only by identifying the various cross-referential links can the train of thought as developed in the “Wǔ xíng” be followed. In many instances, these referential layers may be found further ways down in the text. This makes it not an easy task to disclose the system of links and references which the text sets up so as to advance the argument. Thus, to arrive at a consistent reading, the “Wǔ xíng” demands a

⁴⁷ Whenever I think Ikeda had better subdivided his sections into smaller fractions, I take this into account by an additional subdivision. For instance, I have subdivided the first pericope into two building blocks, 1.1 and 1.2, of what would be paragraph 1 in Ikeda’s system.

⁴⁸ Starting with the graphs 五行 “[As for] the five [aspects of] conduct.”

⁴⁹ 唯有德者 然後能金聲而玉振之 “[This is why] only if there is a person possessing potency, thereafter it can be that ‘bronze [bells] sound, but it is through a jade [stone] that hits them’.” See Xíng Wén 邢文 1998.

⁵⁰ His division thus runs from the beginnings of the text through the line [玉音] 則形 [形]^{w16} 則聖 “[Only] if having a jade-like tone, [man] will be given shape; [Only] if given shape^{w16}, [man] will be sagacious”. See Dīng Sixīn 丁四新 2000 (a), pp. 126 f.

continuous search of links referring back in the construction of an argument—it helps indeed to read the argument from bottom to top.

This system of referential links is a vital means for constructing meaning in the “Wǔ xíng”. Yet, even though in some cases the referential links might not seem clear to the modern reader, both versions of the text nevertheless obey this system in a coherent manner. Moreover, another vital element of argument-construction in the “Wǔ xíng” is its reference to the shared cultural memory at many instances throughout the text. Not all of these references can be traced to their original source, but these instances are all used in a coherent fashion. Another particularity of the composition of the “Wǔ xíng” is what I term ‘principal insertion’. Both ‘editions’ of the “Wǔ xíng” construct meaning by a coherent use of this device. I shall describe this feature in my analysis below.

4.4.1. The “Wǔ xíng” Canto One

Canto one of the “Wǔ xíng” consists of four sub-units. In accordance with Biblical studies, I refer to them under ‘sub-cantos’. As already noted above,⁵¹ the term sub-canto, as a rule, describes the higher meaningful unit following the building block or pericope of a text. Despite this, due to its particular role in the organization of an argument-based text, to which I shall refer in more detail further below, in exceptional cases even the individual building block may be described as a sub-canto on its own.

⁵¹ See p. 111, n. 17 of the present chapter.

4.4.1.1. Sub-Canto One

In the opening passage (1.1), which extends over eight bamboo strips and consists of five building blocks, the “Wǔ xíng” introduces the five central virtues of this text. These are ‘benevolence’ (*rén* 仁), ‘righteousness’ (*yì* 義), ‘ritual propriety’ (*lǐ* 禮), ‘wisdom’ (*zhì* 智), and ‘sagacity’ (*shèng* 聖).⁵² It furthermore opens up fundamental distinctions between key concepts of the text, which will concern us further below. These are, in particular, the concept of ‘five aspects of conduct’ (*wǔ xíng* 五行) versus that of ‘four aspects of conduct’ (*sì xíng* 四行); ‘potency’ (*dé* 德) versus ‘goodness’ (*shàn* 善); ‘aspiring’ (*zhì* 志) versus ‘acting for’ (*wèi* 為). Sub-canto one thus provides the recipient of the text with the basic technical terminology of what can be considered the framework of the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory—yet it does not provide in-depth explanation for the same. Only by working one’s way through the entire ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory, will the recipient of this text eventually contextualize the tools arrayed in this initial unit of the “Wǔ xíng”.

Sub-canto one also introduces the notion of the accomplished, namely the gentleman, *jūnzǐ*. According to the definition provided, he has realized potency, *dé*, within, and thus arrives at the highest possible level of self-cultivation. Sub-canto one contrasts him with the *jūnzǐ* who is of high social pedigree only:

1.1.

^{w1} 五行

仁形於內謂之德之行，

不形於內謂之行■。

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■]。†

[智形]於內謂之德之行，†

⁵² The unit under review runs from strip w1/1 to strip w9/2 (that is, from the beginning of strip w1/1, 五行 “as for the five virtues...” to [不安]不樂, [不樂]^{w9}無德 “if not at easy, [you] will not be happy, if not happy, [you] will lack potency” on strip w9.

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■。

^{w1} As for the five aspects of conduct (*wǔ xíng*) [it holds true that]:
 When benevolence is given shape internally, it is called ‘virtuous conduct’,
 When it is not given shape internally, it is called ‘conduct’ [only].
 When righteousness is given shape internally, it is called ‘virtuous ^{w2} conduct’,
 When it is not given shape internally, it is called ‘conduct’ [only].
 When ritual propriety is given shape internally, it is called ‘virtuous conduct’,
 When it is not given shape internally, it is called ^{w3} {‘conduct’ [only]}. †
 {When wisdom is given shape} internally, it is called ‘virtuous conduct’, †
 When it is not given shape internally, it is called ‘conduct’ [only].
 When sagacity is given shape internally, it is called ‘virtuous ^{w4} conduct’,
 When it is not given shape internally, it is [nevertheless still] called ‘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。

[Thus], the conduct of virtue contains five [aspects]—when brought into harmony,
 [we] call it “virtue”.
 When four [aspects] of conduct are brought into harmony, [we] call it ‘goodness’.
 Goodness, this is the way ^{w5} of Man.
 Virtue, this is the heavenly way.

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。

For the gentleman (*jūnzǐ*) [it holds true that] when lacking concern in his inner
 mind, then he will also be without wisdom in his inner mind
 When lacking wisdom in his inner mind, then [he will also] be without ^{w6} {joy} in
 his inner mind.
 {When lacking joy in his inner mind, then [he will also] not} be at ease.

When [he] is not at ease, then [he will also] not be happy.
 When [he] is not happy, then [he will also] be without virtue.

3.

五行皆形于內而時行^{w7}之，
 謂之君□[子]。†
 士有志於君子道，謂志士。

When all aspects of conduct are given shape internally, and when^{w7} they are conducted at their [appropriate] time, this is what [we] call gentle-*{man}*.
 The scholar who has aspiration for the gentleman-way, he is what [we] call ‘aspiring scholar’.

4.

善弗為無近，
 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。

[Such as] for goodness, when refraining from acting, there will be nothing for approaching [it],
 [And] for potency, when refraining from^{w8} aspiration, [it] will not be accomplished,
 [The same holds true] for wisdom, when refraining from thinking, [it] will not be reached.
 [This is because], if thinking is not clear, it will not be investigating, †
 If thinking does not grow, it will not be given shape.
 If not given shape, [you] will not be at ease,⁵³

⁵³ I propose to add the subject [you] to this translation. It is true that we have an argumentative chain here, which would suggest to read the line with “if [it (=thinking)] is not given shape, [it] will not be at ease”. But we could also read this sequence in the sense of having *two* argumentative chains (preceded by three headings) connected together, or better, interlinked with each other. The second argumentative chain (that in which the ‘you’ had to be added) can then only be seen as a result of the first. This translation is mostly based on the contents of this passage, because it seems to me more reasonable to assume that the text argues that, under the prerequisite of the above argumentative chains, *a person* lacks potency, not thinking (and further below we would get nearly ridiculous reading if not allowing a change of the subject as in this passage). I agree that an argument *ex silentio* as suggested for this passage (and for various passages below) bears the danger of circular argumentation. However, the formal structure of this passage seems to hint to

If not at ease, [you] will not be happy,
 If not happy,^{w9} [you] will lack potency.

Concerning the structure and thought of this unit, the following may be observed (see also figure 13 below). To begin with, building block 1.2 obtains the function of a ‘double-directed segment’⁵⁴: the two opening lines of 1.2 conclude the account of building block 1.1 by pointing to the difference between the cultivation of five virtues versus that of four virtues. This corroborates the stability of the account presented in 1.1.⁵⁵ Building block 1.2 also introduces a new notion, by which the argument is continued.⁵⁶ Seen from the catchwords that link up building block 1.1 with 1.2, namely ‘five aspects of conduct’ (*wǔ xíng* 五行) and ‘virtuous conduct’ (*dé zhī xíng* 德之行), but also from the fact that the feature of a double-directed segment in most cases closes a coherent unit, can we deduce that building block 1.1 and 1.2 together constitute one unit, which in the following I shall call ‘pericope’.⁵⁷

Catchwords from building block 1.2, then, reappear in building blocks 3 and 4—not in building block 2, however. By implication, the “Wǔ xíng” links together the former units, and it formally marks off a discontinuity of the argument in building block 2.⁵⁸ This

such a change, too. The first argumentative chain always names the subject of this chain; the second—the one for which I suggest the subject ‘you’—changes the pattern.

⁵⁴ For the feature ‘double-directed segment’, see also chapter 3 on the “Qióng dá yǐ shí”.

⁵⁵ Since the publication of the Guōdiàn One version of the “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 given shape internally, it is [nevertheless still] called ‘virtuous conduct’.” Because this line deviates from the basic pattern of 1.1, scholars argue that it is a scribal error for what should in fact read 不形於內謂之行 “When it is not given shape internally, it is called ‘conduct’ only”—leaving out the two graphs 德之 (the x of potency) as seen in the Mǎwángduī Three version of the “Wǔ xíng”. However, as building block 1.2 takes up the distinction between the inner realization of either four or five virtues, I think that it is not the Guōdiàn One version that shows a scribal mistake, but instead, the Mǎwángduī Three version that displays sort of ‘correction’ because to later readers the passage in question might have become unclear. Or it is an unconscious scribal error.

⁵⁶ The notions introduced in the first ab-pair reappear in reverse order, and the text provides a definition for ‘goodness’ and ‘potency’: The former equals the ‘human way’, whereas the latter equals the ‘heavenly way’.

⁵⁷ Note that there is no universally valid definition of what a pericope actually is (such as there would be no such definition for “section”). Instead, what the confines of a pericope are have to be developed for each particular text. As a rule, the pericope is a structural unit below that of the sub-canto, but larger than the individual and highly distinct building block.

⁵⁸ Structural Biblical studies have shown that larger units “appear to be linked together by a catchwords, which need not be used in the same manner”; instead, they serve the purpose of “forming the ‘hinges’” of

discontinuity is further stressed by the dissimilar pattern of building block 2: of the sub-canto under review, only building block 2 is phrased in the pattern of an argumentative chain. I come back to this further below.

Catchwords that are introduced in building block 2, then, reappear in building blocks 3 and 4.⁵⁹ By means of this, sub-canto one links up the concepts introduced in building block 2 with building blocks 3 and 4 and creates a consistent account therein. Accordingly, building block 3 arrives at a positive definition for what would be a ‘*jūnzǐ*’ (building block 2), in parts already provided in building block 1.2.⁶⁰ By bringing into play the scholarly knight (*shì* 士; building block 3), the unit under review makes clear that the way of the gentleman is indeed something that can be achieved by the individual—as long as he aspires to it (*zhì* 志).

We see that building block 4 takes up most aspects that were introduced above. Building block 4 refers to the distinction between ‘potency’ and ‘goodness’ (1.2), attaching to these the concepts ‘aspiration of’ (from 3) and ‘acting for’. It thereby alludes to the fact as concerned by the author(s) of the “*Wǔ xíng*” that ‘goodness’ is a concrete issue that can be acted for practically. ‘Potency’, instead, is an abstract concept that can only be aspired to. Also, building block 4 takes up the concept ‘wisdom’ *zhì* 智 from building block 2. Building block 4 then parallels ‘wisdom’ with ‘goodness’ and ‘potency’, and the text states that ‘thinking’, *sī* 思, is a necessary precondition for gaining ‘wisdom’. By this formal device of paralleling ‘wisdom’ with goodness and potency, the “*Wǔ xíng*” illustrates that the process of reaching wisdom practically underlies the same principle as that of establishing goodness or potency within—the final result of moral cultivation (for

larger units. See Marjo Korpel 2000, p. 48. This observation applies as well to many of the argument-based texts from *Guōdiàn* One.

⁵⁹ These are the concept ‘*jūnzǐ*’, gentleman, negatively introduced in building block 2 and now reappearing in 3; the necessity of *zhì* 智 ‘wisdom’ for the process of self-cultivation, now reappearing in 4; lastly, the rather cryptic argumentative chain from building block 2 (“...when lacking joy one will not be at ease, when not at ease, one will not be happy, when not happy, one will be without potency”), which also reappears in building block 4.

⁶⁰ The gentleman as the ‘accomplished person’ who has cultivated all five aspects of virtuous conduct.

which the cultivation of wisdom in turn is a necessary precondition).⁶¹ Lastly, note that the rather cryptic argumentative chain from building block 2 reappears in the building block under review.⁶² Sub-canto one thus demonstrates that nourishing the particular virtue of wisdom underlies the same principle as arriving at potency overall. It seems that the author(s) of the “Wǔ xíng” picture that the function which wisdom obtains for nourishing potency in his process of self-cultivation parallels that of thinking in the process of nourishing wisdom. In other words, without thinking, the process of self-cultivation cannot be put into practice.

The cryptic argumentative chain just referred to above (which appears in building block and building block 4) is of special interest. It is a stable element that appears here and there throughout the “Wǔ xíng” and is used to add weight to the argument established—here it parallels the correlation between thinking and wisdom on the one side, with that of wisdom and potency on the other side. Despite the fact that it is highly enigmatic, the cryptic argumentative chain clearly functions to explain another concept—or corroborate the same—instead of being explained itself. This makes it highly plausible that this element (or parts of it) is taken from another source, quoting a piece of cultural lore, which must have been shared by the cultural élite of those days so as to be fully comprehensible. So far, I haven’t been able to trace its origin.

As noted, building block 2 seems somewhat out of place formally. If we take into account what structural biblical studies call a ‘distant parallelism’,⁶³ it becomes obvious that, structurally, building block 2 is a ‘distant’ external element of this sub-canto in that it cuts right through building blocks 1.1 and 1.2 on the one side, and 3 and 4 on the other side, all of which are linked up by various catchwords and concepts. This alien unit

⁶¹ The formal parallelism that is created here is thus of philosophic importance. This must be rendered in the translation of this passage.

⁶² I have rendered this in figure 13 by the pointed rectangle.

⁶³ 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’ (Marjo Korpel 2000, p. 48.). When referring to such structural elements that not only pattern one individual building block, but instead link together the larger fraction of one pericope, I refer to this as ‘distant’ (from ‘distant parallelism’), so as to noting its special function. For a further discussion of the feature ‘distant parallelisms’, see *ibid.*, n.143.

carries the main thought of the present sub-canto. It stresses the importance of the particular virtue wisdom in the gentleman's process of self-cultivation. Further below I shall explain why this is so.

Differences of the present sub-canto from the one from the Mǎwángdū Three 'edition' are as follows. The Mǎwángdū Three version introduces the five aspects listed up in building block 1.1 in the order of benevolence (*rén*), wisdom (*zhì*), righteousness (*yì*), ritual propriety (*lǐ*), sagacity (*shèng*)—as compared to *rén, yì, lǐ, zhì, shèng* in the Guōdiàn One version. For the fifth of the virtues, the Mǎwángdū Three version once more reiterates the formula used throughout.⁶⁴ I believe that the Mǎwángdū Three version errs here in the presentation of the 'wǔ xíng'-theory. The distinction between cultivating either four or five virtues within, as opened up in building block 1.2, corroborates this suggestion.⁶⁵ The mistake possibly has come into being when writing down the Mǎwángdū Three version. Maybe it reflects a different understanding of this passage. Either way, this difference should not cause us too much of a headache, as it is not tangential to the present focus of research, namely the structural analysis of the "Wǔ xíng" text with respect to the Mǎwángdū Three instantiation of it. Nonetheless, I believe I am fully justified in concluding that the Guōdiàn One version at this point renders more closely the 'original' idea of the text—if I may use the anachronistic concept here. In addition, building block 2 from the Mǎwángdū Three version is twice as long the one from Guōdiàn One. The chain developed therein is repeated, only that the Mǎwángdū Three version substitutes 'sagacity', *shèng* 聖 for 'wisdom', *zhì* 智 in the second row.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ It thus reads: "When [sagacity] is not given shape internally, it is called 'conduct' [only]" 不形於內謂之行 (172/18-173/2; not counting lost characters), whereas the Guōdiàn One version states: "When [sagacity] is not given shape internally, it [nevertheless] is called 'virtuous conduct'" 不形於內謂之德之行 w3/15-w4/11; not counting lost or repeated characters).

⁶⁵ As the Mǎwángdū Three version displays the same distinction in building block 1.2, I believe I am the more justified to assume a slip that happened when writing down the Mǎwángdū Three version.

⁶⁶ The Mǎwángdū 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

Páng Pú 龐樸 believes that the Guōdiàn One version for some reason ‘omits’ this part.⁶⁷ That might be the case. Yet, it could likewise be that the difference answers to an insertion of the Mǎwángduī Three version—be it unconscious or conscious, possibly due to the will of being more explicit, or reflecting a new set of ideas. So far, we have no grounds on which we could settle this issue, excluding any of the possibilities. Lastly, building block 4 from the Mǎwángduī Three version is slightly longer than the one from Guōdiàn One.⁶⁸

None of these dissimilarities distorts the logical organization of the sub-canto under review, despite the fact that the two ‘editions’ also display minor dissimilarities on the level of the individual building blocks. The arrangement of the five building blocks that constitute sub-canto one, however, differs not in the slightest from the ‘edition’ of the Mǎwángduī Three text. Regardless the minor differences on the lexical level, we can thus regard sub-canto one as a stable unit. The “Wǔ xíng” from Mǎwángduī Three corroborates this assumption. See the following figure for an overview over sub-canto one:

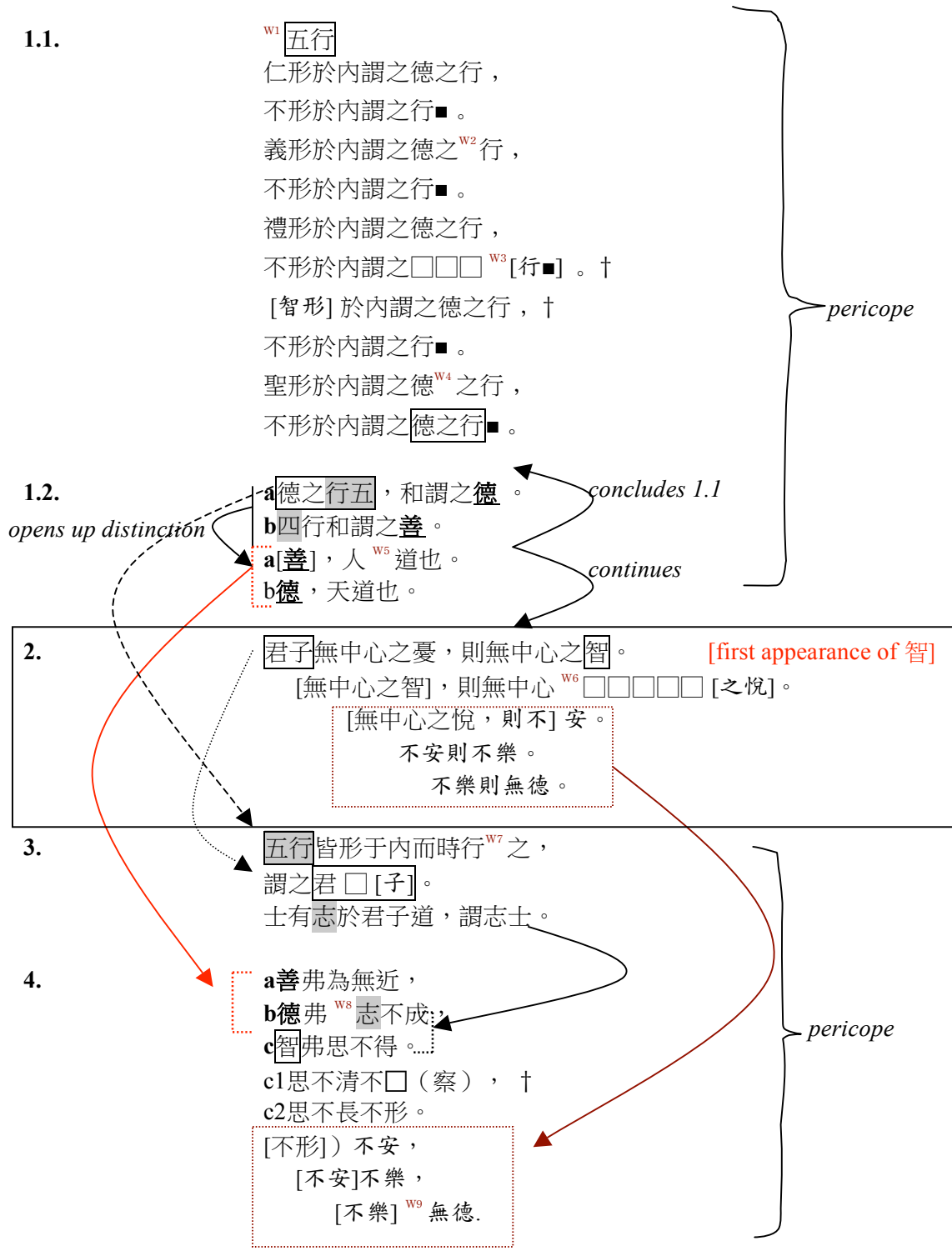
7 無中心之聖 則無中心之悅
 8 無中心之悅 則不安
 9 不安則不樂
 10 不樂則無德

Lines 6 through 10 are not extant in the Guōdiàn One version.

⁶⁷ See Páng Pú 龐樸 2000, p. 32.

⁶⁸ See my discussion in the appendix (chap. 11) under [I].

Figure 13: The First Sub-Canto of the “Wū xíng”



4.4.1.2. Sub-Canto Two

The next meaningful stable unit of the “Wǔ xíng” runs over a little more than three and a half bamboo strips.⁶⁹ It dwells on the relationship of the virtues benevolence (*rén* 仁) with wisdom (*zhì* 智), and benevolence (*rén* 仁) with sagacity (*shèng* 聖):

5.1.

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「懌懌」。
 「既見」君子，「心」不能「悅」。
 「亦既見之，亦既觀之，
 我心則^{w11}□□[悅]」。70
 [夫]此之謂□□[也]。†

If not benevolent, [your] thinking cannot be clear,
 If not wise, [your] thinking cannot grow.
 If neither benevolent nor wise, “while not yet having seen a gentleman”,
 “[My] sorrowful heart”^{w10} cannot be “disturbed.”
 “Until [I] have” not “seen” the gentleman, [my] “heart” will not be “pleased.”⁷¹
 “Let me have seen him, let me have met him,
 and my heart will then^{w11} {be pleased}.” †⁷²
 {That is} what this [line] is about. †⁷³

5.2.

[不]仁，思不能清，
 不^聖，思不能^輕。74

⁶⁹ From strip w9/3 不仁 思不能清 “If not benevolent, [your] thinking cannot be clear” through strip w12/17 既見君子 心不能降 “Let him have seen the gentleman, [and yet my] heart cannot be stilled”.

⁷⁰ The three lines “亦既見之，亦既觀之，我心則 □ [悅]” quote the ode, “Shàonán: Cǎochóng” (*Máo*: 14);

⁷¹ This line is an adaptation of the odes, “Cǎochóng” (Grasshoppers, *Máo* 14). As Csikszentmihalyi (2004, p. 283) adds, there are numerous phrases of 未見君子 “while I have not yet seen a gentleman” throughout the Odes. When a “before/after” structure is used, the Gentleman’s effect on others is emphasized [ibidem].

⁷² This is a direct quotation of the odes, “Cǎochóng” (Grasshoppers, *Máo* 14).

⁷³ Coupled with the philosophy of this treatise, it seems that the “Wǔ xíng” aims to explain the last line “let me have seen him...”, together with the philosophy of this treatise.

⁷⁴ The two terms *shèng* and *qīng* are newly introduced.

不仁不_聖，^{w12}「未見君子」，
 「憂心」不能「忡忡」；
 「既見君子」，「心」不能「降」。⁷⁵

[Such as] {*if not*} benevolent, [your] thinking cannot be clear,
 If not sagacious, [your] thinking cannot be easy, [likewise].
 If neither benevolent, nor sagacious, “while not yet having seen the gentleman”,
 [my] “sorrowful heart” cannot be “agitated”;
 “Let him have seen the gentleman”, [and yet “my] heart” cannot be “stilled.”

The technique by which the virtues benevolence and sagacity are introduced here, namely by correlating them to the already defined virtue wisdom (*zhì* 智), dwelled on in the previous sub-canto above,⁷⁶ is the same I have discussed at length earlier on.⁷⁷ It can thus be left without further elaboration here. Structurally, however, the sub-canto under review is of some interest, as it quotes the anthology known to us as Odes in a peculiar fashion.

The unit under review most likely refers to the odes known today as Cǎochóng 草蟲 (Grasshopper)⁷⁸ and Chū jū 出車 (Presenting the chariots),⁷⁹ both of which describe someone’s desperate need of seeing the *jūnzǐ*, for having his agitated heart stilled.⁸⁰ At

I have discussed in detail the technique of introducing new terms in Early Chinese argument-based texts. See Dirk Meyer, 2005 [2006] and 2005/2006 [2007].

⁷⁵ This passage appears in “Xiǎoyá: Chū jū (Presenting Chariots, *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 is agitated. Let me have seen my lord, and my heart will then calm down” (after Karlgren 1950, p. 113; adjusted); “Shàonán: Cǎochóng” (*Máo*: 14): 未見君子 夏心忡忡 亦既見止 亦既覯止 我心則 “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” (after Karlgren 1950, p. 9; adjusted).

⁷⁶ See building block 2.

⁷⁷ See chapter 2, p. 59, n. 25 (“Zhōng xìn zhī dào”).

⁷⁸ *Máo* 14. See n. 78 above.

⁷⁹ *Máo* 168. See n. 78 above.

⁸⁰ Note the internal conflict in the attempt to reconstruct something like the *Urtext* or at least the ‘original meaning’ of the Odes. We do possess both the text of the *Máo* version of the Odes and the correlating set of interpretations for the same, which largely represents one exegetical tradition available in Hàn times. However, we know from the “Kǒngzǐ shī lùn” (Mǎ Chéngyuán 馬承源 2001, vol. 1, pp. 11-41; 119-168) that in Warring States period existed a radically different set of interpretations of the Odes. The ‘external’ commentary to the Mǎwángdū Three instantiation of the “Wǔ xíng” furthermore suggests that by 168 BC (the date when the text was written at its latest) the interpretation of Odes as provided by the “Kǒngzǐ shī lùn” was still circulating. Given that the set of interpretation as provided by the external commentary of the Mǎwángdū Three “Wǔ xíng”, which despite chronologic difference of more than ca. 150 years is

first glance, it might seem that the two building blocks do not constitute a coherent unit, as the corresponding idea of building block 5.1 appears to be closed with the formula: “{*That is*} what this [ode] is about”.⁸¹ However, considering the feature of a distant parallelism introduced briefly above, we arrive at a different conclusion concerning the proper demarcation of this unit, its stability, and also the principal concern of the same. See the following figure:

Figure 14: Sub-Canto Two: Quoting the Odes

- 5.1. 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「惓惓」。
「既見君子」，「心」不能「悅」。
「亦既見之，亦既觀之，
我心則^{w11}□□[悅]」。
[夫]此之謂□□[也]。 [first appearance of 仁]
- 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」。 [first appearance of 聖]

As can be seen, the two building blocks 5.1 and 5.2 display a high degree of textual overlap.⁸² The latter building block basically repeats the formula of the former; only that it substitutes the discussion of wisdom (*zhì*) with that of sagacity (*shèng*). This suggests a

nevertheless in congruence with the particular reading as provided by the “Kǒngzǐ shī lùn”, we might assume that this approach to the Odes must have been decidedly prominent before it was probably displaced by the distinct interpretation of the Odes as provided by the *Máo* tradition (note the rather late advancement of the *Máo* tradition; see Riegel 2001, p. 100). However, whereas we now possess the *interpretation* of the Odes in Warring States period from excavated manuscripts, we still largely miss its *text*. We have to keep this discrepancy in mind when dealing with the Odes today. I thank Martin Kern for describing this deficiency in his lecture “Reading the *Guófēng*, Reading the “Kǒngzǐ shī lùn”: Münster, Germany (Institut für Ostasienkunde, 12.06.06). For a brief summary of his lecture, see Martin Kern 2006.

⁸¹ [夫]此之謂□□[也].

⁸² I have remarked this with a dashed rectangle.

correlation of the two pairs. Note, however, that the latter lines of 5.1 are not extant in 5.2. Thus, as seen in the previous sub-canto, in which building block 2 appears as a structurally alien element that cuts right through a uniform pattern, the latter lines of 5.1 also cut through this otherwise uniform entity. Accordingly, as seen in the previous sub-canto, the lines in question fulfill the following goals: they formulate the fundamentals of this unit; they also mark them off. In the following, I shall refer to this aspect of marking off and formulating the principal notion of a passage by means of inserting a structurally alien element into an otherwise uniform figure as ‘principal insertion’.⁸³ As noted above, the seemingly foreign element of an otherwise coherent pattern that creates a principal insertion also carries the main information of a unit. In this, the principal insertion is probably similar to what Joachim Gentz has described in various instances as ‘double-directed parallelism’.⁸⁴ These features are similar in that they both cut right through otherwise uniform units. Nonetheless, the principal insertion differs from the double-directed parallelism in that its main function is not that of bridging an argument to another idea of a text, the fundamental function of the double-directed parallelism as described by Gentz, but to phrase the core notion of the same. Turning back the focus of investigation to the passage under review, we see that the stress of sub-canto two lies in the fact that seeing the accomplished results in pleasure. This notion is central to the entire “Wǔ xíng”. It reoccurs at various instances throughout.

Feeling joy when seeing the accomplished is not for its own sake. Instead, the ability to feel joy is a basic precondition for man to complete his process of self-cultivation and to nourish potency, *dé*, within, as we have learned from the principal insertion of the previous sub-canto. The unit under review thus functions as elaborating element for the principal insertion of sub-canto one. “Joy”, we learn therein, is the necessary condition for activating the resonating chain that leads to the cultivation of one’s potency, *dé*.⁸⁵

⁸³ As the principal insertion traced in sub-sub-canto one cuts right through the otherwise coherent patterns of building blocks 1.1 and 1.2 on the one side, and 3 and 4 on the other side, we may thus speak of a distant type thereof.

⁸⁴ See Joachim Gentz 2005 [2006].

⁸⁵ 無中心之悅，則不]安。
不安則不樂。
不樂則無德。

Seeing the accomplished, in turn, is the precondition for feeling joy—as stated in sub-canto two. Further below we shall learn why this is so.

As may be seen, the function of the distant principal insertion in the sub-canto under review is to relate the two parallel building blocks 5.1 and 5.2 together and to create a stable unit. As the feature distant principal insertion carries the main thought of a textual unit, we see that the stress lies on the necessity of seeing the accomplished. Moreover, the analysis also highlights, the way in which the Odes are integrated in the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory as expressed in the present text: integrating Odes with the text proper, the “Wǔ xíng” comments on the Odes, as already remarked by Martin Kern.⁸⁶ Note, however, that the central claim of this sub-canto is itself phrased with lines from the Odes. Thus, the “Wǔ xíng” not only elaborates Odes; Odes in turn also add weight to the philosophical position of the “Wǔ xíng” self. The two texts lend each other mutual support on various levels and in highly intricate ways, an observation to which I come back further below.⁸⁷

Differences of the sub-canto under review with that of the Mǎwángduī Three instantiation of the “Wǔ xíng” remain on the level of minor lexical or scribal variation. Moreover, the Mǎwángduī Three version introduces the Odes by name,⁸⁸ and the quotation itself is slightly longer in the Mǎwángduī Three version.⁸⁹ Organization and internal logic of this sub-canto differ not in the slightest in the two ‘editions’ of the “Wǔ xíng”.

4.4.1.3. Sub-Canto Three

Sub-canto three contains three building blocks, namely 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3; or little more than three bamboo strips.⁹⁰ This unit as a whole is a referential clarification of the previous sub-canto. Three argumentative chains neatly explain the precise meaning of

⁸⁶ See Martin Kern 2005 (c).

⁸⁷ See chapter 8.




⁸⁸ The ode is introduced by the formula “*shī yuē*” (詩曰).

⁸⁹ It adds: 未見君子 憂心惓惓 “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”.

⁹⁰ Strip w12/9 through strip w16/2.

terms used above. Sub-canto three highlights the correlation of ‘clear thoughts’ with the virtue ‘benevolence’; the correlation of ‘growing thoughts’ with ‘wisdom’; and lastly that of ‘easy thoughts’ with ‘sagacity’. All of these are virtues that are necessary for seeing the accomplished. See the figure below:

Figure 15: Sub-Canto Three

- 6.1. 仁之思也清。  *taking up building block 5.1; 5.2, line 1*
- [清]^{w13}則察，
[察]則安，
[安]則溫，
[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。  *taking up 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。  *taking up 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。

6.1.

The thinking of the benevolent is clear.
 [This is because, only] if [thinking] is clear ^{w13} can [it] be investigating,
 [Only] if investigating will [Man] be at ease,
 [Only] if at ease will [Man] be gentle,
 [Only] if gentle will [Man] be joyful,
 [Only] if joyful will [Man feel] closeness,
 [Only] if feeling closeness will [Man] be intimate,
 [Only] if intimate will [Man] be caring,
 [Only] if caring will [Man] have jade-like coloration,⁹¹
 [Only] if having jade-like coloration will [Man] be given shape,
 [Only] if given shape will [Man] be benevolent.

6.2.

^{w14} The thinking of the wise must be growing,
 [This is because, only] if [thinking] grows can [it] be obtained,
 [Only] if obtained will [Man] not forget,
 [Only] if not forgetting will [Man] be clairvoyant,
 [Only] if clairvoyant will [Man] see the capable,
 [Only] if seeing the capable will [Man] be of a jade coloration,
 [Only] if of a jade coloration will [Man] be given shape,
 [Only] if given shape ^{w15} will [Man] be wise.

6.3.

The thinking of the sagacious must be easy.
 [This is because, only] if easy can [it] be given shape;
 [Only] if given shape will [Man] not forget,
 [Only] if not forgetting will [Man] be clairaudient,
 [Only] if clairaudient will [Man] hear the way of the gentleman,
 [Only] if hearing the way of the gentleman will [Man] have a jade-like tone,
 [Only] if having a jade-like tone will [Man] be given shape,
 [Only] if given shape ^{w16} will [Man] be sagacious.

Several remarks can be made on the present sub-canto. First, this unit shows that in argument-based texts from the Warring States period, the formal structure of a textual unit is clearly detached from its fixation on a material carrier, that is, in the present case, bamboo strips. None of the three argumentative chains corresponds with the length of a strip, even though it would have been easy to place each string on one strip—had there

⁹¹ In the “Wū xíng” appear the terms *yù sè* 玉色 ‘jade-like coloration’, *yù yīn* 玉音 ‘jade-like sound’, *jīn shēng* 金聲 ‘golden tone’, *yù zhèn* 玉震 ‘jade vibrating [...]’. Kenneth Holloway (2002, p. 144) notes that all such terms describe an “external manifestation of a person’s internal virtue”.

only existed the concept of a correlation between formal structure and physical carrier.⁹² This plainly shows that for the addressee of an argument-based text—howsoever we have to imagine the recipient of such texts (i.e., reading, listening or in fact instructed)⁹³—the physical appearance of an argument (and of text overall) had no impact on the comprehensibility of the same. All that matters is rhythm. Second, as noted, the sub-canto under review elaborates notions introduced in the previous sub-canto. As such it naturally follows the passage, to which it refers (w9/3-w12/16) so as to be meaningful. The Mǎwángduī Three text is organized in the same fashion. Third, the fact that this textual unit refers to individual lines from sub-canto two above, furthermore suggests that the to-be-explained notions are issues of importance, most likely known to the recipient of the “Wǔ xíng”. As such, it is reasonable to assume that they are quotations from sources that are no longer extant today and hence unknown to us.⁹⁴ Lastly, the argumentative chains that dwell on notions from sub-canto two are themselves highly enigmatic—especially the reference to “jade-like coloration” (*yù sè* 玉色) or “jade-like tone” (*yù yīn* 玉音). These will be explained further down by passages to come. I come back to these issues further below.

Comparing the two instantiations of the “Wǔ xíng”, it becomes clear that only the first of the three argumentative chains is slightly different.⁹⁵ Be it due to conscious editorial

⁹² This shows that Boltz errs in his attempt to explain the stable textual units from the materiality of their physical carrier, namely by pointing to the length of bamboo strips. For Boltz’s argument, see his contribution in 2005. Dissimilar instances can only be made out for non-argument-based texts. For instance, the fragmentary Shuānggǔduī manuscript of the Odes (to which I have referred on p. 104, n. 8 above) seems to record each ode on one individual strip respectively. Edward Shaughnessy’s approach to reconstruct the “original” sequence of the “Zī yī”, that is, the “source text available to the editor of the *Lǐ jī*” results from such observations. In his study, Shaughnessy hypothesizes that in this “source text”, each building block (Shaughnessy calls this pericope) must have been written on one individual bamboo strip respectively. He also conjectures that the pictured “source text” did not record more than 21 to 24 characters per strip. For the full account of his argument, see idem 2006, pp. 64-70.

⁹³ On the addressee of the Guōdiàn One texts, see my discussion in chapters 6 and 8.

⁹⁴ On the use of quotations in argument-based texts, see my discussion in chapter 8.

⁹⁵ After w13/6 ([安]則溫), the Mǎwángduī Three version continues with the line stating {...“then one knows about the way of the gentleman. Knowing the way of the gentleman, then one} will not lack concern. If not lacking concern, then one will have jade-like coloration. If having jade-like coloration, one will take shape. If taking shape, one will be benevolent” □□□□則不憂 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 “...one knows about the way of the gentleman. Knowing the way of the gentleman, ...”) The Guōdiàn One line, instead, reads [溫]則悅 悅則戚 戚則親 親則愛 愛則玉色 玉色則形 形則仁 “... then man will be joyful. If joyful, man will feel closeness. If feeling closeness, man

choice or unconscious deviation caused by the continuous transmission of the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory—the slight difference remains beyond our understanding. Notwithstanding this slight dissimilarity, the structure of the sub-canto under review is not affected. In terms of text-organization, the two manifestations of the “Wǔ xíng” do not differ in the slightest.

4.4.1.4. Sub-Canto Four

Sub-canto four extends over some four and a half bamboo strips. It contains four building blocks.⁹⁶ These are building block 7.1 through 9:

7.1.

「淑人君子，其儀一」也。⁹⁷
能為一，然後能為君子。
慎其獨也。

“The polite man, the gentleman, unified he is in his deportment.”
[Only if he] is able to act for to the unified, thereafter can [he] make himself into a gentleman.
[The gentleman] attends to his loneliness.⁹⁸

7.2.

^{w17} □□□□ 「[瞻望弗及]，泣涕如雨」。
能「差池其羽」，然後能至哀。
君子慎其^{w18} □□□□ [獨也]

“{I looked after her yet I could not see her}, and my tears fell like rain.”⁹⁹
[Only if] able to “disarray the wings” is [Man] capable of utmost grieving.¹⁰⁰

will be intimate. If intimate, man will be caring. If caring, man will have jade-like coloration. If having jade-like coloration, man will be given shape. If given shape, man will be benevolent”.

⁹⁶ It runs from strip w16/3 (「淑人君子 其儀一」也) through strip w20/17 (唯有德者 然後能金聲而玉振之), not counting the graphs that are no longer extant on the strips and that had to be reconstructed.

⁹⁷ A rather similar passage also appears in the “Guófēng: Shījiū (*Máo*: 152): [尸鳥]鳩在桑其子其兮淑人君子其儀一兮 “the Shījiū’s birds offspring is seven, the polite man, the gentleman, unified he is in his deportment.” The Mǎwángduī version reads the following: 尸(九, □below)在桑其子七氏淑人君子其宜一氏.

⁹⁸ See the discussion by Liú Xinfāng 2000, pp. 315-26.

⁹⁹ This passage also appears in the “Guófēng: Yànyàn (*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 version quotes the same ode, yet citing two more lines.

The gentleman attends to his ^{W18} {being alone}.

8.

[君] 子之為善也，
有與始，有與終也。
君子之為德也，

^{W19} □□□□□ [有與始，無與] 終也。†

{As for the gentle-} man in his acting for goodness, there is [always something] with which [he] begins, [and something] with which [he] ends.¹⁰¹
As for the gentleman in his acting for potency, {there is [always something] with which [he] begins, but there is nothing with which} [he] ends.¹⁰² †

9.

金聲而玉振之，¹⁰³ 有德者也。
金聲善也；
玉音聖也。 {shèng = dé}
善，人 ^{W20} 道也；
德，天□□ [道也]。†
唯有德者，
然後能金聲而玉振之。

“Bronze [bells] may sound, but it is through a jade [stone] that hits them”,¹⁰⁴ this is a person possessing potency.
The “sounding of bronze [bells]” is goodness;

¹⁰⁰ 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 version of this passage quotes the same ode, yet including two more lines.

¹⁰¹ Putting forward goodness, performing [acts] of virtue.

¹⁰² The question is, whether or not there is something with which he starts, or maybe “nothing with which he starts and nothing with which he ends,” since he acts according to the Heavenly way, which is imposed on him from Heaven. The Mǎwángduī version of this sequence reads: 君子之為善也 有與始也 有與終也 君子之為德也 有與始也 亡與終也 [MWD 8.1-2].

¹⁰³ 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’ is a ‘bronze bell sounding and a jade stone ringing it’. A ‘bronze bell sounding’ is the beginning of an inherent pattern, the ‘ringing it with a jade stone’ 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.”

Mèngzǐ offers a rather different interpretation of this sequence as regards the Guōdiàn One “Wǔ xíng”. This suggests that the two draw on a different third source, but did not copy this line from one another. Compare this line with the following from “Xiǎo yǎ: Bái jū” (*Máo* 186): “其人如玉毋金玉爾音”. This line is in another context and has been understood differently.

¹⁰⁴ This reading is largely influenced by Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, pp. 178 ff.

The “tone of jade” is sagaciousness.
 Goodness, this is the ^{W20} human way;
 Potency, this is the heavenly {way}. †
 [This is why] only if there is a person possessing potency, thereafter it can be that
 “bronze [bells] sound, but it is through a jade [stone] that hits them.”

As compared with the previous sub-canto, the present unit is not organized in similarly a rigorous fashion (in contrary to the individual building blocks that constitute the present sub-canto). Catchwords running through this unit is the gentleman, *jūnzǐ*. The concept ‘*jūnzǐ*’ is discussed from various perspectives. Linking up the otherwise rather dissimilar building blocks, the *jūnzǐ* creates a consistent unit.

Building blocks 7.1 and 7.2 quote the Odes. The two share the same structure. We can regard them as one pericope. Stress of the pericope is the *jūnzǐ*. His deportment must be ‘uniform’, a concept on which I come back further below; and he must be capable of utmost grief. As seen from the previous instances, quotations of Odes are tightly interwoven with the argument proper.

Building block 8 discusses the *jūnzǐ* and his relationship with goodness and potency.

Building block 9, then, is of some interest. Together with building block 8, it constitutes one pericope. By referring to the distinction between ‘goodness’ (*shàn*) and ‘potency’ (*dé*) in connection with the gentleman (introduced in the first sub-canto), the unit under review finalizes the first part of the “Wǔ xíng” and rounds up its central idea. Let me show this by analyzing this pericope more carefully:

8.

a [君] 子之為善也，

b 有與始，有與終也。

a 君子之為德也，

b ^{W19} □□□□□ [有與始，無與] 終也。†

9.

「金聲而玉振之」，有德者也。 *topos/introductory statement*

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。

Building block 9 itself consists of two parts: a rather technical introduction of unknown origin, which also appears in the *Mèngzǐ*, and a referential explanation, phrased in the pattern overlapping structure.¹⁰⁵

The self-contained and enigmatic nature of the introductory statement of building block 9 suggests that this line is itself a quotation of some kind of shared cultural knowledge. Otherwise it would not have served as an authoritative peg for introducing the argument. Yet, just like the *Mèngzǐ*, the “*Wǔ xíng*” feels the urge to elaborate this line.¹⁰⁶

Two features should be highlighted in particular. To begin with, the passage under review once more reveals the high degree of intertextuality that is so typical for the “*Wǔ xíng*”. First, the overlapping structure of building block 9 explains the introductory quotation of

¹⁰⁵ For the feature overlapping structure, see my discussion of the “*Zhōng xìn zhī dào*” (chap. 2).

¹⁰⁶ Yet, as compared with the “*Wǔ xíng*”, the *Mèngzǐ* offers a radically different interpretation of this sequence. This suggests that the two texts were copying a different, that is, a third source; also, they must have followed different scholastic traditions prescribing how to understand this reference. In any case, this instance shows that the two texts (i.e., the “*Wǔ xíng*” and the *Mèngzǐ*) did not copy this line from each other, and this line also did not generate from either of these texts.

Similar to this line is one passage from the extant “*Xiǎo yǎ: Bái jū*” (*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” (Karlgrén 1950, p. 129), which, however, is situated in another context and has, accordingly, been understood quite differently. Despite of this, the way in which it also appears in the “*Wǔ xíng*” is not so different. It might thus be the case that the line in question also stems from the very florilegium of songs, linked together as Odes—only that the one under review proves no longer extant today.

this passage; second, the explaining part of building block 9 is itself—nearly in its entirety—made up of elements (or notions) taken from other building blocks of the “Wǔ xíng”.¹⁰⁷

The fact, then, that the explaining passage of building block 9 rephrases the technical introductory statement, once more corroborates the assumption that the former is a direct quotation from another source. The author(s) of the “Wǔ xíng” substitute the word *yīn* 音 ‘sound’ for *zhèn* 振 ‘to hit’ (written as 震 (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. We see that when quoting the body of a shared cultural knowledge, the author(s) reproduce the original wording of the same (introductory statement). Only in the explaining parallelism, they paraphrase it.¹⁰⁸ In the ‘conclusion’ (c) of the passage phrased as overlapping structure, the author(s) again reproduce the wording of the cryptic opening line (振之), trusting that the recipient of the text will now understand the phrase through the elaborating parallelism.

In many aspects, building block 9 is like a collage. As seen, building block 9 is made up of a quotation from a foreign source, that is, not a genuine “Wǔ xíng” statement, and an explaining passage, which is composed of elements that are taken from other building blocks of the “Wǔ xíng”. Strictly speaking, we should assign a further variety of what we call overlapping structure to building block 9. It is an argument patterned in the form of overlapping structure, which adjoins the introductory statement. The introductory statement is a quotation, which must have been known by the addressee of the text. Serving as authoritative peg for this passage, it can be regarded as shared knowledge that refers to a well-known notion, or *topos*. The conclusion of the adjoining overlapping structure again renders the wording of the introductory phrase. For this reason, I shall term this feature ‘topoi-framed overlapping structure’. Since the explaining parallelism of this ‘topoi-framed overlapping structure’ is itself made up of elements taken from other

¹⁰⁷ The first ab-group refers to sub-sub-canto three as well as to the technical introduction of unknown origin. The second ab-group is directly taken from sub-sub-canto one (building block 1.2).

¹⁰⁸ Otherwise the introductory statement also had to read 金聲而玉音—instead of 振—之; or the explaining parallelism would read 振 instead of 音.

building blocks, it is a patchwork-like variation of this feature. I call this (topoi-framed) ‘patchwork-like formation of overlapping structure’.

As seen from the previous discussion, the overlapping structure signals a core junction in the development of the argument. By connecting various aspects from previous building blocks and correlating these to newly introduced references, the passage under review highlights the thought of the “Wǔ xíng” and brings the vital concern of Part one to its logical close. That is, the distinction of ‘goodness’ and ‘potency’ on the one hand, and that of the ‘Humanly way’ as opposed to the ‘Heavenly way’ on the other hand.

Differences of this sub-canto with that 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.

We have seen that the first part of the “Wǔ xíng” is made up of a system of various kinds of references that tightly connect different elements and layers of the text. Some units of this text comment on other, more cryptic parts. Nonetheless, the explaining units also contain elements that remain dark themselves. The “Wǔ xíng” then explains these rather cryptic allusions in again another passage further below. Apart from the cross-references established throughout the text (referring to parts from the text itself, but also to other sources) that elaborate each other, another aspect of the “Wǔ xíng” is that of the ‘principal insertion’, which will be discussed in more detail further below.

The entire first part of the “Wǔ xíng” (canto one) remains appreciably stable in both ‘editions’ of this text. As may be seen below, the sequence of some building blocks differs in the second part of the two manifestations of the “Wǔ xíng”. Despite this, the two instantiations of the text nevertheless remain stable in that they follow the very same principles of text-organization. These principles are, first, a coherent system of identical cross-references, in which the ‘commenting’ unit by necessity follows the passages in question. Second, the feature principal insertion that appears in identical fashion in both

manifestations of the text, formulating key aspects of the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory, but also accounting for the stability of larger units.

As noted above, Xíng Wén closes the first canto (part one) of the “Wǔ xíng” after the sub-canto under review. Considering that building block 9 finalizes the corresponding thought concerning ‘goodness’ and ‘potency’, this seems to be a sound assumption. Nevertheless, as compared with the other argument-based texts that we reconstruct from the ‘library’ of Guōdiàn One, the partition of the “Wǔ xíng” into two cantos is more fluid. The analysis of the following sub-canto will eventually show that sub-canto five as a whole should be considered the element of partition. Structurally, sub-canto five consists of four building blocks, two of which summarize the previous account; the remaining two building blocks then open up the second canto of the “Wǔ xíng”. In this respect, sub-canto five as a whole can be considered a ‘distant overlapping segment’.¹⁰⁹ Despite this, for the ease of the argument I shall start off the discussion of the second canto of the “Wǔ xíng” beginning with sub-canto five, whilst keeping in mind the bridging function of this unit.

4.4.2. The “Wǔ xíng” Canto Two

The second part of the “Wǔ xíng” is considerably longer than the first part: Canto two numbers over more than 30 strips and consists of 21 building blocks,¹¹⁰ or five sub-cantos. Dīng Sixīn divides the second part of the “Wǔ xíng” into three larger units;¹¹¹ Xíng Wén,

¹⁰⁹ I call this a ‘distant’ ‘overlapping segment’ because the feature overlapping segment applies to one entire sub-sub-canto, as compared with only one segment or building block as seen in the previous discussion. For the feature ‘overlapping segment’, see my discussion in chapter 3.

¹¹⁰ Sub-canto two of the “Wǔ xíng” runs from strip w20/17 (not counting the to-be reconstructed graphs on strip w20) 不聰不明 “neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant...” through the last graph on strip w50 聞道而樂者好德者也 “perceiving the way and being happy thereof, that is to be fond of potency”.

¹¹¹ See Dīng Sixīn 丁四新 2000, pp. 127 ff. In Dīng’s analysis, the first unit of sub-canto two of the “Wǔ xíng” runs from w16/3, beginning with the quotation from the Odes 淑 (淑) 人君子 其義 (儀) 罷 (一) 也 through w22/18 [不尊]不-共 (恭) - [不恭]亡豐 (禮) ■; the second unit runs from w22/19 未尚<嘗> ^{w23} 聞 (聞) 君子道 through w44/20 後 士之□ (尊) □ (賢) 者也 ■; finally, Dīng sees the third unit of the present sub-canto to runs from w45/1 ^{w45} 耳目鼻口手足六者 through the end of the text on strip w50.

for his part, divides it into four units.¹¹² Both suggestions disfigure stable entities. Accordingly, I subscribe to neither of the two.

4.4.2.1 Sub-canto Five

The first unit of the present sub-canto runs over exactly two bamboo strips.¹¹³ Of the four building blocks that constitute this sub-canto, three are patterned in the form of argumentative chains (namely 11, 12, 13). Each of these dwells on one virtue in particular. Taken together, these building blocks constitute one pericope. Building block 10, for its part, differs. Instead of discussing one virtue in particular, it summarizes the account on the virtues introduced in the first part of the text, that is, canto one by correlating the different notions with each other. Accordingly, one could even go so far as to assigning building block 10 to be an individual sub-canto, too:

10.

不聰不明，不聖不^{w21}智；
 [不智] 不仁，
 [不仁] 不安，
 [不安] 不樂，
 [不樂] 無德。■

If [man] is neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant, [he can] neither be sagacious nor
^{w21} wise;
 [This is because] if not wise, [man] will not be benevolent [either],
 If not benevolent, [man] will not be at ease [either],
 If not at ease, [man] will not be happy [either],
 If not happy, [man] will lack potency.

¹¹² See Xíng Wén 邢文 1998. In Xíng's analysis, the first unit runs from w20/18 不聰不明 不聖不-^{w21} 智- through w22/18 [不尊]不共(恭) - [不恭]亡豐(禮)■; the next unit according to Xíng runs from w22/19 未尚<嘗>^{w23} □(聞)君子道 through w32/4 和^{w32} 則同- [同] 則善■; fraction three runs from w32/5 顏色- 佖(容) □(貌) through w49/15 □(聞)道而兌(悅)者好息(仁)者也■; the last unit, then, runs from w49/16 □(聞)道而畏者 through the end of the text on strip w50.

¹¹³ Sub-sub-canto 'five' runs from strip w20/18 (不聰不明 不聖不^{w21} 智 "neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant...") through strip w22/18 ([不尊]不恭 [不恭]無禮 "If not showing honor, [man] will not be humble, if not humble, [man] will be without ritual propriety").

11.

不戀不悅。

[不悅]不戚，

[不戚]不親，

[不親]不愛，

[不愛]不仁。■

If [man] does not feel affection, [he] will not feel joy [either].

If not feeling joy, [man] will not feel closeness [either],

If not feeling closeness, [man] will not feel intimacy [either],

If not feeling intimacy, [man] will not feel love [either],

If not feeling love, [man] will not be benevolent.

12.

不直不泄。

[不泄]不果，

[不果]^{W22}不簡，

[不簡]不行，¹¹⁴

[不行]不義。■

If [man] is not righteous, [he] will not be resistant [either].

If not resistant, [man] will not be decisive [either],

If not decisive, [man] will ^{W22} not be dignified [either],

If not dignified, [man] will not carry out [his task either],

If not carrying out [his task], [man] 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 [man] does not keep [appropriate] distance, [he] will not be reverent.

If [man] is not reverent, [he] will not be in awe,

¹¹⁴ The combination of terms *xíng* with *jiǎn* might have been a topos in early Chinese philosophical discourse. The *Dàdài Lǐ jì*: “Xiaobiàn” (11.1) 夫道不簡則不行 不行則不樂 “about the Way, if it is not dignified, then [it] will not be acted out, if it is not acted out, there will be no happiness” (*Dàdài Lǐ jì* 11.1/65/3).

If [man] is not in awe, [he] will not show honor,
 If [man] does not show honor, [he] will not be humble,
 If [man] is not humble, [he] will be without ritual propriety.

Remember that in the first part of the “Wǔ xíng”, that is, canto one, the virtues ‘sagacity’, ‘wisdom’, and ‘benevolence’, prove to be of central importance: they are the catchwords of building blocks 2 and 4 (sub-canto one), 5.1 and 5.2 (sub-canto two), and also of 6.1 through 6.3 (sub-canto three). Now, in building block 10, these virtues are all correlated with the aspects ‘clairaudient’ (聰) and ‘clairvoyant’ (明) from building blocks 6.2 and 6.3. Furthermore, building block 10 also contains the constant chain of mutually resonating virtues, which also appears in building blocks 2¹¹⁵ and 4.¹¹⁶ Note that the Mǎwángduī Three manifestation of the “Wǔ xíng” also treats building block 10 differently as compared to the other passages of this sub-canto: the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng” locates building block 10 at the end of this unit, thus *following* building blocks 11 through 13 instead of preceding them. I shall refer to this further below.¹¹⁷

Building block 11 also bears a peculiarity: whereas building blocks 12 and 13 discuss one particular virtue that has not yet been considered in canto one of the “Wǔ xíng”, building block 11 refers to the virtue benevolence, despite the fact that this has been already introduced at an earlier instance in the “Wǔ xíng”. Doing so, building block 11 employs the same argumentative chain that was already being used in building block 6.1. See the following figure:

¹¹⁵ 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。

¹¹⁶ 善弗為無近，
 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

¹¹⁷ This supports my suggestion that building block 10 can indeed be regarded as individual sub-sub-canto.

Figure 16: Constant Chain in the “Wǔ xíng”

11.

不戀不悅。
 [不悅]不戚，
 [不戚]不親，
 [不親]不愛，
 [不愛]不仁。■

6.1

仁之思也清。
 [清]^{w13}則察，
 [察]則安，
 [安]則溫，
 [溫]則悅，
 [悅]則戚，
 [戚]則親，
 [親]則愛，
 [愛]則玉色，
 [玉色]則形，
 [玉色]則形，
 [形]則仁。

Building block 11 is not the only instance that directly renders this chain. Accordingly, this chain of sentiments must have been considered a constant in the ‘wǔ xíng’-theory, maybe reproducing an idea shared by the imagined addressee of this text. However, building block 11 omits the part on jade-like coloration (*yù sè* 玉色) that—as may be seen from the figure—cuts right through the chain in 6.1. Seen from the perspective that this chain is a constant in the pattern of argument-construction of the “Wǔ xíng” and regarding the enigmatic or allusive nature of this reference to jade-like coloration, we must, in retrospective, assume that it is the first instance of what I call ‘principal insertion’ (to which I come back again later on in this discussion) thus expressing the vital concern of 6.1.

Building blocks 12 and 13 are entirely parallel. They dwell on virtues that have not yet been discussed earlier on. These two building blocks constitute one pericope. Both introduce new chains, on which the text will comment further below. Strictly speaking, these two building blocks introduce canto two of the “Wǔ xíng”.¹¹⁸

Comparing the sub-canto under review with that of the “Wǔ xíng” from Mǎwángduī Three, the four building blocks prove to be extremely stable—apart from minor graphical

¹¹⁸ Note, however, that the partition of the “Wǔ xíng” is not as rigorous as the stability of the sub-sub-canto under review.

differences in the first line of building block 11.¹¹⁹ Different, however, is the location of building block 10, as already noted above. Whereas the Mǎwángduī Three ‘edition’ of the “Wǔ xíng” locates building block 10 at the end of sub-canto five (thus subsequent to 11 through 13), the Guōdiàn One manifestation of the text places it at the top of this sub-canto. This difference does not alter the reading of the text. As building block 10 is structurally different from the other units, sub-canto five does not assign to it a fixed location (as long as it does not cut right through the remaining three entities!). On the contrary, we see that building blocks 11 through 13 each dwell on one of the virtues introduced in sub-canto one (1.1). The virtues discussed therein appear in the same order, in which they are also presented in the introductory passage. Also, each of these building blocks will be elaborated in further detail further below—in the same order as presented in sub-canto five. Accordingly, building blocks 11 through 13 can be regarded as having taken on a stable form within the unit under review. Thus, placing building block 10 either at the top or at the end of sub-canto five does not make too much of a difference; only if locating it in between building blocks 11 through 13 would have disfigured the sub-canto under review.¹²⁰

4.4.2.2. Sub-Canto Six

Sub-canto six spans nine bamboo strips.¹²¹ Nine building blocks constitute the sub-canto under review. Catchwords of sub-canto six are: Hearing (*wén* 聞) and seeing (*jiàn* 見),

¹¹⁹ Instead of 變 (w21/11) as appearing in the Guōdiàn One version, the Mǎwángduī Three version writes 變 (188/19). Most commentators transcribe this with *biàn* 變 ‘to change’. See, however, my discussion in the appendix (chap. 11) under [Aa]. Moreover, whereas building block 10 of the Guōdiàn One instantiation of the “Wǔ xíng” reads 不聰不明 不聖不^{w21}智... “If [man] is neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant, [he can] neither be sagacious nor ^{w21}wise”, the Mǎwángduī Three version, for its part, repeats the latter part of this chain, thus reading 不聰不明 則不聖不智 不聖不^{w21}智... “If [man] is neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant, [he can] neither be sagacious nor wise; if not sagacious not wise, ...”. This difference is indeed puzzling as the overall structure of this unit sets a clear preference for the Guōdiàn One version.

¹²⁰ The question then remains why the Mǎwángduī Three version of the “Wǔ xíng” presents the five virtues in different order in its introductory passage. I shall refer to this further below.

¹²¹ Sub-sub-canto ‘six’ runs from strip w22/18 (未嘗^{w23}聞君子道 謂之不聰 “Never^{w23} having heard the gentleman-Way, this [I] call “not clairaudient””) through strip w32/4 (和^{w32}則同 [同] 則善 “[If harmonized,^{w32} then they will be in congruence, [if] in congruence, then there will be goodness”).

which refer to the way of the gentleman (*jūnzǐ dào* 君子道) or to the capable (*xián rén* 賢人) respectively, as introduced earlier on. In the present sub-canto, the catchwords are related to clairaudience (*cóng* 聰) and clairvoyance (*míng* 明); these refer to the virtues ‘sagacity’ and ‘wisdom’ respectively, discussed in some detail in canto one. Yet, they also refer to ‘righteousness’ and ‘ritual propriety’, which will be discussed further below:

14.1.

未嘗^{W23} 聞君子道，謂之不聰。

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 the gentleman-Way, this [I] call “not clairaudient”.

Never having seen a capable one, this [I] call “not clairvoyant”.

Having heard the gentleman-Way, and yet not understanding^{W24} that this was the gentleman’s way, this [I] call “not sagacious”.

Having seen a capable one and yet not understanding that he possessed potency, this [I] 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。■¹²²

[And, accordingly],^{W25} to see [a worthy] and understanding him, this [I] call “wisdom”.

To hear [the gentleman’s way] and understanding it, this [I] call “sagacious”.

“Illustrating the illustrious,” this is wisdom;

“Awing the awe-inspiring,” this is sagacity.

“Illustrating the illustrious refers to below,”¹²³

“awing the awe-inspiring refers to above;”¹²⁴

That is what this is about.

¹²² This passage also appears in the “Dàiyǎ: Dàimíng” (*Máo*: 236): 明明在下 赫赫在上 “shedding light on the bright is below, awing the awe-inspiring is on high”.

¹²³ This means that “shedding light on the bright” is a process that works from above to the below.

¹²⁴ This means that “awing the awe-inspiring” is a process that works from below to the above.

15.1.

聞君子道，聰也。

聞而知之，聖也。

聖人知而（<天>）^{W27} 道也¹²⁵

知而行之，義也。

行之而時，德也。

To hear the gentleman-Way, this is being “clairaudient”.

To hear and understand it, this is being “sagacious”.

[Only] the sagacious understands the heavenly way.

To understand and enact it, this is “righteousness”.

To enact it according to [its appropriate] time, this is “potency”.

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。

To see a worthy, this is being “clairvoyant”.

To see and understand him [being a worthy], ^{W28} this is being “wise”.

To understand and be at ease with him, this is being “benevolent”.

To be at ease and show reverence to him, this is “ritual propriety”.

15.3.

聖知禮樂之所由生也，五^{W29} □□□□ [行之所和] 也。

和則樂，

[樂]則有德，

[有德] 則邦家□(興)。

「文王」之見也如此。

「文」^{W30} □□□□□ [王在上於昭] 于天」。¹²⁶

此之謂也。

Sagacity and wisdom are those from which ritual propriety music derive from,^{W29}

{and those by which} the five [aspects] {of conduct are harmonized}.

If harmonized, then there is happiness,

¹²⁵ Ikeda (1993, p. 364) has proposed to read w26/22 with *tīan* ‘Heaven’ instead of the particle *ér*. The editors of *Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn* (1998, p. 150) and most commentators follow this suggestion. Csikszentmihalyi (2004, p. 397) suggests that the short sentence beginning from w26/19-w27/2 is a misplaced commentary because it seems to interrupt the flow of this passage. As I shall discuss below, this is highly unlikely.

¹²⁶ It seems that the “Wǔ xíng” draws on the, “Dàiyǎ: Wén Wáng (*Máo*: 235), which reads 文王在上 於昭於天 “when King Wén was on high, oh he illuminated Heaven”.

If there is happiness, then there is potency,
 If there is potency, then states and families will revive.
 The appearance of “King Wén” followed this.
 “When {King} Wén^{W30} {was on high, he illuminated} 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 him, that is “wisdom”.
 To understand and be at ease with him, that is “benevolence”.
 To be at ease^{W31} and enacting it, that is “righteousness”.
 Acting it out and showing reverence to him, that 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 righteousness, that is from which ritual propriety derives from,
 And it is that by which the four [aspects] of conduct are harmonized.
 [If] harmonized,^{W32} then they will be in congruence,
 [if] in congruence, then there will be goodness.

Building blocks 14.1 and 14.2 constitute one pericope. They refer to sub-cantos three (in particular building blocks 6.2 and 6.3) and five (in particular building block 10) and explain in detail the concepts used therein. In sub-canto three, building blocks 6.2 and 6.3 state that clairaudience (*cōng* 聰) and clairvoyance (*míng* 明) are necessary preconditions for seeing (*jiàn* 見) the capable and hearing (*wén* 聞) the way of the gentleman respectively. The pericope under review then explains that this results in ‘wisdom’ or ‘sagacity’ correspondingly. Building block 10 of sub-canto five has already summarized the fact that without being clairaudient or clairvoyant, one can neither be sagacious nor wise. Building blocks 14.1 and 14.2 repeat these concepts and elaborate their meaning.

Building blocks 15.1 and 15.2 of the sub-canto under review, then, refer to building blocks 14.1 and 14.2. They develop resonating chains that describe the five virtues in further detail by relating one virtue to another. Structurally, the two building blocks are almost entirely parallel. They distinguish between two groups of virtues, as figure 17 below shows: first, those virtues that result from clairaudience (聰); second, those virtues that result from clairvoyance (明). Having defined the meaning of ‘clairaudience’ as the ability of hearing the way of the gentleman in 15.1,¹²⁷ we now learn that ‘sagacity’, in turn, results from realizing this ability. One needs to develop a cognitive grasp, that is, an awareness or understanding (*zhī* 知) of one’s own ability to hear the way of the gentleman (君子道).¹²⁸ Applying this awareness, that is, leading it to appropriate action, is what the “Wǔ xíng” defines as ‘righteousness’.¹²⁹ The ability of using righteousness, that is, advancing righteousness at the respective times, then, is what the “Wǔ xíng” defines as ‘potency’.¹³⁰

On the other side, having defined ‘clairvoyance’ as the ability of seeing the capable (first line of 15.2),¹³¹ we now learn that, parallel to the above case, to develop the awareness for this ability means ‘wisdom’.¹³² Being at ease with the consciousness of seeing a capable, is what the author(s) of the “Wǔ xíng” understand as ‘benevolence’.¹³³ Showing reverence for the capable, then, is what the “Wǔ xíng” defines as ‘ritual propriety’.¹³⁴ Thus, in the logic of the “Wǔ xíng”, the virtue ‘wisdom’ (智) obtains the same pivotal function for forming out benevolence (仁) and ritual propriety (禮) that ‘sagacity’ (聖) has for developing righteousness (義) and potency (德). Hence, the two building blocks define ‘sagacity’ and ‘wisdom’ as preconditions for establishing the five virtues, which were introduced in building block 1.1, thus resulting in the achievement of potency (德). Due to the responsibility for shaping the virtues benevolence, righteousness and ritual

¹²⁷ Thus explaining building block 6.3 and building block 14.1.

¹²⁸ See building block 15.1, line two.

¹²⁹ See building block 15.1, line four.

¹³⁰ See building block 15.1, line five.

¹³¹ Thus explaining building block 6.2 and 14.1.

¹³² See building block 15.2, line two.

¹³³ See building block 15.2, line three.

¹³⁴ See building block 15.2, line four.

propriety, I call the former ‘benchmark’ virtues (聖, 智), the latter ‘dependent’ virtues (仁, 義, 禮).

If we now relate the present discussion to building blocks 3 and 4 of sub-canto one above, it is possible to contextualize the distinction made therein, namely that between acting for (*wéi* 為), and aspiring to (*zhì* 志) something; the former leads to ‘goodness’, the latter to ‘potency’. Applying this distinction to the discussion at hand, building block 15.1 defines the rather abstract realm of aspiring something, whereas 15.2 discusses the matter of a concrete undertaking. See the following figure:

Figure 17: The Pericopes of Sub-Canto Six

14.1.

A 未嘗^{W23}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^{W24}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。

聖人知而（<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。

From the figure above it may be seen that building block 15.1 displays the feature of a principal insertion. We see that the third of the five lines cuts right through an otherwise coherent argumentative chain. The line “[only] the sagacious understands the heavenly way”¹³⁵ seems to be an alien element therein. Yet, the fact that the Mǎwángduī Three version displays the same insertion indicates that this is a conscious device for patterning the argument. It is not a “misplaced commentary”, as Mark Csikszentmihalyi assumes instead, because, as he sees it, this line “interrupts the flow of the passage”.¹³⁶ This can be

¹³⁵ 聖人知而（<天>）^{W27}道也。

¹³⁶ See Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 297.

shown on the basis of the following reasons. To begin with, it is highly unlikely that the two texts we possess today reflect the very same mistake, which, in turn, could have come into being only if either of the two texts had been copied directly from the other, or if they had been copied from the same third source, to which both texts must have had access. Also, it is unlikely that there existed a (written) commentary to the “Wǔ xíng” by the time when the Guōdiàn One version had been put into the ground, and which had been neglected by both ‘editions’ of the “Wǔ xíng” that we possess today. Third, the extant ‘external’ commentary of the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng” does not identify this line as “misplaced”. Instead, it provides lexical explanation for the same. Fourth, as various instances throughout suggest, the ‘principal insertion’ is a vital device by which early Chinese argument-based texts pattern their argument. The “Wǔ xíng” is no exception thereof. Accordingly, the notion that “[only] the sagacious understands the heavenly way” should not be regarded as “misplaced”. Instead, it is the main idea communicated in building block 15.1. Considering the fact that this building block dwells on the potency (*dé* 德) of the sagely person (*shèng rén* 聖人), this seems to be a sound assumption.

The analysis has shown that ‘sagacity’ and ‘wisdom’ are exceptional virtues that stick out of the row of five virtues. Sagacity and wisdom answer for the formation of the other three of the five virtues. This provides firm grounds for an exact reading (and understanding) of building block 15.3: “Sagacity and wisdom are those virtues from which ritual propriety music derive from,¹³⁷ ^{w29} {and those by which} the five [aspects] {of conduct are harmonized}”.

Building block 15.3, then, applies the entire ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory as developed so far to the realm of politics. The logic is that only if the five virtues are harmonized, happiness (*lè* 樂) will arise; and only if there is happiness can there be potency (*dé* 德). Potency, in turn, is an essential part of the ruler. The Odes attached to this train of thought corroborate this notion.

¹³⁷ Instead of “Sagacity, wisdom and ritual propriety are those from which music derives”.

Three more things need to be said on the latter part of sub-canto six. To begin with, we see that building block 16.1 is entirely parallel to building blocks 15.1 and 15.2; it even consists of identical components, as the following figure shows:

Figure 18: Building Blocks 15.1, 15.2, and 16.1 of Sub-Canto Six

15.1.

A1 聞君子道，聰也。

A2 聞而知之，聖也。

聖人知而（<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。

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。

parallel to

direct quote

15.2

15.1

Second, building block 16.2 is structurally parallel to building block 15.3—except that it discusses the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory on a lower level than 15.3: we have seen that building block 15.3 highlights the key function of the benchmark virtues ‘sagacity’ and ‘wisdom’ for the five virtues in concert, which ultimately results in ‘potency’ (*dé* 德). 16.2, for its part, draws attention to the function of the ‘dependent’ virtues, that is, the virtues which formation depends on sagacity and wisdom, and it discusses that four virtues in concert result in ‘goodness’ (*shàn* 善). Building block 15.3 supports the remarks on the key function of the benchmark virtues sagacity and wisdom by referring to the Odes. Although the upper part of building block 16.2 is structurally entirely parallel to 15.3, it nonetheless misses corroborating references to an authoritative source. This suggests that the quotation in 15.3 also is a distant principal insertion—just as the quotation of the Odes in sub-canto two (building blocks 5.1 and 5.2)—now cutting right through two parallel pericopes so as to stating the principal concern of a larger unit: “If there is

potency, then states and families will revive. The appearance of “King Wén” followed this. ‘When King Wén ^{W30} {was on high, he illuminated} Heaven’. That is what this is about.” See the following figure:

Figure 19: ‘Distant Principal Insertion’ of Sub-Canto Six

15.3.

聖知，禮樂之所由生也，
 五 ^{W29} □□□□ [行之所和] 也。
 和則樂，
 [樂]則有德，

[有德] 則邦 家□(興)。
 「文王」之見也如此。
 「文 ^{W30} □□□□□ [王在上於昭] 于天」。
 此之謂也。

‘distant principal insertion’

16.2.

仁義，禮所由生也，
 四行之所和也。
 和 ^{W32} 則同，
 [同] 則善。

Third, the analysis shows that the ‘wǔ xíng’-theory as a whole establishes a hierarchy of the five virtues. The two virtues ‘sagacity’ and ‘wisdom’ are the benchmark virtues that account for the formation of the remaining three virtues. They are of utmost importance. ‘Sagacity’, for its part, takes the lead of the virtues that must be aspired to achieve, *zhì* 志; this row of virtues, by implication, is connected to ‘potency’, *dé* 德, the essential aspect for ruling the state and becoming just like King Wén. Sagacity is the foremost of the two benchmark virtues. Second to the benchmark virtues come ‘benevolence’ and ‘righteousness’, which answer for the formation of ‘ritual propriety’, *lǐ* 禮. Righteousness, in turn, belongs to the virtues that must be aspired to achieve, *zhì* 志 (in contrary to those that can be acted for, *wèi* 為, which lead to ‘goodness’, *shàn* 善). Thus, it must be

classified higher than ‘benevolence’. Accordingly, we arrive at the following hierarchy of virtues as presented by the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory: ‘Sagacity’, ‘wisdom’; followed by ‘righteousness’, ‘benevolence’, and lastly ‘ritual propriety’.

From the hierarchy of the virtues, and secondly from the distinction between that what must be aspired to be achieved in contrast to that what can be acted for, we can describe the following logic, which the “*Wǔ xíng*” defends:

‘Sagacity’ takes the lead in the formation of ‘righteousness’; together with the appropriate understanding (知), this ultimately arrives at ‘potency’. Potency equals the ‘heavenly way’. ‘Wisdom’, for its part, takes the lead in the formation of ‘benevolence’ and ‘ritual propriety’; together with the appropriate understanding, this ultimately arrives at ‘goodness’. Goodness equals the ‘human way’. Whereas the former describes a state of sentiment, the latter describes concrete affairs.

In sum, the analysis has shown the foremost importance of sub-canto six for articulating the philosophy of the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory. Referring to the previous units, the sub-canto under review defines a clear-cut distinction between what I call the ‘benchmark virtues’ of the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory, namely ‘sagacity’ and ‘wisdom’, as compared to the ‘dependent virtues’, namely ‘righteousness’, ‘benevolence’, and ‘ritual propriety’. Sub-canto six highlights the means by which either ‘potency’ (德) or ‘goodness’ (善) can be achieved. Also, it applies the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory to the realm of politics. Elevating ‘potency’ to the foremost aspect of government, the author(s) of the “*Wǔ xíng*” display a political ideal that is not so different from the other argument-based texts discussed.

Differences of the sub-canto under review with that from the *Mǎwángduī* Three instantiation of the “*Wǔ xíng*” are fairly straightforward. First, at various instances, the *Mǎwángduī* Three “*Wǔ xíng*” omits the particle *yě* 也 after certain definitions.¹³⁸ Second, the *Mǎwángduī* Three text displays some lexical differences. These clearly echo scribal

¹³⁸ These are as follows. In line four of building block 14.2; in line four of building block 16.1; in line two of building block 16.2.

errors and have no structural differences.¹³⁹ Third, the Mǎwángduī Three version introduces the quotation of the Odes in building block 15.3 by name (*shī yuē* 詩曰 “the Odes state”). Except these minor dissimilarities—most of which seem to respond to small mistakes by the scribe writing down the Mǎwángduī Three instantiation of the “Wǔ xíng”, or echo uncertainties brought about in the process of textual transmission—the sub-canto under review displays exceptional stability. In terms of argument-construction, the two ‘editions’ of the “Wǔ xíng”, display no differences; even on the level of the lexicon they are decidedly stable. The sequence of building blocks is also identical. Only the location of sub-canto six itself differs in the two manifestations of the text. In the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng”, sub-cantos six and seven appear in reverse order. This can be explained, and I come back to this after having discussed the next sub-canto.

4.4.2.3 Sub-Canto Seven

Sub-canto ‘seven’ numbers over five and a half bamboo strips.¹⁴⁰ It contains three building blocks. Catchwords of the sub-canto under review are the ‘inner mind’ (*zhōng xīn* 中心) as opposed to the ‘outer mind’ (*wài xīn* 外心). Sub-canto ‘seven’ provides further explanation for the previous units that dwell on the ‘dependent’ virtues:

¹³⁹ These are, first, in line four of building block 15.1: instead of reading “to know and [then] acting it out, this is ‘righteousness,’” as does the Guōdiàn One version, and which reading is corroborated by the structure of this passage, it reads “...this is ‘sagacity’”. Yet, as we can learn from the ‘external’ commentary of the Mǎwángduī Three version of the “Wǔ xíng” that this does not echo a structural difference between the two ‘editions’, but instead seems to point to a scribal error, because the ‘external’ commentary refers to this line with ‘righteousness’, instead of with ‘sagacity’. Second, the Mǎwángduī Three version by mistake writes *ān* 安 for the particle *ér* 而 in line two of building block 16.1. Third, in line one of building block 16.2 the Mǎwángduī Three reads “benevolence and righteousness, that is from which ritual propriety and wisdom derive from”, instead of “benevolence and righteousness, that is from which ritual propriety derives from”. The analysis of the structure of the sub-sub-canto under review has shown that this must be a mistake. Again, this is corroborated by the fact that the ‘external’ commentary of the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng” merely repeats two virtues instead of three.

¹⁴⁰ These run from strip w32/5 through w37/15.

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。

戚而信之，親；

[親] 而篤之，愛也。

愛父，其繼愛人，仁也。

If facial coloration, look, manner and appearance are gentle, this is feeling affection.

If using the inner mind when interacting with others, this is joy.

When the joy of inner mind is transferred onto elder and younger brothers, this is closeness.

Feeling closeness and extending this feeling, that is intimacy;¹⁴¹

Feeling intimacy and being genuine about it, that is caring.

Caring for [one's] father, and secondarily to this, caring for other people, that 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。

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。†

[If] the inner mind^{W34} discriminates [right from wrong] and rightly acts this (the right) out, that is righteousness.

[Being] righteous and displaying this, that is resistance.

[Being] resistant and not fearing the strong and powerful, that is fruition.¹⁴²

[If man] does not^{W35} harm the great way on expense of the petty ways, that is grave demeanour.

If there is a serious crime, which is punished severely, that is acting out [law properly].

[If] honouring the noble, and to his level venerate the worthy, that is righteousness. †¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Reading the graph *xìn* 信 as “to extend, to spread out”.

¹⁴² That means: “having decision and daring to carry it out”. Páng Pú notes that this combination also occurs in the “Dàiyǎ: Zhēng mǐn (Máo: 110): 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.”

¹⁴³ This is a problematic passage with subtle implications. Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 (2003, p. 164 ff)

19.

^{W36} 以其外心與人交，遠也。
 遠而莊之，敬也。
 敬而不懈，嚴也。†
 嚴而畏^{W37}之，尊也。
 尊而不驕，恭也。
 恭而博交，禮也。

^{W36} [If] using one’s outer mind when interacting with others, that is to keep [appropriate] distance.
 Keeping [appropriate] distance and being grave to him, that is reverence.
 Being reverent and not remitting, that is being stern.
 Being stern and fearful^{W37} to him, that is to show honor.
 Showing honor and not being arrogant, that is to be humble.
 Being humble and widely interacting with others, that is ritual propriety.

The three dependent virtues ‘benevolence’, ‘righteousness’, and ‘ritual propriety’ were introduced in sub-canto five of the “Wǔ xíng”.¹⁴⁴ They all result from defined sentiments, which, however, were only defined negatively. The building blocks of the present sub-canto now provide in-depth explanation for these sentiments and, by implication, also for the dependent virtues themselves; in the following way:

explains graph w35/20 (zhǐ 止) as sì 寺, which he reads cì 次 (secondarily); this would make this sentence read: 貴[貴]，其次尊賢，義也 “to venerating the noble, and, secondarily, honoring the worthy, that is righteousness.” This reading implies a clear preference of the nobility *before* the worthy, who, notwithstanding, must be honored, too (yet in second position). The reading after the editors of Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn (1998) would suggest that honoring the worthy is just one level with venerating the worthy as to *his level*. Hence, in search for appropriate men, the ruler is not as a necessity urged to choose for man of high social standing.

¹⁴⁴ See building blocks 11 through 13.

Figure 20: 'Internal Commentary' of Sub-Canto Seven

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。 → explains

戚而信之，親；

[親]而篤之，愛也。

愛父，其繼愛人，仁也。

11.

不戀不悅。

[不悅]不戚，

[不戚]不親，

[不親]不愛，

[不愛]不仁。

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。

不^{W35}以小道害大道，簡也。 → explains

有大罪而大誅之，行也。

貴[貴]，其等尊賢，義也。†

12.

不直不泄。

[不泄]不果，

[不果]^{W22}不簡，

[不簡]不行，

[不行]不義。

19.

^{W36}以其外心與人交，遠也。

遠而莊之，敬也。

敬而不解，嚴也。†

嚴而畏^{W37}之，尊也。

尊而不驕，恭也。

恭而博交，禮也。

13.

不遠不敬。

[不敬]不嚴，

[不嚴]不尊，

[不尊]不恭，

[不恭]無禮。

Structurally sub-canto seven bears resemblance to sub-canto six. Both units provide in-depth explanations for technical terms that were employed earlier on; except that they do so on dissimilar levels: the sub-canto under review comments on building blocks 11 through 13 from sub-canto five, in which each of these dwells on one of the dependent virtues respectively. Sub-canto six, for its part, comments on building block 10 in particular, explaining the benchmark virtues discussed therein.

In sum, the main difference between sub-cantos six and seven is that the latter further dwells on the dependent virtues, whereas the former furthers the discussion of the benchmark virtues. Which of the two sub-cantos should come first in the process of

meaning-construction, however, is irrelevant for the logical organization of the argument overall. What matters, instead, is that the proper sequence of the building blocks *within* these two sub-cantos is maintained—and this is indeed the case in both ‘editions’ of the text. That sub-canto seven precedes sub-canto six in the Mǎwángduī Three version (or vice versa in the Guōdiàn One version) might reflect (conscious or unconscious) preferences in the development of the argument; or it might be due to (conscious) dramaturgic preferences, suggesting a pronounced sense for composition of a (written?) text. Otherwise, the alternating sequence of the two sub-cantos might simply reflect a still ongoing process of transmitting a text that is not yet fully stable, but which nonetheless advances a coherent ‘wǔ xíng-theory’. As discussed in my analysis, it is unlikely—if not wrong—to assume that this dissimilarity echo different *philosophical* positions of the two texts.

Comparing the two versions of the “Wǔ xíng”, the sub-canto under review once more displays extraordinary coherence. Differences only apply to a slightly dissimilar use of the particle *yě* 也.¹⁴⁵

4.4.2.4 Sub-Canto Eight

Sub-canto eight numbers over some six and half bamboo strips.¹⁴⁶ It contains three building blocks. Catchwords is the *jūnzǐ*. The sub-canto under review discusses the concrete matter of applying the ‘wǔ xíng’-theory to law and punishment:

20.

不簡不行；不匿不辨^{W38}於道；十
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。

¹⁴⁵ Once in a while the Mǎwángduī Three text omits the particle *yě* 也 where the Guōdiàn One version displays it, as it is the case in building block 18, line six; and in building block 19, line three. Or vice versa, as seen in building block 17, line four.

¹⁴⁶ Sub-sub-canto eight runs from strip w37/16 through the end of strip w44.

有小罪而弗赦也，不辨於道也。

- 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。
 「不強不桀，不剛不柔」，¹⁴⁷此之謂^{W42}也。

If not being resolute,¹⁴⁸ [man] will not by carrying out [properly];
 If neglecting [proper] avoiding (?), [man] will not discriminate^{W38} the Way
 [properly]; †
 If there is a serious transgression, which is punished severely [accordingly], that is
 being resolute.
 If there is a minor transgression, which is pardoned [accordingly], that is
 [respecting] proper avoiding.
 If there is a serious transgression and yet [man] refrains from^{W39} punishing it
 severely, [he] is not carrying out [properly].
 If there is a minor transgression and yet [man] refrains from pardoning it, [he] is
 not discriminating the Way [properly].

Resoluteness as a term is similar to softening raw silk by boiling, it is great but
 rare. †
 [Proper] avoidance as a term, it is similar to hiding the [minor] depraved, it is
 small but ordinary. †¹⁴⁹
 Resoluteness is an aspect of righteousness.
 [Proper] avoidance is an aspect of benevolence.
 [And thus,] “hardness” is an aspect of righteousness, [and] “pliancy” is an aspect
 of benevolence.
 “neither forceful nor pressing, neither hard nor [too] soft,” that is what this is
 about.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ This sentence similarly appears in “Shāngsòng: Cháng fā” (*Máo*: 304), which reads 不競不桀 不剛不柔
 “[he was] neither forceful nor pressing; [he was] neither hard nor [too] soft.” (After Karlgren 1950, p. 265;
 adjusted);

¹⁴⁸ I take this term from Mark Csikszentmihalyi’s translation. See his 2004, p. 304.

¹⁴⁹ From the structure of this passage it seems clear that the line “匿之為言也，猶匿[匿]也” must be
 referring to ‘minor crimes’ 小罪, such as “Lenience as a term” has referred to ‘serious crimes’ 大罪;
 because the afore sentence was put in more metaphorical manner, I read the first *nì* in its literal meaning,
 and the second *nì* as *tè* 慝, such as suggested by Páng Pú (2000, p. 71). Nonetheless I admit that this can
 only be a tentative reading, until more is known about the use of repetition and the adding of similar graphs.
 See also the discussion in the Appendix.

¹⁵⁰ The Guōdiàn One passage reads *qiú* 棗 (the fruit of a chestnut-leaved oak) in place of *qiú* 絀 ‘hasty’ as it
 appears in the ode. I believe that this is a mere writing variant, referring to *qiú* 絀 ‘hasty’.

21.1.

君子集大成；¹⁵¹

1A 能進之為君子。

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)虜-[虜](臚 臚)達者(諸)君子道，謂之賢。†

The gentleman “gathers great achievements”;

If being able to advance in this, [man] can become a gentleman.

If not being able to advance, in every particular case man remains in his hamlet.

As for the great but rarely^{W43} seen, (能有取焉) [the gentleman] is able to adopt from it. †¹⁵²

As for the small but vastly seen, [the gentleman] is able to adopt from it.

He who shines brightly when reaching the gentleman-Way, he can be called a worthy. †

21.2.

君^{W44}子知而舉之，謂之尊賢。

知而事之，謂之尊賢者也。

後，士之尊賢者也。

If the gentleman^{W44} understands him [being worthy] and rises him, this is what [I] refer to by “honoring the worthy.”

If [the gentleman] understands and serves him, he is what [I] refer to by “[a man] who honors the worthy”.

The latter applies to the scholarly-knight’s honoring the worthy.

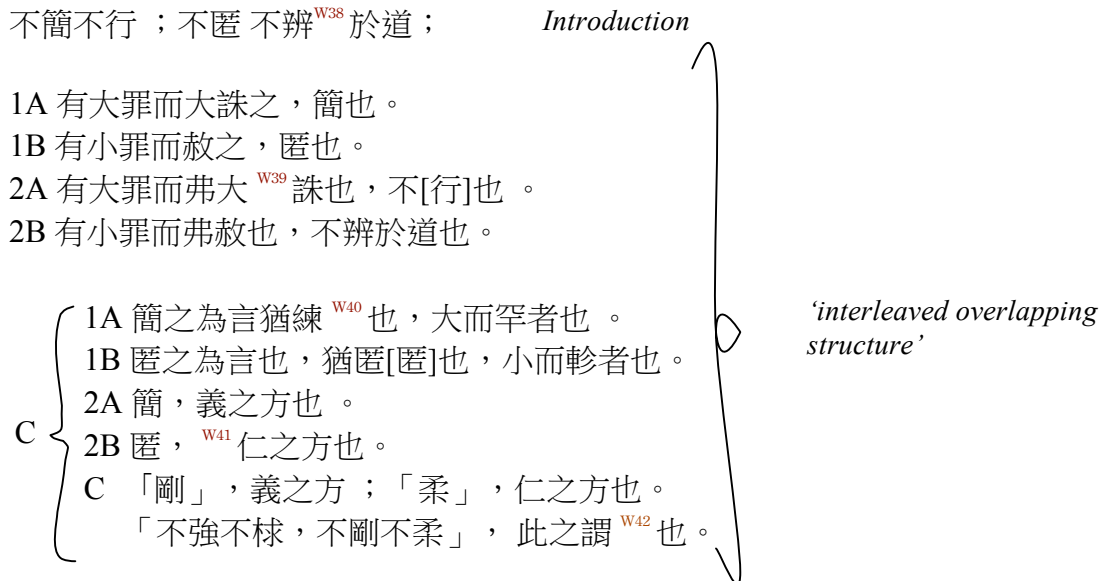
The unit under review discusses the dependent virtues righteousness (義) and benevolence (仁)—which, as we know, account for the development of ritual propriety (禮)—in the context of executive force. In a second step, this then is broadened to the gentleman.

¹⁵¹ Compare again the *Mèngzǐ*, “Wànzhāng xià” (萬章下 5B1) which reads: 孔子之謂集大成 “Master Kǒng is said to have “gathered great achievements”.” (*Mèngzǐ zhèng yì*, p. 397).

¹⁵² This line refers back to above: heavily punishing severe crimes, that is severity; severity as a term is like softening raw silk by boiling it, which in turn, applies to great and rarely seen matters; vice versa the next sentence.

The formal pattern of the building blocks—especially building block 20—deserves some attention: the second sequence of building block 20 is patterned as overlapping structure; the terms used therein were developed in a preceding sequence. Interestingly, as may be seen from the figure below, the latter sequence of this building block moreover functions as c-component of the preceding element. The building block under review can thus be understood as a distant pattern of two overlapping structures that are interleaved with each other. I refer to this with ‘interleaved overlapping structure’. Note that in this case, the interleaved overlapping structure is preceded by an introductory statement:

Figure 21: Building Block 20



The fact that neither the concept ‘resoluteness’ (*jiǎn* 簡), nor ‘circumspection’ (*nì* 匿) appeared earlier on in the discussion, makes their abrupt appearance at this instance somewhat surprising. The two concepts are correlated with the quotation from the Odes (in the c-component of the interleaved overlapping structure), so as to explain the latter. Yet, this explanatory device only works convincingly if the imagined addressee of the “Wǔ xíng” indeed identifies the concepts used therein as elements of a common discourse, which must be situated in the context of executive force. From this it follows that the introductory statement must itself refer to a widely shared discussion (or position) on administrative techniques, which are then explained in detail in the subsequent

passage. Accordingly, this instance of interleaved overlapping structure is another example of the topoi-framed type discussed above.

Building block 21.1 is also patterned as overlapping structure. Such as seen above, an introductory statement, which shares its terminology with the *Mèngzǐ*, precedes the same. By implication, it also is a ‘topoi-framed overlapping structure’.

Building block 21.2, then, highlights the assignment of the scholarly knight (*shì* 士). In sub-cantos six and seven we have learned that, as a precondition for forming out the ‘benchmark’ virtues sagacity and wisdom, it is essential to make aware (*zhī* 知) one’s ability of being clairaudient (so that one can hear the gentleman-Way—that is being sagacious), or being clairvoyant (so that one can see the capable—that is being wise).¹⁵³ Building block 21.2 now applies the idea of making aware (*zhī* 知) to the concrete matter of the gentleman’s recognizing a worthy. The last statement of this building block refers to the scholarly knight, introduced in sub-canto one (building block 3 of canto one). It defines him as someone who is aspiring to the gentleman-Way. ‘Aspiring to something’ (*zhì* 志), in turn, belongs to the sentiments attached to developing potency—as opposed to ‘acting for’ (*wèi* 為). It is a part of one’s developing goodness. Moreover, to honor someone (*jìng* 敬) is part of the sentiments that belong to forming out ritual propriety. Ritual propriety, in turn, is part of the virtues that belong to ‘goodness’. Thus, building block 21.2 combines the discussion on ‘potency’ and ‘goodness’. It unites them in the concrete realm of politics: only the accomplished gentleman, it states, has the means of understanding the capable, lifting him up, and honoring him. This ultimately shows that understanding the gentleman-Way does not only describe a theoretical issue (one’s making aware of the path that leads to potency). In fact, it also has a practical side, as described in building block 21.2: the gentleman (ruler) turns out to be a real gentleman (accomplished) if and only if he combines the theoretical understanding and inner cultivation of the ‘heavenly way’ with the practical fact of elevating the worthy. The building block under review thus unites the practical aspect, described as *sì xíng* 四行,

¹⁵³ See building blocks 15.1 and 15.2.

which denotes the ‘human way’, with the more abstract notion of someone who has nourished all five virtues (*wǔ xíng* 五行) within. From this it becomes obvious that the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory defends the following logic: ‘Potency’, *dé* 德, is an abstract matter. It equals man’s inner cultivation of the ‘heavenly way’ (天道). ‘Goodness’, *shàn* 善, for its part, is the transformation of this inner state into worldly affairs. Thus, that what the text labels the ‘human way’ (人道) is the conversion of man’s ‘potency’ into worldly affairs.

Concerning the structure of argument-construction as developed in sub-canto eight, the two ‘editions’ of the “*Wǔ xíng*” do not differ in the slightest. The same holds true also for the building blocks that constitute this unit. Slight differences between the two instantiations of the text remain on the lexical level;¹⁵⁴ or the formula by which the *Mǎwángduī* Three “*Wǔ xíng*” introduces the quotation of the Odes.¹⁵⁵ Only building block 21.2 differs. Instead of saying “if understanding and serving him” (知而事之) the *Mǎwángduī* Three version reads “the gentleman follows and serves him” (君子從而事之). Also, it adds a further line to this building block.¹⁵⁶ Yet, since this does not in the slightest affect the structural consistency of the two texts, it does not bear on the issue at hand.

4.4.2.5 Sub-Canto Nine

The final sub-canto of the “*Wǔ xíng*” runs from strip w45/1 through the end of strip w50, thus expanding over some six bamboo strips. Four building blocks constitute this unit:

¹⁵⁴ This implies structural variation of certain graphs. Once in a while, either of the versions omits the particle *yě* 也 or *ér* 而 where the other version displays the very graph.

¹⁵⁵ *Shī yuē* 詩曰 “the Odes say”.

¹⁵⁶ In front of the line 後 士之尊賢者也 “The latter is “honoring the worthy” by the [aspiring] scholarly-knight”, the *Mǎwángduī* Three version adds the statement 前 王公之尊賢者也 “The former is “honoring the worthy” by kings and dukes”.

22.

^{W45} 耳目鼻口手足六者，心之役也。

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.

If mind says “right”, none dares not to [go] right;¹⁵⁷

If [it says] “agree”, none dares not to agree;

^{W46} If [it says] “advance”, none dares not to advance;

If [it says] “retreat”, none dares not to retreat;

If [it says] “profound”, none dares not to [take it as] profound;

If [it says] “shallow”, none dares not to [take it as] shallow;

If [the body organs] are harmonized [through mind], then there is equality [among them]; if they is equality, 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」。†¹⁵⁸

此之謂也。

^{W47} If meeting [something] with the eye and understanding it [thereof], this is what [I] mean by “to advance in it”;

If facing an analogy and understanding it [thereof], this is what [I] mean by “to advance in it”;

If encountering examples and understanding it [thereof], this is what [I] mean by “to advance in it”;

^{W48} [But] if there is only recondite incipient and understanding it [thereof], so is Heaven.

¹⁵⁷ Uttering the sound of *wéi* is used to show agreement.

¹⁵⁸ It seems that the line w48/7-14 is a quotation of “Dà yǎ: Dà míng” (*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, p. 188; emended). The *Mǎwángduī* Three writes *jiān* 臨, as the *Máo* version does, were Guōdiàn One (w48/9 臨) uses *xián* 賢 ‘worthy’. See also my discussion in the appendix (chap. 11) under [Aw].

“If God on High regards you worthy, do not be unfaithful in your heart”.
That is what this is about.

24.

天施諸其人，天也。
其^{W49}人施諸人，據也。†

As for Heaven’s bestowing this greatly on its people, this lies with Heaven.
As for its ^{W49} people bestowing this on man, [they] rely on this. †

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。

If [you] hear the Way and are joyful thereof, [you] are [a man] who is fond of benevolence.
If [you] hear the Way and are fearful thereof, [you] are [a man] who is fond ^{W50} of righteousness.
If [you] hear the Way and are humble thereof, [you] are [a man] who is fond of ritual propriety.
[And] if [you] hear the Way and are happy thereof, [you] are [a man] who is fond of virtue.

The structure of this sub-canto differs not in the slightest from that of the Mǎwángduī Three ‘edition’. Yet, as seen earlier on, minor variations apply to lexical or graphical dissimilarities of some graphs, or to the formula by which the Mǎwángduī Three instantiation introduces the quotation from the Odes. Here and there a graph that appears in one ‘edition’ is missing in the other instantiation of the text,¹⁵⁹ and in the last line of building block 25, the Mǎwángduī Three version writes ‘have’ (有) instead of ‘to be fond of’ (好). As noted, the Mǎwángduī Three text also adds another line to building block 24

¹⁵⁹ In building block 22, the Mǎwángduī Three version repeats the formula 心曰 “[if] the heart says” throughout. In building block 24, the Mǎwángduī Three versions adds the graph 生 ‘gives birth to’ after the first character.

and it quotes the Odes in a slightly different fashion.¹⁶⁰ None of these dissimilarities, however, are tangent to the present analysis.¹⁶¹

4.5. Conclusion

In concluding the analysis I want to state four issues. First, each of the various sub-cantos of the “Wǔ xíng” can be identified as agencies of one idea of the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory overall. Different sub-cantos are connected by a subtle system of cross-referential links, by which various units of this text comment on one another. This makes it impossible to look at any of these units in isolation. For the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory as a whole, this also makes it difficult to discriminate either something like the introduction of the argument, or the conclusion of the same. Instead, the “Wǔ xíng” describes a circular movement: right from the start, the text confronts the recipient with notions that can be understood only after having made one’s way through later parts of the text. Thus, whereas the other argument-based texts that we have analyzed so far prudently develop one overall argument in a rather linear fashion, which, accordingly, is also easier to follow, the “Wǔ xíng”, instead, confronts the addressee of the text right from the very first building block with the heart of its theory. One could not say whether building block 1 represents the introduction, or, instead, the summary of the entire philosophy.

This formal device also adds further weight to the thought of the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory itself. The “Wǔ xíng” propagates a theory of self-cultivation with the final goal of nourishing potency (*dé* 德) within the individual, and it seems that the theory developed follows the same rules as the compositional pattern of the text. Just as the compositional pattern of the text, self-cultivation carries circular elements. If lacking either of the virtues described in the text, sagacity cannot be developed either. Yet, as discussed, sagacity takes the lead in the formation of other virtues and as such is the crucial factor in the entire process of self-cultivation. The ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory hence expounds an idea of self-

¹⁶⁰ See above p. 170, n. 158.

¹⁶¹ The Mǎwángduì Three version attaches the line 其人施諸人 不得其人 不為法 “that person bestows this on others; not to find the right man is to deviate from the pattern” to building block 24.

cultivation, in which the end-result of self-cultivation also is its point of initiation. Inspired by David S. Nivison, I want to call this the “paradox of self-cultivation”.¹⁶² The paradox of self-cultivation entails that to realize any of the five virtues simultaneously depends on the accomplished cultivation of the other virtues—and vice versa. The way out of this paradox of self-cultivation, then, lies in a human’s awareness (*zhī* 知) of the innate facility to bear the five virtues within. The vital moment of moral self-cultivation is hence the ability of making aware the abilities, which one has nourished so far. Thus, just like the composition of the text, self-cultivation takes on a circular form, but the crucial moment thereof lies in the ability of stepping out of this circle, without—so to speak—leaving it.

Second, the analysis of the two versions of the “Wǔ xíng” has identified structurally and verbally highly coherent building blocks in both ‘editions’ of the text. More important, however, comparing the two instantiations of the “Wǔ xíng”, the analysis has revealed an exceptionally coherence of the various sub-cantos of this text.

As we have seen, the main difference between the Guōdiàn One “Wǔ xíng” and that from Mǎwángduī Three applies to the reversed order of what I have identified to be sub-canto six and sub-canto seven. Interestingly, the two sub-cantos also express the fundamental ideas of the text. Sub-canto six explains the meaning of the virtues, sagacity and wisdom, which I have identified as ‘benchmark-virtues’ of the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory. Connected to this, sub-canto six also finalizes the references, which lead to a split up of the five virtues of the “Wǔ xíng” into two groups, namely those that should be aspired; and those that can be acted for—a distinction of utmost importance for the philosophy of the “Wǔ xíng”. Lastly, sub-canto six applies the entire ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory to the realm of good rule and thus provides the key for identifying the political agenda of the text. Sub-canto seven, instead, finalizes the links concerning the virtues, benevolence, righteousness, and ritual propriety. Without sub-canto seven, we would have had no means to understand the full meaning of these virtues as defined by the author(s) of the “Wǔ xíng”. Yet, despite the vital role, which the two sub-cantos play for developing the philosophy of the “Wǔ xíng”

¹⁶² See Nivison’s coinage of the “paradox of virtue”; in David S. Nivison 1996, pp. 33 ff.

overall, I contend that neither of the two presents a ‘conclusion’ in the real sense of the word—despite the fact that scholars do indeed argue for the existence of the same. Accordingly, neither of the two manifestations of the “Wǔ xíng” “anticipates a conclusion”, as can be read otherwise. Instead, the “Wǔ xíng” is comparatively open-ended. The process described could have continued. It does not matter which of the two sub-cantos (six or seven) should come first—as long as they remain in a location that does not disfigure the dense reference system of subtle links throughout the text.

Third, based on this analysis, I feel that the view, which sees the “Wǔ xíng” as a composite of “even older” texts, also misses the point. We have seen that both instantiations of the text establish subtle referential links throughout the text overall. These references account for the fact that the “Wǔ xíng” generates a full description of a coherent ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory, in which all elements find their proper place. The fact that parts of this text only discuss the virtues wisdom (*zhì* 智) or sagacity (*shèng* 聖), and others only discuss the virtues benevolence (*rén* 仁), righteousness (*yì* 義) and ritual propriety (*lǐ* 禮), does not reflect two chronologically different text layers that had been rewritten later on, as some scholars assume. Instead, the analysis shows that the hierarchization of these virtues is a vital element of the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory overall. The two virtues wisdom and sagacity are the ‘benchmark virtues’ in the long-term process of moral cultivation. Benevolence, righteousness and ritual propriety are ‘dependent virtues’, or the expression of having realized wisdom and sagacity within. In other words, benevolence, righteousness and ritual propriety are the particular manifestations of what the accomplished, that is, the individual who has cultivated wisdom and sagacity within himself, practically brings forth when being involved with worldly affairs.

Fourth, I do not agree with the assumption that we should consider the Guōdiàn One version of the “Wǔ xíng” “directly ancestral” to the Mǎwángduī Three text. Instead, as the analysis has shown, we should rather stress the fact that the various sub-cantos of the “Wǔ xíng” are agencies of particular aspects of the ‘*wǔ xíng*’-theory. These particular aspectual units are those that matter. We may equal them with what has been dubbed

“unit of thought” in another context.¹⁶³ As the particular sub-canto is the relevant unit, it also most likely is the very unit that had been remembered. This would explain why the particular sub-cantos of the “Wǔ xíng” display such an exceptional stability—a stability that has achieved even higher degrees than that of the particular building blocks, which constitute the individual sub-cantos. As these remembered agencies of the ‘wǔ xíng’-theory remain stable in both versions of the text, we have no grounds on which to identify either of the two versions as directly ancestral to the other—even though the Guōdiàn One copy presumably is the older of the two manuscripts at hand.

Yes, *the* “Wǔ xíng” did exist. Nonetheless, it did not exist in ‘closed’, let alone definite form.¹⁶⁴ Instead, we see a full-grown, or stable concept of the ‘wǔ xíng’-theory, paired with an unfixed—but not unstable—text, composed of various stable sub-cantos. Accordingly, in contrast to what can be read in the literature on the “Wǔ xíng”, neither version should be considered as representing the more ‘original’ version of the “Wǔ xíng”, or expressing a more ‘genuine’ philosophy. The Guōdiàn One version and the one from Mǎwángdū Three simply reflect two instances of communicating the very same idea in unfixed written form.

The previous analysis has shown that in short argument-based texts, such as for instance the “Zhōng xìn zhī dào”,¹⁶⁵ or the “Qióng dá yǐ shí”,¹⁶⁶ the macro structure displays a rigorous composition. This does, however, not also imply that these were ‘closed’ texts. Instead, they might have remained open for slight changes—at least on the level of wording. Their *composition*, however, is fixed. Any displacement of individual building blocks would disfigure their highly refined macro structure. For a much longer argument-based text such as the “Wǔ xíng”, such a rigorous and hence definite macro structure cannot be postulated (yet?). Only certain parameters can be described that account for the communication of a coherent argument—in this case the genuine ‘wǔ xíng’-theory. The

¹⁶³ See Rudolf G. Wagner 1999 (b).

¹⁶⁴ See in this context Paul Zumthor (1983), who has introduced the concept of text “*mouvance*”. For a discussion of the stability of texts Chinese context, see Martin Kern (2001, p. 65), who distinguishes between ‘fluid texts’, that is, demarcated entities that can “be recognized, respected, and transmitted”, and works of canonical status, that is, ‘closed’ texts.

¹⁶⁵ See chapter 2.

¹⁶⁶ See chapter 3.

notion of a *definite composition* in this kind of long argument-based texts, however, is still absent in the Warring States. This can also be seen in the “Xìng zì mìng chū”, to which I shall refer in the next chapter.

