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

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Chapter 5

"XÌNG ZÌ MÌNG CHŪ" 性自命出

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5. *The "Xìng zì mìng chū"* 性自命出 (Nature originates from decree)

This chapter discusses the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and its textual relation to the manuscript-counterpart as anthologized in the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts. This chapter is the final analysis of the ideal type argument-based texts and closes the first part of my study on meaning-construction in the written philosophic discourse of the Warring States. As I argue, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" consists of two parts. The organization of composition of the first part of the text is rather fixed, and it is possible to describe a coherent system behind the arrangement of composition. This part is extraordinarily stable in the two 'editions' of the text that we posses by now.[1] It can be considered the philosophic core of the text. Moreover, this chapter to some extent reconstructs the textual history of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" in its relationship to the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū".

[1] For a discussion of 'edition' in the sense of *ekdosis*, see the Introduction (chap. 1.4).

5.1. Introduction

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" 性自命出 numbers some 1.550 characters written on 67 strips. It is the longest argumentative text from tomb Guōdiàn One. Prior to the excavation, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" had not been known. Modern scholars generally conceive this text to be part of 'Confucian' tradition,[2] in particular sharing ideas with Zǐsī 子思, Gōngsùn Ní 公遜尼, or Shì Shí 世碩.[3]

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" has attracted close attention from modern scholars for reasons as follows. To begin with, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" discusses '[human] nature', *xìng* (性) in a way previously unseen. The text provides a multi-layered analysis of human nature by relating the issue of concern to human devices, such as for instance dispositions of 'mind', *xīn* 心, or 'emotions', *qíng* 情; but it also examines the relation of human nature with matters that exist outside the subject self, namely the phenomenological world as manifested in the '[external] things', *wù* 物, or 'music', *yuè* 樂. So doing, the excavated text considers the impact of these matters on human nature and offers a "phenomenological account of how one's emotions (*qíng* 情) relate to human nature (*xìng* 性) and external stimuli […]."[4] Whereas other early texts that survive to the present day provide isolated statements on human nature in passing only, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" is the earliest text known by now that provides a fully developed analysis of this topic.

Many Chinese colleagues celebrate the "Xìng zì mìng chū" as an intermediate evolutionary stage of "Confucian" discourse on human nature. More specifically, both in terms of its intellectual and chronologic position, consensus considers the "Xìng zì mìng chū" to be a "missing link" between the philosophy of Confucius as represented in 'the' *Lúnyǔ*, and the ideas on human nature as seen in the *Mèngzǐ*.[5] The problem of

[2] Nearly all Chinese scholars classify the "Xìng zì mìng chū" as 'Confucian'. See, for instance, the discussion of the text by Chén Níng 陳寧 1998.
[3] See, for instance, Guō Qíyǒng 郭齊勇 2001, p. 24; Lǐ Tiānhóng 李天虹 2003, p. 125; among others. For brief information about Shì Shí, see chapter 4 "Wǔ xíng", p. 114, n. 27.
[4] Erica Brindley 2006, p. 19.
[5] See, for instance, Páng Pú 龐樸 1998; Lǐ Wéiwǔ 李維武 2000, p. 310; Yú Zhìpíng 余治平 2000, p. 355; Wáng Xìngpíng 王幸平 2004; Lǐ Ruì 李銳 2005.

this kind of a linear understanding of 'Confucian' ideas will be discussed elsewhere. At this point it suffices to say that, among others, analyses of this kind treat philosophic concepts ascribed to Confucius and Mencius as if they were coherent and systematic edifices of thought. Intellectual positions of the two thinkers are extracted from the *Lúnyǔ* and the *Mèngzǐ* in their entirety, and the chronologic layers or agendas of authorship of these texts are not taken into account.[6]

Related to the detailed analysis of human nature is the particular usage of terms in the "Xìng zì mìng chū". Hence the close attention which the bamboo-strip text receives among present-day scholars because it provides insights into the semantic and philosophic breadth of terms applied in the philosophic discourse of that time, whose particular meaning has been an issue of debate for so long. An example is the specific usage of words like *qíng* 情, for which so many different translations exist.[7]

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" refers to what tradition calls *shī* 詩 'odes' to substantiate its ideas on human nature, and it possibly even refers to *shū* 書, 'documents'.[8] Even more important than hidden allusions to shared concepts in the text is the reference to odes, '*shī*', documents, '*shū*', rites, '*lǐ*' 禮 and music, '*yuè*' 樂 as one group. The "Xìng zì mìng chū" discusses the respective function of these cultural resources for the individual in the process of moral cultivation. Moreover, it also explains the role

[6] Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉 (1946) regards the *Lúnyǔ* as full of contradictions and anachronisms. For this reason, he considers it as a tool unviable for analyzing the philosophy of Confucius. For a short discussion of this view, see Benjamin I. Schwartz (1985), pp. 61 ff. On chronologic layering and later interpolations of the *Lúnyǔ*, see the highly controversial contribution by E. Bruce and A. Taeko Brooks (1998). For the same approach to other texts, among which the *Mèngzǐ*, see also Brooks and Brooks 1994 and the respective entries on the home page of the Warring States Project (http://www.umass.edu/wsp/cct/l-r/mc/index.html; accessed 16.09.2006), which reproduces central aspects of the discussion.
For an approach to manuscript culture and text-layering radically different from that of the Brookses in that it does not aim to identify text-layers by precise year, but instead aims at generating a cross-cultural framework for premodern studies in general, see Steve Farmer, John B. Henderson, and Michael Witzel 2000 [2002]. Some of the ideas discussed at length in Farmer, Henderson, Witzel 2000 [2002] were already introduced in brief in Steve Farmer 1998. On the problematic issue of reconstructing early Chinese thought such as 'Confucianism' or 'Daoism' on the basis of the materials at hand, see my discussion in chapter 8.

[7] The specific denotation of this term has long been disputed. See, for instance A. C. Graham 1986, Chad Hansen 1995, Christoph Harbsmeier 2004. For a discussion of the term *qíng* in the specific context of the "Xìng zì mìng chū", see Michael Puett 2004.

[8] Huáng Zhènyún 黃震云 and Huáng Wěi 黃偉 (see idem 2003, p. 81) argue that on strips *x*8-9 the "Xìng zì mìng chū" refers to the so-called *sān dé* 三德 concept from the "Hóng fàn" chapter of the present *Documents*. That the two texts draw on concepts, however, is by not means prove the assumption that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" refers to, let alone "quotes", the Documents.

which the sagely person, the *shèng rén* 聖人, plays in the process of turning these resources of Chinese culture into articulate elements for educating the Warring-States élite.[9] This has fueled scholarly discussions all over. The labels named above tend to be equaled with the so-called 'Confucian' Classics.[10] Also, the "*shèng rén*", to which the "Xìng zì mìng chū" refers when discussing the educational impact of these resources of Chinese culture, in general is unequivocally identified with Confucius himself.[11] The identification of odes (*shī*'), documents (*shū*), rites (*lǐ*), and music (*yuè*) with the Chinese classics may seem straightforward—and so does the association of the sagely person (*shèng rén*) with Confucius. Yet for various reasons, these recognitions are problematic nonetheless. Firstly, received texts such as the *Lúnyǔ* 論語, the *Mèngzǐ* 孟子, or the *Xúnzǐ* 荀子 that modern scholars associate with *rú*-ist ideas, do not use the appellation "*shèng rén*" in a consistent fashion.[12]

Secondly, tradition does indeed present Confucius as the compiler of Odes, which hence may be seen to corroborate the identification of *shèng rén* with Confucius in the "Xìng zì mìng chū";[13] his name is also closely associated with the "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn" 孔子詩論 (Confucius' interpretation of Odes)—a manuscript from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts.[14] Despite this, Jì Xùshēng 季旭昇 concludes from an account in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* that the process of compiling the Odes had already been completed in Confucius' childhood. Accordingly, he suggests that "sagely person" in

[9] For different views on the relation of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" to Odes, Documents, and other resources of Chinese culture, see Lǐ Tiānhóng 李天虹 2000 (a) and also (b), Huáng Zhènyún 黃震云 and Huáng Wěi 黃偉 2003, Guō Qíyǒng 郭齊勇 2001, among others.

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

[11] See, for instance, Lǐ Tiānhóng 李天虹 2000 (a) and also (b), Michael Puett 2004.

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

[13] The *Shǐ jì* 史記, chap. "Kǒngzǐ shìjiā" 孔子世家, notes that of the 3.000 ancient odes Confucius removed those which were mere repetitions of others and selected those that could be used for the service of ritual propriety and righteousness. (Memoir 17, pp. 69 ff [3307 ff]).

[14] See Mǎ Chéngyuán 馬承源 2001, vol. 1. The "Kǒngzǐ shī lùn" has received its label by the modern editors. The identification of Kǒngzǐ, or Confucius, in this manuscript was not uncontested. See, however, Pú Máozuǒ 濮茅左 whose analysis seems to have resolved the issue in favor of reading the graph in question with Kǒngzǐ 孔子 (instead of Bǔzǐ 卜子, or Bǔ Shāng 卜商, disciple of Confucius known as Zǐ Xià 子夏; born 508/7 BC). See Pú Máozuǒ 濮茅左 2001, pp. 13-14. See also Lǐ Líng 李零 2000. For a brief overview of this discussion, see Edward Shaughnessy 2006, pp. 19 ff.

the "Xìng zì mìng chū" does not refer to Confucius. Instead, it generally denotes cultural hero(s) of the past.[15]

Thirdly, that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" explicitly mentions odes (*shī*), documents (*shū*), rites (*lǐ*), and music (*yuè*) cannot be regarded as an evidence of the existence of a well-defined set of classics already by the mid to late Warring-States period. Mentioning these constituents of Chinese culture explicitly as one group does by no means imply that these must have been well-defined textual bodies, let alone books, at the time when the "Xìng zì mìng chū" was composed.

Especially "music" and "rites" might be general denotations of music and rites overall. Also, quotations from excavated manuscripts do not point to a well-defined corpus of Documents by the Warring-States period.[16] Recent analyses have convincingly argued that by the Warring States period, we do have a more or less fixed collection of Odes—most probably the only well-defined and distinguishable corpus among the four. Nevertheless, the comparison of different records suggests that by those times the Odes were still highly unstable in writing—in parts even in phraseology.[17] In fact, it seems that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" rather refers to these resources of Chinese culture as *traditions* to be performed, not as written texts. The question remains, then, whether the "Xìng zì mìng chū" does indeed refer to Confucius when mentioning a sagely man who is involved in the making the educational impact of these cultural constituents of the Warring-States élite, as Lǐ Tiānhóng 李天虹 and others suggest.[18] Or should "sagely man" in the context of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" rather be understood as the general reference to cultural hero(es) of the past as suggested by Jì Xùshēng? So far, we have no grounds on which we could safely exclude either of these possibilities.

Furthermore, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" receives high scholarly attention because it has a closely corresponding counterpart in the "Xìng qíng lùn" 性情論—named so by contemporary editors—which is anthologized in the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ

[15] See Jì Xùshēng 季旭昇, 2004, p. 169. The reference for his suggestion is a passage in the *Zuǒ zhuàn*, "Xiānggōng" 襄公, year 29.
[16] See the brief discussion in chapter 1: Introduction.
[17] See Kern 2005 (b).
[18] See Lǐ Tiānhóng 李天虹 2000; see also Guō Qíyǒng 郭齊勇 2001, p. 25; Puett 2004, p. 50.

manuscripts.[19] Striking, just as with the other excavated long argumentative text of which exists a close corresponding counterpart, namely the "Wǔ xíng" (which I have discussed in the previous chapter), the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" share a remarkable overlap throughout the first 35 strips[20] of the text—both in terms of textual organization and phraseology.[21]

The largely analogous part of the two texts is characterized by the fact that it is elaborate and highly cohesive. Even though the language makes use of brief and highly mnemonic statements, it is not as formulaic and enigmatic as that of the "Wǔ xíng". However, similar to the two versions of the "Wǔ xíng", the remarkable analogy which the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" share throughout the first part of two manuscripts dissolves further below. This loss of overall coherence is furthermore accompanied by the lack of a concise organization throughout the second part of the manuscripts.[22]

The cohesive macro-structure of the "Wǔ xíng" allowed me to provide an in-depth analysis of the relevant parameters that account for the fact that the two 'editions' of the text provide the elaborate '*wǔ xíng*'-theory without substantial difference, let alone distortion; despite some compositional dissimilarities between the two texts. Accordingly, even though building block 10 from sub-canto five of the "Wǔ xíng" appears at a different location in the two manuscripts known by now (Mǎwángduī Three and Guōdiàn One),[23] and sub-cantos six and seven appear in reverse order in the two texts, this dissimilarity does not influence the communication of a coherent and stringent '*wǔ xíng*-theory'.[24] In the present chapter I will not provide a similarly

[19] On the "Xìng qíng lùn" from the Shànghǎi corpus, henceforth Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", see further below.
[20] Unless otherwise noted, the counting of the bamboo strips refers to the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" throughout.
[21] The similarity of the two texts has nourished the suspicion (Cf. Mǎ Chéngyuán 馬承源 2001, vol. 1, p. 2) that the two manuscripts, "Xìng zì mìng chū" and "Xìng qíng lùn", may come from the same geographic area (Húběi), or even from the same site (Guōdiàn). We should bear in mind that because the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has not been brought to light by a scientific excavation, but instead was bought from a dealer of tomb looters on an antique market in Hong Kong, it is difficult to make any certain assessment concerning its *locus* of origin. I shall discuss this in more detail further below.
[22] This loss of overall coherence is paired by paleographical difficulties, which, at times, makes it a difficult task to generate any sense thereof.
[23] In the Guōdiàn One manuscript, building block 10 appears on top of sub-canto five, whereas it appears at the end of the same sub-canto in the Mǎwángduī Three text.
[24] See my discussion in chapter 4: "Wǔ xíng".

detailed form-analysis of the "Xìng zì mìng chū". The "Xìng zì mìng chū" shares many formal features with the other texts from Guōdiàn One that were discussed so far. Moreover, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" presents considerable philological problems that cannot always be solved by reference to the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". The Shànghǎi text is not as well preserved as the Guōdiàn One manuscript and many graphs on the bamboo strips are faded. Many strips survive only as fragments and the graphs on these are frequently hardly legible. Nonetheless, the compositional structure of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" does contain some features that are worth describing. The fact, then, that we possess two 'editions' of a text that are so similar, but at times still differ substantially from each other, calls for a closer analysis of this phenomenon. To anticipate my conclusion, I believe that the order of building blocks throughout the first part of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" from Guōdiàn One and the "Xìng qíng lùn" from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts constitutes a rather stable (but not yet fully fixed) text, and it is possible to discern a coherent system behind their arrangement. I feel justified in treating this part of the two texts as one canto, that is, a coherent and structurally closed part of the text. I consider this to be the 'core text', that is, the theoretical framework of the philosophy of what we today call "Xìng zì mìng chū" or "Xìng qíng lùn". The second part(s) of the two texts seem to present a further, more detailed elaboration of the core part, providing an 'application' of what has been outlined theoretically in the core text of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and "Xìng qíng lùn".[25] As such, the second part(s), which might originally have been grafted on the core text—probably at a later dater—by implication leave more room for textual variation of precisely the kind we see in the two instantiations of the text.

5.2. The Text on Bamboo

The Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" is written on 67 bamboo strips of 32.5 cm length. The strips are tapered towards both ends. They bear marks of two binding straps in a distance of 17.5 cm. In this the physical characteristics of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" are the same as those of the "Chéng zhī wén zhī" 成之聞之, the "Zūn dé

[25] This observation corresponds with what Guō Yí 郭沂 remarks on the distribution of ideas in the "Xìng zì mìng chū". See idem 2004, p. 1.

yì" 尊德義, and the "Liù dé" 六德. Again, this suggests a chronological and spatial proximity of these texts as far as text production is concerned; that is, the preparation of strips and the fixation of a particular text version on bamboo. The four texts named above were most likely produced at the same workshop. Nevertheless, the physical contiguousness of these manuscripts does not reveal anything about the intellectual orientation of the texts.[26]

Of the 67 strips that constitute the "Xìng zì mìng chū", nine have broken off. One of these strips has broken off at both of its sides. The missing parts probably contain approximately 29 graphs.

5.2.1. The Order of the Strips

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" is a difficult text. Concerning the palaeography of this text, numerous graphs of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" still await conclusive identification. The proper sequence of the strips is also still an issue. Even the finding of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", to which I shall refer in more detail further below, could not resolve the matter in its entirety. Especially prior to the publication of the photographs and the transcription of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn",[27] scholars of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" proposed different arrangements of the 67 relevant bamboo strips.[28] Briefly, for the first 35 to 36 strips of the "Xìng zì mìng chū", scholars mainly put forward rather moderate emendations of the initial reconstruction as proposed initially in 1998.[29] Concerning the latter 21 to 22 strips, scholars came up with far more interventions as to how to organize the text, including the insertion of some strips at the head of the lower part of the "Xìng zì mìng chū", which by now have been identified as belonging to another individual text, namely the "Lìu dé" 六德, or "Six

[26] See my discussion in chapter 1: Introduction.
[27] See Mǎ Chéngyuán 馬承源 (2001), vol. 1., pp. 69-115; 215-301.
[28] See, among others, Lǐ Líng 1999, Lǐ Xuéqín 1999 (b), Zhōu Fēngwǔ 周鳳五 and Lín Sùqíng 林素清 1999, Qián Xùn 錢遜 1999, Liú Xīngǎng 劉昕崗 2000, Liáo Míngchūn 2000 (a), Lǐ Tiānhóng 李天虹 2000 (a) and 2003, pp. 6-13,Chén Wěi 2000 (b) and 2003, pp. 173-207.
[29] For the photographs of the strips, see Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, pp. 50-66; for the reconstruction see ibid, pp. 177-185.

Virtues".[30] After the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was made public, Liáo Míngchūn 廖名春 probably was the first scholar to defend the arrangement of bamboo strips as originally suggested by the editors of the Húběi Province Museum.[31]

5.2.2. Text-division and Overall Organization

The question whether the "Xìng zì mìng chū" from Guōdiàn One should be considered as *one* text, or whether it should actually be divided into either two or maybe even three individual texts, also is an issue of ardent dispute.[32] Objections against viewing the "Xìng zì mìng chū" as one coherent text are mainly based on three interconnected considerations, which there are as follows.[33]

The first objection to treat the "Xìng zì mìng chū" as one integral whole stems from the observation that different parts of the text treat different subjects. Based on this consideration, Lǐ Xuéqín 李學勤 is one of the proponents who regard the "Xìng zì mìng chū" as two different texts.[34] He divides the excavated text after strip *x*36. According to Lǐ, the former part of the text, which we now call "Xìng zì mìng chū" (strips *x*1-36),[35] mainly deals with the effect of music on moral cultivation. He proposes to call this part "Discourse on Music", "Yuè shuō" 樂說. The latter part of the text (strips *x*37-end) mainly discusses sentiments, *qíng* 情. Accordingly, Lǐ Xuéqín names this part "[Human] Nature and Sentiments", "Xìng qíng" 性情.[36]

Advocates of the idea that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" should be divided into two texts find further confirmation in the dissimilar characteristics of the calligraphy. Lǐ Tiānhóng 李天虹 notes that the two parts of the text (*x*1-36 and *x*37-67) as

[30] To place the initial five strips of the Guōdiàn One text—generally labeled "Liù dé" 六德—at the top of the lower part of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" was proposed by Chén Wěi 陳偉 in 2000. See esp. pp. 65 f.
[31] See Liáo Míngchūn 廖名春 2000 (b).
[32] As discussed by Lǐ Xuéqín 1999 (b), Lǐ Tiānhóng 2003 (a), Guō Yí 郭沂 2004.
[33] Less radical positions are pronounced by Lǐ Líng (1999), Chén Lái 陳來 (2002). These scholars understand the "Xìng zì mìng chū" to be one text composed of different parts.
[34] See Lǐ Xuéqín 李學勤 1999 (b).
[35] Lǐ Xuéqín interchanges the sequence of strips and considers *x*35 to close this unit.
[36] See idem 1999 (b), pp. 23, 27.

distinguished by Lǐ Xuéqín show characteristics of two different hands.[37] As Lǐ Tiānhóng observes, the style of the graphs on strips *x*1-36 is rather crude. Also, the graphs themselves are written at some distance from each other. This results in a far lower number of graphs per strip in *x*1-36. Lǐ Tiānhóng counts between 20 to 25 characters on each strip. Conversely, the bamboo strips subsequent to strip *x*36 contain characters that are much finer in style and are written at less distance from one another. Accordingly, the latter 31 strips of the text on an average carry 24 to 30 graphs each (leaving apart the broken strips). From this observation Lǐ Tiānhóng concludes that the two parts not only stem from two different hands, but were also fixed on bamboo at some chronological distance from each other. As a result, Lǐ contends that these parts should be considered as two different texts.

Moreover, the assumption that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" should indeed be divided into two individual texts further seems to be corroborated by the fact that the two strips *x*35 and *x*67—both of which are conceived as the final strips of the units described by both Lǐ Tiānhóng or Lǐ Xuéqín—carry the so-called 'tadpole' symbol ( ). In the Guōdiàn One corpus, the tadpole symbol is otherwise seen on the final strips of manuscripts, namely on the so-called "Lǎozǐ A",[38] and on the "Chéng zhī wén zhī",[39] respectively. We cannot be too sure, but it seems that this mark signals the end of a self-contained text. Just as seen in the other manuscripts, the two strips of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" that carry the tadpole symbol bear no further writing subsequent to this marking. About half of the two strips is left blank. Taken together, these observations are generally conceived as strong indications for the assumption that "Xìng zì mìng chū" should be divided into two individual texts.

In spite of this, the idea of a partition of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" into different texts soon met with strong hesitation. First of all, in an influential article published in 2000, Liáo Míngchūn noticed a third marking in the Guōdiàn One manuscript.[40] Squeezed at the very end of strip *x*49, we find another symbol ( ), which is no longer clearly visible. Liáo contends that this is a further instance of the so-called tadpole symbol—

[37] See Lǐ Tiānhóng 李天虹 2003 (a), pp. 11 f.
[38] On strip *a*32 and on strip *a*39.
[39] On strip *ch*40.
[40] See idem 2000 (b), p. 19.

except that the one on strip *x*49 is much smaller. According to him, this is due to the fact that there simply had been no room on the strip that could be left free subsequent to this mark; nor had there been much room for the mark itself.

The publication of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" in 2001 then corroborated Liáo's observation to a remarkable extent.[41] Strip *xq*40 of the Shànghǎi manuscript, which closely corresponds to strip *x*49 of the Guōdiàn bamboo-strip text, also carries a tadpole symbol. In both texts the mark follows the exclamation "[this] truly is the case".[42] Subsequent to the symbol, the strip of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" carries no further graphs. About six seventh of the entire strip is left blank. Yet, in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" this exclamation appears on the final strip of the text, hence closing the account on human nature. In the Guōdiàn One manuscript, it appears at the head of the latter third of the text. The fact that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" corresponds so closely with the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" suggests that the units, which I tentatively call the 'core text' and its 'application', do indeed belong together and should not be regarded as individual texts (at least at this stage of textual development), except that the materials of the second unit, namely the application, are organized differently in the two manuscripts. The Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", then, contains three marks of division (the tadpole symbol, seen on strips *x*35, *x*49, *x*67), suggesting that it has been organized into three distinctive parts. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" confirms two of these marks. First, following what corresponds to the core text of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" carries a big square mark (▮) that occupies the entire width of this particular bamboo strip (strip *xq*21). This seems to confirm the division of the materials into core text and its application. Second, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" also confirms the demarcation after the exclamation "this truly is the case" from the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū"—except that in the Shànghǎi manuscript the exclamation signals the end of the entire text, whereas in the Guōdiàn One manuscript it appears in the latter third of the text. At this point both texts use the tadpole symbol.[43]

[41] For the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", see Mǎ Chéngyuán 馬承源 2001, vol. 1, pp. 69-115 (for the photos of the strips); pp. 217-301 (for transcription and commentaries).
[42] 信矣.
[43] As far as I am aware about the literature on the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", Guō Yí 郭沂 (2004) is the only scholar who still defends the partition of the "Xìng zì

The similarities between the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" suggest that these two texts did not defend diverging philosophical positions. Quite to the contrary, as for two instantiations of the "Wǔ xíng", it should be assumed that the differences between the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" simply exemplify the phenomenon of writing down a fully grown, highly coherent idea—in this case on the conflict between human nature and the phenomenological world—in two independent (!) instances. Accordingly, instead of suggesting a different philosophical orientation of the texts, it should be possible to describe the differences in these manuscripts as stemming from the prolonged transmission process of this particular (and identifiable) idea on human nature. I will take this up in more detail further below.

That the remarkable similarity of the two manuscripts also applies to the formal level of the texts (for instance the analogous use of markings in the text) has at least two further implications worth considering. To begin with, the analogous use of the tadpole symbol in two individual copies suggests that the symbol does not by necessity signal the end of a self-contained text. Instead, it seems more probable to assume that it can likewise indicate the end of self-contained parts of a coherent text. By implication, the analogous use of markings in two individual instantiations of the text suggests that the division of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" (and likewise the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") into two individual self-contained texts is highly unlikely—if not wrong. Accordingly, it seems that we should instead understand the "Xìng zì mìng chū" as *one* text composed of different parts that were marked off by different symbols. Whether these parts may also have been circulating individually, or whether they only existed in combination with each other, as Chén Wěi 陳偉 poses the question,[44] cannot be answered with certainty at this point.

That formal markings which signal the (internal) division of a text have not only been used for the Guōdiàn One bamboo-strip text, but were also used for the corresponding parts of the "Xìng qíng lùn" from the Shànghǎi corpus, has at least one more

mìng chū" (and likewise the "Xìng qíng lùn") into two individual texts. For a critique of his views, see my discussion further below.

[44] See Chén Wěi 陳偉 2003 (a), p. 176.

implication: the overlap of formal markings in two individual 'editions' of a (widely?) circulating and largely analogous text strongly suggests that what contemporary students of early Chinese texts call the "Xìng zì mìng chū" (or the "Xìng qíng lùn") was not only a fairly stable text by the date of closing tomb Guōdiàn One. It is also reasonable to assume that these texts have been (widely?) put into writing. The Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" must have copied these markings from a written source text (*Vorlage*). Due to the fact that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was bought from tomb looters, we know nothing about the history of this particular text. Nevertheless, as I shall demonstrate further below, it is my contention that the two manuscripts were not copied from each other. That is, neither of the two manuscripts directly served as *Vorlage* for the other.[45] Instead, as I shall demonstrate below, the two manuscripts must have copied these markings from a third source.

5.2.3. One Text from Two Tombs

Based on the similarity of the two texts, I hold that the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" are two independent instances of writing down the same—highly coherent—philosophic position concerning human nature. Just like the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" bore no title. The present appellations have been chosen by modern editors and do not reflect original designations.[46]

The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" is badly preserved. The remaining text is written on some 40 bamboo strips.[47] These were cut evenly at both ends. Of these strips, only

[45] Even though the two copies share many overlapping peculiarities, which are hard to explain, the discrepancy between the two is too striking for assuming that either of the two was copied directly from the other.

[46] Neither of the two titles is derives from the initial words of the texts. Instead, the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" is named after the first part of the famous line 性自命出，命自天降 "[human] nature derives from decree, decree is sent down from Heaven", whereas the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" is named according to its content, namely the discourse of human nature in correlation to human sentiments.

[47] Five strip fragments that have not yet been identified did probably also belong to the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

seven have remained intact.[48] Intact strips carry between 31 to 34 characters, many of which faded however. The exception is the initial strip *xq*1. It has been inscribed with 41 characters.

Intact bamboo strips of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" are circa 57 cm in length and hence substantially longer than those of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū".[49] That the two 'editions' of this text had been fixed on strips of dissimilar length, once more corroborates my contention briefly discussed in the Introduction (chap. 1), namely that the physical length of a manuscript from Warring-States does not reflect the status of that text. There exist no unified standards for the length of bamboo strips used for texts during the Warring States. Accordingly, we should be aware of inconsistencies when estimating the socio-political standing of Warring States' manuscripts only on the basis of their material properties.

Comparing the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" with the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", we may observe two things. I have already mentioned the extraordinary consistency of the two texts: except for a few sentences that only occur in the Guōdiàn One manuscript, the phraseology of the two texts matches to a comparatively high degree. Moreover, the two texts virtually share the same organization throughout the first 35 strips.[50] This analogy of organization, however, is substantially less in the second half of the texts, that is, from strip *x*36 (*xq*21/13) onwards.

The fact that by now we possess another largely analogous instantiation of the same idea on human nature and moral self-cultivation helps us to clarify issues concerning the overall organization of the text—especially since the Shànghǎi strips are considerably longer than those of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and thus display different breaks from sentence to sentence. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" can thus corroborate the stability of various clusters of strip of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" (and, of course, vice versa). Some scholars even go so far as to hold that the finding of the

[48] These are strips *xq*1, *xq*8, *xq*9, *xq*10, *xq*20, *xq*24, and *xq*28.
[49] In fact, the strips that constitute the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" are the longest of the entire Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts.
[50] Again, if not mentioned otherwise, counting refers to the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū".

Shànghǎi manuscript did resolve all matters of textual organization.[51] Sadly, this is not the case.

The Shànghǎi manuscript does not substantiate the idea to insert the initial five strips from the text now labeled "Liù dé" at the head of the second half of the "Xìng zì mìng chū", as previously suggested by Chén Wěi.[52] Of course, that the Shànghǎi manuscript does not contain these materials does not *prove* their absence also in the Guōdiàn One version. Nevertheless, it provides a strong argument against the assertion that they did. To put it briefly, stable clusters of strips are as follows. The text recorded on strips *x*1-33 from the "Xìng zì mìng chū" largely corresponds to that of strips *xq*1-21 from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". That of strips *x*36-49 largely covers *xq*32-41 from the Shànghǎi manuscript. The content seen on strips *x*50-59 largely corresponds to that of *xq*21-28 from the "Xìng qíng lùn"; that of strips *x*59-62 by and large overlaps with strips *xq*30-32 from the Shànghǎi manuscript; the materials seen on strips *x*62-67 correspond to *xq*28-30; Moreover, the clusters of the strips in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" *x*63-65, and *x*65-66 also receive confirmation from the Shànghǎi manuscript, although the phraseology of the two is not the closest match.[53]

As mentioned, despite the correspondences between the two manuscripts, the find of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" could not resolve all problems of text organization. Even though we find evidence for some strip clusters, we still face a problem similar to that of the partly different versions of the "Wǔ xíng": whereas the individual building blocks of the two texts by and large remain stable throughout, the overall sequence of some of these differs to some extent. This is especially noteworthy since the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and "Xìng qíng lùn" otherwise display such a neat formal overlap. The table below briefly summarizes the second half of the two texts (*x*36-67). It shows that, in principal, the two texts consist of two larger corresponding units. These are units 5 through 8, and 1 through 3. Units 4 and 9 appear somewhat 'displaced'. Whereas unit 4 precedes the cluster of units 5 through 8 in "Xìng zì mìng

[51] As articulated lately by Liáo Míngchūn 2000 (b).
[52] See Chén Wěi 2000 (b), pp. 64 ff. Later he corrected his earlier assumption. See Chén Wěi 2003, p 96.
[53] See also Liáo Míngchūn 2000 (b), especially pp. 15 ff.

chū", then followed by unit 9, the two appear as one stable cluster in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn":

Table 1: Comparison Between the Second Part of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the "Xìng qíng lùn"[54]

Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū"	Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"	
✔ 1. [X36] 凡學者求其心為難	▮ 1. 凡人情為可悅也	4 in Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū"
2. 凡用心之躁者	2. 凡身欲靜而勿動 用心欲德而	9. (considerably different in Guōdiàn One)
3. 凡人偽為可惡也 ✔	3. 凡悅人勿吝也	5.
4. [X50] 凡人情為可悅也	4. 凡交毋烈	6.
5. 凡悅人勿吝也	5. 凡於道路毋思	7.
6. 凡交毋（？）	6. 凡憂悗之事欲任 ▮	8.
7. 凡於（登?）毋愄（畏?）	7. 凡學者求其心 … ▮	1.
8. [X62] 凡憂患之事欲任	8. 凡用心之躁者 … ▮	2.
9. （喜?）欲智而無末 ✔	9. 凡人偽為可惡也 ✔	3.

[54] For a detailed discussion see the Appendix "Reconstruction: Overlapping Parts of the "Xìng zì mìng chū"" (chap. 12).
The mark "✔"signal the 'tadpole' symbol. In the Guōdiàn One text units 4 and 9 are not connected, whereas in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" they appear as one cluster. The numbers in the right column highlight the corresponding position of the various units from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" in the Guōdiàn One manuscript.

5.3. Thought and Contents

The "Xìng zì mìng chū"—and likewise the "Xìng qíng lùn"—weave the discussion of human nature and the phenomenological world around two basic assumptions.[55] First, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" states on the initial strip of the text that the common feature of men is to have a 'nature'. The text calls this the "*xìng* 性" of man. Second, the bamboo-strip text defends that this nature is universal. The "Xìng zì mìng chū" puts this as follows:

> "Generally speaking, even though man has a nature, mind [nevertheless] has no settled intentions."[56]

and:

> "Within the four seas, the nature [of man] is uniform, [and yet] in the application of his mind, every man differs."[57]

For the author(s) of the text it is no secret from where human beings receive their nature:

> "Nature originates from decree; decree [in turn] [X3] descends from Heaven".[58]

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" sees no need to justify its belief that man receives his nature from Heaven. The assumption that human kind shares a universal nature, which the individual received from Heaven, is not the target of analysis.[59] The "Xìng zì mìng chū" connects to a larger discourse, in which the above stated ideas are not contested, but enjoy unanimous consent.

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[55] Unless explicitly stated otherwise, the designation "Xìng zì mìng chū" throughout the discussion below (5.3) implies of both texts, the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and also the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

[56] 凡人雖有性，心無奠志 (strip *x*1/1-1/9).

[57] 四海之內其性一也 其用心各異 (strip *x*9/6-19).

[58] 性自命出 命 [X3]自天降 (strips *x*2/20-*x*3/3).

[59] In this respect, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" differs fundamentally from most Greek philosophy, in which the assumptions stated, as a rule, reflect the results of the preceding analysis, whereas the "Xìng zì mìng chū" provides an otherwise not justified assumption to be the starting point for a subsequent analysis.

In the initial supposition of the text, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" traces an inconsistency between human nature on the one side, and human conduct on the other. Whereas human kind shares the same (heavenly endowed) overall disposition, the actual development of individuals turns out to be dissimilar nonetheless. More specifically, different people arrive at different degrees of moral cultivation—despite their common initial position. This obviously is a problem, if not a contradiction.

This contradiction is the pivotal concern of the text. If the primary supposition as stated on the first strips of the text is true and human kind indeed shares a common nature, then, the implicit question becomes, why it is that individuals nevertheless achieve different levels of moral cultivation (or even display an entire lack of such cultivation). This uncertainty is nowhere spelled out as an explicit question. Nevertheless, it underlies the reflection throughout.

If we now compare this uncertainty that triggers the study of human nature of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" with the incentive of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí" as discussed in chapter 3, we can trace a significant overlap of the two. The incentive of "Qióng dá yǐ shí" lies in the fact that regardless of his degree of moral cultivation, man nevertheless faces an uncertain fate, decided by Heaven. Man is a mere cue ball of Heaven's will. However, according to the author(s) of the "Qióng dá yǐ shí", he can overcome the vulnerability to Heaven's intention by elevating the cultivation of his potency (*dé* 德) to become his only aim. Accordingly, by refraining from focusing on worldly achievements, and concentrating on the completion of his own potency instead, man creates a realm in which his own virtue is all what matters to him. In this 'autonomous sphere' established accordingly by the individual, man no longer depends on Heaven's 'good-will'.[60]

The "Xìng zì mìng chū", for its part, sets out for the analysis from the opposite side of the same observation. Not the uncertain end of the individual as decided by Heaven (regardless the degree of man's morality) is what drives the "Xìng zì mìng chū". Instead, the fact that all men start off with the same disposition (a universal nature endowed by Heaven) and yet develop in different directions is the ultimate stimulus

[60] See my discussion in chapter 3: "Qióng dá yǐ shí".

of the text. If human kind receives a common nature from Heaven, and yet man can operate variably with it, then there must be something like an intermediate stage between universal nature on the one side, and later development of the individual on the other. This intermediate stage bears resemblance with the 'autonomous sphere' put forward in the "Qióng dá yǐ shí": it is an area in which Heaven has no direct authority over man. Only man himself (or the environment he creates) sets the course for moral cultivation of the individual. This self-sufficient room for moral cultivation is the focus of investigation of the "Xìng zì mìng chū".

5.3.1. The Autonomous sphere of the "Xìng zì mìng chū"

The fact that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" defends the assumption that human kind possesses a universal disposition (*xìng*) implies that differentiating assets of the individual must have been acquired later on.

The "Xìng zì mìng chū" puts forward the idea that human mind (*xīn* 心) has intention (*zhì* 志). Parallel to the development of human nature, which is not predetermined, the intention of mind is not yet set either.[61] External factors, which the "Xìng zì mìng chū" in particular identifies with '[external] things' (*wù* 物), 'joy' (*yuè* 悅) and 'practice' (*xí* 習), are the necessary preconditions for influencing the mind (*xīn*) instead. Only when receiving this outside stimulus, the intention of the mind will develop properly.

The intention of the mind is the determining factor of the properties of the nature of man.[62] In order to shape a morally cultivated man, his intentions need to be developed properly first. This presupposes the amelioration of his social environment. The keyword here is education. It is in this respect that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" notes that human kind differs greatly from animals: the fundamental nature of a goose is to

[61] See strip *x*1.
[62] See strip *x*6. [猶 人之] 雖有性 心弗取 不出 "{*This is like man*}even though he has a nature, [yet] if mind fails to grasp it, [it] won't manifest".

"stretch the neck"; that of an ox is to "grow big", the text states.[63] The individual, instead, responds to his (social) environment.[64] Accordingly, educating him by means of a proper social environment promises to be successful. Another vital aspect for the shaping of human mind lies in educating man by means of Odes, Documents, rituals, and music. Thus, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" on the one hand allocates an educational rationale to society for shaping human mind; but on the other hand, it also recognizes the active use of the resources of an élite-culture for the explicit purpose of educating the individual.

Due to the fact that the bamboo-strip text puts forward the idea that the intention of human mind (*xīn zhì* 心志) closely relies on the stimuli, which man receives from the phenomenological world, it may thus seem that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" defends the assumption that human nature is a blank slate.[65] Depending on how he will be inscribed, man will develop. Yet, this is not the case. As noted, the excavated text defends that human nature derives from Heaven.[66] The *dào* 道, which in the "Xìng zì mìng chū" clearly is a concept that transcends the phenomenological world and has the flavor of a true ethical code, nevertheless originates with the [genuine] emotions (*qíng* 情) of the individual. These, in turn, are part of his nature (*xìng* 性)[67]. Thus, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" describes an integrated relationship of human sentiments, true ethical code (*dào*), and human nature. Herein, the [genuine] emotions (*qíng* 情), which stimulate the *dào*, are an integral element of man himself. Pursuing this line of thought to its logical conclusion, the true ethical code (*dào*) must already be part of man. It only needs to be activated. This, then, is why man does indeed respond to the positive stimulus of education: He is attracted by the sincerity as expressed in the resources of culture, such as Odes, Documents, rites and—in particular—music. It is against this background that the notion continued on the same bamboo strip can be fully instructive. "In the beginning [the *dào*] approximates emotions; in the end, [it]

[63] Strip *x*7/11-end states: 牛生而長 鴈生而伸 其性□□□ [使然，人] "After the ox is born, it grows [big]; after the goose is born, it stretches [its neck]. It is their nature {*that causes them to be like this*}".
[64] The text states: "Airs [such as] rejoicing (*xǐ*), anger (*nù*), grief (*aī*) and sadness (*beī*) are part of [human] nature". Yet, "when it comes to them appearing on the outside, it is due to [external] things having brought this about" 喜怒哀悲之氣性也 及其見於外則物取之也 (strip *x*2/2-19).
[65] See also Erica Brindley 2006, p. 21.
[66] 性自命出 命 [X3]自天降 (strips *x*2/20-*x*3/3).
[67] 道始於情 [情]生於性 (strip *x*3/4-10).

approximates righteousness".[68] This statement defends the notion that the true ethical code (*dào*) that lies within man himself, processes without disruption from unshaped sentiments—or the initial (raw) disposition of human nature—to righteousness (*yì* 義). As Erica Brindley rightly states, "this suggests wholesome, organic change that does not violate human nature, […]."[69] It is in this sense that "{*he who*} understands {*emotions can*} [X4] let them out; he who understands righteousness can internalize it".[70] In other words, once the individual understands that emotions are the incentive of cultivation—and as such they are an intrinsic element of the true ethical code (*dào*), which in turn is an integral part of man himself—then he can allow the full expression of his emotions without fearing transgression.[71] And likewise, only he who understands that the true nature of righteousness is a logical position of the ethical standard (which in turn is in integral part of the individual self) can internalize righteousness. Righteousness, then, is no longer alien to the individual. Quite to the contrary, it becomes an intrinsic part of his—just like the *dào*.[72] Thus, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" claims that the everlasting (or repeating) execution of a certain virtue also leads to the embodiment of the spirit of it. I shall come back to this further below.

In the previous chapter (chap. 4: "Wǔ xíng"), we have seen that a core idea of the "Wǔ xíng" lies in an individual's ability to become aware, *zhī* 知, of what is within himself as the necessary precondition for his moral cultivation. Moral cultivation, the text puts forward, starts from self-awareness. More specifically, the "Wǔ xíng" argues that it needs an outside sagely person to initiate the process that generates the awareness of the individual for what lies within himself.[73] In a similar fashion, then, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" sees the trigger for the process of generating this kind of self-consciousness of the individual in education. In the "Xìng zì mìng chū", education

[68] 始者近情 終者近義 (strip *x*3/11-18).
[69] See Erica Brindley 2006, p. 23.
[70] 知 [情者能] [X4] 出之 知義者能納之 † (strips *x*3/19-4/8).
[71] Compare this notion with Confucius' renowned statement: 吾十有五而志於學 三十而立 四十而不惑 五十而知天命 六十而耳順 七十而從心所欲 不踰矩 "At the age of fifteen, I set [my mind] upon learning; at the age of thirty, I took my stance; at the age of forty I was no longer uncertain; at the age of fifty I knew the heavenly decree; at the age of sixty my ears were compliant; at the age of seventy I could follow that what my mind desires without transgressing the right proportions" (*Lúnyǔ* 2:4).
[72] Note that the stress of this line is on *zhī* 知, 'to understand', which is an important concept also in the "Wǔ xíng".
[73] On this notion, see my discussion of the quotation in the "Wǔ xíng" (chap. 4): "'Bronze [bells] may sound, but it is through a jade [stone] that hits them', this is a person possessing charisma" 金聲而玉振之 有德者也 ("Wǔ xíng", strip *w*19/3-12—not counting the lost parts).

(also) means the proper use of the educational tools of Warring States' élite-culture (*shī*, *shū*, *lǐ*, *yuè*). This text also relates these resources of culture to the sagely person, who is the one best equipped to use them. Thus, both texts, that is, the "Wǔ xíng" and the "Xìng zì mìng chū" understand that sagacity ("Wǔ xíng") or the *dào* ("Xìng zì mìng chū) are potentially inherent in man; and both texts project the ability to activate someone's self-consciousness for his own potentialities on external educational forces (the sagely person in the "Wǔ xíng" and the resources of élite-culture in the "Xìng zì mìng chū"). From this it may be seen that the intellectual positions of the two texts are not so different from each other.

In sum, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" draws a picture of man, who is not good by nature *per se*. But man does have an innate affinity to the good. Hence, just like the *Mèngzǐ* or the *Xúnzǐ*, the author(s) of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" do not share a static concept of human nature. As they put it, it is precisely due to his affinity to the good that moral cultivation of man is possible on the long run. Claims for the internalization of such spirits as put forward in the "Xìng zì mìng chū" start off from precisely this key-assumption of man's tendency to the good.

Because the true ethical code (*dào*) lies within man himself, he tends to respond to sincere feelings, but not to artifice.[74] Sincerity, in turn, is an important constituent of the resources of Chinese culture, especially of music. These resources of a Warring-States élite culture are necessary tools for the cultivation of man. Educating the individual with these will influence him—and finally shape his mind. Accordingly, the "Xìng zì mìng chū" implicitly claims that the conduct of a certain behavior leads to the internalization of the spirit of the same. Just like the *habitus* described by Aristotle in the *Ethica Nichomatica*, the steady influence of positive information that intrudes the mind will lead to the necessary internalization of the same. Having internalized the spirit of Odes, Documents, rites and music (and also education in general) hence marks the final stage in the cultivation of man.

[74] 求其心有偽也，弗得之矣 "If in seeking the [right] mind has something artificial to it, [one] will certainly fall short of obtaining it" (strip *x*37/13-18).

5.4. Structure and Thought

The "Xìng zì mìng chū"—and likewise the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"—is patterned by the recurrent use of the particle *fán* 凡. In the context of these texts, the particle seems to indicate the insertion of a new idea. By implication, it might best be translated with "in sum", "as a rule", or "generally speaking". In these texts, each particular unit introduced by this particle can be regarded as one pericope.[75] Accordingly, the two texts can be split up into 20 pericopes.[76]

5.4.1. Corresponding Clusters in the Two Texts

According to this division of pericopes, we can divide the text as follows. The first part, that is, canto one (strips *x*1-35 of the "Xìng zì mìng chū"; strips *xq*1-21 in the "Xìng qíng lùn") contains pericopes 1 through 12. Of this cluster, only pericope 3 from the Guōdiàn One manuscript is missing from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". This loss, however, has nothing to do with the instability of a text in textual transmission. Instead, it can be explained easily by the physically poor condition of the Shànghǎi manuscript itself.[77]

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

[76] Lǐ Líng (1999, p. 505) splits up pericope 8 into two pericopes (8 and 9) even though the particle *fán* 凡 indicates that this is one unit (he thus counts 21 units overall). In his later work on the Guōdiàn One texts he is more consistent in that he treats it as one unit, thus revoking his earlier splitting of pericope 8 into two units (see idem 2002, p. 106). Lǐ Líng (2002) thus divides the "Xìng zì mìng chū" into 20 units. The Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (strip *xq*8) does not divide this particular unit either. Note, however, that the two texts also contain some pericopes, in which every single statement is preceded by the particle *fán*. I do not treat these statements as individual pericopes but instead as sort of exclamations of special importance. Also, the texts contain some pericopes in which the new idea precedes the particle *fán* in sort of a topos marker of the same. I shall refer to these units in my discussion further below.

[77] Subsequent to pericope 2 (on strip *xq*3 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") appears the latter part of pericope 4 (on strip *xq*4 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"). All in all some 66 graphs are missing in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", namely some forty-two graphs for pericope 3 and some twenty-four graphs for pericope 4. Even though this cannot be stated with absolute certainty. Yet, given the average number of graphs with which the Shànghǎi strips are inscribed, namely between 31 to 34 each, I think that this absentia should be explained with the loss of two entire bamboo strips in the Shànghǎi manuscript. This means that the missing pericope rather reflects the poor conditions of preservation of the Shànghǎi manuscript; it does not indicate a corruption caused by the transmission process of the text.

In both texts, pericopes 1 through 12 appear in the same order. The pericopes themselves are organized in equivalent fashion.[78] The stability of the internal organization of these further applies to the phraseology, which is highly consistent in both texts throughout canto one. Slight differences between the two manuscripts only remain on the level of particular writing forms.[79] In most cases, however, these dissimilarities reflect what Martin Kern would term a "stable phraseology" in relatively "unstable writing".[80] Only a few words used differently in the two texts deviate from this phenomenon.[81] Also, at times the character *yě* 也 is omitted in either of the two texts.[82] Nonetheless, when summing up the details concerning the first part of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (as discussed in detail in the notes of the "Transcription"), we can conclude that canto one is a highly stable unit.

Only two building blocks of this large unit are missing from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"—and this loss has indeed to be explained in a different way than by pointing at

[78] As for sentences missing in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (in pericopes 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12), it seems reasonable to assume that, just like the missing pericope 3, these do not reflect an unstable transmission process. Instead, missing sentences in these pericopes of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" can all be explained with the bad preservation of the manuscript, that is, bamboo strips that have broke off.

[79] For instance, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" at times writes *shēng* 生 (OC *srəŋ) where the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" writes *xìng* 性 (OC *[s]eŋ-s) (for example in pericope 1). At times, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds the signific 心 to graphs, which the Guōdiàn One text writes without it (for instance characters *jiāo* 交 or *lì* 厲 in pericope 5). Also, the two texts use different styles for writing the character *dào* 道. Or, for instance, the Shànghǎi manuscript uses *zhèng* 正 (OC *teŋ-s) 'righteous' where the Guōdiàn One text writes *dìng* 奠 (OC *m-tˁe[n]-s) 'to determine' (or *m-tˁeŋ-s 'set forth') (pericope 1), among others.

[80] In his approach to the Odes, Martin Kern (2005) (b) talks about a verbally highly coherent text, which was as stable in its phraseology as it was unstable in its writing. That means that most instances of dissimilar words in the two manuscripts still fulfill the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components. The criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components as defined by William H. Baxter during the second Leiden Workshop on Old Chinese Phonology (held from August 08 through Friday, August 18, 2006 at Leiden University) are as follows. (1) The main vowel should be the same; (2) The coda should be the same; (3) Initials should have the same *position* of articulation [yet, initials must not necessarily have the same *manner* of articulation]; (4) One may be A-type; one may be B-type; (5) One may have *-r- and the other not; (6) The 'tone' category can be different; i.e., final *ʔ and final *-s can be ignored [These rules are sometime relaxed].

[81] Examples of the use of different words in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" that do *not* fulfill the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components, for instance, is the particular writing of the character *yòu* 囿 (OC *[ɢ]^{w}]əkˀ; or *[ɢ]^{w}]ək-s) in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" where the Guōdiàn One version writes *kuài* 快 (OC *kˁ^{wh}re[t]-s; or maybe even OC *kˁ^{wh}ra[t]-s) (in pericope 7).

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

the physically poor conditions of the Shànghǎi manuscript. The latter part of pericope 12 (all in all thirty characters) is missing in the Shànghǎi manuscript. Following the last statement of that row, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" continues with what would be pericope 16 in the Guōdiàn One manuscript. Contrary to some other statements missing in canto one of the Shànghǎi manuscript, this loss cannot be explained with the bad preservation of the Shànghǎi manuscript, because the next unit of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" continues on the same strip of that text—that is, strip *xq*21—and the tail of this strip is well preserved. The missing fragment of the Shànghǎi text equals two building blocks of the Guōdiàn One text.

In the Guōdiàn One manuscript, many of the words (graphs) in this building block are given expression only by means of signs for repetition of the previous graph, which is quite common for argumentative chains in excavated manuscripts.[83] By implication, even though the *text* of these units is appreciably longer, all in all 'only' thirty characters are missing in the Shànghǎi manuscript (in comparison to the Guōdiàn One manuscript). This might equal the length of one bamboo strip of another (third) text. Accordingly, proponents of the theory that a written text functioned as *Vorlage* for the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (but definitely not the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū") might explain this loss by arguing that the scribe in question simply forgot to copy one entire strip, namely the last strip of canto one of that imagined source text. Or they might postulate a corruption in the *Vorlage* itself. Advocates of the theory that the text was transmitted orally, instead, have to explain this loss with the (common) instability of text-transmission in oral environments. I take this up further below.

The differences of canto one of the two texts can thus be summarized as follows. To begin with, despite their overall (structural) stability, the two texts display some differences on the level of particular writing forms for certain characters. At times, they even choose entirely different graphs. Most of the graphs used differently in the manuscripts are close enough in sound to fulfill the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components.[84] Moreover, short passages are omitted here and there. These do not seem to correspond with the length of a

[83] See my transcription of the "Xìng zì mìng chū", pericope 12.
[84] For the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components see p. 204, n. 80.

bamboo strip of either of the two manuscripts under review. Thus, the differences in the lexicon of the texts might indeed be explained with relative ease by pointing to a scribe who was dictating either of the two texts at hand to himself in the process of producing a new copy of the same.[85] However, the fact that passages that *do not* correspond to the length of a bamboo strip in either of the two manuscripts are omitted, suggests that it is unlikely that either of the two texts served as *Vorlage* for the other manuscript at hand. In other words, it is my contention that neither was the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" copied from the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", nor did the "Xìng zì mìng chū" directly result from the "Xìng qíng lùn". By implication, canto one of the two texts either had to be transmitted orally—and thus independently from each other; or canto one of the two texts was copied from a third (imagined) source text—which, however, should not be mistaken for *Urtext* or *Urschrift*. Be it as it may be, in any case we can postulate with relative certainty that canto one of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" or the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" did not result from being copied directly from the other extant manuscript. Instead, the two manuscripts must be considered individual instantiations of writing down a highly coherent predecessor.

5.4.2. Inconsistencies and Stable Clusters

Subsequent to the highly stable unit of largely twelve individual pericopes, the striking analogy of the two texts breaks away—as already noted above. Nonetheless, throughout the second half of the manuscripts, we can still describe two stable clusters of pericopes that appear in both texts. These are—following the organization of the Guōdiàn One manuscript—pericopes 13 through 15 (that is, pericopes 19 through 21 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"), and pericopes 17 through 20 (that is,

[85] It can be assumed that a scribe, when producing a new copy of a text, of which he had a written *Vorlage* at hand, dictated the text he saw to himself. The scribe would not go for the *graph* he sees, but for the *sound*, which he dictates to himself, as many scholars have shown convincingly for early medieval Europe (or earlier periods). On the early custom of dictating the text one sees to oneself and thus going for the sound, not for the graph, see for instance Ivan Illich 1991 (in particular chapter 4). J. Leclercq (1961, pp. 18 f.) has described the process of reading in the middle ages and in antiquity as a primarily "oral reading". That means that the voice of the word had to be reestablished so as to catch the meaning thereof. He calls this "hearing the voices of the pages". Michael Clanchy (1979, p. 218) points to the same observation in his description of medieval writing, in which the 11th century clerk Eadmer of Canterbury thought of composing in writing as "dictating to himself".

pericopes 15 through 18 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"). In the Guōdiàn One manuscript, the former cluster of pericopes (pericopes 13 through 15), which can be considered a sub-canto, is directly connected to canto one. In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" this unit appears at the very end of the text, thus closing the discussion of human nature. Except for some minor dissimilarities, the phraseology of this sub-canto is, again, largely stable in both texts. In most cases, the different graphs in the two texts fulfill the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components.[86] By implication, just as concluded for canto one, the present sub-canto can be considered as verbally coherent, yet not fully stable in writing. Only here and there is a character missing, which loss has to be explained differently than by blaming it on the bad preservation of the bamboo strips of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".[87] The present sub-canto further contains a few peculiarities, which have to be explained in a different way than by postulating phonetic similarity in Old Chinese. Overall, when compared with canto one, a stronger tendency of peculiarities can be noticed in the text, and these idiosyncrasies cannot be explained on phonological grounds only.[88] However, as concluded for canto one (pericopes 1 through 12), the

[86] At times the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds to characters the signific 'heart' 心 whereas the Guōdiàn One text does not, or vice versa [see, for instance, the character *dǔ* 篤 () (*x*39/11: pericope 13) of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", to which the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds the signific 'heart' at the bottom of the character; or the character *zhōng* 忠, to which the Guōdiàn One version—contrary to the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"—constantly adds the 'heart' signific]. The graph *sào* 梟 (OC *[s]ˁaw-s), read as *zào* 躁 (OC *[ts]ˁaw-s) 'quick-tempered' (pericope 14 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript, strip *x*42/8) is written with the phonophoric *cháo* 巢 (OC *[dz]ˁraw) in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (strip *xq*35/10). The two graphs clearly fulfill the criteria for phonetic similarity in OC for loan characters and phonetic components. Also, in the same pericope, the Guōdiàn One manuscript writes *huàn* 患  (OC *[g]ˁron-s) where the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes a graph consisting of the phonophoric *juǎn* 卷 (OC *[k]ro[n]ʔ) on top of the signific 'heart' 心.

[87] In the second building block of pericope 14 of the Guōdiàn One version (pericope 20 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"), for instance, appears such a dissimilarity, which does not result from broken strips. Whereas the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" reads 人不難為之死 "people easily sacrifice themselves for it", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" only records 不[難]為之死 "*easily* die for it", thus leaving out the word *rén* 'person'. Instead of closing the first building block of pericope 15 (pericope 21 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") by making use of the particle *yǐ* 矣 as we see in the Guōdiàn One manuscript, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" adds a big mark on the strips '▮'.

[88] Different words which usage cannot be explained on phonological grounds are, for instance, the word of *xué* 學 (OC *m-kˁruk) 'to learn' on strip *x*36/2 in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" (pericope 13) where the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes *jiāo* 孝 (教) (OC *[k]ˁraw(-s)) 'to teach'. As for the graph *shèn* 慎 (OC *[d]i[n]-s) 'carefully' (pericope 15 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript; pericope 21 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"), the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" writes a graph consisting of *shí* 十 (OC *[g][i]p) and *yán* 言 (*ŋa[n]). Instead of 息 (仁) (OC *ni[n]) in pericope 15 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript, the Shànghǎi manuscript writes *lǜ* 慮 (OC *[r]a-s) (*Xq*39/18) (pericope 21). Note that in this particular sub-canto—as in canto one above—the two texts constantly write the word *dào* 道

present sub-canto can still be considered a stable unit. Only one instance has to be pointed out which displays a grave dissimilarity between the two texts. In pericope 13, a unit consisting of thirty characters is missing from the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"—and the absentia cannot be explained by referring to the physically bad condition of the bamboo strips from the Shànghǎi manuscript.[89] Instead, the loss has to be explained differently. It either came into being in the process of an ongoing oral textual transmission; the missing unit, then, was simply forgotten. Or this grave difference between the two texts at this point has to be explained by imagining a scribe copying a third—now lost—written source text (but certainly not the Guōdiàn One text) when producing the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" manuscript. The pictured source text, then, most likely consisted of bamboo strips, each of which carrying about thirty characters, and this would also correspond to the observations remarked above. Accidently, the scribe might have skipped one of these strips when copying his *Vorlage*—or the source text itself was not complete.

Finally, the last cluster of pericopes that partly appears in both manuscripts (pericopes 17 through the first part of pericope 20 in the Guōdiàn One text; 15 through 18 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") is framed by the two pericopes 16 and 21 in the Guōdiàn One manuscript. In the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", the two units precede the present cluster of pericopes.

The cluster of pericopes just mentioned is the shortest unit of the three clusters under discussion. Canto one consists of 35 bamboo strips in the Guōdiàn One manuscript (21 bamboo strips in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"); the sub-canto briefly referred to above consists of 14 bamboo strips (roughly nine bamboo strips in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"); the last cluster of pericopes, then, contains about three bamboo strips in the Guōdiàn One manuscript (roughly two bamboo strips in the Shànghǎi

differently. Instead of *shí* 十 (OC *[g][i]p) 'ten' (*w*38/5) in canto two, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" reads *zhí* 直 (OC *N-trek) (*Xq*32/21), among other. Also, there seem to be no phonological connection between the graph  *dài* 殆 (OX *l$^{\varsigma}$əʔ) 'in jeopardy' as used in the Guōdiàn One text (*x*45/21) and the graph *Xq*37/31 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"  (), which has the phonophoric *jīn* 斤 (OC *[k]ər).

[89] Next to the first three graphs of pericope 13 (pericope 19 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") a passage consisting of 30 characters is missing in the Shànghǎi manuscript. The unit, which also appears in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", directly continues on the very same bamboo strip, thus ruling out the possibility that the loss reflects a missing—or corrupted—bamboo strip in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn".

"Xìng qíng lùn"). Even though the present cluster of pericopes also represents a vocally largely stable text, it nevertheless also contains considerable variation in writing. In most cases, again, the dissimilarities in writing can be explained satisfactory on phonological grounds.[90] Yet, it also contains an appreciable amount of peculiarities, which cannot be explained by postulating a phonologic similarity in Old Chinese. Moreover, this unit also displays instances of graphs that are missing in either of the two texts.[91]

Subsequent to strip *x*62/11 of the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" continues with a passage, which is located at another spot in the Guōdiàn One text—and it is also appreciably different therein. The stability of the two texts thus breaks away right in the middle of pericope 20.

It can be considered a general rule that the standardization of texts is a rather late phenomenon. In ancient times, the transmission of a text over several generations easily leads to changes in the same. Even if the text transports a coherent idea or a highly elaborate philosophic system—which in itself would enhance the stability of the account—the text nevertheless is not immune to variation. Instead, texts tended to be rather fluid. I have demonstrated this by discussing the example of the "Wǔ xíng" (chap. 4). The "Xìng zì mìng chū", then, is no exception of this rule. By implication, changes in a certain text—be they conscious or not—do not by necessity imply changes of its philosophy. In detailed studies, Jack Goody[92] and Rosalind Thomas,[93] among others, illustrate convincingly for the Western context that texts are prone to

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

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

[92] See Jack Goody 1987.

[93] See Rosalind Thomas 1992.

change over several generations—and this holds true even for poetry. Martin Kern discusses the complex interaction between the oral and the written text in the Chinese context, confirming (esp. for the case of the Odes) that texts, in general, were not yet standardized in ancient times.[94] And John van Seters exemplifies the degree of variation of texts in biblical context, pointing out the fact that, generally speaking, the standardization of the bible (and also other early texts) is a rather late phenomenon. Thus, variation in texts is the standard. Long overlapping sequences (not to mention sequences that are entirely the same) represent the unusual. My analysis of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" (and accordingly of the "Xìng qíng lùn") follows this observation. Accordingly, not the fact that these two instantiations of the text differ to certain degrees is puzzling. Instead, what is rather extraordinary and thus should receive more attention are the long analogue sequences of the two texts. Accordingly, the question is not so much "why do the texts differ?" but rather whether it is possible to make out formals patterns that could account for the stability of reoccurring clusters in these manuscripts.

5.4.3. The Core Text: Canto One

As already noted above, the present form analysis of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" does not provide a detailed account as seen in the preceding chapters because many features that were discussed thoroughly for the other argument-based texts from Guōdiàn One also apply to the "Xìng zì mìng chū. Instead, the following analysis only provides a more general discussion of the features that account for stable clusters in the two 'editions' of the text.

In brief, the core text—that is, canto one of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the "Xìng qíng lùn"—can be described as follows. It contains twelve pericopes. The first pericope functions as an introduction to the problem of the text. As a whole, the twelve pericopes can be grouped into three sub-cantos (plus the introduction of pericope 1).

[94] See Martin Kern 2002.

5.4.3.1. Canto One: Text and Translation

1. Pericope 1: *Introduction*

[X1] 凡人雖有性，心無奠志；[A]
待物而後作，
待悅而後行，[B]
待習而後 [X2] 奠。[C]

喜怒哀悲之氣，性也；[D]
及其見於外，則物取之也。
性自命出，命 [X3] 自天降；[E]

道始於情，[情]生於性。[F]
始者近情，終者近義。[G]
知 [情者能] [X4] 出之，知義者能納之。 † [H]

好惡，性也；
所好所惡，物也。[I]
善不 [善，性也]。 † [J]
[X5] 所善所不善，勢也。[K]

[X1] Generally speaking, even though man has a nature, mind [nevertheless] has no settled intentions.
It requires [the influence of] things [overall], only thereafter [it] takes effect;
It requires joy, only thereafter [it] starts into conduct;
It requires practice, only thereafter [it] [X2] settles.

Airs [such as] rejoicing (*xǐ*), anger (*nù*), grief (*aī*) and sadness (*beī*) are part of [human] nature;
When it comes to them appearing on the outside, it is due to [external] things having brought this about.
Nature originates from decree; decree [in turn] [X3] descends from Heaven;

The *dào* begins with emotions; emotions [in turn] are engendered by [human] nature.
In the beginning [the *dào*] approximates emotions; in the end [it] approximates righteousness.
[Thus], {*he who*} understands {*emotions can*} [X4] let them out; he who understands righteousness can internalize it.

To love and to hate is part of [human] nature;
What [ones] loves and hates are [external] things.

To be good or not {*good is part of* [*human*] *nature*};
[X5] That by which one is good or not good are [conditional] forces.

2. Sub-Canto One

凡性為主，物取之也：[L]
金石之有聲，[弗拓不 [X6] 鳴]。 † [M]
[猶 人之] 雖有性，心弗取，不出。 † [N]

Generally speaking, that what becomes the dominating aspect of [one's] nature is [something] brought about by [external] things:
"Metal and stone have a sound", [yet], {*if they are not struck, they won't* [X6] *sing*}.
{*This is just like man*} even though he has a nature, [yet] if mind fails to grasp it, [it] won't become manifest.

3.
凡心有志也，無與不□ [定]； †
□□□□ [心之不能] [X7] 獨行，猶口之不可獨言也。 † [O]
牛生而長，鴈生而伸；
其性□□□ [使然，人] [X8] 而學或使之也。 † [P]

Generally speaking, mind has intentions—[yet] if not nourished it will not {*be determined*};
{[*That*] *mind cannot*} [X7] take effect on its own is like disability of the mouth to speak on its own. [95]
After the ox is born, it grows [big]; after the goose is born, it stretches [its neck];
It is their nature {*that causes them to be like this*—[*as for*] *humans,*} [X8] instead, it is education that eventually causes them [to be as they are].

[95] Compare this line with the "Wǔ xíng" (chap. 4), which provides the same reference.

4.
凡物無不異也者；[Q]
剛之柱也，剛取之也。† [R]
柔之 [X9] 約，柔取之也。
四海之內其性一也，其用心各異；[S]
教使然也。[T]

Generally speaking, of the things, there is none, which is not different.
That the hard is straight is something brought about by hardness. [96]
That [X9] the soft is flexible is something brought about by softness.
Within the four seas, the nature [of man] is uniform, [and yet], in the application of his mind every [man] differs.
Education causes this to be so.

5. Sub-Canto Two

凡性 [X10] 或動之，或逆之； [U]
或交之，或厲之；[V]
或出之，或養之，
或長之；

Generally speaking, [as for human] nature [X10] [there is] something that moves it, something that meets with it;
[There is] something that commits to it, something that grinds it;
[There is] something that drives it out, something that nourishes it;
[And there is] something that grows it.

6.
凡動性 [X11] 者，物也；[W]
逆性者，悅也； † [X]
交性者，故也；
厲性者，義也；
出性者，勢也；[Y]
養性 [X12] 者，習也；[Z]
長性者，道也。

Generally speaking, that what moves [human] nature [X11], are [external] things;
That what meets with [human] nature, is pleasure;
That what commits to [human] nature, are causes;
That what grinds [human] nature, is righteousness;

[96] Or: "That the hard breaks [easily] is something brought about by hardness. That [X9] the soft is flexible is something brought about by softness." See my discussion in chapter 12 under [R].

That what drives [human] nature out, are conditional forces;
That what nourishes [X12] [human] nature, is practice;
That what makes [human] nature grow, is the *dào*.

7.
凡見者之謂物，[Aa]
快於己者之謂悅。[Ab]
物 [X13] 之勢者之謂勢，[Ac]
有為也者之謂故。

義也者，群善之蘊也，
習也 [X14] 者，有以習其性也。[Ad]
道者，群物之道。[Ae]

Generally speaking, that what can be seen is what [I] call '[external] thing',
That what is delightful to oneself is what [I] call 'pleasure'.
That what is a force to the [X13] [external] things is what [I] call 'conditional forces',
That what makes [something] happen is what [I] call 'causes'.

'Righteousness'—this is the indicator for the [different] groups of goodness,
'Practice'— [X14] this is for practicing [human] nature.
'The *dào*'—this is the path of the [different] groups of things.

8. Sub-Canto Three: *Digression*

凡道，心術為主。
道四術，唯 [X15] 人道為可道也。
其三術者，道之而已。[Af]

詩、書、禮、樂，[Ag]
其始出皆生 [X16] 於人。[Ah]
詩有為為之也；[Ai]
書有為言之也；
禮樂有為舉之也。[Aj]

聖人比其 [X17] 類而論會之，
觀其之先後而逆順之；[Ak]
體其義而節文之，[Al]
理 [X18] 其情而出納之。
然後復以教。
教所以生德於中者也。[Am]

禮作於情， X19 或興之也； † [An]
當事因方而制之，其先後之序則宜道也。 † [Ao]
有? 序為 X20 之節，則 文 也。 †
至(致?)容貌，所以 文節也。

君子美其情，貴 [其義] ，† [Ap]
X21 善其節，好其容， [Aq]
樂其道，悅其教，
是以敬焉。 [Ar]

拜，所以 [為敬X] X22 其數文也； † [As]
幣帛，所以為信與徵也； [At]
其詞宜道也。† [Au]

笑，喜之薄澤 也。 [Av]
X23 樂，喜之深澤也。

Generally speaking [as for] the *dào*, the devices of mind are the dominating [aspect] of [it].
Of the four devices of the *dào*, only X15 the *dào* of man can be [considered something that] can be talked about.[97]
[As for] the [other] three devices, [one] utters them, and that is it.

[As for] "odes", "documents", "rites", and "music", their first appearing in every case was engendered by X16 man.
The "odes" came into being by doing something;
The "documents" came into being by telling something;
"Rites" and "music" came into being by exalting something.

The sagely person(s) juxtaposed them according to X17 categories, so as to gathering and bringing them together;
[He] beheld them in their temporal sequence, so as to arranging them into their proper sequence;
[He] structured their meaning, so as to regulating and refining them;
[He] patterned X18 their emotions, so as to externalizing and internalizing them.
When this was achieved, he returned to teach on the basis of them;
Teaching, that is by which [a sagely person] generates virtue (*dé*) in [their] center.

[97] Compare this line to the first statement in the received *Lǎozǐ*: 道可道 非常道 "The *dào* that can be spoken of is not the constant *dào*". *Lǎozǐ jiào shì* 老子校釋, p. 3.

Rites arise from [genuine] emotions— [X19] [but] eventually, they [also] might stimulate them. †
According to each situation and based on a method, [rites] are systemized—the sequence of what comes first and what comes last then is appropriate for the *dào*.
If [X20] regulation are made for the [proper] sequence [of emotions], then there is refinement. †
This extends to manner and appearance, which will be cultivated and regulated [by the rites].

[As for] the gentleman, he finds beauty in their [genuine] emotions and appreciates {*their righteousness*};
[He] [X21] considers their regulation good and esteems their manners,
[He] finds happiness in their way (*dào*) and is pleased by their teaching,
Therefore [he] applies respect to them.

[His] bending [the hands], {*that is by which respect for* X *is expressed*}; [X22] the repetition is [cultivated] pattern; †
[His] offering presents of silk are that by which trustworthiness is given evidence; †
[His] words accord with the [proper] way (*dào*).

Laughter, this is the shallow march (=surface aspect) of rejoicing.
[X23] Music, this is the deep march (=the underlying aspect) of rejoicing.

9.
凡聲其出於情也信，然後其入撥人之心也厚。 [Aw]
[X24] 聞笑聲則鮮，如也斯喜。
聞歌謠則舀，如也斯奮。[Ax]
聽琴瑟之聲 [X25] 則悸，如也斯嘆。 [Ay]
觀<<賚>>、<<武>>則齊，如也斯作。
觀<<韶>>、<<夏>>則勉，如也 [X26] 斯儉。

詠思而動心，喟如也；[98] [Az]
其居次也久，其反善復始也 [X27] 愼， [Ba]
其出入也順，始其德也。 [Bb]

<<鄭>>、<<衛>>之樂，則非其聲而從之也。[Bc]

[98] The character *sī* 思 seems to be a particle for emphasis, here.

Generally speaking, when sounds are emanating from [genuine] emotions, they are trustworthy; this being so, when having entered and agitated the heart of man, they are rich.
X24 [This is why] to perceive the sound of laughter is precious—when it comes to it, [one] is joyful.
To perceive the sound of chanted songs is highly gratifying—when it comes to it, [one] becomes elated.
To listen to the sound of lute and zither is X25 exciting—when it comes to it, [one has to] sigh.
[And likewise], to watch the [performance of] the [ritual dances] "Lài" and "Wǔ" [makes man] solemn—when it comes to it [one] will stir.[99]
To watch the [performance of] the [ritual dances] "Shāo" and "Xià" is inciting—when it comes to it, X26 [one] will become humble.[100]

Mind is moved by [this] chanting—the sighing-sound "*wei*" follows;
When [mind] dwells in what follows, [the singing] is prolonged; when it returns to the good and starts from the begin, it is X27 sincere; †
When it enters and comes out, it is compliant, [and all] this starts off the virtue [of mind].

The music of Zhèng and Wèi, instead, are not his sound; but [one easily] indulges in them.

10.
X28 凡古樂隆心，益樂隆指；[Bd]
皆教其人者也。
<<賚>>、<<武>>樂取，<<韶>>、<<夏>>樂情。[Be]

Generally speaking X28 music of old (=the music of Shùn and Yú) highly exalts the mind, the latter music [of King Wǔ of Zhōu] exalts ambitions;
They are both educating their people.
[The latter] music [of King Wǔ] "Lài" and "Wǔ", delights grasping [the mind(?)]; [the former] music [of Kings Yáo and Shùn] "Shāo and "Xià" delights [genuine] emotions.[101] †

[99] The "Lài" (*Máo* 295) and "Wǔ" (*Máo* 285) are part of the "Zhōu hyms" that praise King Wǔ's victory over Shāng. The odes were part of a larger performance together with ritual dances. Accordingly, the passage says "watching".
[100] The songs of Shāo and Xià are the music of Shùn 舜 and Dà Xià 大夏 (or: Yǔ 禹). They were both performed together with ritual dances. Following Liáo Míngchūn 廖名春 (2002 a), the lyrics of the songs also state that Wǔ and Yǔ have their own deficiencies; accordingly, the character *jiǎn* should be read as 'humble, modes', or 'self-depreciating'.
[101] See the discussion of these two lines in Liáo Míngchūn 廖名春 2001, pp. 149 f.

11.
[X29] 凡至樂必悲，哭亦悲； [102]
皆至其情也。[Bf]
哀、樂其性相近也。[Bg]
是故其心 [X30] 不遠:

哭之動心也侵殺，其烈戀戀如也，† [Bh]
戚然以終。

樂之動心也 [X31] 濬深鬱陶，其烈 則流如也以悲，
悠然以思。[Bi]

[X29] Generally speaking, utmost happiness surely [results] in sadness—crying is also [an expression of] sadness;
They both reach out to [true] emotions.
[Thus], the natures of grief and happiness are close to each other.
It is for this reason that their mind [X30] does not deviate far:

[As for the way] in which crying moves the heart, it is encroaching and shattering—[but in] its blazing fierceness [it] is all-consuming, so that [one] remains grievous till the end.

[As for the way] in which pleasure moves the heart, [X31] it is profound and deep, dense and delighted—[but in] its blazing fierceness [it] is like a steady flow that leads to grief, so that [one] becomes mournful in thoughts. †

12.
凡憂思而後悲；
[X32] 凡樂思而後忻；
凡思之用心為甚。

歎，思之方也。[Bj]
其聲變，則 [心從之矣] 。† [Bk]
[X33] 其心變，則其聲亦然。
吟由哀也。[Bl]
噪由樂也。
啾由聲[也]， [Bm]
(口戲)由心也。[Bn]

[102] *Zhì* means the high-point. *Yuè* could be explained as both, music and pleasure. However, since the following part clearly talks about waning and grief, *yuè* at this place should be understood as happiness, the counterpart to grief.

Generally speaking, having mournful thoughts results in sadness thereafter;
[X32] Generally speaking, having delighted thoughts results in delightedness thereafter;[103]
Generally speaking [it thus holds true] that the impact of [one's] thoughts to mind is intense.

Sighing, this is a mode of [having mournful] thoughts.

When the sound of it changes, then {*mind follows it,* [*too*]}.
[X33] [And] when the mind changes, then the sound of it also [changes] accordingly:
The [sound of] sighing stems from grief.
The [sound of] chirping stems from happiness.
The [sound of] murmurs [of singing] stems from tones.
The [sound of] singing out loudly stems from mind.

[end of overlap of canto 'one']

[X34] 喜斯陶，[Bo]
陶斯奮，
奮斯詠，
詠斯猶，[Bp]
猶斯舞。[Bq]
舞，喜之終也。

慍斯憂，
憂斯戚，
戚[X35]斯歎，
歎斯辟，
辟斯通（踊）。
踊，慍之終也。✔[Br]

[X34] [When] rejoicing, delightedness follows thereafter,
When delighted, elatedness follows thereafter,
When elated, chanting follows thereafter,
When chanting, waving [hands] follows thereafter,
When waving [hands], dancing follows thereafter.
[Hence], dancing is the end [result] of rejoicing.

[When] exasperated, mournfulness follows thereafter,
When mournful, grievousness follows thereafter,
When grievous, [X35] sighing follows thereafter,
When sighing, beating one's breast follows thereafter,[104]

[103] In these lines, the particle *fán* does not introduce new pericopes, but it subsumes ideas presented above.

> When beating one's breast, jumping up and down [as an expression for one's grief] follows thereafter.
> [Hence], jumping up and down is the end [result] of [being] exasperated.

5.4.3.2. Canto One: Analysis

Pericope 1 consists of four building blocks. The first of these opens up the discrepancy between human nature (*xìng* 性) on the one side, and the mind of the individual (*xīn* 心) on the other side. It states that the mind of the individual needs the impact of [external] things (*wù* 物)—this seems to be the overall denotation for the phenomenological world outside the individual—pleasure (*yuè* 悅), and also practice (*xí* 習) so that it can stir (*zuò* 作), start into conduct (*xíng* 行), and be determined (*dìng* 定).[105] The subsequent building blocks then provide further insight into the concept of human nature as defined by the author(s) of the text, and its relation to the phenomenological world (物) overall.

In a next step, the author(s) of the core text continue the discussion with what I want to call a 'distant' abc-scheme.[106] Each of the pericopes 2 through 4 (sub-canto one) dwells on one of the three entities identified above, respectively.[107] That is, the relationship of human nature (性; pericope 2) and the mind of the individual (心; pericope 3) with the phenomenological world, or things (物; pericope 4) overall. It most likely is due to the pattern of a distant abc-scheme that this unit obtains a considerable stability, and it is reasonable to consider it as one sub-canto. However, the sub-canto under review does not only take up the relationship between human nature (性), the mind of the individual (心), and the phenomenological world (物), which was mentioned explicitly in the introduction, and which also underlies the entire discussion of the text. Instead, it also reproduces the process, which human

[104] For the translation of *pì* 辟 with 'beating one's breast', see the ode, "Bó zhōu" 柏舟 (*Máo* 26) 靜言思之 寤辟有標 "in the quietude I brood over it, awake I knock and beat my breast" (Karlgren 1950 p. 16).
[105] See strips *x*1-2/1 (*xq*1-1/24 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").
[106] On the notion of 'distant' formal devices in argument-based texts, see chapter 4: "Wǔ xíng", p. 126 (also n. 63); pp. 133 f; p. 157 ff; p. 167.
[107] See strips *x*5/8-9/22 (*xq*3/17-4/15 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

mind has to take in order to be determined, as described in the first building block of the introduction (that is, to rise, conduct, and finally to be determined)—in the same order.[108] Pericope 2 describes the means by which the mind of the individual has to be grasped (that is, inspired) by the phenomenological world so that it can 'manifest' (*chū* 出); this is equivalent to the notion of 'taking effect' (作) from the introduction. Pericope 3, then, describes the necessary impact for mind to start into conduct (行), thus reproducing the second position from the introduction. Lastly, pericope 4 describes how the quality of what is hard (or soft) determines something else to be hard (or soft), hence functioning as allegory to the third statement from the introduction.

Sub-canto two (pericopes 5 through 7) makes use of a device, which I have already described in the previous chapter when discussing the "Wǔ xíng" (chap. 4). Sub-canto two establishes text-intern references, which allow a detailed explanation of concepts introduced earlier on. In short, pericope 6[109] dwells on pericope 5[110] so as to explain the concepts used therein; pericope 7,[111] then, dwells on pericope 6 in order to define the concepts used therein, and which were used hitherto to explain the concepts from pericope 5. The sub-canto under review thus takes on the pattern of a distant abc-scheme, too—only that in this case we do not have a triangular relationship on the horizontal level as seen above.[112] Instead, the present unit establishes a relationship of hierarchical type. Just as it holds true for the previous sub-canto, the formal structure accounts for the fact that sub-canto two is considerably stable in the two 'editions' of the text.

Pericope 8[113] is not patterned in a similarly straightforward structure. Nonetheless, it is very compelling language-wise. Elaborating the last concept discussed above—namely the *dào* 道—pericope 8 connects smoothly with the previous account. Pericope 8 discusses the educational rationale of Warring States élite culture, namely Odes (詩), Documents (書), rites (禮) and music (樂).

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108  (待)勿(物)而句(後)  (作); □(待)兑(悅)而句(後)行; □(待)習而句(後) [x2]奠(定).
109 Strips *x*11/22-12/8 (*xq*5/4-6/10 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").
110 Strips *x*9/23-10/21 (*xq*4/15-5/3 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").
111 Strips *x*12/9-14/13 (*xq*6/11-7/break of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").
112 See the previous sub-canto (strips *x*5/8-9/22; *xq*3/17-4/14 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").
113 Strips *x*14/14-22/18 (*xq*8 through 13 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

Pericopes 9 through 12[114] bear similarities to pericope 8. These units in particular dwell on the impact music and dance have on the individual. As in pericope 8, the style of these units is easily memorized, even though they do not consist of a straightforward structure. Only here and there appear recurring parallelisms or argumentative chains. Pericopes 8 through 12 seem like a long digression in the discussion of the educational impact, which élite-culture obtains for the individual—in a mature, nearly prosaic writing style, it seems.

5.4.4. The Application: Canto Two

Canto two contains two clusters of pericopes that remain stable in both 'editions' of the text. These are pericopes 13 through 15 (19 through 21 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"), and pericopes 17 through the first par of 20 (15 through 18 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

5.4.4.1. Canto Two: Text and Translation

13. Sub-Canto

X36 凡學者求其心為難，[Bs]
從其所為，近得之矣;
不如以樂之速也。
X37 雖能其事，不能其心; 不貴。

求其心有偽也，弗得之矣。[Bt]
人之不能以偽也， X38 可知也。[Bu]
[不] 過十舉，其心必在焉。† [Bv]
察其見者，情焉失哉？[Bw]

恕 義之方也。† [Bx]
X39 義，敬之方也。[By]
敬，物之節也。

[114] Strips *x*22/19 through 34 (*xq*14-21/12 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

篤，仁之方也。[Bz]
仁，性之方也，
性或生之。

忠，信[X40]之方也。
信，情之方也。
情出於性。[Ca]

愛類七，唯性愛為近仁。[Cb]
智類五，唯[X41]義道為近忠。[Cc]
惡類三，唯惡不仁為近義。
所為道者四，唯人道為[X42]可道也。[Cd]

[X36] Generally speaking, [as for] learning, seeking the [right] mind is considered difficult,
and by following that what it does, [one] will [already] come close to obtaining it;
Yet, [this] is not as good as inviting it (=the right mind) through pleasure.
[X37] [Accordingly], even if one is capable in one's tasks, if one is unable in one's mind, this is not appreciated.

If seeking the [right] mind has something artificial to it, [one] will certainly fall short of obtaining it.
That humans cannot employ artificial means [X38] is something, which can be ascertained.
[One's efforts] may {*not*} surpass the ten [tries], [and yet] one's mind will certainly be exposed through it. †
[Thus] when investigating that what can be seen, how could the [genuine] emotions be missed?

To put oneself in the other's place is a mode of righteousness.
[X39] Righteousness [in turn] is mode of respect.
Respect is the regulation for [external] things.

Genuineness is a mode of benevolence.
Benevolence [in turn] is a mode of [human] nature;
[And human] nature eventually generates it (=benevolence).

Trueheartedness (*zhōng*) is a mode of trustworthiness (*xìn*).
Trustworthiness [in turn] is a mode of [genuine] emotions.
[Genuine] emotions orininate from [human] nature.

Of categories of love there are seven—[yet] only the love [brought forth by human] nature is close to benevolence.

Of categories of wisdom there are five—[yet] only [X41] the *dào* [brought forth by] righteousness is close to trueheartedness.
Of categories of hate there three—[yet] only the hate of [what is] none-humane is close to righteousness.
[Finally], what is [generally] considered as the *dào* is fourfold—[yet] only the *dào* of humans [X42] can be talked [about].

14.

凡用心之躁者，思為甚。[Ce]
用智之疾者，患為甚。[Cf]
用情之 [X43] 至者，哀樂為甚。[Cg]
用身之弁者，悅為甚。[Ch]
用力之盡者，利為甚。[Ci]

目之好 [X44] 色，耳之樂聲，[Cj]
鬱陶之氣也，人不難為之死。[Ck]
有其為人之節節如也， [Cl]
[X45] 不有夫簡簡之心，則彩。 [Cm]
有其為人之簡簡如也，
不有夫恆殆之志，則漫。 [Cn]

人之巧 [X46] 言利辭者，
不有夫拙拙之心，則流。 115 [Co]

人之悅然可與和安者，[Cp]
不有夫奮 [X47] 作之情，則昏 。 † [Cq]

有其為人之快如也，弗牧不可。 [Cr]
有其為人之淵如也，[X48] 弗補不足。 † [Cs]

Generally speaking, [as for] impatience in the application of mind, thinking will be excessive.
[As for] haste in the application of knowledge, worries will be excessive.
[As for] extremity in the application of emotions [X43], grief and pleasure will be excessive.
[As for] the privileging application of the body, [seeking for] pleasure will be excessive.
[As for] the exhausting application of strength, [seeking for] profit will be excessive.

The eye's affection for [X44] colors, and the ear's pleasure in sounds, these are the airs of dense delightedness, and men would easily die for them.

115 *Liú* 流 functions as a loan for *fú* 浮.

If it happens that in the restraining restraint of one's comportment as a human being [X45] [one does not have] the mind of simple simplicity, then this is [only] ornamentation.
[And] if it happens that in the simple simplicity of one's comportment as a human being [one] does not [also] have the intentions of a continuous [concern for] jeopardy, then this is [only] diffusion.

[As for] a man's skilful [X46] words and advantageous speeches, if [he] does not [also] have a simple unornamented mind, then this will be ephemeral.

[As for] a man's being happy about [one] getting along and being comfortable with him, if [he] does not [also] have exerting [X47] arising emotions, then this will be delusion.

[Also], if it happens that in the being pleased in one's comportment as a human being [one] fails to be taken care of, this is impermissible.
And [likewise], if it happens that in the being recondite in one's comportment as a human being [X48] [one] fails to be corrected, this will not suffice.

15.
凡人偽為可惡也。[Ct]
偽斯吝矣，
吝斯慮矣，[Cu]
慮斯莫與之 [X49] 結矣。[Cv]

慎，仁之方也，然而其過不惡。[Cw]
速，謀之方也，有過則咎。[Cx]
人不慎，斯有過，信矣。✔ [Cy]

Generally speaking, men's artificial activities are hateful.
[When man is] artificial, then [he] is bound to regret;
[When he] regrets, then [he] is bound to be sly;
[When he is] sly, no one will have [friendly] [X49] relations with him.

Caution, [instead], is a mode of benevolence—if it should be the case that one fails, [one] will not be hated.
Hastiness, [in contrary], is a mode of contrive—if one fails, then [one] will be blamed.
That, if one is not cautious, failures are bound to occur, is truly the case.

[strips *x*50 through *x*59/9] [Cz]

17.
凡悅人勿吝也，[Da]
身必從之，
言及則 [X60] 明；
舉之而毋偽。[Db]

Generally speaking, that what [truly] pleases man ought not [lead to] regret, and a person must [therefore] follow it;
[Just like] words, if they reach [the things] (=they are to the point), then they [X60] are illuminating;
To raise such words means to be without artificiality.

18.
凡交毋烈，必使有末。† [Dc]

Generally speaking, [social] relations ought not be fierce, [instead], [they] must lead to [further] branches.

19.
凡於徵毋畏，毋獨言。† [Dd]
獨 [X61] 處則習父兄之所樂。[116] [De]
苟無大害，少枉入之可也，[117] [Df]
已則勿復言也。

Generally speaking, when summoned, [one] ought to be without fear and without a solitary voice. †
When [X61] dwelling solitarily, then practice what father and elder brother have found pleasure in.
If there are no greater calamities, [should] minor irregularities enter it (=life), this can [be endured].
Once they are over, [one] ought not speak about them again.

20.
[X62] 凡憂患之事欲任，樂事欲後。[Dg]
[end of overlap]

[X62] Generally speaking, [as for] the affairs of sorrow and calamity, [one] should wish to tackle them, [as for] affairs of happiness, [one] should wish to postpone [them].

[116] Reading *xí* 習 in the sense of "to follow".
[117] Reading *x*61/10 *wú* 毋 'do not' with *wú* 無 'have no'.

5.4.4.2. Canto Two: Analysis

The lengthy cluster of pericopes 13 through 15 appears in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" somewhat further below (19 through 21).[118] This stretched sub-canto contains many declarative sentences ending in the particle *yě* 也, parallel enumerations, and argumentative chains, resulting in compact and rather straightforward building blocks throughout. Summarizing remarks round off many of these highly stringent units. As compared with the highly compact structure of the individual building blocks that constitute the sub-canto under review, the cluster of pericopes itself nevertheless does not seem to contain any kind of compelling overall structure. One might, however, consider this cluster of pericopes as a 'distant topoi-framed unit',[119] because pericopes 13 and 15 (and likewise 19 and 21 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn") seem to frame the present sub-canto by pointing to the problematic of artificiality in moral cultivation. Thus, if we were indeed to regard the present cluster of pericopes as one stable unit, the distant topoi-framed unit would be achieved not so much by means of recurring formal patterns in pericopes 13 and 15 (19 and 21), but realized on the level of contents, a shared phraseology, and recurring catchwords. Despite this, I still find it surprising that this unit remains consistent in both manuscripts.

The final cluster of pericopes appearing in both texts—pericopes 17 through the first part of 20 in the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū"; pericopes 15 through 18 in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn"—spans three bamboo strips (or two and a half in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").[120] The perennial use of the negative imperative *wù* 毋 'do not' seems to connect the different pericopes into one cluster. Note that the consistency of the two 'editions' of the text dissolves right in the middle of pericope 20 of the Guōdiàn One manuscript—even though that particular unit continues in the same vein as the passages above and should thus be considered—at least theoretically—a steady module. The missing part, then, appears at another spot in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". However, the unit itself is appreciably different therein.

[118] Strips *x*36 through *x*49 (*xq*31/31 through *xq*40 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").
[119] For topoi-framed patterns, see my discussion in chapter 4: "Wǔ xíng", p. 142 f; p. 168.
[120] Strips *x*59/9-62/11 (*xq*29/6-31/30 of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn").

Proponents of the assumption that the source text(s) of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" existed only in oral form might want to explain the dissimilarity with the relative fluidity of texts in that period. Others might want to argue that the dissimilarity simply reflects a different philosophic orientation of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (as seen from the arguments of so many scholars on the differences of the two versions of the "Wǔ xíng"). For the latter assumption, I have already demonstrated in my discussion of the "Wǔ xíng" (chap. 4) that this is an anachronistic understanding of the nature of texts during Warring States period. In this particular case, the former assumption, namely that the passage in question was simply disarranged due to the instability of the spoken text, is to rely on a statement *non sequitur*, I am afraid, and thus not helpful at all. The break appears in a—structurally—consistent (and thus theoretically stable) unit. This calls for an explanation of the break at this junction, rather than a reference to the fluidity of texts in that period.[121] Accordingly, it is instructive to take the materiality of texts of that period into closer scrutiny. The 'displaced' passage counts twenty-nine characters. This falls right within the range of the other gaps seen in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". As noted, gaps in the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" always amount around roughly thirty, or its double, namely sixty characters. It thus seems reasonable to assume that the difference between the two manuscripts, such as the one under review (and also those junctions where thirty or sixty characters are missing) has to be explained by the fact that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was copied from a *written Vorlage*, which itself was different from the Guōdiàn One manuscript. This source text for the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", I presume, was written on bamboo strips. Each of these strips was inscribed with around thirty characters. The imagined *Vorlage*, then, must have fallen in disarray and the strips were rearranged—or they were even lost—before the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" has been drawing on that particular source.

[121] In the preceding chapter (chap. 4), I have outlined the principles of stable clusters in otherwise not fixed texts.

5.5. Conclusion

The "Xìng zì mìng chū"—and the same holds true for its close counterpart from the Shànghǎi collection of Chǔ manuscripts—is in many respects an important text. It is the earliest surviving copy of a detailed analysis of human nature (*xìng* 性). Without proposing the concept of a blank slate, the author(s) of the text devote high attention to the impact, which the phenomenological world at large has for shaping the mind (*xīn* 心) of the individual. By implication, mind is the particular element that is open to adjustments, and hence accounts for the cultivation of man—or his degeneration.

The author(s) of the text postulate that human kind is endowed with a commonly shared nature. That each individual nevertheless achieves different degrees of moral cultivation leads to a detailed analysis of an implied intermediate stage between human nature on the one side, and human behavior on the other side. Filling up this gap properly, that is, educating mind in the right way, inevitably leads to an according determination of the same.

The author(s) of the text further see a relationship between human sentiments—or emotions—(*qíng* 情), human nature and the ethical code (*dào* 道). As the author(s) postulate, *dào* already lies within Man himself. By implication, having activated the innate ethical code of his by receiving stimulation from the sentiments (which are part of his nature), the individual can allow a full expression of his emotions—and yet he does not need to fear to part from righteousness (*yì* 義), which, in turn, is close to the *dào*.

It becomes obvious that the author(s) of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and its close counterpart defend the idea that the repetitive practice of a certain virtue by necessity leads to the internalization of its spirit. This entails the implied assumption of the text, namely that every human being has the potency of becoming a real gentleman—if educated properly.

Just as important as the fact that the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and the "Xìng qíng lùn" allow another gaze into the 'public' discussion of mid to late Warring-States

intelligentsia hitherto unknown, is their mention of 'Odes', *shī*, 'Documents', *shū*, 'rites', *lǐ* and 'music', *yuè* in a way that it is worth noticing. I say this because the mention of these resources of Warring-States élite culture as one group is frequently seen as evidence that these were already clearly distinguishable and identifiable (written) entities during the time when the "Xìng zì mìng chū" or the "Xìng qíng lùn" were fixed on bamboo. I doubt this. Nowhere in the two manuscripts appears the explicit mention of these as written entities, let alone as individual texts (or books). Instead, the copies at hand only refer to them as *traditions*, that is, as something being performed:

> 詩、書、禮、樂，
> 其始出皆生 [X16] 於人。
> 詩有為為之也；
> 書有為言之也；
> 禮樂有為舉之也。
>
> [As for] odes, documents, rites, and music, their first appearing in every case was engendered by [X16] man.
> The odes came into being by *doing* it;
> The documents came into being by *telling* it;
> Rites and music came into being by *exalting* it.

None of these references mention something literal. Instead, they all have an oral, behavioral paint. In this context, it also is illustrative to look at the preceding unit, which introduces the mentioning of these concepts:

> 凡道，心術為主。
> 道四術，唯 [X15] 人道為可道也。
> 其三術者，道之而已。
>
> Generally speaking [as for] the *dào*, the devices of mind are the dominating [aspect] of it.
> The *dào* contains four devices, [yet] only [X15] the *dào* of man can be [considered something that] can be *dào*-ed.
> [As for] the [other] three devices, [one] *dào*-s them, and that is it.

This passage is everything else than unambiguous, which is why I leave the latter two mentions of *dào* without a translation here. At this instance, I simply want to make clear that the four elements of a Warring-States élite culture are referred to with "*way* of humans". That is, something that can be followed and, accordingly, practiced. Subsequent to these passages appears a description of the impact, which these media of culture have on human beings. The two texts speak of sounds, ritual patterns, dances—but nowhere of *texts*. This does, of course, not rule out with certainty that the author(s) of this text did not also had texts in mind when composing this passage; yet, seen from this passage, to me it seems rather unlikely that they did.

Lastly, I want to close my discussion of the "Xìng zì mìng chū" and "Xìng qíng lùn" with reference to the history of the two texts. We know that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was bought from tomb looters on an antique market in Hong Kong, which cut the manuscript off from all references to its previous environment that would be so important to have. This provided much room for speculations about the origin of that particular manuscript, and also its relationship with the "Xìng zì mìng chū" from tomb Guōdiàn One.[122] Due to the striking similarity of the two texts, many scholars treat the two manuscripts as if they were *one* text. It is continually stressed that the two manuscripts must have originated in close proximity from each other, chronologically and spatially—and that they may even have been copied from each other. Yet, despite the lack of direct information, the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" still allows us to reconstruct its history—to some extend at least.

As discussed, the two texts by and large share a highly consistent phraseology. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the two 'editions' are far from being stable in writing. Quite to the contrary: at many instances throughout, the manuscripts use different forms for writing a character, here and there a signific is added to the character or left out entirely, or they even use entirely different graphs or words. Many of these differences nonetheless comply with the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components. Applying Martin Kern's approach to Odes in excavated manuscripts, this might suggest a verbally coherent text in not so stable writing. For the two manuscripts under review this would

[122] Calling to mind Martin Kern's (2002) conclusion that manuscripts are integrated in a "non-textual environment" (see ibid, p. 145), which now is inevitably lost for all texts of the Shànghǎi corpus.

accordingly point to an oral-based transmission of the texts. However, as discussed in the present chapter, these dissimilarities in writing between the two manuscripts do not exclude the possibility that either of the two might have been copied directly from the other. Even if a scribe copied from a written *Vorlage*, he did not go for the particular graphs therein, but instead for the sound of these, because he was dictating the text which he saw to himself. Silent reading was not yet common.[123] Thus, even though I fully agree with Martin Kern's findings concerning verbally consistent Odes and the oral-based transmission of this anthology, I hesitate to conclude that the phenomenon of a verbally coherent text in a rather unstable writing, by necessity points to an oral transmission of the same.[124] The fact, then, that the two texts at times use entirely different graphs, which in addition do not fulfill the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components, points to the fact that it is indeed unlikely that the two texts were copied from each other. Instead, it seems more reasonable to assume that this phenomenon results from being copied from different *Vorlagen*. Neither of the two extant manuscripts at hand was copied from its—nevertheless close—manuscript counterpart. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that even though the two manuscripts possess markings at the same junctions in the text, the *type* of these markings is not used consistently therein.

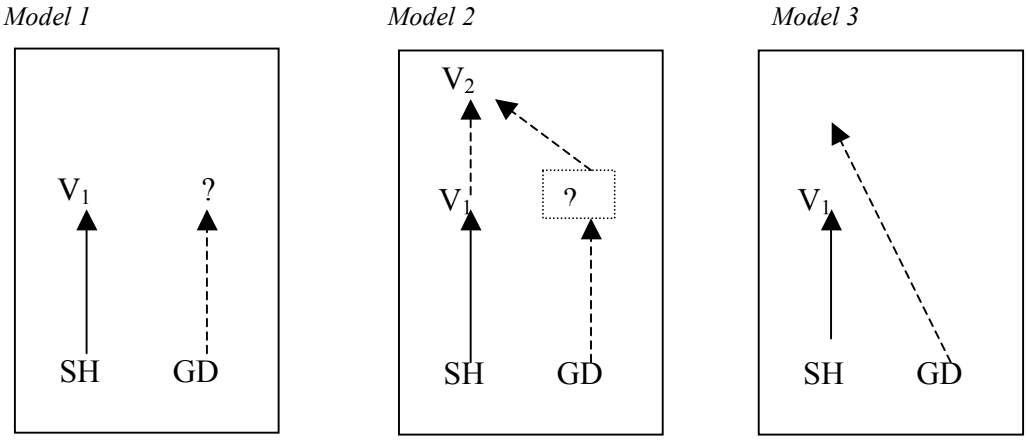
In a further step, we can then try a closer scrutiny of the imagined *Vorlage*—which should, again, not be mistaken as the *Urtext* or *Urschrift* of the texts at hand. By comparison with the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" displays some gaps in the text. These gaps are not systematic, that is, they do not reflect passages that are left out on purpose by the author(s) of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn". Instead, as the form-analysis of the overlapping clusters of pericopes inevitably shows, these gaps appear right within otherwise cohesive, and structurally stable units, thus ruling out the systematic omission of these passages. Instead, when looking at the missing passages that do not stem from the natural loss resulting from broken bamboo strips of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn", we see that the sequences in question always count around thirty characters (or sixty characters). The same holds true also for the sequences that reappear at different junctions in the text. All of this strongly suggests that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" was copied from a written (!)

[123] See my discussion on p. 202, and in particular n. 85.
[124] See, for instance, the discussion by Ivan Illich 1991; J. Leclercq 1961.

Vorlage that was written on bamboo strips, each of which inscribed with about thirty characters. By implication, it also seems unlikely that the copyist(s) simply forgot to reproduce the omitted parts. Instead, the hypothetical *Vorlage* was in disarray, some of the strips were missing therein.

As a result, we can furthermore draw the conclusion that the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" did not result from the same *Vorlage*—at least it did not draw on that source when it was in disarray. Based on these considerations, the following models concerning the history of the texts are possible:

Figure 22: Three Models of Text-Development



As argued, it is unlikely that the extant manuscripts both stem from the same *Vorlage* (V). Model 1 accounts for this: the *stemmata* describe two individual lines of the text-history. As no direct contact of the two manuscripts can be reconstructed, we have to assume a parallel—and isolated—history of the same.[125] Whereas it is indeed possible to make an informed guess on the nature of the direct *Vorlage* of the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (V_1), we have no grounds for processing the same also for the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū". It is, of course, clear that the two texts which we now call "Xìng zì mìng chū" and "Xìng qíng lùn" must have had some sort of shared source that

[125] Martin West would call this different 'recensions'. He distinguishes between "closed recensions" and "open recensions". According to his definition, recensions are *stemmata* that can be drawn back to archetypes (which does not need to mean *Urtext*). See Martin West 1973, p. 14. For a critique of calling these developments 'recensions', see the Introduction (chap. 1); see also van Seters 2006, p. 317.

accounts for the similarity of the two texts, which might have been either written or oral in type. Model 2 accounts for this. Whereas it is relatively clear that the two texts did not result from the same—direct—*Vorlage* (V_1), it is very likely that this imagined *Vorlage* (V_1) in turn had some common ancestor (V_2) with the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" (or its predecessors). Whether this ancestor (V_2) was either spoken or written in type cannot be reconstructed. Lastly, it is also possible to imagine that the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū" did indeed share the same *Vorlage* with the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" (V_1)—yet it drew on that source at an appreciably earlier date. This presumption would imply that the Shànghǎi "Xìng qíng lùn" must have been copied from that source text at a later date than the Guōdiàn One "Xìng zì mìng chū", namely at a stage when the imagined *Vorlage* was already in disarray—although I think that this is a rather unlikely assumption.