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

Meyer, D. (2008, May 29). *Meaning-Construction in warring states philosophical discourse : a discussion of the palaeographic materials from Tomb Guōdiàn One*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/12872>

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**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

## *Reconstructions*

### “ZHŌNG XÌN ZHĪ DÀO” 忠信之道

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#### 9. *Reconstruction*: “Zhōng xìn zhī dào” 忠信之道

This chapter provides the philological references to the argument-based text “Zhōng xìn zhī dào” as discussed in Part One of the present study of meaning-construction in Warring States philosophic discourse. Chapter 9.1 provides the coherent text as discussed in Part One (chap. 2) together with a translation of this text. Philological annotations follow in chapter 9.2.

As mentioned earlier in the present study, in order to keep track of the length of each strip and the graphs contained therein, in both the transcription and the translation of the text the reader finds superscripted the letter “z” to refer to the manuscript (“z” stands for “Zhōng xìn zhī dào”) with a certain number, for instance “1”, to refer to the rank number of the strip in question. “Z1”, for instance, refers to strip one of the “Zhōng xìn zhī dào”. When discussing a certain character, for instance “z1/9”, I refer to the ninth graph on strip one.

The letters in brackets, for instance “[A]”, refer to the philological discussion (chap. 9.2).

Some parts of the text are marked with a crux, which indicates that the text on the strips (or the strip itself) is corrupt, or that a graph cannot be identified with certainty; as a result, the translation must then be partly tentative, too. This is a standard widely applied in Greek philological studies. As it adds to clarity, I also use it in my present study. Missing parts on the strips, which I reconstruct on the basis of the continuous argument of the text, will be marked by rolling brackets {}. The reconstructed passage is set in italics.

### 9.1. Text and Translation: “Zhōng xìn zhī dào”

As discussed in chapter 2, the “Zhōng xìn zhī dào” consists of two cantos and six building blocks. I have marked this graphically by contrasting the different building blocks with a blank line from each other.

#### 9.1.1. Canto One

- 1.1A <sup>Z1</sup> 不訛不害，忠之至也； [A]  
 1.1B 不欺弗知，信之至也。  
 1.2A 忠積則可親也；  
 1.2B 信積則可信也。  
 1.C 忠 <sup>Z2</sup> 信積而民弗親信者，未之有也。

- 1.1A <sup>Z1</sup> Not to [be] pretentious and not to [be] destructive, that is the culmination of trueheartedness;  
 1.1B Not to cheat and not to [be] cunning, <sup>[1]</sup> that is the culmination of trustworthiness;  
 1.2A When trueheartedness is accumulated [by the *jūnzi*] <sup>[2]</sup> then [he] can be felt close to [by the people];

<sup>1</sup> *Zhī* 知 must be understood as a kind of positive knowledge that prevents one from seeing the great lines of the world. In the *Lǎozǐ*, the expression *zhī* is often used in the negative sense for artfulness, cunning.

<sup>2</sup> The concept of accumulating (*jī* 積) moral conduct is also prominent in the *Zhuāngzǐ*. In the “Xiāoyāo yóu” (莊子: 逍遙遊) it is said: 水之積也不厚則其負大舟也無力 “[As for] the accumulation of water,

- 1.2B When trustworthiness is accumulated [by the *jūnzǐ*], then [he] can be trusted [by the people];
- 1.C That trueheartedness<sup>22</sup> and trustworthiness have been accumulated [by the *jūnzǐ*] and the people did not get close to and trust [him]—there has never been such a case.

- 2.1A 至忠如土，化物而不伐；<sup>[B]</sup>
- 2.1B 至信如時，比至而不結。<sup>[C]</sup>
- 2.2A 忠人亡<sup>23</sup> 訛；
- 2.2B 信人不背。
- 2.C 君子如此，故不誑生、不背死也。<sup>[D]</sup>

- 2.1A The highest trueheartedness is like the soil; it develops the things but does not attack them;<sup>[3]</sup>
- 2.1B The highest trustworthiness is like the seasons, [they] succeed [each other] and [the circle] does not break off.
- 2.2A Men of trueheartedness have no<sup>23</sup> pretension;
- 2.2B Men of trustworthiness are not perfidious
- 2.C The sovereign (*jūnzǐ*) goes along with this, and therefore [he] does not cheat [upon] life, nor is [he] perfidious [upon] death.

- 3.A 大舊而不渝，忠之至也；<sup>[E]</sup>
- 3.B 大古而諸常，信<sup>24</sup> 之至也。†<sup>[F]</sup>
- 3.C 至忠亡訛，至信不背，夫此之謂此。

- 3.A To hold old ways in high esteem and never counteract<sup>[4]</sup> [them], that is trueheartedness in its culmination;
- 3.B To hold antiquity in high reverence and take it as principle, that is trustworthiness<sup>24</sup> in its culmination.

when it is not deep, then it lacks the strength of carrying a large boat” (see *Zhuāngzǐ zuǎnjiān* 莊子纂箋, p. 2).

<sup>3</sup> These natural forces do not create the thing itself, they merely make things run. In the words of Aristotle, this would be to change the *form* (*eidos* εἶδος or *morphē* μορφή, but not the *matter* (*hylē* ὕλη) of the entities.

<sup>4</sup> The *Shuōwén jiězì* explains *yú* (渝) as 渝變污也 “*yú* means to change into impure (=become impure)”. Cf. *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字 (1998, p. 571). The Ode “Gāoqiú” (*Máo* 80) reads: 彼其之子舍命不渝. “That man there, he is steadfast into death.” See Bernhard Karlgren 1950, p. 54.

- 3.C The highest trueheartedness has no pretension;  
The highest trustworthiness is not perfidious;  
That is what this is about.

### 9.1.2. Canto Two

- 4.1A 大忠不悅，<sup>[G]</sup>  
4.1B 大信不期；  
4.2A 不悅而足養者，地也；  
4.2B 不期<sup>z5</sup>而可要者，天也。<sup>[H]</sup>  
4.C 配天地也者，忠信之謂此。<sup>[I]</sup>

- 4.1A The highest trueheartedness is not pleasant for [the people];  
4.1B The highest trustworthiness is not restricted in time;<sup>[5]</sup>  
4.2A Not pleasant for [the people] [and yet] providing enough to nourish, such is the Earth;  
4.2B Not to be restricted in time<sup>z5</sup> and yet able to restrain [others], such is Heaven.<sup>[6]</sup>  
4.C To be in tune with Heaven and Earth, this is what trueheartedness and trustworthiness are about.

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

- 5.1 If [only] kind with words, but factually not acting in accordance with them, the sovereign (*jūnzǐ*) rather refrains from speaking;

<sup>5</sup> The *Zhuāngzǐ*, “Zé Yáng” (莊子: 則陽) reads: 今計物之數不止於萬 而期曰萬物者 以數之多者號而讀之也 “If today the things were counted, one would not stop at ten thousand. But the fact that one is restricted and calls [them] ‘ten thousand’, is due to the high number [of things], so [they] are called that way”. The Chéng Xuányīng 咸玄英 sub-commentary explains 期限也 “*qī* means *restricted*”. See *Zhuāngzǐ zuǎnjiān* 莊子纂箋, p. 218.

<sup>6</sup> It seems that a change of object occurs in this passage. 4.2B runs parallel to 4.1B in which the second part of the sentence (provide enough to nourish) is clearly directed to the outside.

- 5.2 If letting the mind loose, {and yet being}<sup>26</sup> intimate in [one’s] appearance, the sovereign (*jūnzǐ*) rather refrains from displaying [this];
- 5.3 If acting according to the old, but pleasing the people by serving [them the special taste of] *zhēng*,<sup>[7]</sup> the sovereign (*jūnzǐ*) rather refrains from relying on this.
- 5.C As to these three [fallacies], the truehearted man would refrain from doing [so], and the trustworthy man would refrain from acting [accordingly].

- 6.1A 忠之為<sup>27</sup>道也，百工不樸而人養皆足；<sup>[L]</sup>
- 6.1B 信之為道也，群物皆成而百善皆立。
- 6.2A 君子，其施也<sup>28</sup>忠，故蠻親附也；<sup>[M]</sup>
- 6.2B ----- 其言爾信，故亶而可受也。<sup>[N]</sup>
- C 忠，仁之實也；信，義之基也。<sup>[O]</sup>

是故古之所<sup>29</sup>以行乎蠻貉者，如此也。<sup>[P]</sup>

- 6.1A When trueheartedness becomes the<sup>27</sup> way [in the state], [then] all kinds of skilled labor will not decay, and the nourishing of the people will [thus] all be sufficient;
- 6.1B [And] when trustworthiness becomes the way [in the state], all groups of things will be completed, and all goods will [thus] be established.
- 6.2A [As a consequence] when the conduct of the sovereign (*jūnzǐ*) indeed [turns out to be]<sup>28</sup> truehearted, for this reason, [even] the *Mán* barbarians come close to and follow [him];
- 6.2B [And] when words [of the sovereign] indeed [turn out to be] trustworthy, for this reason, [they] are sincere and can be endured.<sup>[8]</sup>
- 6.C Trueheartedness is the realization of benevolence (*rén*); [And] trustworthiness is the basis for righteousness (*yì*).

<sup>7</sup> *Zhēng* is a special dish of fish and meat mixed together. See *Xījīng zájì* 西京雜記 (1991, p. II, 73-74).

<sup>8</sup> The character *shòu* 受 here means ‘to endure’. The *Yījīng*, “Xù guà zhuàn” (易經：序卦傳) says: 有天地然後萬物生於之盈天地之間者惟萬物故受之以<屯> 屯者物之好生也。 “First there was Heaven and Earth, then the *ten thousand things* were born into it. What filled all between Heaven and Earth were (*wéi*) the *ten thousand things*, and thus it was succeeded by *tún*.” See *Yījīng zhèngyì* 易經正義 (1997, p. 187). The *Shǐjì*, “Lǐ Jiàngjūn Lièzhuàn” (史記：李將君列傳, j. 109) reads: 廣家世世受射。 “The [Lǐ] Guàng family from generation to generation endures the art of archery.” Cf. *Shiki kaichū kōshō* (1989, p. 4874).

It was for this reason that [the sovereign] in the days of old [even]<sup>29</sup> applied this principle towards the *Mán* and *Mò* barbarians.

## 9.2. Notes on Text and Translation

[A]: Zhōu Fēngwǔ 周鳳五 identifies the character z1/4 𠄎 as *dá* 達 ‘to arrive at’. He explains z1/4 on the basis of a similarity, which he sees between the present graph and the graph *dá* 達 from the “Lǎozǐ” A strip a8/14: 達.<sup>9</sup> For many reasons, this identification of z1/4 with the character *dá* 達 is problematic. To begin with, the contexts in which these graphs were used differ greatly. Moreover, the two graphs clearly differ structurally to the degree that I regard it unlikely to identify z1/4 as *dá* ‘to arrive at’. Lastly, in terms of the structure of the text, reading the character as *dá* as proposed by Zhōu would deviate from the overall pattern of this passage, which reads:

A: no [x] and no [y] that is *zhōng* in its culmination; B: no [c] and no [d] that is *xìn* in its culmination. According to the structure that applies throughout the text, a negative term must appear here. Hé Línyí 何琳儀 proposes to read the graph under consideration as *tāo* 慆 ‘to doubt’.<sup>10</sup> Chén Wěi 陳偉 follows this reading.<sup>11</sup> Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 identify the character as *hài* 害 ‘to harm’.<sup>12</sup> They state that this graph is written in the same style as seen in the *Shuǐhǔdì* 睡虎地: 8.1, where it is identified as *hài* 害 ‘to harm, destructive’.<sup>13</sup> Due to the graphic similarities, I follow their reading.

[B]: Qiú Xīguī 裘錫圭 reads the character z2/17 𠄎, which the editors of the Húběi Province Museum read as *guǐ* 螭, as *huà* 化 (to develop).<sup>14</sup> The character *guǐ* 螭

<sup>9</sup> See Zhōu Fēngwǔ 周鳳五 1998, p. 121.

<sup>10</sup> See Hé Línyí 何琳儀 2001, p. 164.

<sup>11</sup> See Chén Wěi 陳偉 2003, p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> See Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 2001, p. 66.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Shuǐhǔdì Qín jiǎn wénzì biān* 1994, p. 117.

<sup>14</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 163, n. 3.

consists of the two graphs 虫 and phonophoric *wéi* 為 (Old Chinese \*[G]<sup>w</sup>(r)aj). Thus, *wéi* is phonemically close to *huà* 化 (OC \*q<sup>wh</sup>raj-s), and I follow Qiú.

Qiú Xīguī 裘錫圭 identifies the character z2/21  (𠄎) as *fá* 伐 ‘to attack’.<sup>15</sup> This perfectly corresponds with the structure of the text: [x] 而不 [but does not] [negatively do y]. I follow Qiú.

[C]: Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 identify the character z2/26  (𠄎) which consists of the two elements *cái* 才 and phonophoric *bǐ* 匕 (OC \*pijʔ), as *bì* 必 (OC \*pi[t], necessarily).<sup>16</sup> The loan characters are not a perfect match, but possibly close enough phonetically in the underlying Chǔ 楚 dialect. Another suggestion is provided by Liú Zhāo 劉釗. Liú proposes to read the graph as *bì* 比 ‘close together; successive’.<sup>17</sup> The Old Chinese reading of *bì* 比 is \*[b]ij-s, which is indeed the better reading for this graph.

[D]: Throughout the “Zhōng xìn zhī dào” appear cases of ligature, which are not marked explicitly on the strips. The concept *jūnzǐ* ‘gentleman’, for instance, is written throughout as one graph  (君).

[E]: Lǐ Líng 李零 reads the graphs z3/17-18   (here identified as *dà jiù* 大舊) as *tài jiǔ* 太久 ‘very old’.<sup>18</sup> Liú Zhāo follows his reading.<sup>19</sup> As I shall argue in the following, this reading neglects the parallel structure of the passage under review.

[F]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum identify z3/26  as *táo* 匱 ‘a kiln for burning pottery or earthenware’.<sup>20</sup> This reading makes it difficult to construct any sense of this line. The editors themselves admit that this sentence might be corrupt and most

<sup>15</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 163, n. 3.

<sup>16</sup> See Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 2001, p. 67.

<sup>17</sup> See Liú Zhāo 劉釗 2005, pp. 162 f.

<sup>18</sup> See Lǐ Líng 李零 1999, p. 501.

<sup>19</sup> See Liú Zhāo 2005, p. 163.

<sup>20</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 163, n. 6.

editors struggle to reconstruct any meaningful reading out of it. I suggest to treat z3/26  as a cluster of graphs, namely *dà gǔ* 大古 ‘to hold antiquity in high reverence’. These two characters are written closely together, and thus are hardly legible. Maybe *dà gǔ* 大古 ‘to hold antiquity in high reverence’ was seen as some type of concept in certain traditions and the graphs were purposely written closely together (just like the compound *jūnzǐ* 君子, above). It could also be the case that the two graphs were written so closely together ‘by mistake’, as similar examples from different manuscripts suggest.<sup>21</sup>

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum further identify the cluster z3/28-29   (here identified as *zhū cháng* 諸常 ‘to take as principle’), as *zhě shàng* 者尚.<sup>22</sup> *Zhě* (\*tA?) and *zhū* (\*ta) correlate with each other and belong to the same rhyme group (*xiéshēng* 諧生 series). The same holds true for *cháng* 常 (\*[d]aŋ) and *shàng* 尚 (\*[d]aŋ-s), which also belong to the same rhyme group. The verbalization of *zhū* 諸 (= 之於, \*tə + [ʔ]a) seems to be a Chǔ-specific usage.

[G]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum identify the character z4/20  兌 as *duó* 奪 ‘to snatch away’ (OC \*-lʰot).<sup>23</sup> Qiú Xīguī suggests the reading of *shuō* 說 ‘to speak’ (OC \*[hl]ot-s) (ibidem). The same character, however, reappears on slip z6/10, and Qiú then reads it as *yuè* 悅 ‘to be pleased’ (OC \*[hl]ot). Belonging to the same rhyme group, the characters *shuō* and *yuè* are interchangeable. I consistently read it as *yuè* 悅 ‘to be pleased’ in the “Zhōng xìn zhī dào”.

<sup>21</sup> One instance of a case in which two graphs are written so closely together that they are mistaken for one graph can, for instance, be seen on strip Zy17 of the Shànghǎi “Zī yī”. The graphs in question (Zy17/29-30)  are generally read as *jǐ* 幾 (see, for instance, Edward Shaughnessy 2006, p. 113). It is, however, more likely that this cluster instead shows two graphs (絲熙) written so closely together that they are easily mistaken for one word (personal communication with Chén Jiàn 陳劍, Leiden, 09.08.2007). This reading is also likely in that the quotation of the Odes in the Shànghǎi “Zī yī” matches the length of that in the Guōdiàn One text and also the received version.

<sup>22</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 163.

<sup>23</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 163.

[H]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum leave the graph z5/3  unexplained. Qiú Xīguī 裘錫圭 reads it yào 要 ‘to restrain’.<sup>24</sup> Another suggestion was made by Chén Jiàn 陳劍.<sup>25</sup> Chén sees a similarity of the upper part of the graph in question as xià 夏 (OC \*[G]<sup>s</sup>ra?), which he bases on bronze inscriptions and suggests the direct transcription 夏 for . 夏, in turn, should be read as yà 迓 (OC \*[ŋ]<sup>r</sup>ak-s ‘to meet; to receive’.

After the obvious end of the sentence “天也” (so is Heaven), and thus the end of 2B, the editors of the Húběi Province Museum continue the sentence up to what I define as the end of the first sentence of building block ‘five’. However, the character yě 也 serves as obvious marker to end the sentence. The sentence above (4.2A) talks about the Earth, followed by the sentence about Heaven. The following sentence (4.C) 配天地也者 “to be in tune with Heaven and Earth, [...]” (see my discussion under [I]) obviously concludes what is said above.

[I]: The correct identification of the character z5/7  is problematic. Zhōu Fèngwǔ 周鳳五 identifies it as xùn 巽 ‘to follow’.<sup>26</sup> This graph was originally transcribed as jié 節 ‘to regulate’ by the editors of the Húběi Province Museum.<sup>27</sup> Lǐ Líng 李零 reads it as sì 似 ‘to resemble’.<sup>28</sup> Chén Jiàn 陳劍 suggests to read it as pèi 配 ‘to be in tune with’.<sup>29</sup> As for the right part of the graph , Chén Jiàn sees justification to read it as bā 巴 as in fēi 肥 as comparison with other manuscripts suggests.<sup>30</sup> According to Chén, fēi and pèi were used interchangeably.<sup>31</sup>

[J]: After the character xīn 心 ‘mind’, strip 5 breaks off, leading to “心[X][X][X]親” on the remaining strip text. The reconstruction after Qiú Xīguī 裘錫圭 runs: 心

<sup>24</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 164, n. 10.

<sup>25</sup> See Chén Jiàn 陳劍 2002 (a), pp. 5 f.

<sup>26</sup> See Zhōu Fèngwǔ 周鳳五 1998 (a), p. 125.

<sup>27</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 163.

<sup>28</sup> See Lǐ Líng 李零 1999, p. 502.

<sup>29</sup> See Chén Jiàn 2002, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Cf.  (Bāoshān strip 203);  (Bāoshān strip 250);  (Wàngshān No. 1, strip 116). Quoted from Chén Jiàn 2002 (b), p. 225.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem.

[疏][而][X][口/貌]親 “letting the mind lose (心疏), and yet to be intimate in [one’s] appearance, [...]”.<sup>32</sup> The shape of the character in this Guōdiàn One manuscript, here identified as *shēn* 申 ‘to state, to express’, is strongly resembles the character which the *Shuōwén jiězhì* explains to be the ancient script variant (古文) of *shēn* 申.<sup>33</sup>

[K]: Most scholars read the character z6/6 故 *gù* ‘old’ (古, \*k<sup>s</sup>a?) as *gù* ‘therefore’ (故, \*k<sup>s</sup>a(?)s), which would thus be the concluding particle after a chain of arguments. This, however, runs counter to the formal structure of this passage, which is as follows. The unit under review is an enumeration. I have marked this with the numbers 1-3 in the translation, followed by a concluding remark on that enumeration. This becomes apparent first due to the strict usage of the 君子弗[x]爾/也 “then the *jūnzǐ* would rather not *x*;” (2) the concluding remark (C) precludes “三者” (these three above stated fallacies). The structure of this section hence is the following: To do [x] (=positive) but (而) thereby to do [y] (=negative), the *jūnzǐ* would rather not [x]. By implication, the character “*gù*” (故) at this junction must be read as *gǔ* (古) ‘old’, because the chain of argumentation still continues.

The phonophoric of the character z6/9 鯁 鯖 is 青 \*s.r<sup>s</sup>eŋ (or \*[ts]<sup>h</sup>eŋ?). On this basis, Liú Zhāo 劉釗 suggests to read the graph in question as *zhēng* 爭 (OC \*[ts]<sup>(s)</sup>reŋ) ‘to compete; to struggle’. Another reading of the graph would be to take its direct reading *zhēng* 鯖, which describes a special dish of fish and meat mixed together as used in the *Xījīng zájì* 西京雜記.<sup>34</sup> Neither of the two possibilities would alter the structure or the message of the present statement.

[L]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read the graph z7/6 古 as *gǔ* 古 ‘old’ (\*k<sup>s</sup>a?). Qiú Xīguī proposes to read it as *kù* 榘 ‘to decay’.<sup>35</sup> *Gǔ* 古 ‘old’ (\*k<sup>s</sup>a?) and *kù*

<sup>32</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn, 1998, p. 164, n. 13.

<sup>33</sup> See *Shuōwén jiězhì* p. 753. See also Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn, 1998, p. 164, n. 14.

<sup>34</sup> See the *Xījīng zájì* 西京雜記 1991, p. II, 73-74.

<sup>35</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 164, n. 16.

楷 ‘to decay’ (\*[g]<sup>s</sup>aʔ) share the same phonophoric and fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components as outlined in chapter 5 above.<sup>36</sup> I follow Qiú’s proposal.

[M]: Lǐ Líng reads the graph z8/3  (縑) as *liàn* 戀 ‘to feel persistent attachment’.<sup>37</sup> Zhōu Fèngwǔ states that the character is *mǎn* 縑 (OC \*m<sup>s</sup>o[n]ʔ), which should thus be interchangeable with *luán* 縑 (OC \*mǎ.r<sup>s</sup>o[n]), which he reads as *mán* 縑, the name of a tribe (OC \*m-r<sup>s</sup>o[n]).<sup>38</sup> I follow Zhōu.

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum transcribe the character z8/5  *fù* 專 OC \*p<sup>h</sup>(r)a as *fù* 附 ‘to adhere to’ (OC \*N-p(r)oʔ-s).<sup>39</sup> Phonologically, this is unlikely. Liú Zhāo reads it as *fù* 傅, which shares the same phonophoric with the graph on the strips.<sup>40</sup> As he notes, *fù* 傅 is also used in the sense of 附 ‘to adhere to; to follow’.<sup>41</sup> The fact that the *Hàn shū* 漢書 uses the two interchangeably suggests that at the latest at Hàn times their reading was close enough (in some dialects) to be interchangeable. The Middle Chinese reading for *fù* 附 is bjuH, that of *fù* 傅 is pjuH. It is possible that in some (Chǔ?) dialects, this change has occurred quite early.<sup>42</sup> Hence, although \*-a and \*-

<sup>36</sup> The criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components are as outlined in chap. 5 are as follows. (1) Main vowel should be the same; (2) 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].

<sup>37</sup> See Lǐ Líng 1999, p. 503.

<sup>38</sup> Zhōu Fèngwǔ 1998 (a), p. 127.

<sup>39</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 163.

<sup>40</sup> See Liú Zhāo 2005, p. 166.

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>42</sup> This is a reasonable suggestion because something similar can be seen from the use of graphs in other Warring States manuscripts. Note in this context that our reconstruction of Old Chinese is not that of one language with sudden drastic changes, but has to deal with a varieties of dialects and different gradual changes. An example for the early change to “Middle Chinese” reading already in the Zhōu period can, for instance, be seen in the Shànghǎi manuscript “Kǒngzǐ shī lùn” 孔子詩論. The received Odes read *wéi chī wéi xì* 為絺為紵 ‘I make fine cloth and coarse cloth’ (*Máo* 2) (after Karlgren 1950, p. 3). The Shànghǎi manuscript displays the characters   at this instance (strip *kz16*), for which Chén Jiàn 陳劍 proposes the direct transcription   [the left part of the first character is missing] (see Chén Jiàn 2002 (b), p. 222). The phonophoric of the former of the two graphs (*chī* 絺 in the transmitted version) is *dī* 氏,

o clearly were distinct in (early) Old Chinese, they had merged by Hàn times after labial initials like \*p, and they may well have already merged in the dialect of the strips. Accordingly, I follow Liú's reading until a better solution has been found.

[N]: I follow Qiú Xīguī's suggestion to read the graph z8/12 𠄎 *tán* 亶 'sincere'.<sup>43</sup>

[O]: The graph z8/23 𠄎 (𠄎) is a particular writing for *yì* 義 'righteousness' in the "Zhōng xìn zhī dào" manuscript.

Chén Wěi 陳偉 proposes to read graph z8/25 𠄎 as *jī* 基 'basis' (OC \*k(r)ə) instead of *qī* 期 'temporality' (OC \*[g](r)ə). He does so as he sees similarities between this passage and the *Qián fū lùn* 潛夫論, "Wù běn" 務本.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, according to Chén Wěi, the line 忠仁之實也 should be understood as the parallel counterpart to 義信之期(基)也. On this basis it is reasonable to read this line to be the parallel counterpart to the previous statement, which makes 'basis' (*jī* 基; OC \*k(r)ə) to be a counterpart to 'nucleus', or better 'realization' (*shí* 實; OC \*[g](r)ə). Phonologically this would be a sound assumption, because the two words fulfill the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components as they have the same position of initial articulation (a velar as initial consonant), share the same main vowel and the same coda. Lastly, I know of no other passage in which a notion appears that is similar to 信義之期也 "Trustworthiness is the limitation for righteousness". Instead, as the *Qián fū lùn* suggests, there existed indeed instances for notions similar to that of 義信之期(基)也 "Righteousness is the basis for trustworthiness". Accordingly, I follow Chén's suggestion.

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which has the Old Chinese reading \*t<sup>h</sup>ij. The transmitted graph *chī* 絺 'fine cloth' should be reconstructed with \*t-q<sup>h</sup>rəj. This does not fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components. The Middle Chinese reading for *chī* 絺, however, is t<sup>h</sup>ij, and it is reasonable to assume that the change of \*t-q<sup>h</sup>rəj has occurred already in Zhōu period (as a mere side note to this, it thus is likely to assume that *chī* 絺 is the earlier use, not *dī* 氎; personal communication with William H. Baxter 03.08.2007).

<sup>43</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 164.

<sup>44</sup> See Chén Wěi 陳偉 2003, pp. 81-82.

Note the similarity of the phrase 忠仁之實也 “trueheartedness is the nucleus (or realization) of benevolence” (6.c) with the one appearing in the *Dà dài Lǐ jì* 大戴禮記, which reads: 聖知之華也 知仁之實也 仁信之器也 信義之重也 義利之本也 “Sagacity is the blossom of wisdom. Wisdom is the nucleus of benevolence. Benevolence is the vessel of trustworthiness. Trustworthiness is the weight of righteousness. Righteousness is the root of benefit”.<sup>45</sup>

[P]: The use of *shì* 氏 ‘clan; lineage’ for *shì* 是 ‘this’ can be seen in many Warring States manuscripts. *Shì* 是 has the Old Chinese reading \*[d]eʔ; *shì* 氏, for its part, can be reconstructed as \*[g]eʔ. As this does not fulfil the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components since the initials of two do not have the same position of articulation (*shì* 氏 has a velar initial; *shì* 是 has a dental initial). This can either be explained by Chǔ(?)-specific usage, which thus reflects Chǔ dialect, or by reconstructing a prefix with a velar, as lately suggested by William Baxter and Laurent Sagart. \*[g]eʔ ~ \*k.deʔ ~ \*kə.deʔ. Evidence for this can be found in both the *xiéshēng* rhyme groups and borrowings in other languages (*zhǐ* 紙 ‘paper’ \*[k.t]eʔ).

The reconstruction of the additional statement is problematic. The character below *hū* 乎 (z9/4: 𠄎) consists of the graphs *yòu* 又 (OC \*G<sup>w</sup>əʔ-s) and *mén* 門 (OC \*m<sup>s</sup>ə[n]). The direct transcription is 閔. Zhōu Fèngwǔ reads it as *mán* 蠻 (OC \*m-r<sup>s</sup>o[n], southern barbarian).<sup>46</sup> Obviously, this is phonologically problematic. Furthermore, Zhōu considers the character z9/5 𠄎 to be *mò* 貉 (OC \*m<sup>s</sup>rak), the name of a northern barbarian tribe.<sup>47</sup> The editors of the Húběi Province Museum, instead, read the graph z9/5 𠄎 as *lóu* 嚙 (OC \*[r]<sup>s</sup>o) ‘to chatter, to mutter’.<sup>48</sup> Lǐ Líng hesitatingly transcribes the characters in question (9/4-5) as [門 with 又 in its centre], and [婁 with 口, below].<sup>49</sup> Tú Zōngliú

<sup>45</sup> *Dà dài Lǐ jì* 大戴禮記 9.4/54/26.

<sup>46</sup> Zhōu Fèngwǔ 1998 (a), p. 128.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>48</sup> See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 163.

<sup>49</sup> See Lǐ Líng 1999, p. 503.

涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 suggest to read the graphs in question as *kāi lóu* 開嘍 ‘to expound and promote’, which would thus make: 是故古之所以行乎開嘍者如此也 “and it was for this reason that in days of old [the sovereign] acted out expounding and promoting [the principles *zhōng* and *xìn*] accorded with this.”<sup>50</sup>

For the time being—awaiting suggestions and corrections—I refer to the transcription of Zhōu, even though it seems that his reconstruction is, phonologically, problematic.

<sup>50</sup> Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 2001, pp. 75 f.