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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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Reconstructions

“Wǔ xíng” 五行

11. *Reconstruction: “Wǔ xíng”* 五行

The present chapter provides the philological references to the argument-based text “Wǔ xíng”. As in the previous chapters, I shall first provide the text and translation of the “Wǔ xíng”, followed by a philological discussion.

For the “Wǔ xíng”, the reader finds superscripted a letter (“*w*”) to refer to the manuscript in order to keep track of the length of each strip and the graphs contained therein. Numbers added (for instance “1”) refer to the rank number of the strip in question. “*W1*” thus refers to strip one of the text, “*w1/9*”, for instance, refers to the ninth graph on strip one.

11.1. Text and Translation: “Wǔ xíng”

As discussed in chapter 4, the “Wǔ xíng” consists of two cantos. Canto ‘one’ consists of four sub-cantos. Canto ‘two’ contains five sub-cantos.

11.1.1. The “Wǔ xíng”: Canto One

Sub-Canto One

^{w1} 五行
 仁形於內謂之德之行，
 不形於內謂之行■。 [A]
 義形於內謂之德之 ^{w2} 行，
 不形於內謂之行■。
 禮形於內謂之德之行，
 不形於內謂之□□□ ^{w3} [行■]。 † [B]
 [智形] 於內謂之德之行， †
 不形於內謂之行■。
 聖形於內謂之德 ^{w4} 之行，
 不形於內謂之德之行■。 [C]

^{w1} As for the five aspects of conduct (*wǔ xíng*) [it holds true that]:

When benevolence is given shape internally, it is called ‘virtuous conduct’,

When it is not given shape internally, it is called ‘conduct’ [only].

When righteousness is given shape internally, it is called ‘virtuous ^{w2} conduct’,

When it is not given shape internally, it is called ‘conduct’ [only].

When ritual propriety is given shape internally, it is called ‘virtuous conduct’,

When it is not given shape internally, it is called ^{w3} {‘conduct’} [only]. †

{When wisdom is given shape} internally, it is called ‘virtuous conduct’, †

When it is not given shape internally, it is called ‘conduct’ [only].

When sagacity is given shape internally, it is called ‘virtuous ^{w4} conduct’,

When it is not given shape internally, it is [nevertheless still] called ‘virtuous conduct’.

德之行五，和謂之德。
 四行和謂之善。
 [善]，人^{W5}道也。
 德，天道也。 [D]

[Thus], the conduct of virtue contains five [aspects]—when brought into harmony, [we] call it “virtue”.

When four [aspects] of conduct are brought into harmony, [we] call it ‘goodness’.

Goodness, this is the way^{W5} of Man.

Virtue, this is the heavenly way.

君子無中心之憂，則無中心之智。
 [無中心之智]，則無中心^{W6} □□□□□ [之悅]。 † [E]
 [無中心之悅，則不] 安。
 不安則不樂。
 不樂則無德。 [F]

For the gentleman (*jūnzi*) [it holds true that] when lacking concern in his inner mind, then he will also be without wisdom in his inner mind

When lacking wisdom in his inner mind, then [he will also] be without^{W6} {joy} in his inner mind.

{When lacking joy in his inner mind, then [he will also] not} be at ease.

When [he] is not at ease, then [he will also] not be happy.

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

五行皆形于內而時行^{W7}之， [G]
 謂之君 □ [子]。 †
 士有志於君子道，謂志士。 [H]

When all aspects of conduct are given shape internally, and when^{W7} they are conducted at their [appropriate] time, this is what [we] call gentle-*{man}*.

The scholar who has aspiration for the gentleman-way, he is what [we] call
‘aspired scholar’.

善弗為無近，^[J]
德弗^{w8}志不成，
智弗思不得。
思不清不□（察），†^[J]
思不長不形。^[K]
[不形]不安，
[不安]不樂，
[不樂]^{w9}無德。

[Such as] for goodness, when refraining from acting, there will be nothing for
approaching [it],

[And] for potency, when refraining from^{w8} aspiration, [it] will not be
accomplished,

[The same holds true] for wisdom, when refraining from thinking, [it] will not
be reached.

[This is because], if thinking is not clear, it will not be investigating, †

If thinking does not grow, it will not be given shape.

If not given shape, [you] will not be at ease,¹

If not at ease, [you] will not be happy,

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

¹ I propose to add the subject [you] to this translation. It is true that we have an argumentative chain here, which would suggest to read the line with “if [it (=thinking)] is not given shape, [it] will not be at ease”. But we could also read this sequence in the sense of having *two* argumentative chains (preceded by three headings) connected together, or better, interlinked with each other. The second argumentative chain (that in which the ‘you’ had to be added) can then only be seen as a result of the first. This translation is mostly based on the contents of this passage, because it seems to me more adequate that the text argues that, under the prerequisite of the above argumentative chains, *a person* lacks potency, not thinking (and further below we would get nearly ridiculous reading if not allowing a change of the subject as in this passage). I agree that an argument *ex silentio* as suggested for this passage (and for various passages below) bears the danger of circular argumentation. However, the formal structure of this passage seems to hint to such a change, too. The first argumentative chain always names the subject of this chain; the second—the one for which I suggest the subject ‘you’—changes the pattern.

Sub-Canto Two

不仁，思不能清，^[L]
 不智，思不能長；
 不仁不智，「未見君子」，
 「憂心」^{w10}不能「惛惛」。^[M]
 「既見」君子，「心」不能「悅」。^[N]
 「亦既見之，亦既觀之，
 我心則^{w11}□□ [悅]」。² †^[O]
 [夫]此之謂□□ [也]。 †^[P]

If not benevolent, [your] thinking cannot be clear,
 If not wise, [your] thinking cannot grow.
 If neither benevolent nor wise, “while not yet having seen a gentleman”,
 “[My] sorrowful heart”^{w10} cannot be “disturbed.”
 “Until [I] have” not “seen” the gentleman, [my] “heart” will not be “pleased.”³
 “Let me have seen him, let me have met him,
 and my heart will then^{w11} {be pleased}.” †⁴
 {That is} what this [line] is about. †⁵

[不] 仁，思不能清，
 不^聖，思不能^輕。⁶
 不仁不^聖，^{w12}「未見君子」，⁷
 「憂心」不能「忡忡」；
 「既見君子」，「心」不能「降」。⁸

² The three lines “亦既見之，亦既觀之，我心則 □ [悅]” quote the Odes, “Shàonán: Cǎochóng” (*Máo* 14).

³ This line is an adaptation of the Odes, “Shàonán: Cǎochóng” (*Máo* 14). As Csikszentmihalyi (2004: 283) adds, there are numerous phrases of 未見君子 “while I have not yet seen a gentleman” throughout the Odes. When a “before/after” structure is used, the Gentleman’s effect on others is emphasized, as Csikszentmihalyi notes.

⁴ This is a direct quotation of the Odes, “Cǎochóng” (*Máo* 14).

⁵ Coupled with the philosophy of this treatise, it seems that the “Wǔ xíng” aims to explain the last line “let me have seen him...”, together with the philosophy of this treatise.

⁶ The two terms *shèng* and *qīng* are newly introduced.

For a detailed discussion of the technique of introducing new terms as applied in Early Chinese argument-based texts. See Dirk Meyer, (2005) [2006] (a) and (2005) [2006] (b).

⁷ As Csikszentmihalyi states, in the Odes quoted in the “Wǔ xíng” text often appears the line 未見君子 “when I had yet to see the gentleman”, all emphasizing the effect of the Gentleman on the outside world.

⁸ This passage appears in “Xiǎoyá: Chū jū (*Máo* 168): 未見君子 憂心忡忡 既見君子 我心則降 “when I have not yet seen my lord, my grieved heart is agitated. Let me have seen my lord, and my

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

Sub-Canto Three

仁之思也清。
 [清]^{W13} 則察， [Q]
 [察]則安，
 [安]則溫， [R]
 [溫]則悅，
 [悅]則戚，
 [戚]則親，
 [親]則愛，
 [愛]則玉色，
 [玉色] 則形，
 [形]則仁。

The thinking of the benevolent is clear.
 [This is because, only] if [thinking] is clear^{W13} can [it] be investigating,
 [Only] if investigating will [Man] be at ease,
 [Only] if at ease will [Man] be gentle,
 [Only] if gentle will [Man] be joyful,
 [Only] if joyful will [Man feel] closeness,
 [Only] if feeling closeness will [Man] be intimate,
 [Only] if intimate will [Man] be caring,
 [Only] if caring will [Man] have jade-like coloration,⁹
 [Only] if having jade-like coloration will [Man] be given shape,
 [Only] if given shape will [Man] be benevolent.

heart will then calm down” (after Karlgren 1950, p. 113; adjusted); “Shàonán: Cǎochóng” (*Máo* 14): 未見君子 夏心忡忡 亦既見止 亦既覯止 我心則 “when I have not yet seen my lord, my grieved heart is agitated. Let me have seen my lord, let me have met my lord, and my heart will then calm down” (after Karlgren 1950, p. 9; adjusted).

⁹ In the “Wú xíng” appear the terms *yùsè* 玉色 ‘jade-like coloration’, *yùyīn* 玉音 ‘jade-like sound’, *jīnshēng* 金聲 ‘golden tone’, *yùzhèn* 玉晨 ‘jade vibrating [...]’. Holloway notes that all such terms describe an “external manifestation of a person’s internal virtue”. See Kenneth Holloway, 2002, p. 144.

^{W14} 智之思也長。

[長]則得，
 [得]則不忘，
 [不忘] 則明，
 [明] 則見賢人，
 [見賢人] 則玉色，
 [玉色] 則形，
 [形] ^{W15} 則智。

^{W14} The thinking of the wise must be growing,

[This is because, only] if [thinking] grows can [it] be obtained,
 [Only] if obtained will [Man] not forget,
 [Only] if not forgetting will [Man] be clairvoyant,
 [Only] if clairvoyant will [Man] see the capable,
 [Only] if seeing the capable will [Man] be of a jade coloration,
 [Only] if of a jade coloration will [Man] be given shape,
 [Only] if given shape ^{W15} will [Man] be wise.

聖之思也輕。

[輕] 則形，
 [形] 則不忘，
 [不忘] 則聰，
 [聰] 則聞君子道，
 [聞君子道] 則玉音，
 [玉音] 則形，
 [形] ^{W16} 則聖。

The thinking of the sagacious must be easy.

[This is because, only] if easy, can [it] be given shape;
 [Only] if given shape will [Man] not forget,
 [Only] if not forgetting will [Man] be clairaudient,
 [Only] if clairaudient will [Man] hear the way of the gentleman,
 [Only] if hearing the way of the gentleman will [Man] have a jade-like tone,
 [Only] if having a jade-like tone will [Man] be given shape,
 [Only] if given shape ^{W16} will [Man] be sagacious.

Sub-Canto Four

「淑人君子，其儀一」也。¹⁰ [S]
 能為一，然後能為君子。
 慎其獨也。

“The polite man, the gentleman, unified he is in his deportment.”

[Only if he] is able to act for to the unified, thereafter can [he] make himself
 into a gentleman.

[The gentleman] attends to his loneliness.¹¹

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

“{I looked after her yet I could not see her}, and my tears fell like rain.”¹²

[Only if] able to “disarray the wings”, [Man] is capable of utmost grieving.¹³

The gentleman attends to his^{w18} {loneliness}.

[君] 子之為善也，
 有與始，有與終也。
 君子之為德也，

^{w19} □□□□□ [有與始，無與] 終也。† ^[V]

{As for the gentle-} man in his acting for goodness, there is [always something]
 with which [he] begins, [and something] with which [he] ends.¹⁴

As for the gentleman in his acting for potency, {there is [always something]
 with which [he] begins, but there is nothing with which} [he] ends.¹⁵ †

¹⁰ A similar passage also appears in the “Guófēng: Shījiū (*Máo* 152): [尸鳥]鳩在桑其予其兮淑人君子其儀一兮 “the Shījiū’s birds offspring is seven, the polite man, the gentleman, unified he is in his deportment.” The Mǎwángduī version reads the following: 尸(九,口below)在桑其子七氏淑人君子其宜一氏.

¹¹ See the discussion by Liú Xinfāng 2000, pp. 315-26.

¹² This passage also appears in the “Guófēng: Yànyàn (*Máo* 28): 瞻望弗及泣涕如雨 “I looked after her, and yet I could not see her, my tears fell like rain.” The Mǎwángduī version quotes the same ode, yet citing two more lines.

¹³ This passage also appears in the ode quoted above: 燕燕于飛差池其羽 “the swallows in the air, their wings are unruly.” The Mǎwángduī version of this passage quotes the same ode, yet including two more lines.

¹⁴ Putting forward goodness, performing [acts] of virtue.

¹⁵ The question is, whether or not there is something with which he starts, or maybe “nothing with

金聲而玉振之，¹⁶ 有德者也。 [W]

金聲善也；

玉音聖也。

善，人^{W20} 道也；

德，天□□ [道也] 。 † [X]

唯有德者，

然後能金聲而玉振之。

“Bronze [bells] may sound, but it is through a jade [stone] that hits them”,¹⁷
this is a person possessing potency.

The “sounding of bronze [bells]” is goodness;

The “tone of jade” is sagaciousness.

Goodness, this is the^{W20} human way;

Potency, this is heavenly {way}. †

[This is why] only if there is a person possessing potency, thereafter it can be
that “bronze [bells] sound, but it is through a jade [stone] that hits them.”

which he starts and nothing with which he ends,” since he acts according to the Heavenly way, which is imposed on him from Heaven. The Mǎwángduī version of this sequence reads: 君子之為善也 有與始也 有與終也 君子之為德也 有與始也 亡與終也。

¹⁶ The *Mèngzǐ* 5B1 reads: 孔子之謂集大成 集大成也者 金聲而玉振之也 金聲也者 始條理也 玉振之也者 終條理也 始條理者 智之事也 終條理者 聖之事也 “Kǒngzǐ is said to have ‘gathered great achievements’; ‘gathering great achievements’ is a ‘bronze bell sounding and a jade stone ringing it’. A ‘bronze bell sounding’ is the beginning of an inherent pattern, the ‘ringing it with a jade stone’ is the end of an inherent pattern. Beginning an inherent pattern is a matter of the wise; ending an inherent pattern is the matter of the sagacious.”

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

¹⁷ This reading is largely influenced by Csikszentmihalyi 2004, pp. 178 ff.

11.1.2. The “Wǔ xíng” Canto Two

The second part of the “Wǔ xíng” is considerably longer than the first part, canto one. Canto two spans over more than 30 strips and consists of 21 building blocks,¹⁸ or five sub-cantos.

Sub-Canto Five

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

If [man] is neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant, [he can] neither be sagacious
 nor ^{w21}wise;

[This is because] if not wise, [man] will not be benevolent [either],

If not benevolent, [man] will not be at ease [either],

If not at ease, [man] will not be happy [either],

If not happy, [man] will lack potency.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁸ Canto two of the “Wǔ xíng” runs from strip w20/17 (not counting the to-be reconstructed graphs on strip w20) 不聰不明 “neither clairaudient nor clairvoyant...” through the last graph on strip w50 聞道而樂者 好德者也 “perceiving the way and being happy thereof, that is to be fond of potency”.

不直不泄。^[Ab]
 [不泄] 不果，
 [不果]^{W22} 不簡，
 [不簡] 不行，¹⁹
 [不行]不義。■

If [man] is not righteous, [he] will not be resistant [either].
 If not resistant, [man] will not be decisive [either],
 If not decisive, [man] will ^{W22} not be dignified [either],
 If not dignified, [man] will not carry out [his task either],
 If not carrying out [his task], [man] will not be righteous.

不遠不敬。
 [不敬]不嚴，
 [不嚴]不尊，
 [不尊]不恭，
 [不恭]無禮。■

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

Sub-Canto Six

未嘗^{W23} 聞君子道，謂之不聰。^[Ac]
 未嘗見賢人，謂之不明。
 聞君子道而不知^{W24} 其君子道也，謂之不聖。■
 見賢人而不知其有德也，謂之不智。■

Never ^{W23} having heard the gentleman-Way, this [I] call “not clairaudient”.
 Never having seen a capable one, this [I] call “not clairvoyant”.

¹⁹ The combination of terms *xíng* with *jiǎn* might had become a topos in early Chinese philosophical discourse. The *Dàdài Lǐjì*: “Xiàobiàn” (11.1) 夫道不簡則不行 不行則不樂 “about the Way, if it is not dignified, then [it] will not be acted out, if it is not acted out, there will be no happiness.”

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

Having seen a capable one and yet not understanding that he possessed potency, this [I] call “not wise”.

^{W25} 見而知之，智也。■

聞而知之，聖也。■

「明[明]」，智也；■

「赫[赫]」，聖也。■

「明[明]在下，赫[赫]^{W26}在上」，此之謂也。■²⁰

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

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

“Illustrating the illustrious,” this is wisdom;

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

“Illustrating the illustrious refers to below,”²¹

“awing the awe-inspiring refers to above,”²²

That is what this is about.

聞君子道，聰也。

聞而知之，聖也。

聖人知而（ <天> ）^{W27} 道也²³ [Ad]

知而行之，義也。

行之而時，德也。

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

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

[Only] the sagacious understands the heavenly way.

To understand and enact it/ (act it out), this is “righteousness”.

²⁰ This passage also appears in the “Dàiyǎ: Dàmíng” (*Máo* 236): 朋明在下 赫赫在上 “shedding light on the bright is below, awing the awe-inspiring is on high”.

²¹ This means that “shedding light on the bright” is a process that works from above to the below.

²² This means that “awing the awe-inspiring” is a process that works from below to the above.

²³ Ikeda (1993, p. 364) has proposed to read w26/22 with *tiān* ‘Heaven’ instead of the particle *ér*. The editors of *Húběi shèng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn* (1998, p. 150) and most commentators follow this suggestion. Csikszentmihalyi (2004, p. 397) suggests that the short sentence beginning from w26/19-w27/2 is a misplaced commentary because it seems to interrupt the flow of this passage. As I shall discuss below, this is highly unlikely.

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

見賢人，明也。

見而知之，^{W28} 智也。

知而安之，仁也。

安而敬之，禮也。 [Ae]

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

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

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

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

聖知禮樂之所由生也，五 ^{W29} □□□□ [行之所和] 也。† [Af]

和則樂，

[樂]則有德，

[有德] 則邦 家□(興)。 [Ag]

「文王」之見也如此。

「文 ^{W30} □□□□□ [王在上於昭] 于天」。²⁴ † [Ah]

此之謂也。

Sagacity and wisdom are those from which ritual propriety music derive from,

^{W29} {and those by which} the five [aspects] {of conduct are harmonized}.

If harmonized, then there is happiness,

If there is happiness, then there is potency,

If there is potency, then states and families will revive.

The appearance of “King Wén” followed this.

[“When King Wén ^{W30} {was on high, he illuminated} Heaven”.

That is what this is about.

²⁴ It seems that the “Wǔ xíng” draws on the, “Dàyǎ: Wén Wáng (Máo 235), which reads 文王在上於昭於天 “when King Wén was on high, oh he illuminated Heaven”.

見而知之，智也。
 知而安之，仁也。
 安^{W31}而行之，義也。
 行而敬之，禮也。

To see and to understand him, that is “wisdom”.

To understand and be at ease with him, that is “benevolence”.

To be at ease^{W31} and enacting it, that is “righteousness”.

Acting it out and showing reverence to him, that is “ritual propriety”.

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

Benevolence and righteousness, that is from which ritual propriety derives from,

And it is that by which the four [aspects] of conduct are harmonized.

[If] harmonized,^{W32} then they will be in congruence,

[if] in congruence, then there will be goodness.

Sub-Canto Seven

顏色容貌溫，戀也。
 以其中心與人交，悅也。
 中心悅 旃遷^{W33}於兄弟，戚也。 [Aj]
 戚而信之，親；
 [親] 而篤之，愛也。
 愛父，其繼愛人，仁也。 [Ak]

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

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

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

Feeling closeness and extending this feeling, that is intimacy;²⁵

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

Caring for [one’s] father, and secondarily to this, caring for other people, that is benevolence.

中心^{W34} 辯然而正行之，直也。

直而遂之，進也。

進而不畏強禦，果也。 [A]

不^{W35} 以小道害大道，簡也。

有大罪而大誅之，行也。

貴[貴]，其等尊賢，義也。

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

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

[Being] resistant and not fearing the strong and powerful, that is fruition.²⁶

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

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

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

^{W36} 以其外心與人交，遠也。

遠而莊之，敬也。

敬而不 懈，嚴也。 † [Am]

嚴而畏^{W37} 之，尊也。

尊而不驕，恭也。

恭而博交，禮也。

^{W36} [If] using one’s outer mind when interacting with others, that is to keep [appropriate] distance.

²⁵ Reading the graph *xìn* 信 as “to extend, to spread out”.

²⁶ Páng Pú notes that this combination also occurs in the “Dàiyǎ: Zhēng mǐn (Máo 110): 不侮矜寡 不畏彊禦 “[Zhōngshān Fù], he did not intimidate the widow and the poor, and did not fear the strong and powerful.”

Keeping [appropriate] distance and being grave to him, that is reverence.

Being reverent and not remitting, that is being stern.

Being stern and fearful^{W37} to him, that is to show honour.

Showing honour and not being arrogant, that is to be humble.

Being humble and widely interacting with others, that is ritual propriety.

Sub-Canto Eight

不簡不行；不匿不辨^{W38}於道； †^[An]

有大罪而大誅之，簡也。

有小罪而赦之，匿也。

有大罪而弗大^{W39}誅也，不[行]也。 †^[Ao]

有小罪而弗赦也，不辨於道也。

簡之為言猶練^{W40}也，大而罕者也。 †^[Ap]

匿之為言也，猶匿[匿]也，小而軫者也。 †^[Aq]

簡，義之方也。

匿，^{W41}仁之方也。

「剛」，義之方；「柔」，仁之方也。^[Ar]

「不強不棊，不剛不柔」，²⁷此之謂^{W42}也。

If not being resolute,²⁸ [man] will not by carrying out [properly];

If neglecting [proper] avoiding (?), [man] will not discriminate^{W38} the Way
[properly]; †

If there is a serious transgression, which is punished severely [accordingly],
that is being resolute.

If there is a minor transgression, which is pardoned [accordingly], that is
[respecting] proper avoiding.

If there is a serious transgression and yet [man] refrains from^{W39} punishing it
severely, [he] is not carrying out [properly].

If there is a minor transgression and yet [man] refrains from pardoning it, [he]
is not discriminating the Way [properly].

²⁷ This sentence similarly appears in “Shāngsòng: Cháng fā” (*Máo*: 304), which reads 不競不棊 不剛不柔 “[he was] neither forceful nor pressing; [he was] neither hard nor [too] soft.” (After Karlgren 1950, p. 265; adjusted);

²⁸ I take this term from Mark Csikszentmihalyi’s translation. See his 2004, p. 304.

Resoluteness as a term is similar to softening raw silk by boiling, it is great but rare. †

[Proper] avoidance as a term, it is similar to hiding the [minor] depraved, it is small but ordinary. †²⁹

Resoluteness is an aspect of righteousness.

[Proper] avoidance is an aspect of benevolence.

[And thus,] “hardness” is an aspect of righteousness, [and] “pliancy” is an aspect of benevolence.

“neither forceful nor pressing, neither hard nor [too] soft,” that is what this is about.³⁰

君子集大成；³¹ [As]

能進之為君子。

弗能進也，各止於其里。

大而^{W43}罕者，能有取焉。

小而軫者，能有取焉。

疋(赫)膚-[膚](臚 臚)達者(諸)君子道，謂之賢。 † [At]

The gentleman “gathers great achievements”;

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

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

As for the great but rarely^{W43} seen, (能有取焉) [the gentleman] is able to adopt from it. †³²

²⁹ From the structure of this passage it seems clear that the line “匿之為言也，猶匿[匿]也” must be referring to “minor crimes” 小罪, such as “Lenience as a term” has referred to “serious crimes” 大罪; because the afore sentence was put in more metaphorical manner, I read the first *nì* in its literal meaning, and the second *nì* as *tè* 慝, such as suggested by Páng Pú (2000, p. 71). Nonetheless I admit that this remain a tentative reading, until more is known about the use of repetition and the adding of similar graphs. See also the discussion in the chap. 11.2.

³⁰ The Guōdiàn One passage reads *qiú* 楸 (the fruit of a chestnut-leaved oak) in place of *qiú* 綌 ‘hasty’ as it appears in the ode. I believe that this is a mere writing variant, referring to *qiú* 綌 ‘hasty’.

³¹ Compare again the *Mèngzǐ*, “Wànzhāng xià” (萬章下 5B1) which reads: 孔子之謂集大成 “Master Kǒng is said to have “gathered great achievements”.”

³² Mark Csikszentmihalyi (2004 p. 306) reads it as a question: “if something is serious but rare, then is it possible to get something from it?” Holloway reads: “for the case of great and rare crimes the noble man adopts [admonishment]”.

As for the small but vastly seen, [the gentleman] is able to adopt from it.
He who shines brightly when reaching the gentleman-Way, he can be called a
worthy. †

君 ^{W44} 子知而舉之，謂之尊賢。
知而事之，謂之尊賢者也。 [Au]
後，士之尊賢者也。

If the gentleman ^{W44} understands him [being worthy] and rises him, this is what
[I] refer to by “honoring the worthy.”
If [the gentleman] understands and serves him, he is what [I] refer to by “[a
man] who honors the worthy”.
The latter applies to the scholarly-knight’s honoring the worthy.

Sub-canto Nine

^{W45} 耳目鼻口手足六者，心之役也。 [Av]
心曰唯，莫敢不唯；
諾，莫敢不諾；
^{W46} 進，莫敢不進；
後，莫敢不後；
深，莫敢不深；
淺，莫敢不淺。
和則同，同則善。

^{W45} Ears eyes, nose, mouth, hands and feet, these six [parts of the body] are
slaves to the mind.
If mind says “right”, none dares not to [go] right;³³
If [it says] “agree”, none dares not to agree;
^{W46} If [it says] “advance”, none dares not to advance;
If [it says] “retreat”, none dares not to retreat;
If [it says] “profound”, none dares not to [take it as] profound;

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

³³ Uttering the sound of *wéi* is used to show agreement.

If [it says] “shallow”, none dares not to [take it as] shallow;
 If [the body organs] are harmonized [through mind], then there is equality
 [among them]; if there is equality, then there will be goodness.

^{W47} 目而知之，謂之進之；

喻而知之，謂之進之；

譬而知之，謂之進之；

^{W48} 幾而知之，天也。

「上帝賢汝，毋貳爾心」。³⁴ † [Aw]
 此之謂也。

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

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

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

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

“If God on High regards you worthy, do not be unfaithful in your heart”.

That is what this is about.

天施諸其人，天也。^[Ax]

其^{W49}人施諸人，據也。†^[Ay]

As for Heaven’s bestowing this greatly on its people, this lies with Heaven.

As for its^{W49} people bestowing this on man, [they] rely on this. †

聞道而悅者，好仁者也；

聞道而畏者，好^{W50}義者也；

聞道而恭者，好禮者也；

聞道而樂者，好德者也。

³⁴ It seems that the line w48/7-14 is a quotation of “Dà yǎ: Dà míng” (*Mao* 236), which reads 上帝臨女無貳爾心 “God on High looks down on you; do not be unfaithful in your heart” (Karlgrén 1950, p. 188; emended). The Mǎwángduī Three writes *jiān* 臨, as the *Máo* version does, were Guōdiàn One (w48/9 賢) uses *xián* 賢 ‘worthy’. See also my discussion in chap. 11.2.

If [you] perceive the Way and are joyful thereof, [you] are [a man] who is fond of benevolence.

If [you] perceive the Way and are fearful thereof, [you] are [a man] who is fond ^{W50} of righteousness.

If [you] perceive the Way and are humble thereof, [you] are [a man] who is fond of ritual propriety.

[And] if [you] perceive the Way and are happy thereof, [you] are [a man] who is fond of virtue.

11.2. Notes on Text and Translation

[A]: Following each line in this building block appears a marking “■” on the strips (■). Its precise function here remains unclear, but it seems that it signals the end of different positions stated therein.

[B]: The top of slip w3 has broken off. Presumably three to four characters are missing. Due to the recurring pattern of statements in this building block, we can reconstruct …德之行 “the conduct of virtue”. The ‘edition’ (*ekdosis*) of the “Wǔ xíng” from Mǎwángduī Three corroborates this assumption.³⁵



[C]: In the last line of the first building block appears a change in the formal pattern. The structure of this passage suggests 謂之行 “this is called ‘conduct’ [only]”, instead of 謂之德之行 “this is called ‘virtuous conduct’”. This might be a scribal mistake, as the other lines in this building block read 不形於內謂之行 “[W]hen it is not given shape internally, it is called ‘conduct’ [only]”. Thus, they do not combine *dé* ‘virtue’ with the negation of the process. Yet, one can also assume that the author(s) of the text regard “*shèng* 聖” as a virtue that, in any case, is an expression of *dé zhī xíng* 德之行, thus excluding the negation of the case per se. I regard the latter assumption to be more reasonable.³⁶ In the Mǎwángduī Three ‘edition’, the text consistently holds to the pattern of this building block and reads 不形於內謂之行 “[W]hen it is not given shape internally, it is called ‘conduct’ [only]”.³⁷

The Mǎwángduī Three version lists the same qualities as the Guōdiàn One text (namely *rén* 仁 (仁) ‘benevolence’, *yì* 義 ‘righteousness’, *lǐ* 禮 (禮) ‘ritual propriety’, *zhì* 智 (智) ‘wisdom’, *shèng* 聖 (聖) ‘sagacity’)—yet in a different sequence, namely *rén*, *zhì*, *yì*, *lǐ*, *shèng*.

³⁵ For the transcription of the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng”, see Mǎwángduī Hàn mù bóshū zhěnglǐ xiǎo zǔ 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組 (1980), vol. 1. The “Wǔ xíng” takes columns 170-351 of the so-called “Lǎozǐ A” manuscript.

³⁶ See also my discussion in chapter 4 “Wǔ xíng”, p. 120, n. 58.



³⁷ Column 172.

[D]: At this instance, the scribe uses different graphs for the word *dào* 道: 善人  (道) 也; 德天  (道)也.




The Mǎwángduī Three ‘edition’ does not differ from the sequence of the Guōdiàn One text.


[E]: The top of strip w6 has broken off. Presumably four graphs are missing. The editors of the Húběi Province Museum reconstruct this part as 之-說(悅)-則不- (adding a sign for repetition after three graphs, as seen also in the preceding lines). Most interpreters follow this suggestion. This reconstruction is based on the Mǎwángduī Three text, which reads [君子]¹⁷⁵ 无(無)中心之憂則无(無)=中=心=之=聖= (無中心之聖則無中心之)說 无(無)=中=心=之=說 (無中心之說) 則不=安= (不安)則不=樂= “For the gentleman (*jūnzi*) [it holds true that] when [he] lacks concern in his inner mind, then he will also be without sagacity in his inner mind. When [he] lacks sagacity in his inner mind, then [he will also] be without joy in his inner mind. When [he] lacks joy in his inner mind, then [he will also] not be at ease. When [he] is not at ease, then [he will also] not be happy”.³⁸ The difference of these two passages is that whereas the Mǎwángduī Three version speaks of ‘sagacity’ (*shèng* 聖), the Guōdiàn version speaks of ‘wisdom’ (*zhì* 智).



[F]: The Mǎwángduī Three text is identical to this passage in the Guōdiàn One “Wǔ xíng”, only that that it has *wù* 毋 (OC *m(r)o) where the Guōdiàn One text writes *wú* 亡 (無) (OC *m(r)a). Furthermore, the Mǎwángduī Three repeats this passage, only that it interchanges *zhì* 智 ‘wisdom’ with *shèng* 聖 ‘sagacity’ in the second row.

[G]: The graph w5/12 *yú* 于 appears as follows:  (see below); the graph w5/15 *shí* 時 as follows: . This line differs slightly in wording form the Mǎwángduī Three version.

³⁸ Columns 174-175.

[H]: In this line, the text writes the graph *yú* 於 as follows: ; the graphs *zhì* as follows: , .

[I]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read the graph w7/20  as *jìn* 近 (OC *[g]ərʔ-s) ‘to come close, to approach’.³⁹ Chén Wěi 陳偉 offers a rather different explanation of this graph. He suggests to read it as *xīn* 忻 (OC *q^hər) ‘to prompt a mental development, to instruct’. As a corroboration for this decision, he quotes the *Shuōwén jiězì*, which refers to the *Sīmǎ fǎ*, which reads 善者忻民之善 “that what is good develops goodness of the people”.⁴⁰ Yet, the passage is used in different contexts. The Bāoshān strips suggest to read the graph in question as *jìn* 近 ‘to approach’.⁴¹ I could find no single instance where *jìn* 近 was used in the meaning of *xīn* 忻 and I follow the reading as suggested originally by the editors of the Húběi Province Museum.

[J]: The Mǎwángduī Three version reads *chá* 察 ( 177) where the Guōdiàn One strips display the graph as follows  (w8/13), and the editors of the Húběi Province Museum follow the Mǎwángduī Three reading.⁴² This graph also appears in the Bāoshān corpus where it is read *chá* 察 throughout. This reading, however, cannot be identified with certainty. The structure of the subsequent lines runs: “when *X* is not *a*, then it will not be *b*; when it is not *b*, it will not be *c*, etc. Accordingly, it rather makes sense to read graph w8/13 as ‘to grow’ or the like, which appears in the next sentence. The same graph also appears on strip w13/2. Most interpretations follow Lǐ Líng’s suggestion to read it as *chá* 察.⁴³

[K]: Subsequent to the line “思不偃（長）不-型（形）-” (w8/14-18), the Mǎwángduī Three text adds “…不得思不輕(徑)不=形= (177).

³⁹ See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 147.

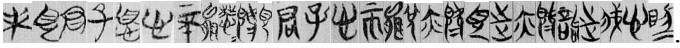
⁴⁰ See Chén Wěi 陳偉 2003, p. 52.

⁴¹ Téng Rènshēng 滕王生 1995, p. 794.

⁴² See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 147.

⁴³ See also under [Q].

[L]: At the line w9/3-8 不怠(仁)思不能清(清) the Mǎwángduī Three version reads *jīng* 精 ‘essential’ (178) instead of *qīng* 清 ‘clear’.

[M]: The graph w10/9 𠄎 (*néng* 能), which also appears in the quotation of the Odes, is written markedly different in style from the previous instances of this graph: 𠄎. Indeed, the calligraphy of the entire quotation differs from the rest of the text, and one feels inclined to think that this passage was directly copied from another material carrier, that must have been inscribed with the line quoted. The entire passage appears as follows: 

[N]: The graph w10/9 𠄎 cannot be identified with certainty. Most editors read it as *bù* 不.⁴⁴ Ikeda reads it as *bì* 必.⁴⁵ The graph differs markedly from the two readings, and the passage also differs from that appearing in the Odes (*Máo*: 14), which thus is of no further help for identifying the present graph.

[O]: The top of strip w11 has broken off. Presumably one character is missing. The Mǎwángduī Three ‘edition’ of the “Wǔ xíng” reads *yuè* 悅 at this juncture (180).

This passage also appears in the Odes, which nevertheless differs noticeably from the Guōdiàn One version.⁴⁶ The Mǎwángduī Three version introduces the quotation (strips w9-11) with *shī yuē* 詩曰 “Odes say” (179).

[P]: Strip w11 has broken off after the graph *wèi* 胃(謂). The editors of the Húběi Province Museum assume that two characters are missing. In accordance with the Mǎwángduī Three version, they add the graphs *yě* 也 to the previous sentence, and *bù* 不 to the subsequent sentence.⁴⁷ However, when looking at the strips, it is likely to assume that the missing part might contain at least three characters. Accordingly, I

⁴⁴ Cf., Lǐ Líng 1999, p. 488; Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 2001, p. 386.

⁴⁵ See Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 1999, p. 23.


⁴⁶ See *Máo* 14: 未見君子 憂心惓惓 亦既見止 亦即覯止 我心則說 “when I have not yet seen the lord, my grieved heart is sad; but when I have seen him, when I have met him, my heart will then be pleased.” After Bernhard Karlgren 1950, p. 9 (emended).


⁴⁷ See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 149.

add the character *fū* 夫, and a mark for ending the passage in my reconstruction of this passage.



Pane of the missing part of strip w11 as compared to strips w10

[Q]: Qiú Xīguī suggests reading the graph w13/2  as *chá* 察 ‘to investigate’. I follow his suggestion.

[R]: The graph w13/6  has been transcribed as 恩 (OC *ʔ^sə[n]).⁴⁸ Most scholars read 恩 in the sense of *wēn* 溫 (OC *ʔ^sun) ‘gentle’. Chén Wěi 陳偉, for his part, suggests that this graph consists of the phonophoric 函 (OC *[g]^səm; or *[g]^sr[ə]m [as the latter is a place name it might be the more likely reading]) and the signific *xīn* 心 ‘heart’.⁴⁹ Hé Línyí 何琳儀 states that the graph 溫 has 函 as its phonophoric.⁵⁰ This suggestion is, however, more than unlikely. Even a careless glance at the reconstruction for 溫 (OC *ʔ^sun) and 函 (OC *[g]^sr[ə]m) shows that the two do not fulfill the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components as they do not share the same coda (one *-n, the other is *-m), and we can easily dismiss his proposal.

[S]: The passage 晏（淑）人君子 其義（儀）罷（一）也 (w16/3-10) also appears in the Odes “Guófēng: Shījiū (*Máo*: 152): 淑人君子其儀一也 “the polite man, the gentleman, is uniform in his deportment.” The Mǎwángduī Three version

⁴⁸ See Húběi shèng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 149. See also by Cheung Kwong-yue 1999, p. 539.

⁴⁹ See Chén Wěi 陳偉 2003, pp. 52 f.



⁵⁰ See Hé Línyí 何琳儀 2001, p. 1130.

also reads the following two lines before this: 尸凸在桑其子七氏 (184) “the Shījiū bird’s offspring is seven.”


[T]: the top of strip w18 has broken off. Based on the ode quoted, we can reconstruct the graphs 瞻望弗及 “{I looked after her yet I could not see her}”.

[U]: The top of strip w18 has broken off. Judging from the manuscript counterpart Mǎwángdūī Three (186), it seems that the missing passage originally contained two graphs, which we can reconstruct as *dú yě* 獨也. Due to the length of the lost part, it is likely that these graphs were followed by markings on the strips.

[V]: The top of strip w19 has broken off. It seems that the missing passage originally contained five graphs. Taking the Mǎwángdūī Three version into account (186), it seems that this passage should be reconstructed as [有與始 無與] 終也 “{there is [always something] that inputs [his] beginning, but there is nothing that inputs} [his] end”.


Note that the shape of the graphs w18/11  and w19/1  (both read in the sense of *zhōng* 終) differs markedly.

[W]: Compare the passage in question with the *Mèngzǐ* 5B1: 孔子之謂集大成 集大成也者 金聲而玉振之也 金聲也者 始條理也 玉振之也者 終條理也 始條理者 智之事也 終條理者 聖之事也 “Kǒngzǐ is said to have ‘gathered great achievements’; ‘gathering great achievements’ is a ‘bronze bell sounding and a jade stone ringing it’. A ‘bronze bell sounding’ is the beginning of an inherent pattern, the ‘ringing it with a jade stone’ is the end of an inherent pattern. Beginning an inherent pattern is a matter of the wise; ending an inherent pattern is the matter of the sagacious.”

Note that the graph w19/4  聖 (聖) (*ʃeŋ-s), is presumably used to express <*shēng* 聲> (*ʃeŋ). Mark Csikszentmihalyi hypothesizes that this is more than a phonetic loan. As he assumes, the connection is “more like the relationship between *lè*

樂 ‘joy’ and *yuè* 樂 ‘music’.”⁵¹ In this respect he sees this as an “unstated philosophical argument”.⁵² I think that this is an overinterpretation of the data at hand. Philologically it is difficult to devote so much emphasis to this kind of variation. Phonetic loans appear throughout the entire ‘Guōdiàn One library’. Moreover, many ‘mistakes’ throughout the texts of the Guōdiàn One library suggest that the scribe(s) in question did not necessarily fully understand what had been put into writing. If we assume that in this instance he was punning with loans, we would imply that he fully grasped the philosophical core of this treatise, and also had the intellectual ability to play with it. This does not seem convincingly to me.

[X]: Subsequent to w20/4 the bamboo strip breaks off. In accordance to the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng” (188), we can reconstruct the two graphs *dào yě* 道也.

According to the structure of the argument, but also on the basis of the Mǎwángduī Three version of this passage, it seems that we should read w20/3  as *tiān* 天 ‘heaven’. The two graphs *ér* 而 and *tiān* 天 are indistinguishable in early Chinese manuscripts.

[Y]: Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 argues that this line 不聰(聰)不明 不聖(聖)不-^{w21} 暫(智)- is a scribal mistake. Following the Mǎwángduī Three version, he argues that marks for repetition should be inserted into the line 不明不聖. Ikeda further assumes that 不聰不明 itself is not a causal series.⁵³

I doubt Ikeda’s line of reasoning. I believe that the first line of this passage does not form an argumentative chain, but is parallel to the two features that were introduced earlier on. The text identifies these with the characteristics of either the sage or the worthy. For a more detailed analysis of this passage, see my analysis of the “Wǔ xíng” in chapter 4.


[Z]: As already discussed, this passage does not occur in the Mǎwángduī Three


⁵¹ See Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 169.


⁵² Ibidem.

⁵³ See Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 1999.

version at the same junction. In the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng”, it comes after the discussion of the three charismatic aspects *rén, yì, lì*.⁵⁴

[Aa]: The graph w21/11  (變) was read *biàn* 變 (OC *pro[n]-s) by the editors of the Húběi Province Museum.⁵⁵ As Csikszentmihalyi states, both Ikeda and Páng Pú identify the graph in question with a complex of graphs carrying meanings similar to *liàn* 戀 (OC *(mǎ.)ron-s) ‘feeling affection’.⁵⁶ Phonetically this is close enough to fulfill the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components and I follow their suggestion.

[Ab]: The graph w21/23  (*dé* 德) appears is read as *zhí* 直 in the Mǎwángduī Three version. Thus, it is often read in the sense of “righteousness in carrying out official duties, a core aspect of righteousness”.⁵⁷

Lǐ Líng and Wèi Qǐpéng read w21/25  as *sì* 肆.⁵⁸ *Sì* should be understood in opposition to *zhí*, above. It thus refers to statements such as that from the transmitted *Lǎozǐ* (chap. 58) 是以聖人方而不割 廉而不劓 直而不肆 光而不耀 “this is why the sagely person makes square but does not trim [others], makes clean but does not injure [others]. [He] straightens but does not intimidate [others], enlightens but does not investigate [others].⁵⁹ As opposed to the structure of the statement in the *Lǎozǐ* (聖人 x 而不 y), the structure of this passage should not oppose terms directly, but forms an argumentative chain instead. Accordingly, I hesitate to read a term in negative connotation, here.

Ikeda Tomohisa, Wèi Qǐpéng, and Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 read the graph as *xiè* 泄 ‘to disperse, to release’.⁶⁰ The editors of the Húběi Province

⁵⁴ See the discussion of this unit in chapter 4 of the present work.

⁵⁵ See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 151 n. 26.

⁵⁶ See Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 292. See also Ikeda Tomohisa 1999, p. 32; Páng Pú 2002, p. 27.

⁵⁷ See Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 293.


⁵⁸ See Lǐ Líng 1999, p. 489; Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, p. 28.

⁵⁹ After Rudolf Wagner 2003, p. 318-20, adjusted.

⁶⁰ See Ikeda Tomohisa 1999, p. 33 note 36; Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, p. 28; Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 2001, p. 400.

Museum explain the graph in accordance to the Mǎwángduī Three version as *lì* 迨 ‘to intercept’, to which reading Liú Xinfāng also refers.⁶¹ Mark Csikszentmihalyi notes that this graph rarely appears in early transmitted texts. The commentator of the *Hànshū*, Jin Zhuó 晉灼 (fl. ca. AD 208) recognizes *lì* as an older form of *liè* 遯 ‘to block, to obstruct’, for which reason Csikszentmihalyi translates it as ‘resistant’.⁶² For the time being I follow this reading, until a better solution is found.

[Ac]: The unit under review (14.1) comes significantly later in the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng”. See my discussion in chap. 4.

[Ad]: Ikeda Tomohisa has proposed to read w26/22  as *tiān* 天 ‘heaven’ instead of the particle *ér* 而.⁶³ The editors of the Húběi Province Museum and most commentators follow this suggestion.

Mark Csikszentmihalyi suggests that the short sentence beginning from w26/19-w27/2 聖(聖)人替(知)而<天>^{w27} 道(道)也 is a misplaced commentary because it seems to interrupt the flow of this passage.⁶⁴ This is very unlikely. For a detailed discussion of this passage, see my analysis in chapter 4.

[Ae]: Mark Csikszentmihalyi notes that the phrase “安而敬(敬)之豐(禮)也” appears reversed in the *Xúnzǐ*, “Jūndào”.⁶⁵ The passage in question reads 故君子之於禮 敬而安之 “that is why the gentleman in his attitude to ritual propriety is respectful and is at peace with it”.

[Af]: The top of the strip, w30 has broken off. Judging from the broken piece it seems that three to four characters are missing at this junction. According to the underlying structure, it seem that either 行之所和, or 行所和 should be reconstructed here.⁶⁶

⁶¹ See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 152 n. 27.


⁶² See Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 293.


⁶³ See Ikeda Tomohisa 1993, p. 364.

⁶⁴ See Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 397.

⁶⁵ See Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 297.



⁶⁶ See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 153 n. 35.


[Ag]: For what in the Guōdiàn One manuscript appears as graph w29/11 , the Mǎwángduī Three version reads yǔ 與 (200). Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 read the graph jǔ 舉, here ‘to revive’.⁶⁷

Instead of the graph w29/19 , (邦 bāng ‘country’), the Mǎwángduī Three version reads guó 國 (200). This seems to be due to a taboo writing of the personal name of the founder of the Hàn dynasty, Liú Bāng (256-195 BC). This suggests that the Mǎwángduī Three version had not been put into writing before his death in 195 BC.⁶⁸

[Ah]: The top of the strip w30 has broken off. It seems that the “Wǔ xíng” draws on a the Odes, “Dà yǎ: Wén Wáng (*Máo*: 235), which reads 文王在上 於昭於天 “when King Wén was on high, he illuminated Heaven”. Accordingly, the missing part can be reconstructed as 王在上於昭.

[Ai]: Instead of the line “息(仁)義豐(禮)所毓(由)生也” as appearing in the Guōdiàn One text of the “Wǔ xíng” (w31/12-18), the Mǎwángduī Three version reads “仁義禮智之所繇(由)生也” (202), thus adding the character zhì 智 and creating a rather different chain of development.

[Aj]: Qiú Xīguī identifies the two graphs w32/23-24   as zhān qiān 旃遷; the Mǎwángduī version reads yān qiān 焉遷 (191; zhān is an auxiliary particle used like yān to give force to the verb; the Odes, “Guófēng: Zhìhù (*Máo*: 110) reads: 上慎旃哉 猶來無棄 “May he be cautious, that he may come back and does not remain [there]”. With the exception of Wèi Qǐpéng,⁶⁹ most interpreters follow Qiú’s suggestion.⁷⁰

[Ak]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum suggest to read w33/18  as yōu 攸 ‘to follow behind’. Qiú Xīguī interprets it as a variant of jī 稽, which should be read jì 繼 (also: to follow behind).

⁶⁷ See Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 2001, p. 410.

⁶⁸ On taboo writings during the Hàn, see B. J. Mansvelt Beck 1987.

⁶⁹ See Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, p. 37.

⁷⁰ See, for instance, Lǐ Líng 1999, pp. 489, 491-2; Ikeda 1999, p. 39; Tú Zōngliú and Liú Zǔxìn 2001, pp. 412-4.

[Al]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum read w34/19-20 𠄎 𠄎 as *qiáng yù* 強禦 ‘strong and powerful’. Most interpreters follow this reading.⁷¹ Páng Pú 龐樸 notes that this combination also occurs in the Odes, “Dàiyǎ: Zhēng mín (*Máo*: 110): 不侮矜寡 不畏彊禦 “[Zhongshan Fu], he did not intimidate the widow and the poor, and did not fear the strong and powerful.”

[Am]: The identity of the graph w36/19 𠄎 is still an open issue. In the Mǎwángduī Three version the graph is read as *xiè* 懈 ‘to remit’ (𠄎 194). The editors of Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn suggest to read it *jié* 節, but Qiú remains hesitant about this suggestion.⁷² Lǐ Líng follows the Mǎwángduī Three reading for this graph.⁷³ Wèi Qipéng proposes to read the graph as *gēng* 耕 ‘to till’.⁷⁴ Tú and Liú suggest reading it as *guò* 過 ‘to indulge’.⁷⁵ In the Guōdiàn One “Wǔ xíng”, the combination “而不” (such as in: ^{W23-24} 聞君子道而不知其君子道也 謂之不聖; 見賢人而不知其有德也 謂之不智; ^{W34} 逝而不畏強禦 果也), always appears in the structure of “to be/do X 而不 do/be Y, that is Z”. Thus, what is named subsequent to “而不” always seems to be a further entity, but it never is the result of ‘X’, be it positive or negative. By implication, we can rule out the suggestion made by Tú and Liú, namely to read the graph as *guò* 過 ‘to indulge’. I follow the reading of the Mǎwángduī Three version until a better solution has been found.

[An]: Graph w37/17 𠄎 appears as *dōng* 東 on the strips. Apparently, it is written for *jiǎn* 柬 (OC *k^r[a]n?). Most interpreters read *jiǎn* 柬, a loan for *jiǎn* 簡 (OC *k^rre[n]?) ‘dignified, sedate; grave demeanor.’ This is the case throughout the “Wǔ xíng” (see for instance w35/7 𠄎). The fact that the scribe of the Guōdiàn “Wǔ xíng” version wrote *dōng* 東 for *jiǎn* 柬 → <*jiǎn* 簡> could be a scribal error (having

⁷¹ See for instance Lǐ Líng 1999 p. 490; Páng Pú 2000 p. 56; Tú and Liú 2001 p. 415-17.

⁷² See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 153 n. 48. He assumes that the graph in question is corrupt.

⁷³ See Lǐ Líng 1999, pp. 490, 492.

⁷⁴ See Wèi Qipéng 2000, p. 42.

⁷⁵ See Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 2001, pp. 417-419.

written *dōng* 東 *jiǎn* 柬 → <*jiǎn* 簡>) resulting either from *dictation* (borrowing *jiǎn* 柬 for <*jiǎn* 簡> but writing *dōng* 東), or from a *visual copying* of a physical *Vorlage* at hand (seeing either *jiǎn* 柬 and writing *dōng* 東, or copying an itself erroneous copy, that is, writing *dōng* 東 for *dōng* 東).

The word *jiǎn* is used structurally identically to the word *nì* 匿 ‘to conceal; what is concealed’ to construct the argument of this passage (both words appear twice and combine with it a definition of terms). Thus, I do not find it convincing to read the graph w37/17 as *jiǎn* 柬, and w38/10 as *jiǎn* 柬 <*jiǎn* 簡>, such as suggested by the editors of the Húběi Province Museum.⁷⁶ Note that the second appearance of the word *jiǎn* is written 𦉳, written in a similar way to w37/11, but differently from the other instances of the word <*jiǎn* 簡>.

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum suggest to read the graph w37/23 𦉳 (the last graph on strip w37) as *chá* 察, about which Qiú is remains hesitant.⁷⁷ Lǐ Líng follows this suggestion.⁷⁸ The Mǎwángduī Three version reads either *biàn* 辨 (OC *[b]ren?) ‘to discriminate’ or *biàn* 辯 (OC *[b]ren?) ‘to dispute’ (204). I follow the Mǎwángduī Three version.

[Ao]: The upper part of strip w39/4 is missing. Based on the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng” (203) and also the remaining fragment of the graph, it can be reconstructed as *xíng* 行.

[Ap]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum suggest that the graph w39/23 𦉳 (練 *liàn*; OC *[r]en-s) should be a borrowing for *jiān* 間 (OC *k^sre[n]). The Mǎwángduī version reads *hè* 賀 (OC *m-k^saj[?]-s), of which Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 assume that it was borrowed for *héng* 衡 (OC *[g]en)

⁷⁶ See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 150.

⁷⁷ See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 154 n. 50.

⁷⁸ See Lǐ Líng 1999, p. 490.

‘balance’,⁷⁹ and of which Liú Xinfāng (2000: 131) believes to be a homophone for *hé* 何 (OC *[g]^saj), here read in the sense of *dān* 擔 ‘to carry’ (which makes it *hè* 何 (OC *[g]^sajʔ). Based on the *Shuōwén jiězì tōngxùn dìngshēng*, Tú and Liú suggest that *liàn* 練 (OC *[r]^sen-s) is borrowed for *jiǎn* 柬 (*k^sr[a]nʔ).⁸⁰

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum state that such as in the in Mǎwángduī Three version (𠄎 204), graph w40/4 𠄎 (*yàn* 晏; OC **ʔ^sra[n]-s) ‘late’ should also be read as *hǎn* 罕 (OC *q^{sh}a[r]ʔ) ‘scarce, few’.⁸¹

[Aq]: The character subsequent to w40/13 𠄎 only appears as a repetition of the former graph. Nonetheless (or *because* of this), the correct reading of this graph is as yet an open issue. Wèi Qípéng reads the second character as *nì* 匿 ‘intimate, to approach. He sees justification for this reading in the *Zuǒ zhuàn*, year 25 of the reign of Duke Xiāng 襄公, which reads 而知匿其暱 “and know to conceal the familiar”.⁸² The Mǎwángduī Three text reads *nì* 匿 (205). Páng Pú argues that the second character should be read *tè* 慝 ‘deprived, to do evil’, thus referring to the earlier seen *xiǎo zuì* 小罪 ‘minor crime’.⁸³

In fact, if we accept a reconstruction of the character different from the previous graph, this were to suggest that first, the subsequent graph could be a homophone and the scribe was not aware of having to write a *different* graph when being dictated (or remembering) the manuscript in question. Second, it could otherwise be the case that the scribe *saw* another *written* master copy, which had already a mark instead of a character. Third, we cannot exclude that the scribe himself was aware of the contents and *knew that when reading* he must read another graph. Because we still lack information about the process of copying, reading and writing in ancient China (which is very much required), I read the subsequent character identical with the

⁷⁹ See Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 2001, p. 421.

⁸⁰ Ibidem.


⁸¹ See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 154 n. 53.


⁸² See Wèi Qípéng 2000, p. 45.

⁸³ See Páng Pú 2000, p. 71.




previous graph.

Chén Wěi also reads this line with two identical graphs. He corroborates this with the fact that we have a similar use of doubling terms in the Guōdiàn One manuscript “Liù dé” (strips 132-33), in which the appearance of *róng róng* 容容 can be set in analogy to *nì nì* 匿匿 in the “Wǔ xíng”.⁸⁴

The editors of the Húběi Province Museum state that the graph w41/17  is a variant of *zhěn* 診 (OC *tə[n]ʔ), which in turn must be a borrowing of *zhěn* 軫 (OC *tə[n]ʔ) ‘numerous’. This is substantiated by the Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng”, which reads *zhěn* 軫 (205), but also by the recurring sentence on slip w43, which reads 少 (小)而軫者 (strip w43/8-11).

[Ar]: It seems that we must reconstruct w41/5  (*qiáng* 強; OC *[g]aŋ) as *gāng* 剛 (*kʰaŋ) ‘hard’. The two fulfill the criteria for phonetic similarity in Old Chinese for loan characters and phonetic components. This assumption is further substantiated by the fact that, first, the sentence w41/18-21 appears identically also in the Odes, “Shāngsòng: Cháng fā” (Máo: 304), which reads 不競不綈 不剛不柔 “[he was] neither forceful nor pressing, [he was] neither hard nor [too] soft”.⁸⁵ Also, the Mǎwángduī Three version is nearly identical with this line. It quotes the same passage, yet containing one more line than the Guōdiàn One version, also adding the introductory formula 詩曰 “Odes say” (205).

[As]: The line w42/2-6 君子集(集)大成(成) also occurs in similar fashion in the Mèngzǐ, “Wànzāng xià” (5B1) which reads: 孔子之謂集大成 “Master Kǒng is said to ‘have gathered great achievements’.”

[At]: For w43/15-16    *pǐ fū* (fū) 疋膚- (膚) the Mǎwángduī Three version reads *suǒ lú* (lú) 索纪= (纪) (207). Lǐ Líng reads the graph w43/16 as *xū* 胥;

⁸⁴ See Chén Wěi 2003, p. 56-58.

⁸⁵ After Bernhard Karlgren 1950, p. 265, emended.

for w43/15 he suggests *pǐ* 疋 ‘foot’.⁸⁶ Ikeda reads *sōu* 搜 ‘to seek’ for this graph. He also regards the repeated graph *lú* (thus *lú lú* 盧盧) as onomatopoeia for ‘barking’.⁸⁷ Páng Pú reads the line such as appearing in the Mǎwángduī Three version. He argues that 索纪纪 should be a variant of the name Suǒlú Shēn 索盧參, a thief who later became a disciple of Mòzǐ.⁸⁸ As Mark Csikszentmihalyi (2004, p. 306) notes, Suǒlú 索盧 was indeed a surname in Warring States China, but he assumes that it is unlikely to find a proper name here.⁸⁹ I agree with Csikszentmihalyi that it seems unlikely that we have a proper name, but not for the reason he gives. Yet, at this instance, a proper name would obviously be out of place. Wèi Qǐpéng identifies graph w43/15 as *yǎ* 雅 (OC *[ŋ]^sraʔ, which in turn he reads as *hè* 赫 ‘brilliant’ (q^hrak). This, at least phonologically, is a plausible assumption (the brackets around *[ŋ] indicate that a uvular initial with a nasal prefix was involved; so the connection with *q^hrak is indeed plausible). Wèi further explains that when combining this graph with *lú* 臚—a ‘variant’ of w43/15, *lú* 臚—this means “shining brightly”, thus being a description of honoring the worthy.⁹⁰ I follow his suggestion.

Qiú Xīguī suggests to read the graph w43/18 𠄎 as *zhū* 諸.⁹¹ Also, the Mǎwángduī Three version reads *yú* 於 (207) for what appears as *zhě* 者 in the Guōdiàn One copy (w43/18).

[Au]: Subsequent to the sentence w44/14-19 胃(謂)之罅(尊)跂(賢)者也, the Mǎwángduī Three version adds 前王公之尊賢者也, which does not appear in the Guōdiàn One version.

[Av]: The proper reading of graph w45/11 𠄎 is still an open issue. The Mǎwángduī Three “Wǔ xíng” has *yì* 役 ‘servant’ (209). Lǐ Líng follows this reading.⁹² Ikeda

⁸⁶ See Lǐ Líng 1999, p. 490.

⁸⁷ See Ikeda Tomohisa 1999, p. 49.

⁸⁸ See Páng Pú 2000, p. 74.


⁸⁹ See Mark Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 306.


⁹⁰ See Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, p. 49.

⁹¹ See Húběi shèng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p.154 n. 57.

⁹² See Lǐ Líng 1999, p. 490.

Tomohisa notes that the present graph is written differently in the Mǎwángduī version. The reading of *yì* 役 ‘servant’ for the Guōdiàn One “Wǔ xíng” thus cannot be justified on paleographic, or phonological grounds.⁹³ Tú and Liú read it as *fǎn* 返 ‘to return’.⁹⁴ For the time being, I read the graph w45/11 in the meaning of the Mǎwángduī Three text, until a better solution has been found.

[Aw]: The editors of the Húběi Province Museum note that the graph w48/9  (臨) bears strong resemblance with an inscribed graph seen on a vessel of King Cuò of Zhōngshān.⁹⁵ The Mǎwángduī Three version reads *lín* 臨 ‘to look down upon favorably’. Qiú Xīguī doubts whether or not this graph should be seen as scribal error for *lín* 臨.⁹⁶ This would make sense insofar the ode cited (see note below) also reads *lín* 臨. Nonetheless, if indeed this graph means *xián* 賢, not *lín*, this would have further implication for our understanding of the process of manuscript production in early China. We have earlier occurrences of the graph *xián* 賢 in the “Wǔ xíng” chapter, all of which were written alike. If only the one occurrence which *cites* a (unknown) version of a transmitted poem is written in dissimilar fashion, this might then hint to the possibility that the scribe of this manuscript copied from another manuscript at hand, not by hearing the text. Either way, it is interesting to note that this particular graph appears in a line quoting the Odes.⁹⁷

[Ax]: Lǐ Líng and Wèi Qǐpéng read w48/19  as *tiān* 天, and not as *dà* 大 as proposed by the editors of the Húběi Province Museum.⁹⁸ The Mǎwángduī Three passage (212) reads 天生諸其人 天也, which might further corroborate his suggestion. Moreover, according to Wèi, “天施” is a combination of characters, which is commonly seen throughout early texts.⁹⁹ Also, to read this passage as *tiān* 天 instead of *dà* 大 furthermore provides a rather simple reading of this passage.

⁹³ See Ikeda Tomohisa 1999, p. 46.

⁹⁴ See Tú Zōngliú 涂宗流 and Liú Zǔxìn 劉祖信 2001, pp. 426, 7.

⁹⁵ See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 154 n. 64.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁷ It seems that the line w48/7-14 is a quotation of the Odes, “Dà yǎ: Dà míng” (Máo 236), which reads 上帝臨女無貳爾心 “God on High looks down on you; do not be unfaithful in your heart”. After Bernhard Karlgren 1950, p. 188 (emended).

⁹⁸ See Húběi shěng Jīngmén shì bówùguǎn 1998, p. 151. See also Lǐ Líng (1999, p. 492) and Wèi Qǐpéng (2000, p. 54).

⁹⁹ See Wèi Qǐpéng 2000, p. 54.

Such an argument *ex silentio* is in various respects dangerous to make. However, corroborated by the observations pointed to above, I follow the suggestion by Lǐ Líng, Wèi Qǐpéng and read this graph as *tiān* 天, awaiting further evidence.

[Ay]: The proper reading of w49/5 𠄎 is still an open issue. Lǐ Líng suggests to read it as *xiá* 狎 (OC *[g]^sr[a]p). According to Lǐ, this is close in sound and meaning with *xí* 習 (OC *s-m-l[ə]p), which is, however, not the case.¹⁰⁰ Páng Pú adds that Lǐ Líng’s suggestion would help to contrast the two issues ‘natural’ versus ‘learned’.¹⁰¹ Notwithstanding this observation, phonologically, this suggestion is problematic. Liú Xinfāng reads the graph in question as *jù* 據 ‘to dependent, to rely on’.¹⁰² As Lǐ Líng’s suggestion is highly problematic on phonological grounds, I follow the suggestion made by Liú Xinfāng, awaiting further suggestions.

¹⁰⁰ See Lǐ Líng 1999, p. 492.

¹⁰¹ See Páng Pú 2000, p. 85.

¹⁰² See Liú Xinfāng 2000, p. 167.

