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A Literary Study of the Four Canons of the Yellow Emperor
together with an edition of the manuscript of the four canons
preceding the Laozi B text from Mawangdui.

1995



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ABSTRACT

Since the first publication of the *Huangdi Sijing* in 1974, a critical literary study of it has been required to stand in the middle ground between the word by word commentaries of the editors and the generalisations of the historians of philosophy. A literary study puts the emphasis on the primacy of the text itself and aims to show its philosophy in relation to its literary format. Part One of the thesis isolates units within the text by concentrating on the use of binary terminology. By noting passages that use different binary terms, one can identify varying strands of composition. These are each placed in relation to their literary context in so far as it is known from works of the same period. Part Two looks at the process of redaction of each of the four canons and their social context. It shows how disparate essays could be gathered under one cover to serve a common end. The method is that in common use in Biblical studies. A conclusion reviews the notions of "school" and "*huang-lao*" that are current in contemporary discussions of Chinese thought.

My edition of the text cannot pretend to be definitive but it does aspire to set a standard of scholarship by presenting the opinions of all editions known to me in a way that allows for future modifications, if necessary, by supplying a standard form of reference for any passage, free from the vagaries of modern pagination and with a full apparatus. The standards of editing the text are also those current in critical editions of the Bible.

If I have been able to present the Chinese text in a standard way, then perhaps this work may furnish greater scholars with material to enable them to give to Chinese philosophy the place it deserves in the commonwealth of human wisdom.

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Preface: Purpose and Project

Since the first publication of the *Huangdi Sijing* in 1974, a critical literary study of it has been required to stand in the middle ground between the word by word commentaries of the editors and the generalisations of the historians of philosophy. A literary study puts the emphasis on the primacy of the text itself and aims to show the philosophical ideas it contains in relation to its literary format. The reader who does not know the work in question should be encouraged to look to the text and appreciate the context in which ideas are conveyed.

Part One of the thesis isolates units within the text by concentrating on the use of binary terminology. By noting passages that use different binary terms, one can identify varying strands of composition. These are each placed in relation to their literary context in so far as it is known from works of the same period. Part Two looks at the process of redaction of each of the four canons and their social context. It shows how disparate essays could be gathered under one cover to serve a common end. The method is that in common use in Biblical studies. A conclusion reviews the notions of "school" and "*huang-lao*" that are current in contemporary discussions of Chinese thought.

My edition of the text proper cannot pretend to be definitive but it does aspire to set a standard of scholarship by presenting the opinions of all editions known to me in a way that allows for future modifications, if necessary, by supplying a standard form of reference for any passage, free from the vagaries of modern pagination, and with a full apparatus.

Neither in my edition of the text nor in my literary discussion of it do I pretend to have said the last word. If I have been able to present the Chinese text in a standard way, then perhaps this work may furnish greater scholars with material to enable them to give to Chinese philosophy the place it deserves in the commonwealth of human wisdom.

Citations

Technical terminology and chapter titles will not be translated but quoted according to modern standard Chinese pronunciation. Obviously this is anachronistic but it does help in identification. In referring to divisions of Chinese books I shall follow normal English practice in distinguishing "books" and "chapters". "Chapters" are

divisions of a "book" and are numbered consecutively from "one". Thus the four parts of the *Huangdi Sijing: Jingfa, Shiliu Jing, Cheng* and *Dao Yuan* will be termed books. The divisions of the first two books will be termed "chapters". The aphorisms of *Cheng* will be identified by the number of my edition.

Something similar applies to other works. Thus the *Guo Yu* will be treated as one "book" with 21 chapters; the *Guanzi* as one "book" with 86 chapters¹. Manuscript divisions smaller than a chapter, such as the *zhang* 章 of the *Lunyu*, will be termed "paragraphs" and smaller still "verses". Parts chosen for study and without a clear identity in any manuscript will be called "sections".

The current habit of writing in acronyms will be avoided if possible, except in the critical apparatus of the edition, as it is unsightly and makes consultation of a work exceedingly difficult. References are given by chapter and page number of the editions used. Wherever possible standard concordances are used and when these do not exist then mainland Chinese editions are preferred since these are cheaper and more readily available than any others. Hopefully the chapter numbers will be of use to those who do not possess the editions I have used.

Statistics

An attempt has been made to count all the characters used in the text of the four canons. Let the reader be patient; the count may be imperfect but can be used as a rough guide until the time comes when more accurate computing is possible.

1 Chinese terms which express concepts not contained in English may justly be transliterated. Chinese terms which express concepts such as "volume", "tome", "part", "chapter" are quite evident to an English speaker and thus should be translated unless confusion would be caused thereby. Owing to inconsistencies in Chinese usage, my use of "chapter" may correspond to the Chinese terms *zhang*, *pian* or *juan*. The following representative list should be some guide for the Sinologist. It gives the number of chapters in each work in brackets. (The *Da Dai Liji* is exceptional in starting at chapter 39 rather than chapter 1.)

"Chapter" translates *zhang* 章: *Dao De Jing* (81)

"Chapter" translates *pian* 篇: *Lun Yu* (20), *Zhuangzi* (33), *Guanzi* (86), *Mozi* (71), *Xunzi* (32), *Shizi* (13), *Sunzi* (13), *Wuzi* (6), *Sima Fa* (5), *Liu Tao* (60), *Sima Fa (Yinqueshan)* (5), *Weiliaozi* (24), *Shangjunshu* (26), *Hanfeizi* (55), *Lun Heng* (84), *Da Dai Liji* (39-81), *Heguanzi* (19), *Guiguzi* (12), *Liji* (49), *Chunqiu Fanlu* (82), *Huangdi Neijing Suwen* (81), *Yizhoushu* (70);

"Chapter" translates *juan* 卷: *Sunzi* (13), *Shanhaijing* (18), *Wenzi* (12), *Huainanzi* (21), *Guoyu* (21), *Shiji* (130), *Hanshu* (100), *Zhushu Jinian* (12), *Shuo Yuan* (20). [Notice that for *Sunzi*, *juan* and *pian* coincide]

Some works are traditionally set out in another form with numbered sub-divisions of *juan*. For these works I do not use the word "chapter": *Mengzi* (7), *Lushi Chunqiu* (26), *Zhangguo Ce* (33), *Zuo Zhuan* (12). Here *juan* is translated as "book". The numbered "books" may be subdivided into "years" (*Zuo Zhuan*), upper and lower (*Mengzi*) or *pian* (*Lushi Chunqiu*).

Thus whenever a footnote gives a number after the mention of a work that number refers to the divisions given above. For example *Zhuangzi* 23 is the 23rd *pian* of *Zhuangzi*; *Wenzi* 7 is the 7th *juan* of *Wenzi*. This is standard practice in the concordances published recently in mainland China and in Hong Kong.

Acknowledgements

The choice of the *Huangdi Sijing* was suggested to me by Fr. Jean Lefevre, S.J. I should like to acknowledge my debt to him for his encouragement and to the Association Ricci of which we are both members. Similarly I acknowledge my debt both financial and in terms of support to the British and Chinese Provinces of the Society of Jesus.

A special word of thanks is due to my teachers. First of all to Professor Li Xueqin who guided me through the text itself. Also to Dr. Paul Thompson who has supervised my writing. Thanks are also due to their colleagues at the Institute of History of the Academy of Social Services in Beijing, notably to Professor Huang Xuanming, and at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, notably Dr. Sarah Allan.

The work could never have been done without support from colleagues in the same field. Ms. Wang Ying, M.A., then of the Wenwu Publishing House, obtained a copy of the original 1974 edition of the *Huangdi Sijing*. Professor Yu Mingguang gave me copies of both his editions. Professor Chen Guying and the Shangwu Publishing House in Taiwan permitted me to use a draft copy of his edition of the text. This copy was sent to me by Leo S. Chang, who with Feng Yu, also gave me their own unpublished edition and translation and other material. Dr. Carine Defoort supplied me with Mansvelt Beck's translation and with Graham's notes on Peerenboom's translation. She also gave me a copy of her dissertation on the *Heguanzi*. Peerenboom himself was kind enough to meet me and discuss my work. Dr. Roger Ames gave me an opportunity to deliver a paper which forms the basis of my chapter seven. Professor Robin Yates kindly permitted me to use a copy of his edition of some *Yinqueshan* manuscripts. Dr. Hal Roth gave me much of his time and many of his articles whilst Dr. Philip Ivanhoe helped me to understand the field of Western scholarship in Chinese philosophy better.

I am grateful too to Dr. Robert Murray, S.J. for his suggestions on exegesis and for his constant support.

GET International Xin Tiandi Computer Program has given me the means to type in both English and Chinese using Chinese Star for Windows and Wordstar for Windows.

Finally, I should like to thank all those whose belief in the value of serious study of Chinese philosophy as something of value to modern society and to the future of China has been a source of encouragement.

<u>Chinese Names</u>	<u>Transliterated Names</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<u>黃帝四經</u>	<u>Huangdi Sijing</u>	<u>The Four Canons of the Yellow Emperor</u>
<u>I 經法</u>	<u>I Jingfa</u>	<u>I. The Constant Law</u>
I.1 道法	I.1 <i>Daofa</i>	I.1 The Way and the Law
I.2 國次	I.2 <i>Guo Ci</i>	I.2 The Order of the State
I.3 君正	I.3 <i>Jun Zheng</i>	I.3 Princely Government
I.4 大分	I.4 <i>Da Fen</i>	I.4 The Great Distinction
I.5 四度	I.5 <i>Si Du</i>	I.5 Four Standards
I.6 論	I.6 <i>Lun</i>	I.6 Discussion
I.7 亡論	I.7 <i>Wang Lun</i>	I.7 Discussion of Collapse
I.8 論約	I.8 <i>Lun Yue</i>	I.8 Resume of Discussions
I.9 名理	I.9 <i>Ming Li</i>	I.9 Name and Pattern
<u>II 十六經</u>	<u>II Shiliu Jing</u>	<u>II Sixteen Canons</u>
II.1 立口	II.1 <i>Li...</i>	II.1 Establishing...
II.2 觀	II.2 <i>Guan</i>	II.2 Observation
II.3 五正	II.3 <i>Wu Zheng</i>	II.3 Five Norms
II.4 果童	II.4 <i>Guo Tong</i>	II.4 Guo Tong
II.5 正亂	II.5 <i>Zheng Luan</i>	II.5 Righting Confusion
II.6 姓爭	II.6 <i>Xing Zheng</i>	II.6 Inter-Clan Conflict
II.7 雌雄節	II.7 <i>Cixiong Jie</i>	II.7 Hen & Cock Tallies
II.8 兵容	II.8 <i>Bing Rong</i>	II.8 Law of Arms
II.9 成法	II.9 <i>Cheng Fa</i>	II.9 Formation of the Law
II.10 三禁	II.10 <i>San Jin</i>	II.10 Three Taboos
II.11 本法	II.11 <i>Ben Fa</i>	II.11 Principle of Military
II.12 [x2]	II.12	II.12
II.13 行守	II.13 <i>Xing Shou</i>	II.13 Defence of Conduct
II.14 順道	II.14 <i>Shun Dao</i>	II.14 Going with the Way
II.15 [x?]	II.15	II.15
<u>III 稱</u>	<u>III Cheng</u>	<u>III Collected Sayings</u>
<u>IV 道原</u>	<u>IV Dao Yuan</u>	<u>IV The Origin of the Way</u>

Chapter One: Introduction: A Literary Study of the *Huangdi Sijing*

1.1 *Huangdi Sijing*: manuscript and text

The advance of Chinese archaeology in the present century has resulted in many textual finds of great value. It is to be hoped that more discoveries will continue to be made. With respect to a newly-discovered text, the first task of scholarship is to establish an edition of the text. The second step is to begin a literary analysis aimed at presenting the nature and significance of the work. A third step is to use the work as material for reconstructing our understanding of the past. The initial work is the the proper work of the philologist. It is carried out here in the appendix. The body of the thesis concentrates on the literary approach whilst leaving some suggestions for the third step in the final chapter.

The basis for the present study is the silk manuscript codex, *LaoziB* 老子乙本, found in tomb number three at Mawangdui 馬王堆, Changsha 長沙, Hunan Province 湖南省¹. The tomb was closed in 168 B.C. and was not opened until December 1973². Attention will be focused on the four texts which precede the text of the *Laozi* in this manuscript codex and for which this codex is our only evidence. It is generally assumed that these four texts belong together and it has been suggested that they should be identified with an unknown work listed in the Daoist section of the *Hanshu* 漢書 bibliography. The entry in this list reads, "*Huandi Sijing*, in four *pian*"³. Though nothing more is known of this *Huangdi Sijing*, the identification is plausible⁴. The degree of

- 1 Du Weiming, *Journal of Asian Studies* (39) 1979, pp. 95-8 gives a description of all the finds and the date of burial. Loewe, M., *T'oung Pao* (63) 1977 pp. 115-121 gives a complete description of the manuscript finds. Ran Yunhua, *T'oung Pao* (63) 1977 gives a summary of the silk manuscripts.
- 2 Tomb three is generally thought to be that of the son of Li Cang 利蒼, Marquis of Dai 戴 (died 186 B.C.), who died in 168 B.C. aged about thirty. The son's name was Li Xi 利霽 and it seems most probable that he was the occupant of the tomb next to his father, in tomb 2, and mother, in tomb 1. For papers on this topic see *Abstract of Theses of the International Symposium on Mawangdui Han tombs*, Changsha, 1992, 45-8. A challenge to the commonly accepted view is brought by Zhou Yimou 周一謀. Zhou says that since Li Xi died in 165 B.C. the tomb cannot be his. Instead Zhou contends that Li Xi had a younger brother, whose name is supposedly given by a map in the tomb as Li De 李得. Both the existence and name of this brother are highly dubious. In remarks not included in the *Abstract*, Liu Xiao Lu 劉曉路 said that a minor emendation (changing a date from *Wendi* year 15 to year 12) is required to place the date of Li Xi's death in 168 B.C., thus giving credence to the common view *contra* Zhou.
- 3 *Hanshu* 30 *Yiwenzhi* 藝文志 p. 1730 黃帝四經四篇
- 4 Arguments in favour of accepting the title *Huangdi Sijing* are advanced by Yu Mingguang in his 1989 edition of the text, pp. 4-12, also in an essay, "*Huangdi Sijing*" *Shumingji chengshu Niandai Kao*, and again in the introduction to his 1993 edition, pp. 5-8. Some authors prefer the title *Huang-Lao* Silk Book or some variant thereof. For instance, Li Xueqin prefers, as a temporary measure, *Huangdi Shu* 黃帝書, The Yellow Emperor's Book ("*Cheng*" *Pian yu* "Zhou Zhu", p. 242). Such a title may be suitable for the manuscript discovered at Mawangdui but it cannot be the title of the text as such for it involves reference to the material, silk, of the manuscript or is also only a specific title in so far as no other *Huang-Lao* Silk Book is discovered. The extant manuscript supplies titles for most of the chapters of

plausibility is disputed and can never be proved absolutely without a new discovery. Despite this uncertainty it is preferable to adopt a clear and unambiguous title for the text independently of the codex title and *Huangdi Sijing* serves this purpose well.

In an appendix to the present thesis a critical edition has been provided with a technical preface discussing principles of editing and highlighting a few special problems. In the body of the thesis itself, references to the text of the *Huangdi Sijing* are to this edition. Discussion of editorial problems is confined to the critical apparatus appended to the edition, though if considered relevant may be mentioned also in the body of the thesis. The thesis is thus free to devote itself to literary criticism and stylistic study of this group of texts.

1.2 A Brief Description of the *Huangdi Sijing*

It is perhaps not coincidence alone which placed the *Laozi* and the *Huangdi Sijing* on the same codex. The *Huangdi Sijing* is a Daoist work and touches on military matters and metaphysical issues as the *Laozi* also does. It is, however, considerably longer than *Laozi*. This feature and an ongoing scholarly debate about its unity make it inappropriate at this stage to discuss the work as a whole. Our introduction will focus rather on the four constituent books.

The first book, *Jingfa*, contains nine essays, the longest being nearly 800 characters in length, the shortest just under 300 characters⁵. The manuscript is in good condition and the characters clearly written. While there are echoes of known works in vocabulary and expression, *Jingfa* is a work of immense value and is largely responsible for a revolution in the way modern scholarship has treated Daoism. A Daoist work, it treats of the Law and government, embracing features that were traditionally assigned to separate compartments: Legalism, Daoism, Mohism. Its opening line, "The Way births the Law"⁶

the four canons and for each of the canons but not for an overall title. This means that it is impossible to know with certainty what, if any, the title of the whole was. In these circumstances the title *Huangdi Sijing* is at least a satisfactory solution for a worthy title. Qiu Xigui (1980 & 1993) denies the unity of the four books and therefore refers to them only by the name of the codex *Mawangdui Boshu* "*Laozi*" *yi ben juan qian gu yishu bing fei "Huangdi Sijing"*. Qiu bases his arguments against *Huangdi Sijing* on the basis of its form and content, showing that it differs from *Laozi*. However, though we know the title existed we have no proof as to what its exact relationship to *Laozi* might have been. Qiu cannot prove that the four texts of Mawangdui are not the *Huangdi Sijing* any more than Yu can prove that they are. At least Yu recognises that the title of the manuscript cannot have been that of the Mawangdui codex.

5 Chinese characters and English translations of the titles of books and chapters are found on page 10. Colometric information is provided at the end of the technical preface.

6 1a 1-3 道生法. I use "birth" as a transitive verb to translate 生 *sheng*. For this usage, see the London Underground

is perhaps the most memorable in the entire *Huangdi Sijing*.

The second book, *Shiliu Jing*, comprises fifteen parts as it now stands⁷. These are generally shorter than those of *Jingfa*: the longest reaching nearly 650 characters; the shortest--barring the fifteenth, the length of which is disputed, 175 characters. They are more diverse than the chapters of *Jingfa*, though perhaps the commonest recurring note is the context in which each one is set: a dialogue between the Yellow Emperor and his ministers. In particular two chapters recount the battle of the Yellow Emperor and Chi You in graphic detail not recorded elsewhere. These accounts are said to include the earliest references to football in the world⁸.

The title of the third book, *Cheng*, means a "collection of sayings"⁹. In all one can identify some fifty sayings with a final conclusion listing items under *yin* or *yang*. Unfortunately, one and a half columns of the manuscript preceding this conclusion are so badly damaged that they cannot be read¹⁰. Some of the sayings in the collection are known from other sources but most are new to science.

The fourth and final book, *Dao Yuan*, is an essay of just over 450 characters describing the origin of things. It is indebted to *Laozi* and represents a simpler version of what is written under the same or a similar title in the first chapters of *Wenzi* and *Huainanzi* respectively¹¹. The manuscript is in good condition with only three graphs that cannot be repaired with certainty either by the epigrapher or the editor¹².

1.3 Principles of Criticism

Till now most studies of the *Huangdi Sijing* have been devoted to determining the date of its authorship, its pattern of thought and its influence in the political sphere. Phrases found in the *Huangdi Sijing* are compared with ones from better-known texts and on this basis the work is placed in its intellectual context. Much of the work accomplished is of lasting value and serves as material for the present study. Lacking, however, is any

advert for Chatham Naval Dockyard, where "ships are *birthed*".

7 Disputes concerning the title of the book, the number of its chapters and the overall length of the book are considered in the technical preface.

8 Yu Mingguang 1989, p. 298 note 36; Yu Mingguang 1993, p. 123 note 13 (Bibliography: List A)

9 See Li Xueqin, "*Cheng*" *Pian yu* "*Zhou Zhu*". Professor Li rejects another possible reading of the same character as "*weighing up*", p. 242.

10 162b-163a. This is the most serious damage sustained to this manuscript. One argument in the dispute over the length of *Shiliu Jing* can involve postulating damage to the manuscript used by the copyist.

11 Chapter One of *Wenzi* is *Dao Yuan* 道原, of *Huainanzi*, *Yuan Dao* 原道.

12 172b 1-2 & 173b 30 The apparatus indicates this by a large blank square "□".

consistent methodology with the result that contradictory conclusions are arrived at with no means available for assessing their relative merits. One writer may study the "parallel passages" in the *Huangdi Sijing* and decide that the work is related to the Jixia 稷下 Academy of mid to late Warring States Qi 齊¹³. Another looks at the rhymes and argues in favour of Chu¹⁴ whereas a third may look at the thought and advocate the early Han court as the milieu to which it belongs¹⁵. Without any principles governing the research there is no way these approaches can be scientifically defined and compared.

In literary studies of this kind it helps to keep the range of method as broad as possible so as to arrive at as balanced a conclusion as the text permits. Moreover, one must leave room for new information arising from new finds, better understanding of ancient Chinese grammar and new methods of criticism. To adopt an approach rooted entirely in some modern Western philosophy, such as structuralism, may indeed help us to understand the text better but it would leave unanswered questions of dating, unity of composition and the like, which cannot be ignored.

In the West the science of literary criticism has developed around the Bible and it would be foolish to ignore the principles operative in Biblical criticism. In both cases interest falls on ancient texts that form part of a tradition and have influenced socio-political movements. Of course, it may be objected that the purpose of Biblical criticism is to discover the word of God and not merely to unravel the meaning of the text. In looking to the *Huangdi Sijing* one is not concerned with this theological dimension. However, the objection may be misstated. If the search for the divine element in the Bible is construed as

13 Xu Kangsheng, *Wenshizhe* 1979 no. 3 thinks that *Jingfa*, *Cheng* and *Dao Yuan* are pre-Jixia and that *Shiliu Jing* is post-Jixia. His argument is based on comparison with certain chapters of the *Guanzi* and uses an anachronistic nineteenth century German theory about the way thought develops.

Huang Zhao, *Guanzi Xuekan* 1989 no. 2 sets out to show that the "*Huang-Lao* Silk Book" is the work of an author from Qi.

14 Long Hui, *Kaogu Xuebao* 1975 no. 2 pp. 23-32; Huang Zhao, *Guanzi Xuekan* 1989 no. 2 argues against the Chu origin by suggesting that the owner of the manuscript learnt the text by heart in its Qi version but then copied it down in Chu dialect when he went home.

15 Na Wei, *Handai Daojia de Zhengzhi Sixiang*, p. 21 Na Wei claims that the author of the "Silk Book" must have known about problems over the loyalty of kings not of the ruling Liu 劉 family in the early Han. Na Wei's argument depends on proving that advice given in the *Huangdi Sijing* is particularly apt for the early Han period. One could equally well argue that it is particularly apt for the early Warring States period, some centuries previous. Chinese rulers had constant problems with relatives of the monarch.

Kang Li, *Lishi Yanjiu* 1975 no. 3 favours an early Han date for the *Shiliu Jing* because it uses the term *Qian Shou* 黔首, popularised under the Qin and because it mentions football but most of all because it has a thick coat of *Huang-Lao* paint to it. In response let it be noted that the *Lushi Chunqiu* is a pre-Qin work which frequently uses the term *Qian Shou*; just because the Han played football does not mean the pre-Han peoples could not and the third criterion used for dating is a case of putting the cart before the horse, determining the period of the work by the period of its influence.

a narrow bias towards talk of God alone, of religion in its most restricted sense then clearly this bias would make Biblical criticism too partial to be a suitable model for non-Biblical pursuits. If, on the other hand, theology is understood as being open to the whole of reality and not favouring one aspect then Biblical criticism will always be subject to the criterion of compatibility with the whole. A reading that emphasises "divine truth" in the face of scientific realities is bound to be questionable from the point of view of a theology that understands science as a proper and God-given human endeavour. Similarly a reading which judges literary value purely on terms of Newtonian truth or falsehood is to be treated with suspicion. The Bible, like the *Huangdi Sijing*, contains poetry, myth, exhortation, observation and proverbs and thus both require a broad range of disciplines if their true value is to be appreciated.

Works on Biblical criticism abound but perhaps the simplest and yet most comprehensive on methods of procedure is the recent document issued by the Vatican's Pontifical Biblical Commission entitled *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*¹⁶. Desirous of giving each approach to the Biblical text its due weight, this document gives a brief account of the history of Biblical criticism and an assessment of the methods employed. Leaving aside matters which relate purely to Biblical and ecclesiastical issues, we can gather the schools of Biblical criticism into four groups¹⁷. In first place come the historical-critical methods whose purpose is to establish the best text in its historical context¹⁸. Secondly come various synchronic studies of the text, looking at the pattern of elements within a given work¹⁹. Thirdly are questions of the reception of the text in a given epoch or in the present time²⁰ and fourthly there is the study of the text in its subsequent literary context²¹. Each of these points demands attention.

The historical-critical method demands first of all that the best text be selected with respect to all possible witnesses. In the case of the *Huangdi Sijing* there is only one

16 Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Rome 1993

17 The four groups are my own. The document structures its exposition according to the historical evolution of the theories of criticism: (A) Historical-critical; (B) New methods of literary analysis; (C) Approaches based on tradition; (D) Approaches that use the human sciences; (E) Contextual approaches; (F) Fundamentalist interpretation. It then goes on to discuss hermeneutical questions.

18 This group corresponds to letter (A) in the Vatican document.

19 This group corresponds to letter (B) of the Vatican document, which lists three subdivisions: rhetorical analysis, narrative analysis and semiotic analysis.

20 This group corresponds to letters (C) to (E) of the Vatican document.

21 This issue is raised in the section on hermeneutical questions and in the following section on interpretation in the Biblical tradition in the Vatican document.

complete manuscript witness but there are passages which are clearly dependent on sources that have been handed down in other manuscripts. If so then these other manuscripts serve as witnesses in determining the final text. Wherever helpful in establishing the text these witnesses are given in the footnotes to the present edition.

In Biblical studies the historical-critical method was launched by the exploration of sources. It was found that the Pentateuch used different names for God: the Lord²², Elohim. These could be shown to belong to different traditions. Two further sources, the Deuteronomist and the Priestly, were also discerned. The Priestly source was used by the editor to provide the framework for the whole. This type of source criticism will form the basis for our own examination of the *Huangdi Sijing*.

Having discovered different sources, Biblical critics turned to the question of the origin and social context of these sources. In particular it was considered relevant to determine the literary genre of differing passages and their setting in the life of the community which produced them, their *Sitz im Leben*²³. In part two of the present thesis the genre of the parts of the *Huangdi Sijing* will be considered. To simply look at the origin of specific passages and not to consider them as bound in the final text would be to reduce the text to a mere collection of disparate parts. Genre criticism and its offshoots must be balanced by redaction criticism, the study of the process of editing of the various units that have been discerned by analysis. Roth's work on the redaction of the *Hsin Shu xia* 心術下 chapter of the *Guanzi* is evidence that redaction criticism can be fruitfully employed on Chinese texts²⁴. By it one comes to understand the process of editing and the contribution of the editor.

The synchronic studies of texts take the text as a finished whole and subject it to examination with a view to revealing the way in which different elements in it are combined and balanced. Such a study may involve semiotic or psychological analysis that is not concerned *per se* with the circumstances under which the text was produced. Until the first stage, the historical-critical, is accomplished the second step would be too presumptuous and the time is not yet ripe for it to be done on the *Huangdi Sijing*.

22 The Hebrew name is written with the consonants YHWH but, out of respect, is vocalised as *adonai*, the Lord.

23 A similar task is undertaken with regard to the *Dao De Jing* 道德經 by LaFargue. In his *Tao and Method* he shows how Warring States *shih* (scholars) gathered together and edited Laozi's proverbs. For a consideration of LaFargue's hermeneutical theory see my review of his work in the *SOAS Bulletin*, 1995 forthcoming.

24 Roth, *The Uses of Transcendence*, 1994

Nonetheless it deserves a mention for many Chinese scholars have begun with a naive form of this criticism. By *naive* is meant the failure to consider the diachronic critical questions raised in the first stage. In practice the method is *naive* also in that it is not conducted according to the rigour of a scientific study. Indeed one finds articles presenting *Huang-Lao Thought* which treat the text as one entity from which quotations may be drawn at random to illustrate the "author's" metaphysical thought, political thought, social thought or their ilk²⁵.

The third level of inquiry is also one that will not be taken up in the present study. It involves examining the way in which the text has been interpreted in historical-social contexts that post-date the actual formation of the text. This sort of study can draw new meaning from old texts, can show what ideas worked in practice and what their historical fate was. Were the *Huangdi Sijing* to be approached from this perspective then the obvious domain of inquiry would be the influence of *Huang-Lao* ideas on the early Han. This type of study has been conducted and is still being followed²⁶. It remains valuable for the *Huangdi Sijing*. Yet it should be kept in mind that the text is not the same as its later political use. It is particularly dangerous when the later political use is used to determine the text. It is not infrequent in Chinese literary criticism to meet the argument that such and such a thought is from some given period because people could not have thought it earlier²⁷. The impossibility lies with the critic not the text. Or rather the issue must be decided on literary grounds and not by appeal to some supposed model of historical development. The argument applies particularly to pleas for late dating. Thus there is no evidence in the *Huangdi Sijing* for any reference to the Five Agents' theory (*wu xing lun* 五行論). One may suppose that either it was written in a context which did not call for reference to the Five Agents or that it was written before the theory became popular. Either way the issue can be decided by reference to known and datable sources. What some critics do is to assert that some given idea, such as *gan-ying* 感應²⁸, popular in the

25 This attitude is widespread. Two examples may be cited: Rand, C., *The Role of Military Thought* pp. 211-218 and Huang Zhao, *Guanzi Xuekan* 1989 no. 4, pp. 81-84, 16. (The bizarre pagination of Chinese works is in fact normal.)

26 By Mark Csikszentmihalyi, for instance, at Stanford University, California, USA. Private communication 1993. Also Cheng Wu, *Hanchu Huanglao Sixiang* and Wu Guang, *Huanglao zhi Xue Tonglun*, 129-32

27 Na Wei is particularly vulnerable to this criticism. See earlier note.

28 In the *Shiliu Jing: Guan* there is a passage (85a-b) in which it is said that if the ruler carries out the wrong policy for the season this will affect the harvest and climate. This is the theory of *gan-ying*. It is current in the *Huainanzi*, see chapter six *Lan Ming Xun* 覽冥訓. That the *Huainanzi* has the theory merely shows that it was current in the early Han it does not prove that it could have only been thought in the early Han.

early Han, could only be thought of in the early Han²⁹. Now this is the irresponsible use of the influence of a text. It may be that the very text such a critic assigns to the early Han is the one that first proclaimed an idea developed in the early Han, in which case the text in question would not be early Han. For this reason later influence of the text cannot be used to reconstruct the original meaning of the text.

Fourthly one could consider the use made by other later texts of the work under consideration. This may prove valuable in a conservative culture for showing up the original meaning, but it must be used with caution. Wang Bi's (王弼) recension of *Laozi* has been accepted in China as a masterly study of the original *Laozi*. It is, however, also a reinterpretation of *Laozi* that depends on later currents of thought. In the present study texts which are later or may be later will only be used with great caution. From them one can see how ideas presented in the *Huangdi Sijing* were developed and perhaps reintegrated into new patterns of thought. This is of some value to the initial stage of historical criticism since it may serve to point out the inchoate nature of the thought of the *Huangdi Sijing* but it should be used to make concrete statements about the text and not value judgements as to which system of thought is better. Since there are few texts that are definitely earlier than the *Huangdi Sijing* the later texts can be used as some guide to the dating of our text, by providing examples of later development and so obliging us to adopt an earlier date for the *Huangdi Sijing*.

Once the text has been established on the basis of the manuscript the first task is to begin the work of source criticism. This task will occupy the first part of the present study. In the introduction criteria will be given for identifying features that enable one to determine distinct sources. It would be pretentious to assume that in this one study all possible sources can be thoroughly investigated but it is within the scope of our endeavour to determine certain sources and then discuss to what extent they are present in the *Huangdi Sijing*. Even this modest goal should be a major step forward in our understanding the text.

The importance of the task is highlighted by the comparative neglect of the topic in previous studies. In these one can distinguish two tendencies: the first involves establishing certain parts of the text as normative for the whole; the second comprises a

29 Kang Li's comments on football fall into this category. See earlier note.

study of key Daoist terms and uses this information to assess the text. Peerenboom's and Ran Yunhua's approaches are illustrative of the first approach. Peerenboom treats the *Jingfa* as one source and as normative for the philosophy of the *Huangdi Sijing*³⁰. The other three books are simply rifled for quotations to support his views without any attempt to analyse sources. Ran takes the *Dao Yuan* as normative³¹. The grounds for this choice are as arbitrary as Peerenboom's. Ran is attracted by the expose of the *Dao*; Peerenboom by that of the *Dao* and the Law. In this they also betray a susceptibility for the second approach, the choice of Daoist terms. Du Weiming, for instance, isolates *Dao* 道, the Law (*Fa* 法), Pattern (*Li* 理), Penetrating insight (*Guan* 觀) and Balancing (*Cheng* 稱) as terms which define the philosophy of the *Huangdi Sijing*³². However praiseworthy studies of these concepts are they are chosen on criteria external to the text and hence cannot shed a balanced light on the text itself.

30 Peerenboom, *Law and Morality*

31 Ran Yunhua, *T'oung Pao* 1977, Vol. 63 pp. 65-84 discusses each of the four books from the point of view of Daoism with a clear preference for the fourth concerned with the "cosmology of Daoism". (p. 75)

32 Du Weiming, *Journal of Asian Studies* (39) 1979, pp. 95-111

PART ONE: A Study of Binary Pairs

The Biblical source-critics were able to draw attention to names of God. For both the Jahwist and the Elohist God was of the utmost importance but each chose a different name to talk about him. It is my belief that, in a similar way, some parts of the *Huangdi Sijing* share common concerns but express these in a different choice of key terms. The nature of those concerns was voiced in a thesis by Rand written shortly after the Mawangdui discovery³³. Rand was interested in the civil and military aspects of government, which he summed up in the terms of *wen* 文, civil, and *wu* 武, military. He quotes extensively from the *Huangdi Sijing* on this topic. His choice is apropos. However, he seems not to take full cognizance of the fact that the Chinese terms *wen* and *wu* are only found in parts of the *Jingfa* and are wholly absent from other parts of the *Huangdi Sijing*. It was noticing this feature that prompted the present research.

Binary terminology is a feature of much early Chinese philosophy. Indeed it is perhaps also a feature of the Chinese language. The *Huangdi Sijing* is no exception to the rule. Mansvelt Beck lists some fifty contrasting pairs³⁴. His list includes pairs such as up and down (*shang-xia* 上下) as well as philosophically important terms such as *wen-wu*. The use of ordinary contrasts such as "up and down" may tell us something about the Chinese language but is not of much help in discerning specific source material. For the purposes of source criticism our interest must focus on terms used explicitly by the writers to express a particular point of view. Only then can we have some degree of certainty that the passages singled out do represent the thought of their author-editor.

In the *Jingfa* many terms are introduced by a formula such as, "this is said to be" (*ci wei* 此謂, *ci zhi wei* 此之謂, *shi wei* 是謂), "is called" (*wei zhi* 謂之), "called" (*yue* 曰). One may suppose that the terms highlighted in this way were consciously chosen by

33 Rand, *The Role of Military Thought* was presented at Harvard in May 1977, only three years after the publication of the Mawangdui manuscript.

34 Mansvelt Beck's list of "Pairs of contrary concepts" lists variant graphs and reversed order pairs separately. This separation is unnecessary. With some modification the list reads as follows:

ci-xiong 雌雄, *cun-wang* 存亡, *de-nue* 德虐, *de-shi* 德失, *di-xiong* 弟兄, *dong-jing* 動靜, *fu-mu* 父母, *gang-rou* 剛柔, *gao-xia* 高下, *gui-shen* 鬼神, *han-shu* 寒暑, *han-re* 寒熱, *hei-bai* 黑白, *hui-ming* 晦明, *huo-fu* 禍福, *ji-xiong* 吉凶, *jing-zuo* 靜作, *jun-chen* 君臣, *kun-di* 昆弟, *mei-e* 美惡, *ming-shi* 名實, *nan-bei* 南北, *nan-nu* 男女, *nei-wai* 內外, *ni-shun* 逆順, *pin-fu* 貧富, *pin-mu* 牝牡, *qing-zhong* 輕重, *qu-yu* 取予, *qu-zhi* 曲直, *shang-fa* 賞罰, *shang-xia* 上下, *shao-duo* 少多, *sheng-sha* 生殺, *sheng-shi* 聲實, *shi-fei* 是非, *si-sheng* 死生, *tian-di* 天地, *wei-fei* 韃非, *wen-wu* 文武, *xin-gu* 新故, *xing-de* 刑德, *xing-huai* 興壞, *xu-shi* 虛實, *yi-nuo* 已諾, *yin-yang* 陰陽, *zao-shi* 燥濕, *zheng-qi* 正奇, *zhong-shi* 終始, *zi-fu* 子父, *zuo-you* 左右, *zha-wei* 詐偽. (See Bibliography, List B)

the author-editor and do not belong to the sub-conscious level of discourse. From an examination of all uses of the above-mentioned formulae in *Jingfa* one finds that *wei zhi* is used twice before *wen-wu* 文武 and twice before *ni-shun* 逆順³⁵. *Ci wei* is used before "five *ni*"³⁶; *ci zhi wei* is used before *shun*³⁷; *yue* is twice used before *ni*³⁸. Without pretending that all the uses introduced by these formulae are similar in meaning, it is nonetheless worthwhile considering the commonest of them all, the pairs *wen-wu* and *ni-shun*.

In *Shiliu Jing* the style is different and definition by the above formulae rarer³⁹. The fifteen pieces that are found in the manuscript are seemingly quite diverse. *Ni-shun* occur but there are no uses of *wen-wu*. In *Guan* and in *Xing Zheng* prominence is given to two sets of pairs: *xing-de* 刑德 and *nue-de* 虐德. In *Cixiong Jie* the main topic is the contrast between *ci* 雌 and *xiong* 雄. Finally a pair of a different kind is found in the contrast of the Yellow Emperor and Chi You 蚩尤 in *Wu Zheng* and *Zheng Luan*. These four sets of pairs, *xing-de*, *nue-de*, *ci-xiong* and the Yellow Emperor and Chi You are all specific to the *Shiliu Jing*.

Cheng ends with a list of binary terms arranged under the parametres of *yin-yang* 陰陽. Graham says that this is "the earliest comprehensive list of which we know"⁴⁰. *Yin-yang* are also found in *Jingfa*, *Shiliu Jing* and *Dao Yuan*. Hence with all the pairs now mentioned it should be possible both to isolate definite discourse-units whilst also covering, to some extent, the whole of the *Huangdi Sijing*.

The order of presentation will be that of occurrence of the pairs, followed by the Yellow Emperor and Chi You. Thus chapter two is devoted to *ci-xiong* with reference also to *pin-mu* 牝牡; chapter three to *xing-de* with reference also to *de-nue*; chapter four to *wen-wu*; chapter five to *yin-yang*, chapter six to *ni-shun* and chapter seven to the Yellow Emperor and Chi You.

35 19a 21-3, 37a 28-30: *wei zhi wen* 謂之文; 19a 32-4, 37b 3-6, 44b 15-7: *wei zhi wu* 謂之武; 35b 22-4, 36a 10-12, 51b 29-31: *wei zhi ni* 謂之逆; 51b 10-12: *wei zhi shun* 謂之順 (uncertain—see apparatus)

36 13b 27- 14a 2: *ci wei wu ni* 此謂五逆

37 56a 10-13: *ci zhi wei shun* 此之謂順

38 2a 25-26: *yue ni* 曰逆; 68a 19-21: *yue ni cheng* 曰逆成 (成, *cheng* to become)

39 *Yue* occurs 88 times in the four canons according to the following distribution: 51:35:2:0, hence overwhelmingly in the first, *Jingfa*. *Wei* occurs 73 times in the four canons according to the following distribution: 51:17:3:2, hence even more overwhelmingly in *Jingfa*. The most striking stylistic variation between the first two books is found with respect to *yi* 以 and *ze* 則. *Yi* occurs 66 times in *Jingfa* (1.32%) and 108 times in *Shiliu Jing* (2.59%); *Ze* 103 times in *Jingfa* (2.06%), 33 times in *Shiliu Jing* (0.79%). In both cases the difference is 1.27%, which is highly significant in stylistic terms. This fact gives an impetus to our study of the relationships between the books.

40 Graham, *Yin-Yang* p. 27

Chapter Two: Cock and Hen

The first pair we shall examine is that which dominates the seventh chapter of *Shiliu Jing*: *ci* 雌 and *xiong* 雄. Of all the pairs to be examined this is perhaps the easiest to consider. The title of the chapter in question is *Cixiong Jie* 雌雄節. It occupies four and a half columns of the manuscript (112a-116b) and the pair *ci* and *xiong* are discussed throughout the section. Moreover the pair are not used together in any other sections of the *Huangdi Sijing*. Hence we have a clearly defined unit from which we can deduce the meaning of the two terms within the *Huangdi Sijing*. The investigation will first discuss the state of the text itself, then expound its literary structure before discussing the use of the two terms within the whole manuscript and within similar literature.

2.1 The State of the Text (112a-116b)

This portion of the text is in reasonably good shape. The most obvious flaws are damage to 114a, 115a and 116a. Along with other more lightly damaged pieces this results in a loss of thirty characters. Details of how each lacuna is treated are included in the critical apparatus. It is, however, worth illustrating a few basic principles of reading lacunae.

Firstly, the whole chapter is so well constructed that twenty eight of these lacunae can be repaired by supplying the missing characters from parallel passages in the same chapter. Of these twenty-eight, one does raise an issue of principle, namely 116a 11. Paul Thompson suggested to me that 115a 24-25 should be amended to read the "cock mode" (*xiong jie* 雄節) rather than the "unlucky mode" (*xiong jie* 凶節). If this is so then 116a 11 would be the opposite, namely the "hen mode" (*ci jie*) rather than the "lucky mode" (*ji jie* 吉節). The suggestion is attractive but cannot be proved. It relies on positing homophonic confusion between the words for "cock" and "unlucky"¹. This type of amendment can only proceed by assuming non-creative consistency. By non-creative consistency one means that an expression used in one place must be repeated in the same form in another place. The principle is laudable but it does rule out the author's employing

1 The pronunciation of the two characters was not exactly the same in ancient Chinese. *Xiong* 凶 (unlucky) is in rhyme group 23 *Dong* 東部 (p. 271) and *xiong* 雄 (cock) in rhyme group 21 *zheng* 蒸部 (p. 262). The rhyme groups are set out in Chen Fuhua and He Jiuying, *Guyun Tongxiao*, Beijing 1987 to which work the page numbers cited refer.

forms which differ even to a slight degree from ones habitually employed. Thus just because we encounter the "cock tally" does not mean that a phrase such as the "unlucky tally" is impossible.

While twenty-eight of the thirty lacunae can be accounted for, two still remain. These two are 112a 33 and 112b 1 where Chang and Feng propose borrowing from II.14 *Shun Dao*. The latter chapter contains a four character phrase portraying the weak and humble as *wan shi gongjian* 宛濕恭儉 (138a 11-14). In 112a/b we have .../... *gongjian* □□恭儉; the last two characters of each passage are deemed to be the same², hence it is not unreasonable to posit borrowing the first two also. This type of borrowing can only be justified when it is clear from other studies that the two chapters in question share common material. With the unity of the *Shiliu Jing* still a matter of dispute it is not necessarily legitimate to use information contained in one chapter to amend another chapter. In the present case one would want to know if it is legitimate to equate the "hen mode", *ci jie*, of *Cixiong Jie* with the "yielding mode", *rou jie* 柔節, of *Shun Dao*, since both phrases occur in association with the four character phrase under discussion³.

There are four characters in *Cixiong Jie* the reading of which is disputed and in one case the matter has not yet been resolved⁴. This one case is that of 112a 25. The manuscript writes *xian* 憲. The context suggests a sense of pride and haughtiness but the choice of *xian* remains unexplained. WW3 suggests *han* 悍 whilst YMG1 suggests *xian* 顯⁵. The former means cruel and might fit the context, but it is hard to see how the two characters, *han* and *xian*, could be confused. The YMG1 reading is derived by homophony and explained as meaning showing off. In conversation Professor Li Xueqin suggested that the character *xian* 憲 is more possibly to be related in form to *hai* 害. While the graphic problem may be a major one it does not detract from the overall intelligibility of the chapter.

The process of copying was done reasonably well, only one character, a *de* 德,

2 Quotations are given according to my edition. Examination of the apparatus will show that there are even greater variations between the two passages. 138a 14 writes *jian* 儉; 112b 3 writes *yan* 儉. In editing both have been read as *jian* 儉.

3 138a 3-23 reads 安徐正靜, 柔節先定, 宛濕恭儉, 卑約主柔, 常後而不先。
"He was peaceful, calm, correct, still, first fixing the yielding mode. Little, humble, reverential, frugal, deferential, stressing yielding, ever behind and not in front."

112a 33-112b 7 reads . . . 恭儉, 是謂雌節。"....reverential, frugal, this is called the hen mode."

4 Three of these four are 112b 12, 19 and 116a 15. The apparatus presents previous editors' readings.

5 For a reading of the sigla, WW3 and YMG1, refer to the list of sigla preceeding my edition of the text.

being erased in 113a 7 and two characters, *ao* 敖 (112a 26) and *xiong* 雄 (113a 12) being added later.

2.2 Key Terms

The terms *ci* and *xiong* occur nine times each in this one chapter and are always associated with the term *jie*. This may be translated as meaning "paradigm of behaviour" or it may also reflect the concrete sense of tally, in which two halves of a wooden tally matched each other. Whilst the former rendering may be more suitable in 112 where the characteristics of the *ci* are portrayed as humble and respectful and those of *xiong* as haughty and proud, there is no doubt that in this chapter the two are always used as a pair and so we might prefer a definition which takes the middle ground between a highly abstract and a highly concrete definition. Perhaps we can call them two modes of behaviour. The terms themselves both employ the *zhui* 隹 radical, pertaining to short-tailed birds, hence we may translate as cock and hen modes. It is by examining the cock and hen modes that the ruler is able to apply the auspicious and inauspicious days in the calendar to the accumulation of good fortune, *fu* 福 as opposed to misfortune, *huo* 禍. The cock and hen modes are guides through sets of paired terms: auspicious, *ji* 吉, and inauspicious, *xiong* 凶, good fortune and misfortune, virtue *de* 德 and disaster *yang* 殃. Each pair exists in its own set, thus auspicious and inauspicious belong to the constancy, *chang* 常, of the calendar; cock and hen to modes, *jie*, of behaviour; good fortune and misfortune to the direction, *xiang* 向, of what is bestowed on human beings and virtue and disaster to what is accumulated, *ji* 積, by the ruler. The chapter sets out these terms in a clearly discernable pattern. This pattern catches the eye in my edition and is brought out by underlining in the following rendering⁶.

The majestic Lord penetrated to the constancy of auspicious and inauspicious,
 So as to distinguish the hen and cock modes,
 And separate the direction of disaster and blessing.

Being proud and haughty is called the cock mode;
respectful and frugal is called the hen mode.

⁶ Every translation is merely an attempt to re-present a text in another language. The rendering here is purely to help in seeing the pattern of the whole.

Now⁷, the cock mode is the follower of what is full;

the hen mode is the follower of what is humble.

Now, when the cock mode is used for gaining, then it does not bring blessing;

when the hen mode is used for dying, then surely there will be rewards.

Now, using the cock mode to often gain is called accumulating disaster,

Evil and worry arrive in large measure and one is near to perishing;

Using the hen mode to often die, is called accumulating virtue,

Prudence and measure are not wasted, a great salary will soon come.

Whenever there are disasters and difficulties, going ahead is always inauspicious,

going behind is always auspicious.

If going ahead does not result in inauspiciousness,

this is always and only because of the presence of the hen mode.

If going behind does not result in auspiciousness,

this is always and only because of the presence of the cock mode.

If going ahead does not lead to inauspiciousness

And going behind does not lead to inauspiciousness,

this is always and only because of the presence of the hen mode;

If going ahead does not lead to auspiciousness

And going behind does not lead to auspiciousness,

this is always and only because of the presence of the cock mode.

Whoever likes to use the cock mode, is called one who prevents growth;

If he be a great man then he shall be destroyed;

If he be a little man then he shall die.

In defending he will not be calm; in prosecuting affairs⁸ he will not succeed;

In asking he shall not gain; in warfare he shall not win.

He himself will not have long life and his descendents shall not proliferate.

This is called the inauspicious⁹ mode; this is called scattering virtue.

Whoever likes to use the hen mode, is called one who acquires income.

7 The initial particle *fu* 夫 is a demonstrative to stress the opening of a new paragraph. I transpose it as "now" to show the same pattern on the page as in the Chinese original.

8 The term *shi* 事 translated as "affairs" refers to major State affairs (*affaires d'Etat*). Traditionally these are major sacrifices and warfare. In these texts the issue is generally warfare. See my chapter five note 3.

9 According to Thompson this and its corresponding passage on the next page might read "cock" and "hen"; others read "inauspicious" and "auspicious".

If he be rich then he will flourish; if he be poor then he will be fed.

In defending he will be calm; in prosecuting affairs he will succeed;

In asking he will gain; in warfare he will win.

He himself will have long life; his descendents will proliferate,

This is called the⁹ mode; this is called sending down virtue.

Thus the one who accumulates virtue flourishes;

The one who accumulates disaster dies.

Observe what one accumulates then one will know the direction of disaster and blessing.

2.3 Structure of *Cixiong Jie*

From this chapter we may extract the skelton of the structure:

Definition of terms used:

112a	<i>a</i> (<i>ji</i> 吉 auspicious)	<i>b</i> (<i>xiong</i> 凶 inauspicious)	<i>c</i> (<i>chang</i> 常 constancy)
	<i>a1</i> (<i>ci</i> 雌 hen)	<i>b1</i> (<i>xiong</i> 雄 cock)	<i>c1</i> (<i>jie</i> 節 mode)
	<i>b2</i> (<i>huo</i> 禍 disaster)	<i>a2</i> (<i>fu</i> 福 blessing)	<i>c2</i> (<i>xiang</i> 向 direction)

Amplification:

112a/b	<i>b1</i> defined; <i>a1</i> defined
	<i>b1</i> expanded; <i>a1</i> expanded

Consequences:

112b/3a	<i>b1</i> leads to not <i>a2</i> ; <i>a1</i> leads to "x" (<i>shang</i> 賞 rewards)
113a/b	<i>b1</i> leads to <i>b3</i> (<i>yang</i> 殃 disaster); <i>a1</i> leads to <i>a3</i> (<i>de</i> 德 virtue)

Assessing results in times of difficulty:

113b/4a	If one takes the lead (<i>xian</i> 先)[<i>y</i>] then this leads to <i>b</i> ;
	If one follows behind (<i>hou</i> 後)[<i>z</i>] then this leads to <i>a</i> ;
	If <i>y</i> does not lead to <i>b</i> , it is because of <i>a1</i> ;
	If <i>z</i> does not lead to <i>a</i> , it is because of <i>b1</i> ;
	If <i>y</i> not leading to <i>b</i> & <i>z</i> not leading to <i>a</i> , it is because of <i>a1</i> ;
114a/b	If <i>y</i> not leading to <i>a</i> & <i>z</i> not leading to <i>a</i> , it is because of <i>b1</i> .

Final consequences:

114b/5a	The consequences of <i>b1</i> , making it <i>b</i> and not <i>a3</i>
115a/6a	The consequences of <i>a1</i> , making it <i>a</i> and bringing <i>a3</i>

Thus by accumulating (*ji* 積)[*c3*] *a3* one flourishes

Whilst by *c3* with *b3* one perishes.

Conclusion:

116a/b Hence one must look at *c3* to know the *c2* of *a2* and *b2*.

Since this is an exposition of the logical structure of the passage it is necessarily rather dry, but it shows how carefully the argument is set out. The pattern shows some slight variations in that *b2* (misfortune) is introduced before *a2* (blessing) and that the conduct leading to *b* (inauspiciousness) is expounded before that leading to *a* (auspiciousness) in 113b/4a and again the consequences of *b1* (cock mode) are drawn before those of *a1* (hen mode) in 114b/5a.. These may be seen simply as literary arrangements of the argument, whereby the negative (*b*) aspects can be presented before the positive (*a*) aspects. The only exception to the strict pattern is where in 113a, *a1* (hen mode) is shown as leading to "x" rather than not-*b2* (misfortune), that is instead of "not misfortune" (*bu huo* 不禍) we find "will bring reward" (*jiang you shang* 將有賞). This can be read as wishing to state the positive results in positive terms and is hardly surprising.

The overall message of the whole is to paint a sharp disparity between the two sides. What is associated with the cock mode results in disaster and is to be avoided; what is associated with the hen mode brings good fortune and is to be espoused. There is no sense in which the two together are accepted as having value. The two modes may be characterised as antagonistic rather than complementary.

It may be helpful to see if a similar antagonism is to be found in other passages in the *Huangdi Sijing* or in other related works.

2.4 Other Uses of *Ci*, *Xiong* and *Jie* in the *Huangdi Sijing*

The character *ci* occurs in only one other place in the *Huangdi Sijing*, namely at the end of *Cheng*, (166b 31), where it is associated with the Earth and with *yin* 陰. All *yin* things are said to imitate the earth, whose virtue, *de* 德, is peaceful, calm, correct and quiet, establishing first the soft or yielding (*rou* 柔) mode (*jie*), good at giving and not competing: "This is the measure of Earth and the hen mode"¹⁰. In contrast with *Cixiong*

¹⁰ *Cheng* 166b 26- 167a 2: 此地之度而雌之節也。

Jie this passage develops a metaphysics of *Yin-Yang* terminology and relates to the Earth, but the portrayal of the hen mode itself is congruent with *Cixiong Jie*. It is worth noting that it appears here with virtually the same meaning as the "yielding mode". In the *Zhou Yi* the complement of "soft" is "hard" (*gang* 剛). This latter pair, though absent in *Cixiong Jie*, is present in the *Huangdi Sijing* and will be discussed anon.

The character *xiong* is used in three other places. In *Jun Zheng* it occurs in the phrase, "*hao jie piao xiong*" 豪傑驃雄 (22a 12-15) meaning arrogant and cocksure. In the other two occurrences it is combined with *jie* as in *Cixiong Jie*. The first of these instances talks about punishing using the cock mode as bringing one into peril and death, *xing yu xiong jie, wei yu siwang* 刑於雄節, 危於死亡 (134b 25- 135a 2); whilst the second in *Shun Dao* presents a contrast between the cock mode and the weak (*ruo* 弱) mode:

"Keep to the weak mode and affirm it,

Await the exhaustion of the cock mode and accommodate to it"¹¹.

These uses are all consistent with those in *Cixiong Jie* underlining the inacceptability of the cock mode. It is, however, worth noting that only in *Cixiong Jie* are the cock and hen modes compared directly. In *Shun Dao* the weak mode (*ruo jie*) is the opposite of the cock mode and in *Cheng* the reference was to the yielding mode (*rou jie*). In examining other texts we will be looking for passages which use all three terms "hen, weak, yielding" to see if they were considered to have the same meaning. Before carrying out this examination attention should be drawn to another similar pair: *pin* and *mu*.

2.5 The pair *Pin* 牝 and *Mu* 牡

The terms *ci* and *xiong* are often translated as female and male respectively, but here the translation has kept closer to the original radical *zhui* 隹 pertaining to birds. This is in part to distinguish this pair from the pair *pin* 牝 *mu* 牡 which describe the sexes of animals, strictly speaking of oxen. That this distinction was alive in the period in which the manuscript was composed can be shown by quoting instances of usage that are clearly prior and posterior to any possible date of the *Huangdi Sijing*. In the *Shi Jing* 詩經 there is a reference to four stallions (*mu* 牡)¹²; and in the Han work *Huainanzi* *pin* and *mu* are

11 139a 15-28: 守弱節而堅之, 胥雄節之窮而因之。

12 *Shi Jing*, p. 38 poem 177, verse 1, also p. 34 poem 162, verse 1

still used of horses in a conversation between Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 and Bo Le 伯樂¹³. The same passage is found in *Liezi* 列子 with an inversion of the sexes of the horses in question¹⁴.

The avian sense of *ci* and *xiong* is found clearly in a question in *Zhuangzi* 莊子:

"If all were hens and none cocks, where then would eggs come from?"¹⁵

From birds the terms can be applied to other winged creatures:

"When the male insect calls in the upper wind, the female replies in the lower wind

The kinds are separated into female and male and the wind transforms."¹⁶

Thus it is clear that the two sets of terms could retain their distinction within the animal kingdom throughout the Warring States and Early Han periods.

Ci and *xiong* are used in the *Shanhajing* of domestic fowl and pheasants only. Thus a hen is *ciji* 雌鷄¹⁷ and a cock *xiongji* 雄鷄¹⁸. A hen pheasant is *cizhi* 雌雉¹⁹. *Pin* and *mu* are used of pigs and goats only. Thus we find female pigs, *pintun* 牝豚²⁰, and goats, *pinyang* 牝羊²¹, and male goats, *muyang* 牡羊²². There is perhaps also a male or female mountain. The text reads *mushan* 牡山 but in the *Er Ya* Commentary 爾雅疏 it is *pinshan* 牝山 and the *Zang Jing Ben* 藏經本 writes *zhuangshan* 壯山²³.

Nonetheless the distinction between gender words for flying creatures and gender words for mammals was not absolute as is clear from chapter 5 of *Zhuangzi*, where *ci* and *xiong* are used to refer to men and women:

"Though his knowledge does not go beyond the four quarters,

Yet women and men gather and come before him"²⁴.

13 *Huainanzi* 12 *Dao Ying Xun* 道應訓 p. 395. It is true that material contained in the *Huainanzi* is often pre-Han but the use of the story shows that the use of *mu* with respect to horses was still appreciated in the Han dynasty.

14 *Liezi* 8 *Shuo Fu* 說符篇 p. 211: The substance of the story is that Duke Mu of Qin asks Bo Le to look for a good horse. Three months later Bo Le finds his horse. He returns to report to the duke who asks him what sort of horse it is. Bo Le says it is a chestnut mare. When it is brought it is seen to be a black stallion. The duke berates Bo Le for giving a false description. Bo Le sighs and says that he judges the inner nature of the horse and not its externals, such as colour and gender. In *Huainanzi* Bo Le reports the horse as being a chestnut stallion whereas it is in fact a black mare.

15 *Zhuangzi* 7 *Yingdiwang* 應帝王 20/7/18: 衆雌而無雄, 而又奚卵焉?

16 *Zhuangzi* 14 *Tian Yun* 天運 40/14/79: 蟲, 雄鳴於上風, 雌應於下風而化; 類自為雌雄, 故風化。

17 *Shanhajing* *juan* 5 *Zhongshanjing* 中山經 p. 1360a

18 11 occurrences e.g. *Shanhajing* *juan* 5 *Zhongshanjing* 中山經 p. 1360b

19 3 occurrences e.g. *Shanhajing* *juan* 3 *Beishanjing* 北山經 p. 1349c

20 *Shanhajing* *juan* 5 *Zhongshanjing* 中山經 p. 1368 b

21 *Shanhajing* *juan* 5 *Zhongshanjing* 中山經 p. 1360 a

22 *Shanhajing* *juan* 5 *Zhongshanjing* 中山經 p. 1358 b

23 *Shanhajing* *juan* 5 *Zhongshanjing* 中山經 p. 1359 b See commentaries ad loc.

24 *Zhuangzi* 5 *Dechongfu* 德充符 14/5/34: 知不出乎四域。且而雌雄合乎前。

We even find *xiong* being used of animals, as in chapter 17 of *Huainanzi* where it is applied to foxes, *hu* 狐²⁵. If the distinction begins to be unclear in the real world one wonders how significant it is in the metaphysical realm. That is, if animals could be spoken of with vocabulary appropriate to birds, then perhaps the distinction between *pin-mu* and *ci-xiong* disappeared in philosophical circles as well.

Pin and *mu* are found in a philosophical sense in our manuscript, in *Guan* and *Cheng*. Turning to the first of these passages we note that the two terms are complements associated with other pairs such as hard (*gang* 剛) and soft (*rou* 柔):

"... female and male; Female and male demand each other.

It is mixed, hard and soft. Hard and soft are formed together,

Female and male are then formed,

Below it gathers and becomes the Earth; above it rises and becomes Heaven"²⁶.

This passage is a cosmogenesis in which the female and male generate Heaven-Earth. Something similar is found in *Cheng* no. 26:

"The Way of Heaven-Earth has left and right, female and male"²⁷.

There is no question here of preferring one half of the pair to the other. *Pin-mu*, hard-soft, left-right are complementary rather than antagonistic pairs. This was not the case with *ci* and *xiong* in *Cixiong Jie*. Hard and soft occur in other passages in the *Huangdi Sijing* but always in the complementary sense. In *Daofa* the pair is found in a sequence of such pairs: "darkness-brightness, life-death, soft-hard"²⁸. In *San Jin* the complementarity is stressed:

"Hard alone does not suffice for use; soft alone does not suffice to be relied on"²⁹.

In *Xing Zheng* the pair are related to *yin-yang*³⁰. Chen Guying discuss these examples and relates them to another pair: the still earth and the moving heaven³¹. In *Guo Tong* it is said that "Heaven moves and earth is still". Chen relates this to a phrase in the *Xi Ci Zhuan*, where the moving Heaven and still earth are related to hard and soft:

25 *Huainanzi* 17 *Shuolin* 說林訓 p. 568: 日月不并出, 狐不二雄。Sun and moon do not come out together; foxes are not both male.

26 *Guan* 83b 1-28: 口口牝牡, 牝牡相求, 會剛與柔。柔剛相成, 牝牡若刑。
下會於地, 上會於天

27 *Cheng* no. 26 152a 15-26: 天地之道, 有左有右, 有牝有牡。

28 *Daofa* 7a 2-7: 晦明、生殺、柔剛。

29 *San Jin* 125b 5-12: 剛不足以, 柔不足恃。

30 *Xing Zheng* 111a 1-4: 剛柔、陰陽 "Hard-yielding, *yin-yang*"

31 *Chen Guying, Boshu "Xi Ci" he Boshu "Huangdi Sijing"*, pp. 174-6. Chen traces the origin of hard-soft back to the *Shi Jing* and the *Hong Fan* 洪範 chapter of the *Shang Shu* 尚書. See note 33 below for further discussion of this article.

"Movement and stillness have constancy; hard and soft are settled"³².

Certainly here in *Shiliu Jing* and *Cheng pin-mu* and *ci-xiong* are not mutually interchangeable³³.

Speculating on the distinction between hen-cock and male-female, one wonders if the clue might not lie in the bright plumage of the male bird. Domestic fowl and pheasants display a remarkable distinction in plumage between the sexes, whereas pigs and goats and humans do not. Could it be that the bright plumage of the cock made it a symbol of showiness and pride in contrast to the dull hen, thus leading to the philosophical emergence of hen and cock as an antagonistic pair. Later the emphasis is put on the sexual difference alone and a semi-scientific classification is made in terms of *Yin-Yang* categories then the question of plumage is overlooked and hen and cock become equal to female and male, albeit still within a different category of creatures.

Another possibility is that hen-cock are reserved for practical conduct but that *pin-mu* express the harmony of the metaphysical level. This would help explain why cock and hen are used with *jie*, mode of behaviour, with its practical bent. Even if this hypothesis be correct it is still compatible with the above observation explaining the different origins of the terms. It also must be born in mind that the division into practical and metaphysical did not hold into the Han as we can see in the *Wenzi*.

For it seems that by the time of the *Wenzi* 文子, a time which is disputed, the pairs could be combined to form binomials in which any distinction between *ci* and *pin*, as a complementary pair, and *xiong* and *mu*, as an antagonistic pair, is no longer considered significant. Hence we read, "The masculine (*xiongmu*) is famed... and the feminine (*qipin*) is nameless"³⁴. The same binomials occur in the third chapter of *Wenzi*:

"The sage grasps the feminine, expels profligacy and pride, does not dare to practice the *qi* of boldness; he grasps the feminine and thus can establish his masculine"³⁵.

32 *Xi Ci Zhuan* A1 繫辭傳上 p. 39: 動靜有常。剛柔繼矣。Chen believes that the *Xi Ci Zhuan* was written after the *Huangdi Sijing*, which itself was preceded by the work of Fan Li 范蠡 and the *Dao De Jing*.

33 Professor Chen seems to be unaware of this. He confuses the two sets of pairs in his discussion: 所謂"牝牡相求，會剛與柔"，是說雌雄在對立中相求，剛柔在對立中交會..."The so-called 'female-male mutually demanding each other, the mixing of hard and soft' is to say that hen and cock demand each other as complements; hard and soft mingle with each other as complements." (p. 175) This confusion is probably unwitting, the result of modern speech equating *pin-mu* with *ci-xiong*.

34 *Wenzi* 1 *Dao Yuan* 道原 p. 832a: 雄牡有名... 雌牝無名。

35 *Wenzi* 3 *Shi Shou* 十守 p. 837c: 聖人執雌牝，去奢驕，不敢行強梁之氣，
執雌牝，故能立其雄牡。

Finally also in *Wenzi* 10 *Shang Ren* 上仁 p. 867b: 故雌牝即立。 "thus the female is established."

It would be interesting from an historical point of view to see how far back we can trace these binomials. As information is scanty we may content ourselves with seeing to what extent the respective pairs, *pin-mu* and *ci-xiong*, were seen as philosophically equivalent and thus able to be combined.

2.6 The Use of *Ci-xiong* and *Pin-mu* in other Works

Our interest will focus on works which can claim some affinity with the *Huangdi Sijing* as it is there that one will find philosophical uses of the pairs in question. Four works merit attention: *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Guanzi* and *Huainanzi*. *Ci* is used twice in the *Laozi* (Ch. 10 and 28); *xiong* once (Ch. 28); *pin* four times (Ch. 6 and 61) and *mu* once (Ch. 61). Notice that the two sets of pairs never occur together in the same chapter. In chapter 10 *ci* occurs in the context of a set of rhetorical questions about breath control and meditation technique. It is associated with making one's breath soft like a child's, being able to open and close the gates of Heaven and giving birth to but not owning³⁶. Chapter 28 contrasts knowing *xiong* whilst holding on to *ci* and thus becoming the ravine of under-Heaven³⁷.

Pin in Chapter 6 is described as *xuan* 玄, the deep colour of the sky, and is associated with ravines and with Heaven:

"The valley spirit does not die, it is called the deep *dark* female.

The gate of the deep *dark* female is called the root of Heaven-Earth³⁸.

In chapter 61 the female (*pin*) is associated with what goes down and it conquers the male by silence, by its passivity

A great State³⁹ is like the lower reaches of a river,

It is the female of under-Heaven;

It is the intersection of under-Heaven.

The female ever overcomes the male by stillness.

Because she is still so appropriately she is below.⁴⁰

36 *Dao De Jing* 10: 專氣致柔，能嬰兒乎？... 天門開闔，能無雌乎？... 生而不有。

37 *Dao De Jing* 28: 知其雄，守其雌，為天下奚谷。

38 *Dao De Jing* 6: 谷神不死，是為玄牝。玄牝之門，是為天地根。

39 To distinguish the English words "state" (of affairs) and "state" (country), the latter is always written with an initial capital letter.

40 This translation is based largely on the Mawangdui texts. In comparison with the Wang Bi text there is inversion of the second and third lines and a longer final line:

Dao De Jing 61 (*Wang Bi* ed.): 大國者下流，天下之交，天下之牝，
牝常以靜勝牡，以靜為下。

That both the words for hen and for female are associated with the valley is proof of some convergence in sense but no version of *Laozi* has been found in which *pin* replaces *ci* or *mu* replaces *xiong*. Thus while we cannot conclude that there is no relationship between the two sets of terms in their philosophical use, we also have no proof that they were interchangeable.

Ran Yunhua 冉雲華 believes that the *Huangdi Sijing* and the *Laozi* are consistent in their preference for the female:

"The former (the *Lao-tzu*) concludes that 'the female always overcomes the male by tranquility', and the latter (the Silk Manuscripts) regards the 'male tally' as unfortunate and the 'female tally' as fortunate. As far as preference of 'females' is concerned, the *Lao-tzu* and the Silk Manuscripts are also in congruence"⁴¹.

On the basis of the texts we have examined so far we can only say that the use of 'hen' in both *Cixiong Jie* and the *Laozi* is consistent without wishing to argue further in that we do not yet know if *Cixiong Jie* is representative of the whole of the *Huangdi Sijing* as Ran seems to assume. We have looked at some of the concrete uses of cock and hen in *Zhuangzi*. The indices lack all reference to *pin* and *mu* in that work but cock and hen do occur in a philosophical sense. In a late chapter of the corpus *ci* and *xiong* have become associated with *Yin* and *Yang* in an exposition of cosmology:

"*Yin* and *Yang* mutually illuminate, mutually harm, mutually order;
The four seasons mutually succeed, mutually birth, mutually slay;
Desiring, disliking; expelling, achieving, then flattery arises,
Cock, hen, separating, gathering, then they are constantly there"⁴².

This passage is interesting in that in *Guan* it is *pin-mu* which are associated with the process of cosmogenesis rather than cock and hen as here. Moreover, the link with *Yin-Yang* in *Xing Zheng* is with hard and soft, a pair associated with *pin-mu* rather than *ci-xiong* in our text.

In chapter 42 of *Guanzi* terminology relevant to our inquiry occurs:

Dao De Jing 61 (Mawangdui AB composite): 大邦者下流也，天下之牝也，天下之交也。
牝恆以靜勝牡，為其靜也，故宜為下也。

41 Ran Yunhua, *Human Nature and its cosmic roots*, p. 228

Please note that Chinese names are always transliterated according to standard mainland romanisation.

42 *Zhuangzi* 25 *Ze Yang* 則陽 72/25/70: 陰陽相照相蓋(害)相治，四時相代相生相殺，
欲惡去就於是橋(矯)起，雌雄片合於是庸有。

"Centred and still, not retaining anything; With abundance of virtue and so not asking for anything; shaping by the womanly colour. In his resting, peaceful in yielding, joyful in silence, promoting virtue and not competing, so as to await disturbances of under-Heaven to emerge. Thus the worthy is peaceful and tranquil, correct and silent, fixing first the yielding mode, acting on not-daring, and standing on not-able, keeping the weak mode and affirming it. Thus he does not go against the times of heaven, does not confuse the people's effort: grasping the season to foster men, putting virtue first and punishments last, flowing along with Heaven, appraising man in acting"⁴³.

The expression "shaping by the womanly colour", *xing yu nu se* 形於女色, is taken to be the same as "shaping by the womanly mode", *xing yu nu jie* 刑於女節, and so in these few lines we are faced with three similar expressions: "womanly colour or mode", "yielding mode" and "weak mode" (*nu se (jie)*, *rou jie* and *ruo jie* 女色, 柔節, 弱節). It looks as if the *Guanzi* 管子 text is later than the *Huangdi Sijing* and one in which the various similar terminologies have merged to be simply stylistic variants. If indeed the process of convergence had begun in the time of the *Huangdi Sijing* then Chang and Feng would be right to amend 112a33-112b 1 referring to the hen mode with material describing the yielding mode in 138a 11-12. The only point we can make here is that it should not be assumed that because a later text indiscriminately equates variant forms these forms have always been considered similar. Proof is required.

The fourth major text to be studied is the *Huainanzi*. In chapter one the hen mode is spoken of in terms rather similar to the tenour of *Cixiong Jie*:

"Hence the sage keeps to the pure Way and embraces the hen mode;

Adapting to movement and responding to change;

Constantly behind and not in front;

Yielding and weak so as to be silent; calm and restful so as to be fixed.

When encountering great obstacles he does not try to compete with them."⁴⁴

43 *Guanzi* 42 *Shi* 勢 p. 150c: 中靜不留，裕德不求，形於女色。
其所處者，柔安靜樂，行德而不爭，以待天下之瀆作也。
故賢者安徐正靜，柔節先定，
行於不敢，而立於不能，守弱節而堅處之。
故不犯天時，不亂民功。秉時養人，先德後刑。
順於天，微度人。

44 *Huainanzi* 1 *Yuan Dao* 原道訓 p. 27: 是故聖人守清道而抱雌節，
因循應變，常後而不先。
柔弱以靜，舒安以定。

Gao You 高誘's note on *ci* (hen) in this passage is "yielding and weak" 柔弱也, thus using the terminology of the third line above and perhaps drawing on a tradition that might have combined the three terms for this mode. The fact that the note was necessary at all seems to suggest that the expression hen mode was not immediately comprehensible. In *Wenzi* the text is similar and any variations between the two do not affect the argument exposed here⁴⁵.

The terms *pin-mu* occur twice in chapter four. In a section Major heads *topographical influences* it is said, "Hills govern maleness, valleys govern femaleness"⁴⁶. Here this pair is associated with *de* 德 and *xing* 刑 for it is said that mountains result from accumulating *de* and river valleys from accumulating *xing*⁴⁷. It is worth noting that *Guan*, in which *pin-mu* are found, also employs the pair *de-xing*, which we will discuss in our next chapter. Further on in the same chapter of the *Huainanzi*, in a passage Major entitles *taxonomy* the pair of male and female are related to *Yin* and *Yang*:

"Extreme yin produces females, extreme yang produces males"⁴⁸.

This association of *pin-mu* with *Yin-Yang* is also found in *Guan* and underlines the complementarity of the pair. The character *pin* is found again at the end of chapter four describing soil which is explained by Zhuang Kuiji 莊逵吉 as referring to the North: "The female earth is the northern earth"⁴⁹. Major translates as "passive earth"⁵⁰.

The use of *mu* in chapter five to speak of sacrificial animals need not detain us here, nor need its use in chapter 17 where it refers to the mortise of a door⁵¹.

In Chapter Six there is an association of *ci* and *xiong* with the Yellow Emperor, a matter which is pertinent to a consideration of *Cixiong Jie*:

"When the Yellow Emperor ruled under-Heaven... he governed the *qi* of *Yin* and *Yang*, measured the extent of the four seasons, corrected the numbering of rule and

45 *Wenzi* 1 *Yuan Dao* 原道 p. 831c: 故聖人隨時而舉事，因資而立功，守清道，拘雌節，因循而應變，常後而不先，柔弱以靜，安徐以定，功大靡堅，不能與爭也。

46 *Huainanzi* 4 *Di Xing* 地形訓 p. 140: 丘陵為牡，巖谷為牝。
See also Major, J.S., *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought*, p. 167

47 *Huainanzi* 4 *Di Xing* p. 139: 山為積德，川為積刑。

48 *Huainanzi* 4 *Di Xing* p. 144: 至陰生牝，至陽生牡。; Major, J.S., *Heaven and Earth*, p. 179

49 Zhuang Kuiji's note is cited in *Huainanzi* p. 158: 牝土，北方土也。

50 Major, J.S., *Heaven and Earth*, p. 213

51 *Huainanzi* 5 *Shi Ze* 時則訓 p. 161; Major, J.S., *Heaven and Earth*, p. 225;
Huainanzi 17 *Shuo Lin* 說林訓 p. 570

calendar, distinguished man and woman, differentiated hen and cock, clarified upper and lower"⁵².

Here, unlike in *Cixiong Jie*, hen and cock are linked to *Yin* and *Yang* but the common point is that *Cixiong Jie* opens with the Yellow Emperor studying the order of the universe. Yu Mingguang 余明光 reads the passage in question, 112a 5-8, as the Yellow Emperor studying the calendar, just as in the *Huainanzi*:

"The Yellow Lord penetrated the calendar..."⁵³.

The term *tun* 屯 here translated as "penetrating" is interpreted according to a similar expression in the later *Lun Heng*, where, in Chapter 39, it is said that Zhou Changsheng 周長生 was a disciple of Zou Yan 鄒衍 and wrote a book in ten *pian* 篇 entitled "Penetrating the Calendar" 洞歷⁵⁴. This book recounted everything that happened from the time of the Yellow Emperor until that of the Han dynasty and so earned its title in the sense that it penetrated to the earliest matters and reached out to the last⁵⁵. The problem with applying this interpretation to 112a 5-8 is that it leaves the following phrase, "the constancy of auspicious and inauspicious" (112a 9-12) ungoverned by any verb. Thus it seems more plausible to read "*dongli* 洞歷" as a compound verb, "penetrated". What we find in *Cixiong Jie* is, however, not unrelated to the calendar for it is an attempt to expound the principles of history. *Yin* and *Yang*, though, are not invoked in *Cixiong Jie*. It may be that by the time of the *Huainanzi* cock and hen were being used in the *Yin-Yang* context and thus converged with *pin* and *mu* thereby permitting the establishment of the binomials *cipin* and *xiongmu* that we find in *Wenzi*.

Certainly in the *Shuoyuan* 說苑 the distinction of *pin-mu* for animals and *ci-xiong* for birds is dominated by *Yin-Yang* divisions reminiscent of the last passage of *Cheng* (164b 6- 167a 2)⁵⁶. However, that passage does not list *ci-xiong* in the *Yin-Yang* system as here in the *Shuo Yuan*:

"Among birds, the cock is *Yang* and the hen is *Yin*;

52 *Huainanzi* 6 *Lan Ming* 覽冥訓 pp. 205-6: 昔者, 黃帝治天下...治陰陽之氣, 節四時之度, 正律曆之數, 別男女, 辨雌雄, 明上下, 等貴賤, 使強不掩弱, 衆不暴寡。

53 *Cixiong Jie* 112a 5-8: 黃后屯歷。

54 *Lun Heng* 39 *Chao Qi* 朝奇篇 p. 137: 長生之才, 非徒銳於牒牘也, 作洞歷十篇, 上自黃帝, 下至漢朝。 Changsheng's talent was not such that he was limited to pen-pushing secretarial work, he composed "Penetrating the Calendar", which began with the Yellow Emperor and reached down to the Han dynasty.

55 上同下達 (reference, see previous note)

56 This section of *Cheng* is discussed in the first part of my chapter five below (5.1).

Among beasts, the male is *Yang* and the female *Yin*"⁵⁷.

The *Yi Zhou Shu* also refers to both *pin-mu* and *ci-xiong* in a *yin-yang* context:

"*Yin* overcoming *yang* is called change, and Heaven does not promote it:

Hen overcoming cock is called confusion, and man does not do it"⁵⁸.

"Who can accord the naming of *yin* and *yang*;

Who can mingle the uniting of *pin* and *mu* ?"⁵⁹.

The application of *yin-yang* to both pairs was then certainly carried out in these later works. From this we may conclude that the *yin-yang* section of *Cheng*, with its otherwise inexplicable omissions of both *pin-mu* and *ci-xiong*, is not an attempt to summarise the pairs encountered throughout the *Huangdi Sijing*. We may also suppose that *Cixiong Jie* and *Cheng* do not necessarily share a common origin. This leads us to examine the status of the *Cixiong Jie* chapter within the whole *Huangdi Sijing*.

2.7 The language of *Cixiong Jie* in the *Huangdi Sijing*

We have seen that the use of cock and hen is largely confined to *Cixiong Jie* in the whole text. Further examination reveals that this is not the only peculiarity of the chapter. Even without having conducted a complete statistical examination one can nonetheless note some curious features. Most striking of all is the absence of the word for Heaven *Tian* 天. This character appears in every chapter of the manuscript except in II.11 and II.15. The former passage is about military affairs and only occupies two and a half columns of text (126b-129b). It does, though, use the term *Dao* 道 four times. The latter passage is very brief indeed, only occupying one and a half columns (141a-142a). Thus the absence of *Tian* 天 in these passages may be understood as due to their brevity. *Cixiong Jie* is, however, four and a half columns long (112a-116b).

Other common terms that are missing are *Dao* 道, *shun* 順 and *ni* 逆. *Dao* is found in every chapter but I.2,7; II.1,4,7 and 13. Its absence is not then so remarkable yet still deserves a mention. *Ni* is commonest in *Jingfa*, occurring in all but I.3. In *Shiliu Jing* it

57 *Shuo Yuan* 18 *Bian Wu* 辨物 18.10/153/7: 其在鳥，則雄為陽，雌為陰；
其在獸，則牡為陽，而牝為陰。

58 *Yi Zhou Shu* 66 *Yin Zhu Jie* 殷祝解 66/42/1: 陰勝陽即謂之變，而天弗施；
雌勝雄即為止亂，而人弗行。

59 *Yi Zhou Shu* 67 *Zhou Zhu Jie* 周祝解 67/42/29: 陰陽之號也孰使之？
牝牡之合也孰交之？

is found in every chapter but II.1,4,7,9,12 and 15. *Shun* is found in all but I.2,7,9; II.1,3,4,7,8,9,10,11,13 and 15. Taken together this means that one or other of the two is found in every chapter but II.1,4,7,9 and 15. Neither appears in IV and both are rare in *Cheng* (one occurrence of *ni* [162a] and two of *shun* [155b]). The absence of *pin* and *mu* has already received attention. To this one could add the absence of *yin* and *yang* and of *wen* 文 and *wu* 武, a pair which is found only in certain parts of *Jingfa*. The argument from silence cannot wholly convince but taken all in all it would seem that *Cixiong Jie* does stand out as a literary piece which forms a distinct unit⁶⁰

There are two features which do link the chapter to other parts of the *Shiliu Jing*, though neither is conclusive. The *Shiliu Jing* refers several times to the Yellow Emperor and in *Cixiong Jie* it is surely he who is designated by the title the Majestic Lord 皇后. The normal appellation elsewhere is "yellow emperor" (II. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 and 14). In II.1 he is called the "yellow ancestor" *huang zong* 黄宗. Thus even though we suppose the title of *Cixiong Jie* to refer to the same personage it is nonetheless distinctive. The second feature has already been mentioned, namely the use of the "yielding mode" and "weak mode" and "womanly mode" in *Shun Dao*⁶¹. *Shun Dao* also shows the same concern for keeping behind rather than in front. Yet the context in *Shun Dao* is quite different. The Yellow Emperor is named as such and is shown as in dialogue with Li Mo, as in several chapters of the *Shiliu Jing*⁶². *Yin-yang* and Heaven are all mentioned. If one were to posit any relationship between *Shun Dao* and *Cixiong Jie* then perhaps the most plausible candidate would be that *Shun Dao* integrates the ideas of *Cixiong Jie* into a wider perspective. Certainly it is not possible to substantiate a relationship in the other direction, from *Shun*

60 *Cixiong Jie* comprises 7% of the *Shiliu Jing* but certain common characters are much more common than 7%:
(% of the number of occurrences of a graph in *Cixiong Jie* to total number of its occurrences in *Shiliu Jing*):

Bei 備 50%; *Yi* 亦 44%; *Fan* 凡 43%; *Shi* 是 34%; *Heng* 恆 33%; *Ze* 則 30%; *Ye* 也 14%; *Fu* 夫 13%

Some are considerably lower than the norm: *Zhi* 之 4%; *Qi* 其 3%; *You* 有 2%

It is rare that *Bu* 不 (not) is commoner than *Zhi* 之 (of) in Warring States philosophical works, though it is the case for *Cheng* and here for *Cixiong Jie*. In *Shiliu Jing* the ratio of *Bu* to *Zhi* is 85:100; in *Cixiong Jie* it is 217:100. Absolute values are *Bu* 13 instances; *Zhi* 6 instances. Terms such as *ci* and *xiong* are largely proper to *Cixiong Jie* but so too is *cun* 存 to exist. *Cun* is found in *Jingfa* (9 instances) and *Cheng* (6 instances) but in *Shiliu Jing* is found only here in *Cixiong Jie* (4 instances) and in the anomalous fifteenth chapter (1 instance). These statistics reinforce the specific identity of *Cixiong Jie*.

61 138a 7-8 柔節; 138b 17-18 女節; 139a 16-17 弱節

62 *Guan* and *Cheng Fa*. Li Mo also appears in dialogue with Gao Yang in *Xing Zheng* and with *Taishan zhi Ji* in *Zheng Luan*.

Dao to Cixiong Jie.

From this one study, we may suppose that the chapters of *Shiliu Jing* have been gathered together from separate essays to create an anthology rather than a systematic exposition. By examining the use of other key pairs it should be possible to show whether this literary style is also reflected on the philosophical level. Already we have seen that cock and hen in *Cixiong Jie* are not used in the same way as *pin* and *mu* in *Guan*. This may just be because *Cixiong Jie* is an anomalous chapter within the whole work, or it may reflect a pattern in which different chapters or discourse units come from different philosophical backgrounds.

Conclusions

1. *Cixiong Jie* is a self-contained unit with a clear logical structure;
2. The hen and cock modes are an antagonistic pair; *pin* and *mu* a complementary pair;
3. The terms "hen, weak, yielding" are perhaps interchangeable;
4. *Pin* and *mu* are regularly associated with soft-hard, *yin-yang*;
5. From being an antagonistic pair, cock and hen become a complementary pair and in post *Huangdi Sijing* times are integrated with *pin* and *mu*.

Chapter Three: *Xing* 刑 *De* 德

The second pair that we shall discuss is the pair, *xing-de* 刑德. Whereas *ci-xiong* was confined to *Cixiong Jie*, *xing-de* is a dominant pair in two chapters of *Shiliu Jing*: *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*. These two chapters have already drawn our attention for their treatment of *pin-mu*, in *Guan*, and "hard-soft" in both. When we turn to *xing-de* we find an even closer relationship between the two. A cursory glance reveals that both carry the same line, "Whatever principles of suppression there are, are in *xing* and *de*"¹. Detailed study will perhaps uncover further links.

Before proceeding further a note is in order regarding the translation of the terms. The matter has been discussed in a paper by John Major who suggests "recision" and "accretion"². He notes that the popular rendering "punishments and rewards" is appropriate when it is a question of actions performed by the ruler but he argues that another translation should be sought when it is a matter of attributes of the cosmos. His choice lights on two latinised terms. The terms have not gained widespread acceptance. Various reasons for this can be advanced. They are not immediately intelligible and they introduce a distracting contrast between a passive idea, "accretion", and an active one, "recision"³. Until a better suggestion is reached it is perhaps easiest to stick to the transliterations: *xing* and *de* when the pair "refers to a cosmological principle, a phase of the annual cycle in response to which the ruler bestows rewards or executes punishment"⁴.

A second step prior to a study of the pair is to isolate the paired use of the two characters from their frequent and independent use throughout the first three books of the *Huangdi Sijing*. Neither character is found in the fourth book, *Dao Yuan*.

3.1 Distribution of the character *de* 德

<i>Jingfa</i> :	<i>Jun Zheng</i>	6	14b, 15b, 16a, 18a, 21b (x2)
	<i>Da Fen</i>	3	28b, 30a, 33a
	<i>Lun</i>	1	54b

1 *Guan* 86a 13-20; *Xing Zheng* 108b 1-8: 凡戡之極，在刑與德。

2 Major, J.S., *The Meaning of "Hsing-te"*. See following two notes, which refer to this essay:

3 Major admits to having discussed the latin root of "recision" with a Professor Bradley. Bears of lesser brain perhaps lack such good fortune. p. 286, note 17

4 Major, J.S., *The Meaning of "Hsing-te"*, p. 291

Chapter Three: *Xing-De*

	<i>Wang Lun</i>	2	58b, 64a
<i>Shiliu Jing</i> :	<i>Guan</i>	8	81b, 85a, 85b (x3), 86a (x2), 87b
	<i>Guo Tong</i>	2	96b, 97a
	<i>Xing Zheng</i>	10	107a, 108b (x3), 109a (x5), 111b
	<i>Cixiong Jie</i>	4	113b, 115a, 116a (x2)
	<i>Shun Dao</i>	2	138b (x2)
<i>Cheng</i> :	no. 19	2	150a (x2)
	final section	1	166b

Thus *de* is found forty-one times in all, twelve in *Jingfa*, twenty-six in the *Shiliu Jing* and three in *Cheng*. It is paired with several different complementary or opposite characters: *xing*, *nue* 虐, *yang* 殃, *yuan* 怨, *ren* 刃, and *gong* 功.

The first two uses in *Jun Zheng* are related to the ruler's behaviour and may be relevant to the *xing-de* contrast as will be shown later⁵. The third instance refers to the ruler's being a person of virtue who will love the people⁶. In the fourth case people who are rewarded in a just regime are not *de*, overly grateful, just as those who are punished in the same regime are not resentful (*yuan*)⁷. Further on, the mother's giving and the munificence of Heaven and Earth are both termed *de*⁸.

Da Fen contrasts the *de* of *wen* 文 with the *ren* 刃 of *wu* 武⁹. The former means gentle giving, the latter is the sharp blade of the punishing sword. The stress is on the pair *wen-wu* which will be discussed in our next chapter. *Da Fen* also uses *de* in combination with the adjective *xuan* 玄, the dusky colour of the sky¹⁰. The phrase thus produced is very much a Daoist one. Both *Da Fen* and *Lun* use *de* in combination with *ming* 明, brightness, a phrase made famous by the *Da Xue*¹¹.

In *Wang Lun* *de* is used in the expression "rebellious virtue" (*ni de* 逆德), which

5 *Jun Zheng* 14b 14-18 In the second year use their *de* 二年用其德, 15a 29- 15b 4 If in the second year one uses their *de* then the people will have strength 二年用其德, 則民有力。

6 *Jun Zheng* 16a 26- 31: 德者愛勉之也。

7 *Jun Zheng* 18a 4-13 The one receiving rewards is not overly grateful and the one being punished for a crime is not resentful, this is being appropriate 受賞無德, 受罪無怨, 當也。

8 *Jun Zheng* 21b 11-20 Without the virtue of a mother one cannot obtain the full strength of the people. 無母之德, 不能盡民之力。21b 21-31 When the conduct of father and mother are present, then this is the virtue of Heaven-Earth. 父母之行備, 則天地之德也。

9 *Da Fen* 30a 20- 30b 4 The virtue of *wen* extending to the lightest and smallest things, the edge of *wu* to ..., this is the root of reigning. 文德究於輕細, 武刃於. . . , 王之本也。

10 *Da Fen* 33a 21- 27 The one who rules under-heaven has the dusky virtue. 王天下者有玄德。

11 *Da Xue* p. 1: The Way of great learning is to make bright one's bright virtue. 大學之道在明明德。

will be discussed in our chapter six. *De* is also contrasted with *gong*, effort. It is not enough to exert oneself and do much; showing *de* is the only guarantee that one's efforts will not be destroyed¹².

In *Guan* seven of the uses of *de* are paired with *xing* and one with *nue*. In *Guo Tong* *de* is paired with *nue* whilst in *Xing Zheng* all cases of *de* are paired with *xing*. These are the instances that will be discussed in the present chapter. A further use in *Guo Tong* associates the earth with *de*¹³.

The contrast of *de* and *yang* in *Cixiong Jie* is related to the opposition of *ci* and *xiong* as shown in my previous chapter¹⁴. Whilst in *Shun Dao* *de* is related to non-competition and the yielding mode¹⁵. One use in *Cheng* is also along the same lines¹⁶. The only other passage in *Cheng* to mention *de* is the nineteenth aphorism which talks of *de* in contrast with *li* 力, force¹⁷.

Xing is used even more than *de*. In early Han times when the manuscript was copied there was not the distinction of radicals between *xing* 刑, punishment, *xing* 形, form, and *xing* 型, model. In the following survey we will exclude all those cases in which *xing* can be read with anything other than the *dao* 刀 radical in modern Chinese. We will also exclude cases in which it is the verb "to imitate"¹⁸. This leaves us with forty-four uses to consider: sixteen in *Jingfa*, twenty-six in *Shiliu Jing* and two in *Cheng*.

3.2 Distribution of the character *xing* 刑

<i>Jingfa</i> :	<i>Jun Zheng</i>	6	15a, 15b, 16b, 18b, 20b (x2)
	<i>Si Du</i>	1	40a
	<i>Wang Lun</i>	6	58b (x2), 59b, 60a, 62b, 65a
	<i>Lun Yue</i>	3	66a, 68a, 68b
<i>Shiliu Jing</i> :	<i>Guan</i>	10	85a, 85b (x3), 86a (x2), 87b, 88a, 88b, 90a

12 *Wang Lun* 58b 11-17 One whose virtue is scant whilst his achievements be great, will be overthrown. 德薄而功厚者驥。

13 *Guo Tong* 96b 27-97a 8 The earth nourishes *de* by stillness and Heaven corrects names by movement. 地育德以靜，而天正名以作。

14 *Cixiong Jie* 113b 2-3 accumulating virtue 積德; 113a 19-20 accumulating disaster 積殃, also 116a 16 and 18.

15 *Shun Dao* 138b . 15-31 In shaping according to the womanly mode what is mastered is the weak...correct virtue, liking virtue and not competing. 刑於女節，所主乃柔。 . . . 正德，好德不爭。

16 *Cheng* 166b 11-17 The virtue of earth is peaceful, calm, correct and still. 地之德安徐正靜。

17 *Cheng* no. 19 He who has not yet attained the pole of the seasons conceals himself in virtuous conduct (privately), Once he has attained the pole, he makes his virtue go far.

150a20-34 時極未至，而隱於德。既得其極，遠其德。

18 *Bing Rong* 116b6-13 If the army does not imitate Heaven, the army cannot be moved. 兵不刑天，兵不可動。

Chapter Three: *Xing-De*

	<i>Wu Zheng</i>	1	95a
	<i>Zheng Luan</i>	3	106b
	<i>Xing Zheng</i>	10	108b (x2), 109a (x6), 111b, 112a
	<i>Bing Rong</i>	2	116b, 117b
	<i>Xing Shou</i>	1	134b
	<i>Shun Dao</i>	1	138b
<i>Cheng:</i>	no. 16	1	149b
	no. 48	1	161a

As with *de* so here too with *xing* *Guan* and *Xing Zheng* stand out as having the largest number of instances.

In *Jun Zheng xing* is used in two combinations, one with *zheng* 正 and one with *fa* 罰. The former refers to the policy of the ruler in the fifth year of a seven-year cycle and means criminal law¹⁹. It seems to be in contrast to the policy of the second year which employed *de*. Thus here we have a contrast of *xing* and *de* though it is not very explicit and is confined to the ruler's actions. It is not a suitable candidate for what Major terms "accretion" and "recision". The same sense of criminal law is borne by the use of *xing* with *fa*, which refers to obedience to the laws promulgated²⁰.

In *Si Du* and *Wang Lun* there is reference to a crime called *da xing* 達刑, causing due punishment to be neglected, and in *Bing Rong* we learn that this is something the sage does not do²¹. The same expression, with the addition of Heaven, occurs in *Guan*²². In other passages also Heaven itself may punish²³. The punishments may also be carried out by the ruler²⁴, who must ensure that they do not fall on the guiltless²⁵. In contrast the forty-eighth aphorism of *Cheng* advocates abolishing all use of *xing*:

"Of those who rule a country well, the highest is without punishments"²⁶.

19 *Jun Zheng* 15a 2-7; 15b 23-27 五年(而)以刑正。

20 *Jun Zheng* 18b 17-18; 20b 3-4 刑罰

21 *Si Du* 40a 11-12; *Wang Lun* 58b 29-30; 65a 6-7; *Bing Rong* 117b 9-10 達刑. See my note on 40a 11.

22 *Guan* 90a 6-9 He does not cause the punishments of Heaven to be disregarded. 不達天刑。

23 *Wang Lun* 59b 22-31 Heaven will not fulfill its destiny, rather it will redouble its punishments. 天將不盈其命而重其刑。 *Lun Yue* 68a 28-9 天刑; *Cheng* no. 16 (149b 11-18) Heaven has its punishment circling round, when it comes round one receives the disaster (heaven sends). 天有還刑, 反受其殃。

24 *Wu Zheng* 95a 11-19 For the one who turns against justice and goes counter to the seasons, his punishment will be like that of Chi You. 反義逆時, 其刑視蚩尤。; *Zheng Luan* 106b 16-20 Do not contravene my constant punishments. 毋失吾恆刑。

25 *Wang Lun* 60a 33-60b 1; 62b 15-17 Punishing those who have committed no crime. 刑無罪. This is condemned.

26 *Cheng* 161a 28-35: 善為國者, 太上無刑。 That ideal rule should dispense with law and rely on moral persuasion alone was a widely held belief. As we shall see the Yellow Emperor was used to argue that while this might be an ideal in a perfect world it was unrealistic in the real world. Confucius argued in its favour. He claimed

In *Lun Yue xing* is associated with the season for executing justice and is associated with *wu*, a term discussed in the next chapter of this thesis²⁷. There are two cases related to the "modes" (*jie 節*) in the *Shiliu Jing*. In one *xing* are not to be practised according to the cock mode; in the other, they are to be done according to the womanly mode²⁸.

If one compares the distribution of *xing* with that of *de*, it emerges that the two could only occur in contrast in five chapters: *Jun Zheng*, *Wang Lun*, *Guan*, *Xing Zheng* and *Shun Dao*. The first of these five has just been discussed with the observation that it does not constitute a contrast of Major's "accretion" and "recision". In *Wang Lun* the two terms are not directly contrasted at all. In *Shun Dao de* may be used in contrast to *xing* but damage to the relevant passage makes it hard to be certain of this. Thus it would seem that the most profit can be gained from a study of the use of *xing-de* in *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*. Moreover, we will also be looking for evidence of a relationship between these two chapters to see if they form a unit.

3.3 The use of *xing-de* in *Guan*

The structure of *Guan* may be set out as follows:

- (1) The Yellow Emperor commands Li Mo²⁹ to observe the world;
- (2) Li Mo wants to grasp the standard of flowing against (*ni*) and flowing with (*shun*), *de* and *nue*;
- (3) The Yellow Emperor expounds cosmological origins in terms of *yin-yang*. It is in this context that *xing* and *de* are first mentioned.
- (4) A eulogy of the sage who has no craft.

This brief pattern raises some immediate questions. It must be asked to what extent *xing-de* is associated with *yin-yang* and also how far the second section with its use of *de-nue* is related to the third with its use of *xing-de*. With these questions in mind we shall look first of all at the *xing-de* passages³⁰.

that rule by *zheng*, making correct, and *xing*, punishments, was inferior to rule by *de*, virtue, and *li*, rites. (*Lun Yu 2 Wei Zheng*: 道之以政，齊之以刑，民免而無耻。道之以德，齊之以禮，有耻且格。 Lead them by correction, level them by punishments, the people will fear but have no shame. Lead them with virtue, level them with rites, they will have shame and become good.)

27 *Lun Yue* 66a 12-15 In one season executing and killing. 一時刑殺。 This is the season of *wu* 武.

28 *Xing Shou* 134b 25-28 刑於雄節。 ; *Shun Dao* 138b 15-18 刑於女節。

29 Li Mo 李墨 is known as Li Mu 李牧 in the *Shiji*. *Shiji 1 Wudi Benji* 五帝本紀 p. 6

30 *Guan* 84b 33-86b 2: 是口口羸陰布德，口口口口民功者，所以食之也。

"This... when *yin* is at its maximum³¹, then one can move on to promote *de*;
 the people is achievement, is that by which you feed them.
 When *yang* begins to contract then you can sharpen *xing*,
 When *yin* doubles, night lengthens;
Qi overshadows the earth to make her pregnant,
 This is that by which they can continue their family line.
 Without trammel or restraint, rectify them with *xing* and *de*:
 In Spring and Summer carry out *de*; in Autumn and Winter carry out *xing*.
 Let *de* be first; let *xing* be last, so as to foster life.
 When clans arose and had been established, enemies brought conflict into being.
 If not overcome there would be no stability.
 Whatever principles of suppression there are, are in *xing* and *de*.
Xing and *de* are clear and brilliant, as the sun and moon face each other
 Thereby illuminating their opposition.
 And filling out with no empty holes."

The passage is interrupted by an insertion and continues³²,

"By according with the seasons so as to foster the people's work
 Putting *de* first and *xing* last, one flows along with Heaven."

We may consider this text in four parts. There is an initial contrast in which *de* is the policy adopted by the ruler at the height of *yin* and *xing* the policy begun when *yang* starts its decline. Together they lead to food for the people and continuance of the family line. The process of an opposite beginning at the peak of its contrary is familiar to us from the popular black and white *yin-yang* diagram: ☯. From general principles the contrast is then interpreted in seasonal terms. The year is divided into two with Spring and Summer first and Autumn-Winter last. The seasons are explicitly mentioned by name. A third section

宿陽修刑，重陰長夜，氣閉地孕者，所以繼之也。
 不廢不繼，而正之以刑與德。
 春夏為德，秋冬為刑。先德後刑以養生。
 姓生已定，而敵者生爭，不戡不定。凡戡之極，在刑與德。
 刑德皇皇，日月相望，以明其當，而盈口無匡。
 夫并時以養民功，先德後刑，順於天。

Guan 87b 16- 29:

- 31 The contrast is between *ying* and *su*, being at a peak and being in decline. Here the manuscript writes 羸 and 宿. In 86b (see note above) *ying* is written 盈 and in 88a 5 *su* is written 絀. These graphic variants do not affect the basic contrast, derived from the phases of the moon.
- 32 86b 2- 87a 6 This section, not translated here, is discussed in my chapter on *yin-yang*. Please note I have also not included 87a 7-87b 15 in the above translation either as it does not use the terms *de* or *xing*.

hits on the problem of conflict and shows that *xing-de* come to reply to the presence of conflict among human clans.

The final few lines from 87b summarise the *xing-de* policy by putting it in the context of Heaven. The ruler's actions are to be in harmony with the patterns of the seasons.

While the plea may be for *de* to come before *xing*, both are required, both to conform to the seasons of the year and to deal with the presence of conflict among men. Thus we may call *xing-de* a complementary rather than an antagonistic pair.

3.4 The use of *Xing-De* in *Xing Zheng*

The title of *Xing Zheng* is precisely that of clan conflict. Like *Guan* the chapter is a dialogue involving Li Mo, but now his interlocuteur is the Yellow Emperor's grandson, Gao Yang 高陽. Li Mo traces conflict back to the very appearance of men. The same words about the need for *xing-de* reappear but the passage continues with a further exposition of how the two require each other³³.

Once Heaven and Earth were formed, the black-haired peoples were born.

When clans arose and had been established, enemies brought conflict into being.

If not overcome there would be no stability.

Whatever principles of suppression there are, are in *xing* and *de*.

Xing and *de* are clear and brilliant, as the sun and moon face each other

Thereby illuminating their opposition.

When this mutual facing is not directly opposed,

One can see the disasters it brings all around.

Heaven's *de* is clear and brilliant but without *xing* it cannot function.

Magnificent is the *xing* of Heaven but without *de* it will surely be overturned.

Xing and *de* foster each other;

Going counter to and with the flow, thus they achieve completeness.

33 *Xing Zheng* 108a 15- 109b 12:

天地已成，黔首乃生。姓生已定，敵者生爭。
 不戡不定。凡戡之極，在刑與德。
 刑德皇皇，日月相望，以明其當。
 墜失其當，環視其殃，天德皇皇，非刑不行，
 稷稷天刑，非德必傾。刑德相養，逆順若成。
 刑晦而德明，刑陰而德陽，刑微而德彰。
 其明者以為法，而微道是行。

Xing is dark and *de* bright; *xing* is *yin* and *de yang*;

Xing is hidden and *de* manifest.

Take that which is bright as the law and follow the Way which is hidden.

In this passage there is no mention of the seasons. The problem of conflict is the starting point for the subsequent exposition of *xing* and *de*. The exposition relies on drawing out a comparison with the sun and moon so as to stress that neither partner in the pair is complete without the other. The distinction is made very explicitly in terms of *yin-yang*. The final line is interesting in that it introduces another contrast between the Way which is hidden and the Law (*fa*) which is manifest. This leads to the association of *xing* as the hidden with the Way and *de* as the manifest with the Law. One might expect *xing* to have been associated with the law, especially since the two can form a compound noun as in *Bing Rong*³⁴, but here in *Xing Zheng* the logic of the metaphor leads to a different pairing up. This tells us that the opposition of *yin-yang* is not based on an inherent quality of the things considered. What matters is the point of view one adopts. From the point of view of the people *xing* is a legal punishment and hence associated with Law, whereas from the point of view of brightness, *de* is the greater light and is thus associated with the Law as the visible manifestation of the mysterious Way.

Following the text cited above *xing-de* only recur once in *Xing Zheng*:

"If one goes beyond the pole and exceeds what is balanced,

Alters the old and transforms the constant,

Then there is no *de* and in applying *xing* it will be inappropriate"³⁵.

The language of going beyond the pole refers to continuing in the same policy, *xing* for instance, when the moment requires the introduction of its contrary, *de*. The pattern of reversal is what is here referred to as the constant and the old.

With this we conclude our survey of *xing-de* in the *Huangdi Sijing*. The next step in our investigation is to place the pair in its intellectual and historical context. This task will be done by considering the literature according to its genre and period. Thus we shall look initially at historical works dealing with the Spring and Autumn period, even if these

34 *Bing Rong* 116b 21-22: *xingfa* 刑法. However, the two characters could also be read, "if one's model or standard is not that of the human, then one's army will not be successful." 刑法不人, 兵不可成。 The point is of minor interest in the argument above, which is concerned with how to interpret *Guan* and not with false expectations raised by a sentence in *Bing Rong*.

35 *Xing Zheng* 11b 2-17: 過極伏當, 變古易常; 德則無有, 措刑不當。

were written up at a later date. After glancing at Confucius, we shall look at the historical works gathered around the conflict between the kingdoms of Wu and Yue in the early fifth century. Of the Warring States philosophers, Hanfei, Zhuang Zhou, Guan Zhong and Lu Buwei all deserve attention. Finally we shall look at the Han work, *Huainanzi*, using Major's study of accretion and recision in that work as a guide.

3.5 The Use of *xing-de* in historical works dealing with the Spring-Autumn period

Two works merit attention under this heading: the *Zuo Zhuan* and the *Shiji*. When quoting them we should bear in mind that the dates to which texts are ascribed are not necessarily their dates of composition but nonetheless the material contained in the historical books tends to be conservative by nature and hence may preserve something of its original context. At the very least the historical books show what it was thought plausible to ascribe to former men at the time of the editing of the works.

In 653 B.C., Guan Zhong 管仲 is depicted as saying,

"At the meeting of the feudal lords, regarding *de*, *xing*, rites and justice,
There is not a State which does not record them"³⁶.

Here we meet the pair *de-xing* along with rites and justice, a very Confucian context. Half a century later, in 597 B.C., Shi Hui 士會, commander of the first army of Jin 晉, describes Chu 楚 as the kind of State in which its "*de*, *xing*, administration, undertaking affairs, statutes and rites" were such that it "could not be opposed"³⁷. *Xing* is further described as punishing revolt, *fa pan* 伐叛 and *de* as yielding obedience to authority: *rou fu* 柔服³⁸. Seventeen years later, 584 B.C., an old worthy of Shen 申, Shu Shi 叔時 gives a simple definition of the pair:

"*De* is to bestow munificence; *Xing* is to rectify evil"³⁹.

The pair also occur in the petition of Cao 曹 to Jin 晉 in the same year whilst in the following year we are told that if *de* and *xing* are not established then debauchery and hostility will arrive together⁴⁰.

Whilst not using the precise terms, *xing-de*, there is a contrast between

36 *Zuo Zhuan* 98/Xi 禧 7/4: 夫諸侯之會，其德、刑、禮、義，無國不記。

37 *Zuo Zhuan* 196/Xuan 宣 12/3: 德、刑、政、事、典、禮，不易，不可敵也。

38 *Zuo Zhuan* 196/Xuan 宣 12/3: 伐叛，刑也。柔服，德也。

39 *Zuo Zhuan* 240/Cheng 成 16/7: 德以施惠。刑以正邪。

40 *Zuo Zhuan* 244/Cheng 成 16/Fu 附 3: 君不遺德刑以伯諸侯。Your Lordship does not reject *de-xing* and so is lord of princes; *Zuo Zhuan* 249/Cheng 成 17/13: 德刑不立。奸軌并至。(translated in text above).

shang-xing 賞刑, related to the four seasons, which is relevant to our inquiry. The comment is attributed to Shengzi 聲子:

"Those who of old governed the people,
Encouraged people to seek rewards (*shang*)
And to stand in awe of punishments (*xing*),
Showing compassion to the people without tiring,
Rewarding in Spring and Summer, punishing in Autumn and Winter"⁴¹.

These passages do not date from the time to which they are attributed but may well go back to the Confucian era. The same is probably not the case for a story in the *Shiji* which could as well be Han. Despite this uncertainty of dating it nonetheless gives us a good description of *xing-de*. Duke Yuan of Song, referred to as "king", 宋元王, reigned 532- 517 B.C., found a turtle and Wei Ping 衛平 explains why it is the jewel under Heaven:

"It makes clear *yin-yang* and determines *xing-de*.
It fortells profit and loss, inspects disaster and blessing"⁴².

The king remarks,

"Disaster and blessing are common, *xing* and *de* a pair;
The sage inspects the matter so as to know auspicious and inauspicious"⁴³.

Whilst the *Zuo Zhuan* stories listed *xing* and *de* among other principles of government and in the order *de, xing*, here the order is *xing-de* and the context is prognostication along lines familiar to us from *Cixiong Jie*. The association of *xing-de* with sun and moon is brought out in lines attributed, somewhat implausibly, to Confucius:

"The sun is *de* and is prince over under-Heaven
And is insulted by the three-legged bird;
The moon is *xing* and the minister on the left,
And is eaten by the toad"⁴⁴.

41 *Zuo Zhuan* 312/ *Xiang* 襄26/ *Fu* 附6:

古之治民者，功賞而畏刑，恤民不倦，賞以春夏，刑以秋冬。

42 *Shiji* 128 *Gui Ce Liezhuan* 龜策列傳 p. 3231: 明於陰陽，審於刑德。先知利害，察於禍福。

43 *Shiji* 128 *Gui Ce Liezhuan* 龜策列傳 p. 3233: 禍與福同，刑與德雙。聖人察之，以知吉凶。

44 *Shiji* p. 3237: 日為德而君於天下，辱於三足之鳥；月為刑而相佐，見食於蝦蟆。
The myth of the three-legged bird in the sun and the toad in the moon figures on the two funerary banners from Mawangdui. A pencil drawing of one of them by Sandra Smith-Garees appears on p. 50 of Major, *Heaven and Earth*. In this picture only two legs of the bird are visible, but Claude Larre suggests that the number three is depicted by the beak, tail and legs all reaching the circumference of the sun.

From these historical sources we can see some features in common with *Guan* and *Xing Zheng* but significant differences of context: that of rites and government in the *Zuo Zhuan* and of prognostication and myth in the *Shiji*.

3.6 The Use of *xing-de* in Confucian Literature

The terms *xing* and *de* do occur in the Analects and their use there may help in making more precise the commonly understood significance of the terms in educated discourse. Their most famous occurrence is in Confucius' remark,

"Lead them by administrative measures, give them uniformity by *xing*,
Then the people will seek to avoid punishments and yet be without shame;
Lead them by *de* and give them uniformity by rites,
Then they will have a sense of shame and moreover improve"⁴⁵.

Here there is an antithesis between administrative measures *cum xing* and *de cum* rites. Confucius is not only interested in outward obedience but in drawing the person to have a moral sense, "a sense of shame", from which right actions will proceed. *De* is very much the superior element in the contrast of *xing-de*. The next occurrence of the pair puts *xing* in a more favourable light:

"The gentleman thinks of *de*; the mean man thinks of his plot of earth.

The gentleman thinks of *xing*; the mean man thinks of grace and favour"⁴⁶.

The contrast in this saying is between the gentleman attentive to the greater principles and the mean man interested in purely material things. In this respect *xing* and *de* both have honour as worthy of the gentleman's attention. So from these two brief sayings we can see that Confucius favours *de* as opposed to *xing* yet also respects both as of greater value than mere material objects.

Whilst discussing Confucian literature, it would be worth drawing attention to a contrast in the *Zhou Yu* between two sage kings:

"Yao was able to apply laws impartially so as to give an example to the people...

Yu was able to use *de* to improve on Gun's works"⁴⁷.

45 *Lun Yu* 2 *Wei Zheng* 為政 p. 4: 道之以政，齊之以刑，民免而無耻。

道之以德，齊之以禮，有耻且格。

46 *Lun Yu* 4 *Li Ren* 里仁 p. 15: 君子懷德，小人懷土；

君子懷刑，小人懷惠。

47 *Guo Yu* 4 *Zhou Yu* 周語 p. 166: 堯能單(盡)均刑法以儀民。 . . .

禹能以德修鯀之功。

Now Yu is not mentioned in the Analects, though Yao is. Mencius, however, does praise Yu. Certainly the praise here is given to Yu over Yao. Yu is credited with being able to lead by moral suasion, *de*, whilst Yao is but able to use laws, *xingfa* 刑法, well⁴⁸.

3.7 The use of *xing-de* in Wu-Yue Literature

The *Taiping Yulan* records a saying from the *Fanzi Jiran* 管子計然:

"*De* takes its symbol from Spring and Summer;

Xing takes its symbol from Autumn and Winter"⁴⁹.

This passage is very close to *Guan* 85b. From the same milieu, namely the court of Yue 越 is the saying attributed to Ji Ni 計倪, or Ji Ran 計然, in the *Yue Jue Shu*⁵⁰:

"There is *yin-yang*, the myriad things, each with its warp and woof,

Sun, moon, constellations, *xing-de* transform into auspicious and inauspicious:

Flowing with them brings *de*; flowing against brings disaster,

Therefore the sage can make their *xing* bright and abide in their path,

Follow their *de* and avoid their opposition.

Whoever undertakes the hundred affairs must flow with Heaven-Earth,

And the four seasons and form a threesome with *yin-yang*"⁵¹.

The association of *xing-de* with auspicious and inauspicious recalls Wei Ping's discourse on the turtle. New to this citation from Ji Ran is the opposition of flowing with and flowing against, a contrast that we will consider in chapter six of the thesis.

In the *Yue Jue Shu* Fan Li 范蠡 is attributed one saying that contrasts *xing* and *de*:

"If in Spring it is cold and not-life-giving,

The king's *de* does not spread;

If in Summer it is wintry and things do not grow,

Then the subordinates will not obey their lord's command;

If in Autumn it is warm and flowers return to bud,

48 Zhuangzi (ch. 12 *Tiandi* 天地 Graham. *Chuang-tzu* p. 175) downgrades Yu by saying that he used laws whereas Yao did not. Zhuangzi also criticises the Mohists for following Yu's example (Ch. 33 *Tianxia* 天下 Graham, *Chuang-tzu*, p. 276). Authors used the sage kings to make doctrinal points.

49 *Taiping Yulan* Vol. 1, p. 105b: 德取象於春夏; 刑取象於秋冬。

50 The identity of Ji Ran is discussed in chapter eight of the thesis

51 *Yue Jue Shu* 5 *Yue Jue Ji Ni Neijing* 越絕計倪內經 p. 19/5-8

有陰陽萬物，各有紀綱，日月星辰，刑德變為吉凶。順之有德，逆之有殃，是故聖人能明其刑而處其向，從其德而避其衡。凡舉百事，必順天地四時，參以陰陽。

Then the punishments of the hundred officials will not be executed;
 If in Winter it is warm and wet and one opens the storehouses,
 Rewards will be without effect"⁵².

Whilst in *Guan* the seasons of Spring and Summer were treated together, here they are detailed separately. The same goes for Autumn and Winter.

3.8 Use of *xing-de* in Warring States philosophical works

In *Hanfeizi xing* and *de* appear completely devoid of the *yin-yang* background. After asking what the handles, by which a ruler manages his realm, are, Han Fei replies,

"The two handles are *xing-de*.
 Slaying and executing are called *xing*;
 Granting honours and rewards is called *de*.
 The lord of men himself uses his *xing* and *de*"⁵³.

In the *Weiliaozi* the divorce from *yin-yang* terminology is made explicit:

"The Yellow Emperor's *xing-de*: *xing* was for attacking, *de* was for defending...
 It was not any so-called Heavenly bodies, seasons and days, *yin-yang*,
 Facing towards or turning away.
 What the Yellow Emperor did was solely human affairs"⁵⁴.

Whilst here in the *Weiliaozi* there is a practical demythologising; in other texts there is development towards a theory of resonance, *gan-ying* 感應, that comes to a peak in *Huainanzi* and the *Chunqiu Fanlu*.

In chapter thirty of *Zhuangzi* we encounter the division into *yin-yang*, *xing-de* and Spring-Summer, Autumn-Winter:

"The sword of the Son of Heaven...is constructed according to the five agents, assessed by its *xing-de*, drawn by means of *yin-yang*, held in spring and summer, wielded

52 *Yue Jue Shu* 16 *Yue Jue Wai Zhuan Shen Zhong* 越絕外傳枕中 p. 48/20-21
 春肅而不生者，王德不究也；夏寒而不長者，臣下不奉主命也；
 秋順而復榮者，百官刑不斷也；冬溫而泄者，發府庫賞無功也。

53 *Hanfeizi* 7 *Er Bing* 二柄 p. :
 二柄者，刑德也。何謂刑德？曰，殺戮之謂刑，慶賞之謂德。人主自用其刑德。

54 *Weiliaozi* 1. *Tian Guan* 天官 (Zhou Baiyi 周百義, *Wujing Qishu* 武經七書, Harbin: Heilongjiang Renmin, 1982.) p. 207: 黃帝刑德，刑以伐之，德以守之，...非所謂天官、時日陰陽、向背也。黃帝者人事而已矣。

Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics*, p. 465 note 4, says that many commentators take the reference to "Heavenly Offices" (天官) as referring to a book of that name. Here I translate as "heavenly bodies".

in autumn and winter."⁵⁵

Graham includes the passage in the "Yangist miscellany". Set at the court of King Wen of Zhao 趙文王, 299- 266 B.C., it is of late Warring States or even early Han date. In contrast with the *Huangdi Sijing* it mentions the "five agents", *wu xing* 五行. Nowhere in the *Huangdi Sijing* do we ever find a reference to the five agents.

Guanzi provides further evidence of texts that must postdate the *Huangdi Sijing*. In talking about *xing-de*, chapter 42 of *Guanzi* includes reference to *wen* and *wu*, a pair found in *Jingfa* but not in *Shiliu Jing* and never in association with *xing-de*⁵⁶. The passage runs,

"Promoting *de* and not competing, so as to wait for disturbances under-Heaven...
 Putting *de* first and *xing* last, flowing along with Heaven and conforming to man...
 If one practices *wen* for three years, then justice and *de* will be valued;
 If one practices *wu* for three years then one can do without weapons and force"⁵⁷.

After the first line quoted above comes the passage on the weak mode translated in our previous chapter. Texts like this raise the question as to whether later authors gathered together disparate ideas in the *Huangdi Sijing* and edited them into one piece.

In chapter 40 of *Guanzi* the analysis of *xing-de* is carried into a detailed presentation of each season:

"*Yin-yang* are the main thread of Heaven-Earth;
 The four seasons are the main woof of *yin-yang*;
Xing-de are the unity of the four seasons.
 When *xing-de* combine with the seasons then blessing is born;
 When they do not match, then disaster is born...
De begins in spring and grows in summer;
Xing begins in autumn and spreads in winter.
 If *xing-de* are not lost, then the four seasons are as one.
 If *xing-de* depart from their course, then the seasons go in reverse"⁵⁸.

55 *Zhuangzi* 30 *Shuo Jian* 說劍 85/30/17; Graham, A.C., *Chuang-Tzu*, p. 246; Major, J.S., *The Meaning of Hsing-te*, p. 282: 天子之劍。 . . 制以五行，論以刑德；開以陰陽，持以春夏，行以秋冬。

56 Although in *Da Fen* one does find *wen-de* 文德, *wen's* virtue, this is in contrast to *wu-ren* 武刃, *wu's* edge. One cannot see in this the technical sense of *de* which Major translates as "accretion".

57 *Guanzi* 42 *Shi* 勢 p. 150c:
 行德而不爭，以待天下之漬作也。 . . 先德後刑。順於天，微度人。 . . .
 大文三曾，而貴義與德；大武三曾，而偃武與力。

58 *Guanzi* 40 *Si Shi* 四時 p. 148a/149a

Notice how the four seasons are each given separate attention. The course of *xing* is thus followed through from autumn to winter, whereas in the *Shiliu Jing* there is no attempt to distinguish between autumn and winter. This suggests that the *Guanzi* passage is later.

A definition of *xing-de* in the *Guanzi* is found in the short chapter 43. The pair are two members in a series of five policies. The other three are *zheng* 政, administration/rectifying, *fa*, law, and *dao*, the Way. *Xing* is first in the list:

"Having decreed the five punishments,
Using each on its appropriate crime,
Such that the criminal has no resentment
And the good man is not afraid,
This is called "punishment" (*xing*);...
If one uses punishments to judge cases, then one will not harm the people's life...
If one practices punishments then one's people will whole-heartedly respect them
...Meting out the punishment fit for the crime is called "punishment"⁵⁹.

From this one can see that the term *xing* refers to concrete punishments and that it plays no cosmic role. Zhao Shouzheng explains this point by saying that formerly there were two forms of the character which we now write 刑. One form was restricted to the punishments of the penal code; the other meant "punishment" in general. The former was written 刑 and is what is at issue in this section of *Guanzi*⁶⁰.

De is also described without the cosmic context:

"Loving the people, birthing them, fostering them, accomplishing them,
Profiting the people and not gaining for self,
Then all under-heaven will love you,
This is called "Virtue" (*de*)..."

陰陽者，天地之大理也；四時者，陰陽之大經也；刑德者四時之合也。
刑德合於時則生福，詭則生禍。...
德始於春，長於夏；刑始於秋，流於冬。
刑德不失，四時如一；刑德離鄉(向)，時乃逆行。

59 *Guanzi* 43 *Zheng* 正 p. 151 a-b and Zhao Shouzheng, Vol. 2, pp. 83-4

制斷五刑，各當其名，罪人不怨，善人不驚，曰刑。... 刑以幣之，毋失民命
... 致刑，其民庸(用)心以蔽(敬)。... 罪人當名曰刑。

Zhao identifies the five *xing* as tattooing, *mo* 墨, cutting off the nose, *yi* 劓, castration, *gong* 宮, and capital punishment, *da bi* 大辟. In the *Guo Yu* 4 *Lu Yu shang* 魯語上 p. 162 five *xing* are given as (1) using troops, (2) using axe and halberd (martial law), (3) using knife (to cut off the nose) and saw (to cut off the feet), (4) using awl (to cut off knee-caps) and needle (to brand) and (5) whipping: 大刑用甲兵，其次用斧鉞，中刑用刀鋸，其次用鑕笞，薄刑用鞭撻以威民也。 The explanations of these punishments, given above in brackets, are those supplied by Wei Zhao in his notes ad loc.

60 Zhao Shouzheng, *Guanzi Tongjie* Vol. 2, p. 84 note 1

Virtue is for fostering them...

Fostering implies transforming their evil; this must begin from oneself...

If one practises virtue one's people will be at peace and calm,...

Loving the people without grasping for self, this is called "virtue"⁶¹.

It is well-known that the *Guanzi* contains pieces of varying background⁶². The text just quoted is in marked contrast to the use of *xing-de* in the *Shiliu Jing*. However, the use in *Jun Zheng* is closer to what we find in chapter 43 of *Guanzi*. In *Jun Zheng* the virtuous ruler is one who loves and encourages his people, while in using punishments he does not pardon criminals condemned to death, that is, he allows the law to hold⁶³.

The *Lushi Chunqiu* is likewise a collection of various points of view, gathered just before the unification of China in 221 B.C. *Xing-de* are encountered in the context of *yang qi* 陽氣:

"When *yang qi* begins to emerge... promote *de* and expell *xing*"⁶⁴.

It should be noted that the expression *yang qi* does not occur in the *Huangdi Sijing*. *Guan* speaks of *yin-yang* and also mentions *qi* but the disyllabic *yang* or *yin-qi* is not encountered⁶⁵.

The *Heguanzi* has only two references to *xing-de*. One fits them clearly into the cosmic context when it is said,

"The moon is *xing* and the sun *de*"⁶⁶.

The context gives no further information and we must assume that the expression is familiar to its hearers. A fuller version of the same idea has been presented above in our discussion of the *Shiji*. The second reference is only a passing mention. In a list comprising various cosmic features such as eight winds, four seasons and three lights,

61 *Guanzi* 43 *Zheng* 正 p. 151a-b:

愛之、生之、養之、成之，利民不得，天下親之，曰德。 . . . 德以養之. . . 養之以化其惡，必自身始。 . . . 致德，其民和平以靜。 . . . 愛民無私，曰德。

62 Rickett, *Guanzi* Vol. 1, p. 3, quotes Gustav Haloun as saying that the *Guanzi* is an "amorphous and vast repository of ancient literature."

63 *Jun Zheng* On the virtuous ruler: 16a 26-31: 德者愛勉之(民心)也。

On the use of punishments: 16b 26- 17a 2: 以刑正者，罪殺不赦也。

64 *Lushi Chunqiu* 6.2 *Yin Lu* 音律 p. 325: 陽氣始生. . . 行德去刑。

65 In the *Huangdi Sijing* *qi* is found as part of a binome with the earth (84a, 88a, 88b), blood (93a) and clouds (170b) or alone (85a, 136b). One of the main pitfalls inherent in reading Chinese philosophy is anachronism. Modern Chinese may happily say *yin qi* but the phrase as such is not necessarily that used in the past. A popular translation of the *Xin Yu* 新語 by Zhao Feng 趙鋒 uses the expressions *yin qi* and *yang qi*, though the original text speaks only of *yang* or of *yin* or of *qi*. While it may be true that *yin-yang* are understood in terms of *qi* one must nevertheless not let modern phraseology intrude on the past. Zhao's translation appears in Wang Ning 王寧 (ed.) *Pingxiben Baihua Fayan*, *Xinyu*. *Shenjian* 評析本白話法言. 新語, 申鑒, Beijing Guangbo Xueyuan 北京廣播學院, 1993, p. 86

66 *Heguanzi* 3 *Ye Xing* 夜行 Pt. 1 p. 4b: 月刑也; 日德也。

there is the phrase, "use *xing-de* to manage (the people)"⁶⁷.

Thus from these philosophical texts we can see that *xing-de* were not always placed in a cosmic context. However, where they were in a cosmic context they were associated with *yang qi* and *yin qi*. Moreover, the specific role of each of the four seasons with respect to the pair was developed. In all this we see a development along the lines set forth in *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*. On the other hand in the *Hanfeizi* and *Weiliaozi* there is a definite move to break free from the cosmic context and turn to practical politics alone. This is not simply the same as the non-cosmic use of *xing-de*. For the latter is placed in a moral context whilst in *Weiliaozi* we see a reaction against the cosmic background into pure legalism.

3.9 Use of *xing-de* in Han Literature

The prime texts that will concern us here are the *Huainanzi* and *Chunqiu Fanlu*. Here the trend towards the cosmic context is fully developed. The expressions *yang qi* and *yin qi* are now standard and the four seasons are spelled out in detail.

"When *yin qi* is at its maximum, then *yang qi* begins to grow;

So it is said that the winter solstice produces *de*.

When *yang qi* is at its maximum, then *yin qi* begins to grow;

So it is said that the summer solstice produces *xing*"⁶⁸.

Gao You's commentary on the two terms which concern us here is that "*de* is the beginning of giving life" and "*xing* is the beginning of dealing death"⁶⁹. The link between the policies and the seasons is seen as independent of human intervention.

More realistically, perhaps, Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179-104 B.C.) outlines how it is the ruler who accords his policies to the seasons:

"Thus he uses honour to match warmth and to correspond with spring;

He uses the conferring of rewards to match heat and to correspond with summer

He uses penalties to match clearness and to correspond with autumn;

67 *Heguanzi* 10 *Tai Hong* 泰鴻 Pt. 2 p. 23a: 牧以刑德。 Some editions have *shou* 收 for *mu* 牧. Wu Shigong explains *mu* 牧 (literally "to shepherd") as *yu* 御, to control.

68 *Huainanzi* 3 *Tian Wen* 天文訓 p. 97:
陰氣極，陽氣萌，故曰冬至為德。陽氣極，陰氣萌，故曰夏至為刑。
See Major's translation, *Heaven and Earth*, p. 84

69 See *Huainanzi* 3 *Tian Wen* 天文訓 p. 97 ad loc.: 德，始生也。 . . . 刑，始殺也。

He uses *xing* to match coldness and correspond with winter⁷⁰.

Here we see the full-blown theory of resonance that was a mark of early Han times. Major notes, in this context, that the *Yue Ling* 月令 enjoined the giving of rewards, *de*, in spring and summer and the carrying out of punishments, *xing*, in autumn and winter. He also asserts that this was normal practice in the Warring States' period⁷¹. This may be the case but there is no doubt that the language in which the policies is expressed shows a clear development throughout the texts we have surveyed and that the full theory is only present in Han literature. Perhaps, we may say that the Han produced a cosmic ideology in terms of *yang qi* and *yin qi* for ancient Chinese practices. In the *Shiliu Jing* we see one of the earliest steps in the formation of that ideology.

3.10 The Context of the *xing-de* Passages in *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*

The purpose of the survey we have just completed was to discover the intellectual context that was most appropriate to the use of *xing-de* in the *Shiliu Jing*. The *Zuo Zhuan* provided evidence of the use of the terms as two among others to speak of a ruler's policy and also evidence of the distinction of policies in the two halves of the year. The Warring States philosophical texts and later Han works showed how, in one direction, the cosmic sense of the ruler's policy developed into an ideology and how the four seasons could be differentiated according to the movements of *qi*. The use of the pair in the *Shiliu Jing* must be somewhere between these two sources. Whereas there is a distinction between the seasons the *xing-de* material was introduced in response to the problem of conflict. It arises as a response to a problem in the universe and in this sense is not like the Han cosmology, which is designed to harmonise the ruler's policy with an ever-recurring cycle of the seasons.

In terms of similarity of language, the Wu-Yue texts come the closest to our material. As we look in more detail at the Wu-Yue connection, we will touch on the question of *de* 德-*nue* 虐 and their relation to *xing-de*.

The most important thinker in this environment is Fan Li. Though the book that

70 *Chunqiu Fanlu* 55 *Si Shizhi Fu* 四時之副 p. 797c:

故以慶副暖而當春，以賞副暑而當夏，以罰副清而當秋，以刑副寒而當冬。

71 Major, *The Meaning of Hsing-te*, p. 283, note 10 supports this view by appealing to McKnight, B., *The Quality of Mercy*, Honolulu: 1981, pp. 10-11. In fact McKnight does not produce any concrete examples to substantiate the claim.

bore his name is not preserved, it is generally thought that chapter 21 of the *Guo Yu*, the *Yue Yu xia*, preserves much of his thought. The context is that of the conflict between the two kingdoms. The king of Yue, *Gou Jian* 句踐 (r. 497-465) had had his life spared by King Fu Chai 夫差 (r. 496-473) of Wu. Although defeated Gou Jian lives on. Naturally he wishes to revive his kingdom but he still has doubts about this on two counts. Firstly he fears that it is impossible; secondly he has moral doubts as to how far he should go. Fan Li provides an answer to both problems. Yue's revival is certain as it fits into the cosmic pattern of cyclical rise and fall, therefore the king can wait patiently until Wu will fall into his lap. Once Wu is reduced Fan Li is merciless, allowing no opportunity for Fu Chai to escape. The victor should utterly extinguish his rival partly because Heaven decrees thus and partly, one supposes, to stop his revival. Fan Li's words to the cornered Fu Chai are clear,

"Formerly Heaven Above sent down disaster on Yue, putting Yue in the power of Wu, yet Wu did not accept (Heaven's judgement); now matters are reversed so that we can make up for this disaster. Shall our king dare not listen to the decree of Heaven but listen to the order of you, O King"⁷².

Fan Li's speech is directed to a particular historical circumstance. When he quotes the saying that, "the Lord Above does not act, he keeps to the reversal of the seasons"⁷³, Fan Li is thinking of the patient waiting that King Gou Jian must exercise. The same phrase occurs in *Guan* ascribed not to the Lord Above but to the sage. From a saying applied to a particular historical context it has become a universal principle of sagely rule:

"The sage has no craft, he keeps to the reversal of the seasons"⁷⁴.

In *Guan* the passage continues, pointing out how the sage waits for Heaven and for man:

"The sage is correct so as to wait for Heaven, calm so as to await man"⁷⁵.

What is meant by this is only clear from looking at Fan Li's advice in the *Yue Yu*. Waiting

72 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* 越語下 p. 657:

昔者上天降禍於越，委制於吳，而吳不受。今將反此義以報此禍，吾王敢無聽天之命，而聽君王之命乎？

73 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* 越語下 p. 648: 上帝不考，時反是守。The fourth character, *kao* 考, is read by Wei Zhao as meaning *cheng* 成, to initiate action. In the light of *Guan* one wonders if the original might not have been *qiao* 巧. Chen Fuhua and He Jiuying list both *kao* and *qiao* in exactly the same rhyme group with the same initial and same rhyming vowel. Confusion between the two is thus very possible. Chen & He, *Guyun Tongxiao*, p. 146

74 *Guan* 89b 10-17: 聖人不巧，時反是守。

Virtually the same phrase is found in the *Shiji* with *bian* 變, change, replacing *fan* 反, reversal..

Shiji 130 *Taishigong Zi Xu* 太史公自序 p. 3292: 聖人不巧，時變是守。

75 *Guan* 89b 26- 90a 5: 聖人正以待天，靜以須人。

for Heaven is waiting for the Heaven-sent disasters which show that Wu is ripe for collapse; waiting for man is waiting for resentment among the populace against their ruler's vices.

3.11 *De* 德-*Nue* 虐

If *xing-de* point to Fan Li, *de-nue* are even more surely from him. The pair is exceedingly rare in early Chinese literature. *Nue* is uniformly condemned. It normally applies to oppression of an inferior by a superior and thus is associated with tyranny, *bao* 暴. To use it in a positive sense is virtually unknown outside the *Yue Yu xia*⁷⁶. Mencius contrasts *nue* administration with *ren* administration and in the course of his exposition quotes Confucius on *de*. Clearly he favours *ren* administration.

Fan Li does, however, use *de-nue* as a complementary pair parallel to dying and being born:

"The application of *de* and *nue*, adapts so as to keep the constant

Taking and giving life adapt to the pattern of Heaven-Earth"⁷⁷.

Here the evil of *nue* is taken up into the pattern of Heaven-Earth and thus has its place. It is no longer seen as reprehensible. Further on Fan Li also justifies his carrying out action which the ambassador of Wu describes as *nue*. Quoting a saying, the ambassador says that the one who helps Heaven in bringing down *nue* will be unlucky⁷⁸. Fan Li simply says that he is not interested in fine words and proceeds to destroy Wu. Fan Li's justification was given earlier, namely that Heaven has put Wu into the hands of Yue and Yue must not refuse Heaven's gift. He does have a precedent in a story preserved in the *Zuo Zhuan* and associated with the same proverb. To fail to help Heaven execute its punishments would be to aid and abet the criminal.

Taken together with the saying on *de-nue* one can see that Fan Li presents *nue* as a complement to *de*. In *Guan* one can see that the pair *de-nue* corresponds to the pairs *ni-shun*, *jing-zuo* (靜作) and *xian-hou* (先後). Of these three pairs, *ni-shun* will be

76 There are two reasons which make it impossible to ever affirm anything with complete certainty in early Chinese thought: firstly, not every known work has a complete concordance readily available either in electronic or printed media, secondly, many works have been lost and may never be recovered.

77 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 646: 德虐之行，因以為常，死生因天地之刑。

78 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 657: 無助天為虐，助天為虐者不祥。

The saying is also found in *Zuo Zhuan* 347/zhao 昭 2/3 *zuo* 左 in which a criminal asks his accuser not to abet Heaven in dealing him the death that will surely come to all. The accuser points out that to not aid Heaven would be to aid the criminal and hence wrong. Some time after the criminal commits suicide.

considered in a later chapter of the thesis. *Jing-zuo* refers to the times when peasants must be left in peace to till the land and when they can be moved to form armies; *xian-hou* is before and after. The four complementary pairs are all used in Li Mo's question but not in the Yellow Emperor's reply⁷⁹.

The only other occurrence of *de-nue* that we have discovered in the *Shiliu Jing* is in *Guo Tong*. Here too the pair is in parallel to *jing-zuo*:

"Stillness and activity mutually foster each other;

De-nue mutually form each other.

If there be names for both, by matching together they are formed"⁸⁰.

This saying shows the interdependence of the pair. Indeed, the whole of *Guo Tong* expounds the complementarity of ideas. The dominant pairs being Heaven-Earth. In the sentence preceding the above quotation earth is associated with stillness and heaven with activity, earth with *de* and, though not stated, presumably heaven with *nue*. In other words *de* is the nourishing female presence of earth and *nue* the heaven-sent punishments. This interpretation fits in with the use of the saying about Heaven-sent punishments by the ambassador of Wu and points to a distinction between *xing-de* and *de-nue*. The former pair can be applied equally well to the cosmos as a whole and to the policy of the ruler in harmony with the cosmos. *De-nue*, on the other hand, is a cosmic distinction between the actions of Heaven and those of earth. In Li Mo's question in *Guan de-nue* occur in a passage that deals with the formation of Heaven-Earth rather than with the ruler's activities as later in the chapter.

This use of *de-nue* in both *Guan* and *Guo Tong* suggests that the two chapters might have much in common. However, whereas *Guan* develops a theory of government based on the movement of *yin-yang*. *Guo Tong* is concerned only with establishing the importance of maintaining distinctions, thus Guo Tong himself becomes a poor beggar to demonstrate what poverty really is and thus how it must differ from riches and honour.

79 The text is damaged both in Li Mo's question and in the Yellow Emperor's reply. In the question eight lacunae are present. It is most probable that these lacunae comprise two of the three pairs: *de-nue*, *jing-zuo* and *xian-hou*. WW2 believes it is the pairs *de-nue* and *jing-zuo* that are missing. CF thinks it is *de-nue* and *xian-hou*. CGY reorders the text to include all three. These approaches are all very probable, though without other evidence it is hard to choose. CGY's may be the most plausible, based as it is on the rhyme scheme.

In the Yellow Emperor's reply there is a section with 13 lacunae (83a 4-16). Here it is much harder to repair the text and the supposition that there should be a reference to *de-nue* here is on shakier ground. Since the following sentence talks of brightness (*ming* 明) my note ad loc. suggests supplying "sun and moon" rather than *de-nue*. See 83a 15-16 note.

80 *Guo Tong* 97a 9-24 靜作相養，德慮相成。兩者有名，相與則成。

The language of *Guo Tong* is more straightforward than that of *Guan*. Where *Guan* talks of female-male, hard-soft as abstract principles, *Guo Tong* speaks of the distinction between men and women, darkness and brightness.

We have already seen that *Guan* and *Xing Zheng* are very close in inspiration. *Guo Tong*, however, lacks the sense of conflict which is central to *Xing Zheng*. There is no reference to enemies and the Yellow Emperor is the sole ruler of the entire world,

"I alone, but one man, hold together all under-heaven"⁸¹.

Thus despite the *de-nue* phrase suggesting that *Guo Tong* might fit in the same unit as *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*, one is obliged to be more cautious. The simple use of some common language is not sufficient to determine the relationship of two sections of text. True, where the phrase is rare, evidence speaks in its favour. This is the case with *de-nue*.

Conclusion

Study of *xing-de* has shown the unity of composition of *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*. Moreover the background of these chapters is almost certainly the thought of Fan Li. Whether this thought dominates the rest of the *Shiliu Jing* is a question that is clearly worth pursuing. Another important point to consider is the implications of the study of *de-nue* for determining the relationship between chapters. So far we have seen that *Cixiong Jie* is anomalous, though possibly with some links to *Shun Dao*, whilst *Guan* and *Xing Zheng* are intimately related. *Guo Tong* shares some common vocabulary with *Guan* but its tenour is quite distinct. One issue seems quite clear: the order of the chapters in the *Shiliu Jing* is of no philosophical or literary significance. Still to be explored is how, if at all, they are related. This topic will be considered in chapter eight of this thesis.

Meanwhile, we shall continue to explore other pairs to see in which direction they lead. The next chapter will treat *wen-wu*, a pair which functions in a similar way to *xing-de* in both its cosmic and practical roles. Unlike *xing-de* it is confined to the *Jingfa* and never appears in any of the other books of the *Huangdi Sijing*.

81 *Guo Tong* 95b 4-11 唯余一人，兼有天下。

Chapter Four: *Wen* 文 *Wu* 武

As just observed in the last chapter, the pair *wen-wu* 文 武 occur in the *Jingfa* and play a similar role to that played by *xing-de* in *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*, that is they refer to the policies of the ruler as being in accordance with the seasons of the year. They pose similar problems of translation: English does not have words that apply equally well to the cosmos and to the ruler's actions and, secondly, English does not provide an adequate pair of contrasting terms. Attempts at translation have been made and will be discussed first. Then, as before, we shall look at the use of the pair in the *Huangdi Sijing* before moving on to other literature which will help us to situate the context of their use in the *Huangdi Sijing*.

The term *wen* has a broad range of meanings in Chinese. Its origins may lie in the idea of patterning or ornamentation. As the pattern on a pot *wen* came to stand for all that culture brought to human life, as Confucius put it the gentleman is one in whom *wen* and basic qualities are in equal balance. An excess in *wen* produces the insincere scholar; an excess in the other direction produces a boor¹. The scope of *wen* may, then, be compared to that of the term "arts" in British academic discourse. *Wu*, on the other hand, includes all activities of punishing, most significant of which is war. War is the punishment of an unjust State just as execution is the punishment of unjust persons within the State. The inclusion of domestic justice and international war in the one concept is not something that is familiar to the speaker of English.

Legge appealed to a Greco-Latin background in his translation of the terms. He writes "tam Marte quam Mercurio", referring to Mars, the god of war, and Mercury, the messenger of the gods². In this way he tried to stress the unity of the two terms, *wen* and *wu*. His translation falls short in conveying the meaning of the individual terms. *Wu* includes internal justice as much as war; whilst *wen* is not simply communications. Other authors partly follow Legge. Lewis and Rickett translate *wu* as martial or martiality and *wen* as civil; Duyvendak as civil and military³. Sawyer translates as "culture" and

1 *Lun Yu* 6 *Yong Ye* 雍也 p. 24 子曰：質勝文則野。文勝質則史。文質彬彬。然後君子。 The character *bin* 彬 translated above as "in equal balance" can also be written with the graph *bin* 斌 composed of *wen* and *wu* juxtaposed.

2 Legge, J., *The Chinese Classics* Vol. IV, *The She King*, p. 283

3 Lewis, M.E., *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, p. 216; Rickett, W.A., *Guanzi* Vol. 1, p. 362; Duyvendak, J.J.L., *The Book of Lord Shang*, p. 261

"military"⁴. Mansvelt Beck produces a neat contrast with "art of peace" and "art of war"⁵. From these attempts it can be seen that *wu* is almost always confined to war and *wen* is then generally translated in contrast with it as some derivative of "civilian" or "peace". Leo S. Chang and Feng Yu try to be more comprehensive by including long explanations after transliterating the terms:

"*wen* (governing by enculturation of civic administration)...*wu* (governing by coercive administration)"⁶.

This is rather clumsy English.

Given the problems of finding adequate vocabulary in modern English it is perhaps less misleading to transliterate the Chinese and ask the reader to remember that *wu* comprises internal and external justice, and *wen* comprises all that helps a nation to flourish⁷.

4.1 Use of *wen-wu* in the *Jingfa*

Wen occurs ten times; *wu* eleven. That they are consciously juxtaposed as a pair is clear from their distribution. As with *xing-de* so here these uses can be set out in a table:

Chapter	Occurrences of <i>wen</i>		Occurrences of <i>wu</i>	
<i>Jun Zheng</i>	3	19a, b, 22a	3	19a, b, 22a
<i>Da Fen</i> 1	30a		1	30a
<i>Si Du</i>	5	37a (2), 38a, 44b (2)	6	37b (2), 38a, 44b (3)
<i>Lun Yue</i>	1	65b	1	65b

It is obvious from this table that *wen-wu* are only used as a pair in the *Jingfa*; the one does not occur without the other. In examining literature outside the *Huangdi Sijing*, we can thus rule out any consideration of *wen* that is not related to *wu* or vice-versa.

4.1 (a) *Wen-wu* in *Jun Zheng*

In discussing *xing-de* we noted that *Jun Zheng* contrasted policies of *de* and of

4 Sawyer, R.D., *The Seven Military Classics*, p. 206

5 Mansvelt Beck, B.J., *Richtsnoer Wet* etc. (unpublished). The original Dutch is "Vredeskunst" and "Oorlogskunst".

6 in Yu Mingguang, *Huangdi Sijing Jinzhu Jinyi*, p. 226

7 Rand gives a good definition: Rand, C.C., *Chinese Military Thought*, p. 173 note 2: "*wen* is defined as those non-violent actions (including ethical suasion, moral example, and intentional yielding) taken to sustain cultural stability, while *wu* pertains to violent actions (ranging from a show of force to preemptory attack) directed against threats to stability."

xing to be used in the second and fifth years of a cycle. However, we also noted that neither term was particularly dominant. In fact the cycle is of seven years; the first three of which outline a policy of encouragement, following the people's customs and removing taxes. The second three emphasize using commands and orders to bring the people to obedience such that in the seventh year the ruler has a disciplined army with which to launch a military attack on an enemy country⁸. The division into three and three can only be surmised from the sense of the passage. It is not specifically stated nor is explicitly expressed in any given terminology. It is only later that the terminology of *wen-wu* is introduced and then it is applied to the seasons within the year and not to a cycle of seven years:

"Heaven has its seasons of slaying and giving life;
 The State has its policies of killing and fostering life.
 Accomodating to the life-giving season of Heaven to foster life is called *wen*;
 Accomodating to the slaying-time of Heaven to deal death is called *wu*.
 When *wen* and *wu* are running together then all under-heaven will follow"⁹.

The correspondance between the cosmos and the ruler's policies is evident. Notice, though, that there is no specific naming of the seasons as spring or summer. The emphasis is on bringing the people to obedience to the ruler. The chapter ends,

"If one can attract outstanding heros under-heaven,
 Then one's preparations for defending and warding off are complete.
 If one thoroughly understands how to practise the way of *wen-wu*,
 Then all under-heaven will submit.
 If orders and commands accord with the people's heart,
 Then the people will obey commands.
 If one favours impartially and without self-seeking,
 Then the people will love their superior"¹⁰.

The structure of this last quotation is that of four conditional sentences. There are four things the ruler must do and four consequences. The consequences all involve obedience

8 *Jun Zheng* 14b 9- 16a 19

9 *Jun Zheng* 19a 1- 19b 9: 天有死生之時，國有死生之政。因天之生也以養生，謂之文；因天之殺也以伐死，謂之武。文武并行，則天下從矣。

10 *Jun Zheng* 22a 8- 22b 21 能收天下毫傑驍雄，則守禦之備具矣。審於行文武之道，則天下賓矣。號令合於民心，則民聽令。兼愛無私，則民親上。

to the ruler. The conditions oblige the ruler to treat the people impartially and well. Understanding *wen-wu* is one of these conditions. Given the structure of the passage we may assume that the four conditions are interrelated. Thus the other three can be used to expand the milieu within which understanding *wen-wu* is situated. Now, of particular philosophical interest is the last condition with its distinctively Mohist terminology. The phrase "favouring impartially" (*jian ai* 兼愛) is certainly a Mohist expression¹¹. In the extant chapters of the *Mozi* there is, however, only one passage in which "impartial favouring" and "non-self-seeking" are found in the same phrase,

"The expanse of King Wen's impartial favouring of under-heaven,
Was like the sun and moon's impartial shining on under-heaven being without self-seeking"¹².

The association with King Wen leads Mozi on to talk of the policies of Kings Wen and Wu as "promoting the worthy and punishing the rebellious"¹³. There is no cosmic connection here but the dual policy, on the one hand encouraging, on the other hand punishing, is not irrelevant to our discussion. Moreover, two avenues for further study have been opened out: the relation of *wen-wu* to Mohist philosophy and the relation of King Wen and Wu to the philosophical-cosmological use of *wen-wu*¹⁴.

4.1 (b) Use of *wen-wu* in *Da Fen*

Da Fen opens by setting out the distinction between a series of six *ni* or 'goings against the current' and six *shun* or 'goings with the current'. After this exposition there comes a passage on the art of reigning in which the ruler is said to form a threesome with heaven and earth. Under his rule there is harmony and proper obedience. It is here that reference is made to *wen* and *wu*:

"The virtue of *wen* extending to the lightest and smallest things;

11 Despite its fame as the title of chapters 14-16 of *Mozi*, the expression *jian ai* is rare in the *Mozi*. More commonly *jian* and *ai* are used as independent verbs and not combined in one dissyllabic phrase. The terminology is nonetheless distinctively Mohist. Chen Guying (note *Jun Zheng ad loc*) claims that the use of *jianai* in *Jun Zheng* is different from that in *Mozi*. Despite this one can only imagine that the phrase *jian ai* would gain currency after its propagation by Mozi.

12 *Mozi* 16 *Jian Ai xia* 兼愛下 26/16/51-2: 文王之兼愛天下之博大也,
譬之日月兼照天下之無有私也。

13 *Mozi* 16 *Jian Ai xia* 兼愛下 27/16/62 賞賢罰暴。

14 The kings' names are posthumous names or *shi* 謚 and were granted because the kings exemplified the virtues embodied in those titles. Hence they are clearly of significance to our study. On the other hand this does not mean that every reference to the two kings necessarily contains the type of correlative cosmology displayed by the *Jingfa*'s use of *wen-wu*. It is the latter which is of prime interest here.

The edge of *wu* to..., this is the art of reigning"¹⁵.

The second part of this quotation is missing two characters and so we cannot be sure of the original contrast intended. What is clear, though, is that both *wen* and *wu* are to be taken together as a pair.

4.1 (c) Use of *wen-wu* in *Si Du*

This chapter provides rather more material for reflection on *wen-wu*. The passage from which the title, four standards, derives touches on *wen-wu*. There are four unfortunate states of affairs: rebellion (*ni*), confusion (*luan* 亂), going against the flow (*ni*) and tyranny (*bao* 暴)¹⁶. The result of these situations is then spelled out: there will be a loss of the basic principle; jobs will be done badly; the season will be missed and the people's support lost¹⁷. In a further development of these nefarious consequences there is invasion, famine and hatred of the ruler¹⁸.

A remark on the circular course of the Way leads in naturally to the opposite state of affairs: stillness (*jing* 靜), being correct (*zheng* 正), *wen* and *wu*. These in turn lead to peace (*an* 安), order (*zhi* 治), enlightenment (*ming* 明) and strength (*qiang* 強), from which come "obtaining the principle", "winning over the people", "winning over heaven" and "ensuring that all hold the ruler in awe". The relative order of these sets of consequences is interesting in that the second set of the positive consequences contrast with the first set of the negative consequences and the second set of the negative consequences to the first set of positive consequences. In other words, the structure is chiasmic. The whole passage ends by describing the state of harmony brought about by good rule.

Specific definitions of both *wen* and *wu* are included:

"Movement and stillness forming a threesome with heaven-earth is called *wen*"¹⁹.

"Punishing...at the appropriate time is called *wu*"²⁰.

15 *Da Fen* 30a 20- 30b 4 文德究於輕細，武刃於...，王之本也。

16 Both the first and third are described by the same Chinese character, *ni* 逆. In the first instance it refers to a minister usurping the throne and so may be translated by the concrete "rebellion"; in the second instance it refers to a misplacement of the seasons of movement (military activity) and stillness (working on the farm) and thus should be translated more generally. The meaning of *ni* will be discussed in chapter six of my thesis.

17 The loss of principle refers to the loss of the basic principle (*ben* 本) and may refer to agriculture being in disorder. However, given that it results from rebellion it is more probably the basic moral principles of organised rule.

18 *Si Du* 35b 18- 36b 19 The Chinese text will be found attached to the table below.

19 *Si Du* 37a 22-30 動靜參於天地謂之文。

20 *Si Du* 37a 31- 37b 6 誅口時謂之武。The WW2 suggestion that 37b 1 should read *jin* 禁, prohibitions, is

Here the gentle *wen* and coercive *wu* are set out side by side. However, by looking at the structure of the literary context, it may be possible to enrich these definitions.

For which purpose it will be helpful to set the text out in a table, distinguishing the four levels according to the sphere to which they seem to apply.

Table of *Si Du* 35b 18- 38a 33

A: Four unfortunate states of affairs

<u>Sphere of life</u>	<u>Situation</u>	<u>First Consequence</u>	<u>Second Consequence</u>
At court	rebellion	principle lost	[textual lacuna]
Among ministers	confusion	jobs done badly	invasion
War/agriculture	going against	season missed	famine
The ruler's status	tyranny	support lost	hatred ²¹

B: Four fortunate states of affairs

At court	stillness	peace	principle obtained
Among ministers	being correct	order	people won over
War/agriculture	<i>wen</i>	enlightenment	heaven won over
The ruler's status	<i>wu</i>	strength	ruler's awe holds sway ²²

The structure of this section establishes patterns of relationships by which one can come to understand the meaning of individual elements. *Wen* is, then, what leads to enlightenment and gaining heaven's cooperation. Enlightenment and winning over heaven are to be understood as the opposites of famine and missing the season in table 'A'. Thus winning over heaven means cooperating with the seasons such that they are favourable to growth, and enlightenment is not a mystical state but the flourishing of a

attractive.

21 The Chinese text (*Si Du* 35b 18- 36b 19) is reordered in accordance with the above table:

<u>Sphere of life</u>	<u>Situation</u>	<u>First consequence</u>	<u>Second consequence</u>
At court	君臣易位謂之逆	逆則失本	失本則口
Among ministers	賢不肖并立謂之亂	亂則失職	失職則侵
War/agriculture	動靜不時謂之逆	逆則失天	失天則饑
The ruler's status	生殺不當謂之暴	暴則失人	失人則疾
22 <i>Si Du</i> 37a 7- 38a 3 (reordered as above)			
At court	君臣當位謂之靜	靜則安	安則得本
Among ministers	賢不肖當位謂之正	正則治	治則得人
War/agriculture	動靜參於天地謂之文	文則明	明則得天
The ruler's status	誅口時當謂之武	武則強	強則威行

country as opposed to its wallowing in famine. *Wu* implies strength and that the ruler maintains his sway (*wei*); in contrast to tyranny in which the people hate the ruler, who thus loses all support. In this sense *wen* and *wu* are both positive elements.

Considered as members of a pair, *wen* and *wu* are contrasted in that the former is in the sphere of agriculture and the latter in the sphere of maintaining the ruler's prestige and hold over his kingdom. *Wen* would also relate to the first element of list B, stillness and peace, whilst *wu* relates to the second element, being correct and bringing order. However, one can also consider the pair as a unit, in contrast to the first two spheres of life: at court and among ministers. From this angle, one can see that *wen-wu* is not restricted to the sphere of the palace but reaches out to embrace the whole life of the State. Hence we may arrive at the following definitions:

Wen is the proper coordination of agricultural policy with the changes of the seasons and produces harmony between State and the cosmos. It is associated with peace and is a safeguard against rebellion and loss of direction. Improper use of the same policy results in famine;

Wu is the proper use of the ruler's position to ensure his strong standing in the State. It is associated with ordering and correction and is a safeguard against confusion, poor government and invasion. Improper use of the same force leads to tyranny and hatred between ruler and ruled.

Both together suppose peaceful and correct relationships between the ruler and his ministers and harmony at court. Where this is not possible then *wen-wu* cannot be employed.

The whole section concludes by referring to *wen-wu* as a pair:

"Forming a threesome with heaven-earth,

Uniting with the people's heart,

Wen-wu stand together,

This is named 'being one with the above' (*shang tong* 上同)²³.

Wen-wu are the two policies or principles which enable there to be harmony within the universe, between heaven-earth and the ruler, and within the State, between ruler and subjects. Of interest, too, is the final phrase, 'being one with the above'. This again is the

23 *SiDu*38a4-20 參於天地，合於民心，文武并立，命之曰“上同”。

Mohist "conforming to the above", which Graham glosses as "centralisation of all authority"²⁴.

Graham distinguishes three sects of Mohists: purist, compromising and reactionary. The niceties of these distinctions need not detain us here. Suffice it to say that with regard to "conforming upwards" the purist argues that the lower should conform to the higher echelons of society but the ultimate reference is heaven, hence if the emperor is bad the people can appeal to heaven and rebel. For the compromiser the emperor should reform his government whilst for the reactionary the possibility of their being a bad emperor does not occur²⁵. In this light the *Si Du* passage may fall into one of the first two categories. Rebellion is looked on as always wrong but the possibility of the ruler being a tyrant is discussed and this tyranny will lead to his losing the people. Further examination of the relationship between *Si Du* and *Mozi* is undertaken in chapter nine of this thesis.

The next point of contact between *Si Du* and *Mozi* is to be found in line 42b, in which a list of eight measurements is common to a similar list in chapter four of *Mozi*. A few lines further on *wen-wu* are again touched on:

"Relying on heaven's time to attack what heaven would destroy is called *wu*;
After the blade of *wu* has passed then let *wen* follow behind,
Then one will be successful.

The one who uses two *wen* and one *wu* rules"²⁶.

Here the focus is on *wu* as cooperation with the punishing arm of heaven. The balance with *wen* is maintained by asserting that after punishing one must build up through *wen*. Lastly, it is said that *wen* should be in greater proportion than *wu*. The exact meaning of "two *wen* and one *wu*" is clarified by a comparison with a similar phrase in the *Guanzi*:

"The one who uses one *yin* and two *yang* will be hegemon;
The one who only uses *yang* will rule as king;
The one who employs one *yang* and two *yin* will decline;
The one who only uses *yin* will perish"²⁷.

Of these four possibilities in the *Guanzi* only the first is found in *Si Du* though with the

24 Graham, A.C., *Disputers of the Tao*, p. 494

25 Graham, A.C., *Disputers of the Tao*, p. 51-2

26 *Si Du* 44b9-45a 1 因天時，伐天毀謂之武。武刃而以文隨其後，則有成功矣。用二文一武者王。

27 *Guanzi* 12 *Shu Yan* 樞言 p. 108a 用一陰二陽者霸，盡以陽者王。
以一陽二陰者削，盡以陰者亡。

consequence being the same as the consequence of the second possibility in *Guanzi*. The change to *yin-yang* rather than *wen-wu* perhaps gives greater flexibility in presenting options. Another text that may be relevant to explaining this passage is that it refers to one of the trigrams, consisting of two unbroken lines (two *yang*) and one unbroken line (one *yin*). The trigram in question is *Li* 離. This trigram corresponds to the hexagram of the same name. In the commentary on the *Li* hexagram in the *Zhou Yi* there is one line which may be relevant to the *Si Du* passage on *wu*:

"The king uses his excursions to rectify States"²⁸.

What is described here is precisely what *wu* involves, though the *Zhou Yi* line does not mention cooperation between royal and heavenly punishments.

4.1 (d) Use of *wen-wu* in *Lun Yue*

Whilst the last quotation from *Si Du* above started from the point of view of *wu*, the opening lines of *Lun Yue* begin with *wen*:

"To begin with *wen* and end with *wu* is the Way of heaven-earth;
The four seasons being in sequence is the pattern of heaven-earth;
Sun, moon and constellations having regular periods is the thread of heaven-earth;
In three seasons there being completion and achievement;
And in one season execution and slaying, is the Way of heaven-earth"²⁹.

The last half of each of the above four clauses is similar: the Way, pattern, thread of heaven-earth. The terms used all refer to constant norms of the cosmic order. The first half of the clauses mentions cosmic phenomena such as seasons, sun and moon and the constellations. *Wen-wu* are included among these cosmic phenomena. Since both the first and fourth lines describe the Way of heaven-earth, one may assume that the three seasons and the one season of the fourth line correspond to the first line's *wen* and *wu*. The division of three to one gives the priority to *wen*, the season of building up.

Moving from heavenly affairs to the human realm the contrast of *wen-wu* governs the activities of the seasons:

28 *Zhou Yi* 30 *Li* 離 *Xiang* 象 Commentary, p. 20: 王用出征，以正邦也。

29 *Lun Yue* 65b 4- 66a 20 始於文而卒於武，天地之道也；
四時有度，天地之理也；
日月星辰有數，天地之紀也；
三時成功，一時刑殺，天地之道也。

"One for establishing, one for disposing of, one for giving life, one for slaying:

The four seasons alternate in regulating, coming to an end they begin again"³⁰.

The "one" in the first line of this quotation seems to refer only to *wen* or *wu* and not to each of the four seasons by name. The structure of the sentence is repetitive rather than analytic. Thus the time for establishing is that of giving birth and both are *wen*, which, according to 66a 8-11 comprises three of the four seasons of the year; whilst the time for disposing of and slaying is *wu* which is presumably the season of winter. However, we should note that the seasons are never called by name in the *wen-wu* context of *Jingfa*. This is in marked contrast to the *xing-de* passages in the *Shiliu Jing*.

With this we conclude our review of the use of *wen-wu* in the *Huangdi Sijing*. The pair is treated consistently throughout *Jingfa* and always quite differently to the use of *xing-de* in the *Shiliu Jing*. However much both pairs describe the policies of the ruler that must fit the cosmic order their linguistic context is quite distinctive and points to another origin. Whereas *xing-de* took us to Fan Li, *wen-wu* seem to be leading to Mozi. To see if this is the case requires us to undertake a similar survey of relevant literature.

4.2 Use of *wen-wu* in early Chinese thought

The use of *wen-wu* in the *Jingfa* is the guiding principle for examining other texts. Our interest does not lie in a complete survey of all uses of the characters *wen* and *wu* in Chinese philosophy. Within the restrictions of relevancy to the *Jingfa* the inquiry will cover five areas:

1. The basic moral sense of *wen-wu*, especially as illustrated by the Kings Wen and Wu.
2. *Wen* and *wu* as terms of military discourse;
3. *Wen* and *wu* in political philosophy;
4. *Wen* and *wu* as related to the seasons of the year;
5. Other uses.

The third and fourth areas are of particular importance but it is useful to look at a broader understanding of *wen-wu* first, area one, and at their use as a pair in the military texts.

30 *Lun Yue* 66b 2-17 一立一廢，一生一殺，四時代正，終而復始。

4.2 (a) The basic sense of *wen-wu*

We have already discussed the meaning of the terms in the opening to this chapter. Here we are now concerned with their use in early Chinese literature. The commonest use is in relation to the early Zhou kings, mentioned by Mozi as we saw above. As posthumous titles *wen* and *wu* were ascribed according to the virtues that the kings displayed. In the *Yizhoushu* there is one chapter dedicated to a study of posthumous titles and this gives us a definition of *wen* and *wu*:

"Threading through heaven and earth is called '*wen*';
 The Way and virtue, expansive and generous is called '*wen*';
 Learning to be assiduous, liking to ask questions is called '*wen*';
 Mercy and compassion, loving the people is called '*wen*';
 Caring for the people, cherishing rites is called '*wen*';
 Granting to the people noble rank is called '*wen*'³¹.

This text is clearly designed for the ruler and in that is common to the *wen-wu* passages in the *Jingfa*. *Wen* is given cosmic status but the emphasis is on the ruler's care for his people. This was part of the theme of *Jun Zheng*, though there the message was conveyed in Mohist terms rather than the Confucian vocabulary of the *Yizhoushu*.

The epithet *wu* is similarly defined:

"Hard and strong, true and principled is called '*wu*';
 Regal sway, strong, shrewd, virtuous is called '*wu*';
 Conquering, pacifying disasters and chaos is called '*wu*';
 Punishing the people, gaining their submission is called '*wu*';
 Great of will, many so as to accomplish all is called '*wu*'³².

Again there is no link with the seasons but the basic association of *wu* with what is strong, mighty and victorious is clear. It is worth noting on the side that the distinction of hard and soft associated with *xing-de* is not operative here. *Wen* was not described as "soft" or "weak" though *wu* is portrayed as "hard". This is a further indication of the distinct backgrounds of *wen-wu* and *xing-de* terminology.

31 *Yizhoushu* 54 *Shifa* 謚法解 28/54/2-3
 經緯天地曰文；道德博厚曰文；學勤好問曰文；
 慈惠愛民曰文；愍民惠禮曰文；錫民爵位曰文。

32 *Yizhoushu* 54 *Shifa* 謚法解 28/54/3-4
 剛強真理曰武；威強睿德曰武；克定禍亂曰武；
 刑民克服曰武；大志多窮曰武。

Alongside the above definitions in the *Yizhoushu* one must mention two famous passages in the *Zuo Zhuan*. The first sets out the meaning of *wen* and the second that of *wu*. It is not necessary to set out the whole text here³³. The definition of *wen* comes in a speech put on the lips of Cheng Zhuan 成鱗 of Jin 晉 and assigned to the year 514 B.C. It is a commentary on a poem found in the *Shi Jing*³⁴. Though the speech lists nine virtues in all it is clear that these are summed up in the last line as *wen*³⁵. Of note here is that the definition given in this last line of Cheng's speech is the same as the opening line of the *Yizhoushu*'s definition of *wen*. Further it should be noted that the fourth line of Cheng's list contains the expression "without claiming for self" (*wu si* 無私), which is one of the marks of *wen* in *Jun Zheng* and of the Mohist "impartial favouring".

Turning to *wu* we find the best definition of it in the speech put on the lips of the Viscount of Chu 楚子 after his defeat of the Jin army at Bi 郟 in 597 B.C.. The viscount analyses the Chinese character, *wu*, into its constituent parts: "stopping" and "a halberd" (*zhi* 止 and *ge* 戈 respectively)³⁶. The speech is based on poems from the *Shi Jing* recounting the virtues of King Wu³⁷:

"The term *wu* means forbidding tyranny, withholding weapons, keeping the great (mission given by Heaven), affirming merit, pacifying the people, uniting the masses, it is rich in wealth (of meaning)"³⁸

33 *Zuo Zhuan* 427/Zhao 昭 28/2 *Zuo Fu* 左附 i lines 9-11

"A heart that can decide what is right is called 'discerning'; virtue being correct and response harmonious is called 'silently working'; lighting up the four directions is called 'illuminating'; earnestly carrying out without self-seeking is called 'discriminating'; instructing without wearying is called 'excelling'; rewarding, honouring, punishing and having regal sway is called 'ruling'; compassion, harmony and universal submission is called 'being submissive'; choosing the good and following it is called 'being united'; threading through heaven-earth is called '*wen*'.

心能制義曰度、德正應和曰莫、照臨四方曰明、勤施無私曰類、
教誨不倦月長、賞廢刑威曰君、慈和偏服曰順、擇善而從之曰比、經緯天地曰文。

34 *Shi Jing* 241 *Huang Yi* 皇矣 verse 4, 61/241/4

35 A similar definition is found in the *Guo Yu*. Wei Zhao comments that *wen* is the collective name of all virtue.

Guo Yu 3 *Zhou Yu xia* 周語下 p.p. 96-8 The speech is given by Duke Qing 頃公.

"Respect is *wen*'s reverence; loyalty is *wen*'s outward form; trust is *wen*'s confidence;

Ren, humanity, is *wen*'s love; *yi*, justice, is *wen*'s ordering; wisdom is *wen*'s chariot;

Courage is *wen*'s general; instruction is *wen*'s preaching; filial piety is *wen*'s root;

Compassion is *wen*'s mercy; yielding is *wen*'s material. Threading through without going astray is *wen*'s symbol."

夫 敬，文之恭也；忠，文之實也；信，文之孚也；

仁，文之愛也；義，文之制也；智，文之與也；

勇，文之帥也；教，文之施也；孝，文之本也；

惠，文之慈也；讓，文之材也；經緯不爽，文之象也。

36 *Zuo Zhuan* 199/Xuan 宣 12/3 *Zuo* 左：夫文“止”“戈”為武。

37 e.g. *Shi Jing* 273 *Shi Mai* 時邁 and 294 *Huan* 桓

38 *Zuo Zhuan* 199/Xuan 宣 12/3 *Zuo* 左

夫武：禁暴、戡兵、保大、定功、安民、和衆，豐財者也。

The viscount recites these virtues of *wu* in criticism of his own actions which have led to the death of many in two States and his gaining the support of the feudal lords by cowing them into submission. Restraint is thus an essential part of the virtue of *wu*.

The element of restraint is still contained in the *Jingfa*'s use of *wu* but it is regulated more by respect for the change of the season than for reasons of conscience such as afflict the Viscount of Chu. The point is made even more explicit in *Huainanzi*'s comparison of the policies of Kings Wen and Wu:

"King Wu put *wu* first and *wen* later,

Not because his intention differed but so as to accomodate to the times"³⁹.

Morality is governed by the cosmos rather than by the conscience. In this respect the early, or Confucian, portrayals of *wen* and *wu* examined above are not as close to the *Jingfa* as this one sentence from the *Huainanzi*.

4.2 (b) Use of *wen-wu* in military discourse

In the *Sunzi* it is said, "Command them with *wen* and level them with *wu*,

This is called 'certain to capture'"⁴⁰.

As it stands this is rather enigmatic. Cao Cao 曹操's commentary notes that *wen* is *ren*, Confucian-style humanity, and *wu* is *fa*, law⁴¹. The Tang scholar Li Quan 李筌 noted that *wen* was indeed *ren* but *wu* was regal sway and punishing⁴². The commentaries clearly depend on the Confucian moral perspective to compose their gloss and do not analyse the use of the terms within *Sunzi* itself.

Sunzi's phrase is used again in the *Wenzi* and the *Huainanzi*⁴³. Both associate *wen* with *yi*, justice, rather than *ren*⁴⁴. *Wu* is associated with regal sway as in Li Quan's commentary. It should be borne in mind that the characters *ren* 仁 and *yi* 義 are absent

39 *Huainanzi* 11 *Qisu* 齊俗 p. 371 夫武王先武後文，非意變也，以應時也。

40 *Sunzi* 9 *Jiu Bian* 九變篇 A9a p. 19/15 令之以文，齊之以武，是謂必取。

41 Cao Cao (155- 220 A.D.); *Sunzi* 9 *Jiu Bian* 九變篇, *Er Shi Er Zi* (ed.) 二十二子 p. 455b
曹公曰：文仁也；武法也。

42 *Sunzi* 9 *Jiu Bian* 九變篇, *Er Shi Er Zi* (ed.) 二十二子 p. 455b
李筌曰：文仁恩；武威罰。

43 *Wenzi* 11 *Shang Yi* 上義 p. 871a, as in the *Sunzi*.

Huainanzi 15 *Bing Lue* 兵略訓 p. 513 合之以文，齊之以武，是謂必取。

Notice that *Huainanzi* begins the phrase with *he* 合, to unite, rather than *ling* 令, to command, as in *Sunzi* and *Wenzi*. More importantly, the context shows *Huainanzi* is talking about the whole people and not just the army as in *Sunzi*.

44 The *Yizhoushu* does, however, associate *ren* with *wen* and "courage" with *wu*.

"If *ren* is discarded, then *wen* schemes will not suffice (to replace it);

If courage is discarded, then *wu* schemes will not suffice (to replace it)."

Yizhoushu 68 *Wu Ji* 武紀解 43/20 仁廢則文謀不足，勇廢則武謀不足。

from the *Jingfa*. In other words the *Jingfa* does not draw on these key Confucian terms in order to explain what it means by *wen-wu*.

Remaining with military texts, we turn first to the *Wuzi*, a work attributed to Wu Qi 吳起 (c. 440- 361 B.C.). Wu Qi says that the ruler of the Cheng Sang 承桑 clan neglected military affairs and so lost his State, whilst the ruler of the You Hu 有扈 clan concentrated on war alone and so lost his State. In contrast the enlightened ruler will neglect neither *wen* nor *wu*:

"The enlightened ruler seeing this will surely practise *wen* virtue within
And rule outwith by military preparations"⁴⁵.

Wen and *wu* are not distinguished according to moral criterion but according to sphere of action: *wen* is for internal matters and *wu* for external affairs⁴⁶. Interestingly the opening section of *Si Du* which we analysed in terms of *wen-wu* is followed by a section distinguishing policies for within and without expressed in terms of *ni-shun*⁴⁷.

The *Weiliaozi* develops the contrast of internal and external by a metaphor:

"The army takes *wu* as its trunk and *wen* as its seed"⁴⁸;
Wu as the outside and *wen* as the inside"⁴⁹.

The passage continues by saying that *wen* is the means to discern benefit and harm and to discriminate between security and danger. *Wu* is the means to oppose a powerful enemy and to forcefully attack and defend.

Returning to *Sunzi*, we read that the two are held together by the general of the army:

"Only the one who unites both *wen* and *wu* is the general of the army"⁵⁰.

While thus uniting both *wen* and *wu*, the general was expected to typify traits of both areas. He must have the courage to fight with his soldiers, thus being a man of *wu*, but must also

45 *Wuzi* 1 *Tu Guo* 圖國 C1 p. 36/8-9: 明主鑒茲。必內修文德。外治武備。

46 The *Yizhoushu* also makes this distinction, e.g. *Yizhoushu* 68 *Wu Ji* 武紀解 p. 44/9

"For whoever affirms a State and rules a people, internal affairs are *wen* and harmonious, external affairs are *wu* and *yi* (justice)". 凡建國君民，內事文而和，外事武而義。

47 *Si Du* 38b 1- 39a 27. This section is discussed later under *ni-shun* in chapter six of this thesis.

48 The translation, "trunk" and "seed" is accepted by many, including Sawyer, R.D., *The Seven Military Classics* and Zhou Baiyi 周百義, *Wujing Qishu* 武經七書 p. 261. Sawyer, p. 479 note 170 says that some commentators suggest that the terms mean "pillars" and "foundations". Chen Jikang 陳濟康 and Wu Jianhua 吳建華, *Baihua Wujing Qishu* 白話武經七書, Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian, 1992, p. 133, render as *shou duan* 手段, means, and *mudi* 目的, end.

49 *Weiliaozi* 23 *Bing Ling Shang* 兵令上 B23 p. 33/20-21

兵者，以武為植，以文為種，武為表，文為裏，能審此二者，知勝敗矣。

50 *Wuzi* 4 *Lun Jiang* 論將 C4 p. 40/30: 夫總文武者，軍之將也。

show compassion. Whether true or not, Wu Qi is said to have worn the same clothes as his troops and to have once sucked the pus out of the blister of one of his soldiers⁵¹. The general must then incarnate *wen-wu* in himself.

A different kind of distinction between *wen* and *wu* is found in the *Liu Tao*. The dating of this work is uncertain. It is attributed to Tai Gong 太公, the military advisor of Kings Wen and Wu but is certainly much later. The first and second scrolls (*juan*) of the work are entitled *Wen Tao* and *Wu Tao* respectively. The former advocates effective government which does not harm the people and is conducted according to law⁵². The latter, *Wu Tao*, comprises only five chapters, two of which bear the character *wen* in their titles⁵³. The second of these is concerned with twelve measures for undermining an enemy without actually fighting and is entitled *Wen Fa* 文伐, attacking by *wen*. The measures include instructions on how to suborn the ministers of the enemy ruler and how to lead him astray by distracting him with music and concubines.

The most famous case of such tactics in Chinese history is surely the dispatch of Xi Shi 西施 to King Fu Chai of Wu⁵⁴. The *Wu-Yue Chunqiu* recounts the tale as a plot hatched by King Gou Jian of Yue in consultation with his minister, Wen Zhong 文種, and carried out through the diplomacy of Fan Li. Xi Shi and her companion, Zheng Dan 鄭旦, are accepted by Fu Chai, who duly neglects State affairs and so is unable to resist the military advance of Yue⁵⁵. Thus, the diplomatic attack is the propaedeutic for a military attack. In the words of the *Liu Tao*, speaking of the twelve measures of *Wen Fa*:

"When the twelve items are all employed, then this becomes a military matter"⁵⁶.

The advantage of using the twelve *wen* measures first is that they enable a weak State to get the better of a more powerful enemy. Such is the reasoning of the *Liu Tao* and such is

51 *Shiji* 65 *Sunzi Wu Qi Liezhuan* 孫子吳起列傳 p. 2166 "As a general, Qi dressed and ate together with the lowest of his troops...There was once a soldier in the army who had a blister, Qi sucked it himself." 起之為將，與士卒最下者同衣食。...卒有兵疽者，起為吮之。

52 Sawyer provides a useful summary of the first part: Moral, effective government is the basis for survival and the foundation for warfare. The state must thrive economically while limiting expenditures, foster appropriate values and behavior among the populace, implement rewards and punishments, employ the worthy, and refrain from disturbing or harming the people. (Sawyer, R.D., *The Seven Military Classics*, p. 38)

53 Chapter 14 *Wen Qi* 文啟 and chapter 15 *Wen Fa* 文伐.

54 The story is not found in the *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* and its origins are unclear. Xi Shi was famed as a beautiful lady as shown by *Zhuangzi* 2 *Qi Wu* 齊物論 p. 17b but the elaboration of the romance between Fu Chai and Xi Shi is left to later literature, for which see Mayers, W.F., *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, Pt. I # 139 & 571: "Fan Li caused the peerless beauty Xi Shi to be introduced into the seraglio of the prince of Wu, who, abandoning himself to dissolute enjoyment, allowed ruin to steal upon his armies unawares." (#139)

55 *Wu-Yue Chunqiu* 9 *Gou Jian Yinmou Waizhuan* 句踐陰謀外傳 p. 40/6-19

56 *Liu Tao* 15 *Wen Fa* 文伐 p. 328 十二節備，乃成武事。

also the case with Yue. When Yue planned its attack on Wu, Yue was a State recovering from near total destruction under Wu. Wu was acting as hegemon, assembling all the States under its sway. Yue could only rely on *wen* forms of attack first⁵⁷.

The same contrast between *wen* as diplomatic forms of attack and *wu* as military means is found in the *Guanzi*. Chu plans to use *wen* to overcome Qi and *wu* to overcome Song and Zheng. As the minister of Qi, Guan Zhong 管仲 advises that Qi should use *wen* to persuade Chu not to attack Song and Zheng. Hence the Duke of Qi meets his counterpart of Chu at Shaoling and uses *wen*, that is persuades him to allow Zheng to rebuild its shattered walls and to permit Song's rivers to flow east naturally. Having thus won the favour of Song and Zheng Qi is in a position to use *wu* to attack Chu if necessary. The key phrases are in Guan Zhong's speech:

"[Chu] wants to use *wen* to conquer Qi and *wu* to take Song and Zheng...

If Chu permits then we (Qi) shall persuade them (Chu) with *wen*;

Only if Chu does not permit then shall we enforce it with *wu*"⁵⁸.

While the contrast of *wen-wu* is similar to that in the *Liu Tao* the emphasis is different. In *Liu Tao* *wen* are simply sinister policies. In the *Guanzi* *wen* are open diplomatic exchanges though, at least in the mind of Chu, they still serve as a form of aggression.

That both *wen* and *wu* can be used for winning others over is clear from an incident in the *Lushi Chunqiu*. Zhao had defeated Qi in the year 405 B.C. with the result being that Qi had lost two thousand chariots and thirty thousand men⁵⁹. Having thus crushed his opponent by *wu*, the ruler of Zhao, on the advice of Ning Yue 寧越, resorts to *wen* to further oppress them. His tactic is to offer the corpses of the dead to Qi. Should the ruler of Qi refuse, the people of Qi will feel resentment against their ruler; should he accept then his State will be crippled by the expense of the massive funerals required. The *Lushi Chunqiu* comments:

"Ning Yue can be said to know how to use *wen* and *wu*.

Using *wu* is to win by force; using *wen* is to win by virtue (*de*).

57 This is how the struggle is presented by the *Wu-Yue Chunqiu* but the *Guo Yu*: *Yue Yu xia* explains the victory of Yue in terms of the punishment of heaven descending at the right time. In this matter the theory of the *Liu Tao* fits the *Wu-Yue Chunqiu* version; whereas the theory of the *Huangdi Sijing* is more consonant with the *Guo Yu* account.

58 *Guanzi* 22 *Ba Xing* 霸形 p. 125c 是欲以文克齊，而以武取宋、鄭也；...
楚若許則是我以文令也；楚若不許則以武令焉。

59 The *Bamboo Annals* 竹書 and the *Shiji* disagree on the date of this battle. The former puts it in the 17th year of King Wei Lie 威烈王 (409 B.C.); the latter in his 21st year (405 B.C.). Following Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 I opt for the latter date. See Chen Qiyou, *Lushi Chunqiu Xiaoshi*, p. 921 note 12.

If one wins with both what enemy will not submit?"⁶⁰.

On this note our survey of military texts will end. We note that *wen-wu* are in frequent use, that they are matters of *realpolitik* rather than of morality and that they are not associated with the seasons of the year.

4.2 (c) Use of *wen-wu* in politico-philosophical literature

Under this rather vague heading the various uses of *wen-wu* in Warring States and Han political philosophy will be considered. The emphasis of the research will be placed on the emergence of the terms as technical philosophical terms and their relationship to similar terms. A good introduction is provided by a passage from the *Zuo Zhuan* which does not even mention *wen* or *wu*:

"If he [the ruler of Jin] is double-faced then seize him; if he obeys then let him go.

What virtue could be more generous than this?"⁶¹.

In the *Guanzi* the same phrase is repeated but with the addition of the philosophical terms *wen* and *wu*:

"When they [the feudal lords] are double-faced and then one punishes them,

This is *wu*;

When they obey and then one leaves them alone, this is *wen*.

Wen and *wu* both fully used, this is virtue"⁶².

Rickett dates this part of the *Guanzi* to somewhere from the beginning of the third to the middle of the second century B.C.⁶³. For our purposes it is worth noting that here *wen-wu* are used as technical terms to describe situations that could be described without them. This technical use of the pair is of particular relevance to the *Jingfa*.

What the technical use could imply is stated in the *Shangjunshu*:

"Whatever is of rewarding is *wen*; whatever is of punishing is *wu*;

Wen and *wu* are the essentials of the law"⁶⁴.

Wen and *wu* are aspects of the law, that is they are subordinated to a key principle in Shang

60 *Lushi Chunqiu* 15.6 *Bu Guang* 不廣 p. 918

寧越可謂知用文武矣。用武則以力勝，用文則以德勝。文武盡勝，何敵之不服？

61 *Zuo Zhuan Xi* 僖 15 p. 110 貳而執之，服而舍之，德莫厚焉？

62 *Guanzi* 23 *Ba Yan* 霸言 p. 127b 二而伐之，武也；服而舍也，文也；文武具滿，德也。

Following Wang Niansun 王今孫 (1744-1832) the first character, 二 *er*, two, is an emendation from 一 *yi*, one. See Zhao Shouzheng 趙守正, *Guanzi Tongjie* Vol. 1, p. 346 note 10

63 Rickett, W.A., *Guanzi*, p. 356

64 *Shangjunshu* 14 *Xiu De* 修德 p. 18 line 17: 凡賞者文也。刑者武也。文武者法之約也。

Yang's 商 央 philosophy. A quite different kind of subordination to a key theme is found in the *Lushi Chunqiu*. In a chapter dealing with the dangers of chaos, it is said that King Wu worked to abolish weapons:

"King Wu gained them (the people) by *wu* and maintained them by *wen*,
Reversing halberds and relaxing bows
So that under-heaven should not use troops"⁶⁵.

Here *wu* is seen as a temporary measure that can be discarded once peace is achieved. More normally such idealism is declared impractical:

"The one who does not practise *wen* and *wu* perishes. Of old Xi Xia was *ren* by nature and abolished weapons, not repairing the city walls. The military men had no place. He was generous and loved to reward. When his wealth was depleted such that he had not the wherewithal to reward, Tang attacked him. The city walls did not defend him and the military men were unusable, thus Xi Xia perished"⁶⁶.

The very fact that the presence of *wu* was a matter of debate, requiring justification, shows that the complementarity of *wen-wu* was not as evident as that of *yin-yang*. It is unthinkable that *yang* can be spoken of without *yin*. The same is not so with *wen-wu*.

Besides the desire to dispense with *wu* altogether, the pair displays another feature testifying to its instability: in many cases other terms can be substituted for one or other of the pair and the same distinction is still intended. The following chart gives a range of possible alternatives:

Alternatives to <i>wen</i>	Alternatives to <i>wu</i>
<i>ren</i> 仁	<i>yong</i> 勇
<i>de</i> 德	<i>shi</i> 勢
<i>shang</i> 賞	<i>quan</i> 權
	<i>li</i> 力
	<i>zhu</i> 誅
	<i>wei</i> 威

To prove that these alternatives are indeed true synonyms requires us to find passages in which the synonyms occur. The *Huangdi Sijing* provides no material for *wen* is always

65 *Lushi Chunqiu* 23.6 Yuan Luan 原亂 p. 1577

武王以武得之，以文持之，倒戈弛弓，使天下不用兵。

66 *Yizhoushu* 61 *Shiji* 史紀解 38/8-9 文武不行者亡。昔者西夏性仁非兵，城郭不修，武士無位，惠而好賞，財屈而無以賞，唐氏伐之，城郭不守，武士不用，西夏以亡。

and only used with *wu*. The closest one comes to true synonymy is when in *Si Du wei* (the ruler's sway) is associated with *wu*⁶⁷. This association is found in even clearer form in *Guanzi*:

"Where the lord stays (offers sacrifice) are four places:

The first is *wen*; the second *wu*; the third regal sway (*wei*); the fourth virtue (*de*)"⁶⁸.

The chiasmic pattern of this sentence makes it clear that *wen* and *de* are synonyms as are *wu* and *wei*. This is indeed one of the commonest patterns of synonymy. It is expressed in the *Hanshu* by forming binomials:

Wen's virtue is the tool of emperors and kings;

Wu's regal sway is the aide of *wen's* virtue"⁶⁹.

Further on in the same text the pair *de-wei* is contrasted one with the other:

"If what virtue (*de*) extends to is broad,

Then what regal sway (*wei*) keeps in order is vast"⁷⁰.

Linking these two quotations from the *Hanshu* is a sentence which is of particular interest for the present research. The contrast is between *wen* and *wu*:

"Thus if what *wen* adds on is plentiful,

Then what *wu* will be able to overawe is broad"⁷¹.

The meaning of this saying is, put simply, the more you give someone, the more you can get out of them. In political terms the idea is that if the king is generous to his subjects then he can also rely on them when he wants to fight. One is reminded of the pattern of seven years opening *Jun Zheng*.

The importance of the passage for our purposes lies more in that it is found in other books though in different terminology. In *Wenzi* we read,

"Thus if what *wen* adds on is plentiful,

Then what authority (*quan*) will be able to overawe is broad"⁷².

Here *quan*, authority, stands where *wu* did in the *Hanshu*. *Huainanzi* shows even more variation:

"Thus if what *wen* adds on is paltry,

67 See the table of *Si Du* 35b 18- 38a 33 above and the ensuing discussion (4.1 (c)).

68 *Guanzi* 45 *Ren Fa* 任法 p. 152b 主所處者四；一曰文，二曰武，三曰威，四曰德。

69 *Hanshu* 23 *Xing Fa Zhi* 刑法志 p. 1091 文德者，帝王之利器；威武者，文德之輔助也。

70 *Hanshu* 23 *Xing Fa Zhi* 刑法志 p. 1091 德之所施者博，則威之所制者廣。

71 *Hanshu* 23 *Xing Fa Zhi* 刑法志 p. 1091 故文之所加者深，則武之所服者大。

72 *Wenzi* 9 *Xia De* 下德 p. 866a 故文之所加者深，則權之所服者大。

Then what force (*shi*) will be able to overawe is tiny"⁷³.

The meaning is the same but the image is reversed and *shi*, force, stands where *wu* did in the *Hanshu*. These variations show that *shi* and *quan* are acceptable synonyms of *wu*. Nonetheless they do not completely oust *wu* for *wen-wu* is a natural pair in Chinese philosophy and is surely understood as fundamental even when a synonym for one of the pair is employed.

The use of synonyms can lead to convergence of sets of pairs. In *Guan* we encountered the phrase, "first *de* then *xing*". This type of phrase is found in the *Lushi Chunqiu*: "first *de* then *wu*" and "first *de* then *li* (strength)". Can we assume that *xing*, *wu* and *li* are all synonyms? The answer is either that in certain contexts they could be synonymous or that they became synonymous in certain contexts. In one case there is reasonable evidence that the move to synonymity happened after the *Huangdi Sijing*. This case involves *wen-wu* and *ci-xiong*. The former pair appear as a complementary pair in the *Jingfa*; the latter as an antagonistic pair in *Cixiong Jie*. However, in *Huainanzi* the two pairs are collaterally equivalent:

"*Wen* and *wu* succeed each other respectively in being *ci* and *xiong*.

And should be used at the appropriate time.

In this generation persons acting in *wu* fashion deny *wen* affairs;

Persons acting in *wen* fashion deny *wu* affairs.

Wen and *wu* thus alternately deny each other

And not knowing the due time is the usage of this generation"⁷⁴.

Just as it emerged that Han authors could correlate *ci-xiong* with *pin-mu* so here again a Han text has correlated *ci-xiong* with *wen-wu*. Now it has already been shown that *pin-mu* are associated with *yin-yang* and it may be wondered if there are any early texts in which *wen-wu* are explicitly correlated with *yin-yang*. The answer is positive. In a passage of the *Zhuangzi* which Graham assigns to "the late third or second century B.C."⁷⁵, the Yellow Emperor is talking about music:

"*Wen* and *wu* aligned in order: one clear note, one dull, *yin-yang* in harmony"⁷⁶.

73 *Huainanzi* 15 *Binglue* 兵略訓 p. 500 故文之所加者淺，則勢之所服者小。

74 *Huainanzi* 13 *Fan Lun* 汎論訓 p. 439 文武代為雌雄，有時而用也。今世之為武者，則非文也；為文者，則非武也，文武更相非，而不知時世之用也。

75 Graham, A.C., *Chuang-tzu*, p. 158

76 *Zhuangzi* 14 *Tian Yun* 天運 p. 46b 文武倫經，一清一濁，陰陽調和。

It is interesting that this correlation takes place under the auspices of the Yellow Emperor. We have seen that he was associated with *xing-de*, *yin-yang* terminology in *Guan* but since he is absent from *Jingfa* there is no way of telling how he relates to the *Jingfa*'s use of *wen-wu*.

From these examples it should be obvious that *wen-wu* were used in a technical sense and that they could be correlated with other terms. It is quite striking that only *wei-de* are thus correlated in the *Jingfa*. Moreover, the clearest cases of correlation are in late Warring States or Han texts. The conclusion seems inescapable that the *Jingfa* must be earlier than the Han dynasty. Looking at how *wen-wu* is used with the seasons may confirm or question this conclusion.

4.2 (d) Use of *wen-wu* with the seasons

Wen-wu as a pair are applied to the two halves of the year as in the following possibly Han period text from the *Hanfeizi*:

"Thus the myriad things must have growth and decay;
The myriad affairs must have relaxing and stretching;
The country must have *wen* and *wu*;
The government must have rewards and punishment"⁷⁷.

The passage comes from a speech in which Duke Zhou 周公 is contrasting the effects of winter with those of spring and summer. There is a clear demarcation between the two parts of the year.

The year may be further analysed into the four seasons, as in the following Han text in the *Guanzi*⁷⁸:

"Spring brings sprouting on the left; autumn brings slaying on the right;
Summer brings growth in front; winter brings storing behind;
Sprouting and growing are *wen* affairs; gathering and storing are *wu* affairs.
Thus *wen* affairs are dealt with on the left and *wu* affairs on the right"⁷⁹.

The four partite scheme is a natural development out of the division of the year into two

77 *Hanfeizi* 20 *Jie Lao* 解老 # 33

故萬物必有盛衰，萬事必有弛張，國家必有文武，官治必有賞罰。

78 Rickett, W.A., *Guanzi*, p. 136 says that the *Ban Fa Jie* is "certainly Han or later."

79 *Guanzi* 66 *Ban Fa Jie* 版法解 p. 171b

春生於左，秋殺於右，夏長於前，冬藏於後。生長之事，文也；收藏之事，武也。是故文事在左，武事在右。

but with its detailed descriptions it is later than the simple, "Heaven has seasons of slaying and giving life" of the *Jingfa*.

The use of *wen-wu* as a scheme for analysing the four seasons of the year does not seem to have had great success. Probably it could not have withstood competition from the more popular *yin-yang* scheme. The latter pervades the *Chunqiu Fanlu* and phrases such as "first *x*, then *y*" in which *wen* figured as one of the pairs in some of the works examined in our previous section, appear with "love" and "sternness" rather than *wen* and *wu*⁸⁰.

In short, though the use of *wen-wu* to apply to the two halves of the year is a distinguishing feature of the *Jingfa*'s use of the terms, it is not widely spread among known philosophical texts. Furthermore, it has not developed into the four-part analysis known in Han times.

4.2 (e) Other uses of *wen-wu*

There are a few other uses of *wen* and *wu* which deserve a mention here for the sake of completeness. Legge, in a note on the *Chunqiu* refers to dancers as either *wen* or *wu*. The former carried a flute and a pheasant's feather; the latter carried an axe and a shield⁸¹. As well as for dancers so too for officials the terms could be used. The sixteenth chapter of *Guanzi* reads,

"Civic officials can be thrice pardoned⁸², military officials not even once"⁸³.

A more curious reference is supplied in a note on the *Guanzi* by Zhao Shouzheng. He comments that *wen* signifies the drum and is beaten as the signal to advance and *wu* signifies the cymbals beaten to signal retreat⁸⁴. The passage in question is,

"Tens and Fives are used as rank and file;

Rewards and punishments as drum and cymbals"⁸⁵.

In the next example the meaning of the terms is standard but the usage deserves a mention for its rarity. It comes from the *Guoyu: Jinyu*:

"A chariot sounds like thunder, this is *wu*."

80 *Chunqiu Fanlu* 43 Yang zun Yin bei 陽尊陰卑 p. 794b 先愛後嚴。

81 Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. Vp. 302 note on paragraph 4

82 宥 you means that faults are overlooked and the persons concerned are even helped.

83 *Guanzi* 16 Fa Fa 法法 p. 113a 文有三宥，武毋一赦。

84 Zhao Shouzheng, *Guanzi Tongjie*, Vol. 2 p. 182 note 4

85 *Guanzi* 53 Jin Zang 禁藏 p. 160c 什伍以為行列，賞誅為文武。

All gather in obedience, this is *wen*.

When *Wen* and *Wu* are both present this is the maximum benefit"⁸⁶.

This passage is actually a commentary on the trigrams of the *Book of Changes*. Thus the thunder is the *Zhen* 震 trigram and the one to which all gather is the *Kun* 坤 or earth trigram. The thunder stands as the beginning of all motion whilst the earth marks the resting point of all motion, thus in so far as a circle may be said to have a beginning and an end they are. Hence it is saying that *wen* and *wu* together embrace all things.

More instances of the terms can be found but our aim is not to provide a complete survey of all uses⁸⁷.

Conclusion

We have seen that *wen-wu* have a moral sense in Confucian literature but in military literature the tone is on *realpolitik*. Then we may translate as diplomacy and military force respectively. The terms could be used to describe each of the four seasons or for a pattern of six years and these uses make the absence of such a role in the *Jingfa* quite striking. Likewise, either of the pair can be paired with other similar opposites and combined with *xing/de*, *yin/yang* and *ci/xiong* language though again this is not done in the *Jingfa*.

Equally striking is the lack of integration of the language of the *Jingfa* and *Shiliujing*. *Wen* and *wu* are *Jingfa* terms; *ci/xiong* and *xing/de* belong to the *Shiliujing*. It is not helpful to be sloppy and suppose that since all mean much the same thing they are all the same. No, some editor-author chose to use *wen/wu* deliberately as philosophical terms to help talk about government. Who that person was and why he chose this terminology must remain a matter of our concern. The most promising lead is given by the Mohist terminology that we have noted. The topic will be taken up again when we look at the redaction of the *Jingfa*.

At the same time we must look into any terminology which carries the polarity through both the *Jingfa* and the *Shiliujing* to ask if there is a bedrock of metaphor or

86 *Guoyu* 10 *Jin Yu* 4 晉語四 p.363 車有震，武也。衆而順，文也。文武具，厚之至也。

87 *Shuo Yuan* 1 *Jun Dao* 君道 p. 1/14 has a good example which expresses the balance well:

夫有文無武，無以威下；有武無文，民畏不親。文武俱行，威德乃成。

"If there is *wen* and not *wu* then there is no authority over the people; if there is *wu* and not *wen* then the people cower and do not love (their superior). *Wen-wu* go together then awesome authority and virtue are brought into being."

thought which underlies the different choice of philosophical terminology. For this purpose we will turn first to *Yin* and *Yang* and then to *Ni* and *Shun*. The first of these pairs occurs in each of the four books of the *Huangdi Sijing*; the second in the first three books alone.

Chapter Five: *Yin* 陰 and *Yang* 陽

The terms *yin* and *yang* deserve attention for a number of reasons:

- (1) They are frequent in the *Huangdi Sijing*;
- (2) They are used to classify a long list of items in *Cheng*;
- (3) As shown in our chapter three, they are related to *xing-de*;
- (4) In other works they occur in contexts where the *Jingfa* uses *wen* and *wu*.

Unlike any of the other pairs discussed so far they occur in all four books of the *Huangdi Sijing*. Studying their use may help us to understand the relations between *xing-de* and *wen-wu* and hence between *Shiliu Jing* and *Jingfa*.

It is not necessary to study uses of the two characters that do not imply a paired contrast, for example their use in proper names¹. The table of distribution of the use of the pair is as follows:

Chapter	Occurrences		Reference
	<i>yin</i>	<i>yang</i>	
<i>Guo Ci</i>	3	3	12b, 13a, 13b
<i>Si Du</i>	4	4	40b, 41a (3)
<i>Guan</i>	7	9	82b (3), 85a, 86b (2), 88a (<i>yin</i>), 88b (<i>yang</i>), 89a (<i>yang</i>) (2)
<i>Guo Tong</i>	2	2	96b, 97a
<i>Xing Zheng</i>	4	4	109a, 111a
II.12	1	1	132a
<i>Shun Dao</i>	1	1	137b
<i>Cheng</i> no. 39	1	1	157a
Last section	24	24	164a-166b
<i>Dao Yuan</i>	2	2	168b, 170a

Once set out in this way, what is most striking is the relative rarity of the terms and their concentration in a few sections. Apart from the last part of *Cheng* the concentration is

¹ The character *yang* occurs in the name of the yellow Emperor's grandson, Gao Yang:
Zheng Luan 99b 21-26 高陽為之若何? "Gao Yang. How are we to deal with it?"
Zheng Luan 101b 22-31 戰數盈六十而高陽未失。"I have made war sixty times and Gao Yang has not yet lost." (The last character of this line has given rise to some dispute. WW3 reads 夫, *fu*, as "not yet adult"; CGY reads 夫, *fu*, as "not yet won"; YMG reads 勝, *sheng*, as "not yet won".)
Xing Zheng 106b 27-107a 4 高陽問力墨。"Gao Yang asked Li Mo."
 The character *yin* is used in the phrase "secret plotting" *yin mo*: *Zheng Luan* 99b 7-8 陰謀 "secret plotting" (x2).

greatest in *Guan*, where they are associated with *xing-de*.

5.1 The *Cheng* List

The last section of *Cheng* is a passage referred to by Angus Graham as "the earliest list of which we know" of binary oppositions². The passage may be set out in two columns for the *yin-yang* elements:

"Any classifying should use *yin* and *yang* to make clear the great meaning:

	<u>Yang</u>		<u>Yin</u>	
1	Heaven	天	Earth	地
2	Spring	春	Autumn	秋
3	Summer	夏	Winter	冬
4	Day	晝	Night	夜
5	Great States	大國	Little States	小國
6	Important States	重國	Unimportant States	輕國
7	There being an affair	有事	There not being an affair	無事
8	Stretching	伸	Contracting	屈
9	Ruler	主	Ministers	臣
10	Above	上	Below	下
11	Man	男	Woman	女
12	Father	父	Child	子
13	Elder Brother	兄	Younger Brother	弟
14	Older	長	Younger	少
15	Noble	貴	Base	賤
16	Arriving socially	達	Remaining poor	窮
17	Marrying a wife, fathering a child	娶婦生子	Mourning the dead	有喪
18	Managing others	制人者	Being managed by others	制於人者
19	Attacker	客	Defender	主人
20	Commanders	師	Conscripts	役
21	Speech	言	Silence	默
22	Giving	予	Receiving	受

² Graham, A.C., *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking*, p. 27

All *yangs* imitate Heaven; Heaven honours what is correct.

Going beyond the correct is called "contradicting"

....inspect and then reverse.

All *yins* imitate Earth. Earth's virtue is peaceful, calm, correct stillness.

Once its tally of gentleness has been fixed,

It is good at giving and does not compete.

This is the rule of Earth and is the hen mode"³.

It should be noted that *xing-de* do not appear in this list, nor do *pin-mu*, hard-soft, which are associated with *yin-yang* in *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*. The list, then, appears to be a distinct unit within the *Huangdi Sijing*. One possible link to earlier material is the reference to the hen mode in the final conclusion of the *yin* section, though we noted that in *Cixiong Jie* there was no mention of *yin-yang*. Unfortunately the final conclusion of the *yang* section is damaged and is missing four characters (166a 35- 166b 2).

The closest list to this that is known from other works is one that is found in chapter one of the *Guiguzi*. Since this latter text is not commonly quoted I will give the whole passage here and affix notes to it in a subsequent footnote:

"The one who opens is open, is speech, is *yang*;

The one who closes is shut, is silence, is *yin*.

Yin and *yang* are their harmony, ending and beginning their meaning.

Thus in saying that long life, peaceful joy, riches, honour, fame, favour,

Possessions, pride, pleasure are *yang*, one is naming them "beginnings".

Thus in saying that death, worries, poverty, disgrace, dismissal, loss, failure,

Misfortune, the sword, punishment are *yin*, one is naming them "endings"

All the references to categories of things which imitate *yang*

3 The complete Chinese text is to be found in my edition. For convenience, I here copy out the opening and closing lines and comment on the translation of some of the terms in the list.

Cheng 164b 6-14

凡論必以陰陽明大義。

Cheng 166a 23- 167a 2

諸陽者法天，天貴正，過正曰：詭。... 祭乃反。
諸陰者法地，地之德安徐正靜，柔節先定，善予不爭。
此地之度而雌之節也。

Number 7 in the list refers to the presence or absence of a matter of State importance, probably war or major construction. See *Liji 6 Yue Ling* 月令 p. 94 note on 凡舉大事 note: 大事，如土功徭役。合諸侯。舉兵衆之事。 "Great affairs: like earthworks and forced labour, uniting the princes, raising troops."

Number 19 may also be translated as "guest" and "host" as Graham does. Mansvelt Beck and Chen Guying both translate as I do. For the reading "attacker" see *Guo Yu 21 Yue Yuxia* 越語下 p. 641: 天時不作，弗為人客。 "If the seasons of heaven do not initiate, then one does not act as an attacker." On page 642 note 13 Wei Zhao 韋昭 notes: 攻者為客。 "The attacker is the 'guest'."

Chapter Five: *Yin* and *Yang*

Are called "beginnings"

What one is saying is *yang* is good for beginning these matters.

All references to categories of things which imitate *yin* are called "endings",

What one is saying is that *yin* is bad for ending plans.

The way of opening and closing can be verified from *yin* and *yang*.

Thus when speaking of *yang* one relies on the lofty and high;

When speaking of *yin* one relies on the humble and small;

From the point of view of the low seeking the small;

From the point of view of the above seeking the great.

From this it is said, "there is no place from where they may not leave,

No place which they may not enter, no place where this is not possible.

One may speak of one person, a household, a State, all under Heaven.

So small there is no inside; so great there is no outside.

Gain and loss, departure and arrival, turning one's back on & turning back to,

All take *yin* and *yang* to manage their affairs.

Yang moves and progresses; *yin* stops and stores;

Yang moves and exits; *yin* follows and enters;

Yang circles round, ending and beginning,

Yin comes to a peak and goes back to *yang*.

What with *yang* moves, *de* is born with it;

What with *yin* is still, *xing* is formed with it.

From *yang* seeking *yin*, embrace with *de*;

From *yin* joining to *yang*, proceed by using force.

Yin-yang's calling for each other is through opening and shutting.

This is the Way of Heaven-Earth, and of *yin-yang* and it speaks the law for man.

It precedes the myriad affairs

And is said to be the gate and portal of the circular and the square"⁴.

4 *Guiguzi* 1 *Bai He* 裨闔 p. 27-28 (Chen Puqing 陳蒲清 ed.)

裨之者，開也，言也，陽也；
闔之者，閉也，默也，陰也。
陰陽其和，終始其義。
故言長生、安樂、富貴、尊榮、顯名、
愛好、財利、德意、喜欲為陽，曰《始》；

Changes to the text are indicated in a footnote⁵. The context of this passage is more fully developed than in the aphorisms of *Cheng*. There is only one expression that is common to both: "speech-silence" (*yan/mo* 言/默) and several where the term employed for the *yang* concepts is close to that used in *Cheng*: older, long life *chang* 長 (no. 14), noble *gui* 貴 (no. 15). The *Guiguzi* list has different key paradigms, namely "beginning" and "ending" rather than "heaven" and "earth". Furthermore, the *Guiguzi* develops *yin* and *yang* with respect to *xing-de*. Development of the theme of reversal, touched on in the damaged conclusion to the *yang* section of *Cheng*, is also noticeable.

Despite these similarities it is evident that the *Guiguzi* text is more developed. Its language is less ancient, employing two characters in conjunction rather than the mono characters of the *Cheng* passage. Thus instead of *gui* 貴, noble, we have *fugui* 富貴, riches. It is undisputable that the *Guiguzi* text is more recent. Moreover, just as we found *wen-wu* combined with cock and hen in Han texts, so too here we see how terms which are disparate in the *Huangdi Sijing*, the *Cheng's* list of *yin-yang* pairs and the distinction of *xing-de*, are combined in the list in *Guiguzi*. True *xing-de* are related to *yin-yang* in *Guan-Xing Zheng* but this does not affect *Cheng*, showing the lack of overall systematic consistency between all four books. Graham's observation about the early dating of the *Cheng* list seems to be confirmed.

故言死亡、憂患、貧賤、苦辱、奔捐、
 亡利、失意、有害、刑戮、誅罰為陰，曰《終》。
 諸言法陽之類者，皆曰《始》，言善以始其事；
 諸言法陰之類者，皆曰《終》，言惡以終其謀。
 揜闔之道，以陰陽試之。
 故與陽言者依崇高，與陰言者依卑小；
 以下求小，以高求大。
 由此言之，無所不出，無所不如，無所不可。
 可以說人，可以說家，可以說國，可以說天下。
 為小無內，為大無外。
 益損、去就、倍反，皆以陰陽御其事。
 陽動而行，陰止而藏；陽動而出，陰隨而如；
 陽還終始，陰極反陽。
 以陽動者，德相生也；
 以陰靜者，刑相成也。
 以陽求陰，苞以德也；
 以陰結陽，施以力也。
 陰陽相求，由揜闔也。
 此天地陰陽之道，而說人之法也。
 為萬事之先，是謂圓方之門戶。

- 5 a The original reads 損 *sun*. Amended by Chen Puqing to 捐 *juan*.
 b Chen's edition writes 形 *xing* (form) but it should clearly be 刑 *xing* (punishment) in contrast with 德 *de*.
 c Chen, p. 29 note 13, translates 說 as written and does not amend to 悅 *yuè* as has been privately suggested to me. I follow Chen.

5.2 *Yin-Yang* in other passages of the *Huangdi Sijing*

Apart from the *Cheng* list the uses of *yin-yang* in the *Huangdi Sijing* may be classified into four groups.

5.2 (a) First Use: Cosmic Origins

The first is that wherein *yin* and *yang* are mentioned as at the origins of the ordered cosmos. Such usage is to be found in the following passages:

"The Yellow Emperor said,
 "Amassing together.... forming one mass;
 There was no darkness nor brightness, no *yin* nor *yang*;
 Since *yin* and *yang* were not yet fixed, I could not name them.
 Now for the first time I divided them into two, parting into *yin-yang*,
 Separating into the seasons, ..." ⁶.

Darkness and brightness appear in the same line as *yin-yang* also in a speech by Guo Tong:

"Heaven has a constant pole and Earth has a constant norm,
 Joining... constant,
 Because of this there is darkness and brightness, *yin* and *yang*" ⁷.

Further on Guo Tong speaks of the relationship of *yin-yang* to all things:

"*Yin* and *yang* contain all things,
 Which transform and change and come to life" ⁸.

In *Shun Dao* it is the Yellow Emperor who is speaking to Li Mo about people long ago:

"The Yellow Emperor asked Li Mo saying,
 "When Da Ting ruled under-heaven:
 They did not distinguish *yin-yang*;
 They did not count days and months;
 Nor did they record the four seasons" ⁹.

6 *Guan* 82a 29-83a 3

黃帝曰：群群... 為一團。無晦無明，未有陰陽。陰陽未定，吾未有以名。今始判為兩，分為陰陽，離為四時。

7 *Guo Tong* 96a 25-96b 12

夫天有恆幹，地有恆常。合... 常，是以有晦有明，有陰有陽。

8 *Guo Tong* 97a 25-32 陰陽備物，化變乃生。

9 *Shun Dao* 137a 19-137b 10

黃帝問力墨曰：大庭氏之有天下也，不辨陰陽，不數日月，不識四時。

Finally, in *Dao Yuan* the same cosmic forces are described. The Way (*Dao*) is able to exist in pure *yin* or pure *yang*:

"Remaining in *yin* it (the Way) does not rot away;
Remaining in *yang* it is not burnt up"¹⁰.

After continuing on the role of the Way, the cosmic panoply is mentioned:

"Heaven and Earth, *yin* and *yang*, four seasons, sun and moon,
Stars and constellations, clouds and *qi*"¹¹.

These passages have much in common with each other. *Yin* and *yang* are preceded by "darkness" 晦 and "brightness" 明 in *Guan* and *Guo Tong* and also in *Dao Yuan*, where this distinction is the first of all too. The mention of *yin* and *yang* is followed by the seasons in *Guan* and *Dao Yuan*. In *Shun Dao* the sun and moon occur before the mention of the seasons, but in *Dao Yuan* they occur afterwards-- this does not seem to be a significant distinction. Certainly the passages in *Dao Yuan* are more developed than those in the *Shiliujing* but it may be that the theme of *Dao Yuan* is precisely the origin of the way and thus the origins merit more attention, or it may be that the texts are from different periods.

In *Guan* and *Guo Tong* the context is not that of the origin of the *dao* but rather the question of forms, *xing*, and names, *ming*. Names have to be matched with things and until the thing has attained a definite shape it cannot have a name.

5.2 (b) Second Use: Seasonal Use

A second use of *yin-yang* is with respect to the seasons. The dominant theme here is the cyclical pattern of *yin-yang*. According to this pattern the opposite begins at the peak of its contrary as shown in the familiar diagram: ☯. However, in the *Jingfa* this scheme is categorically denied:

"To slay at the peak of *yang*; to give life at the peak of *yin*,
This is called 'Going counter to the decrees of *yin-yang*'
When *yang* is at its peak, to slay outside;
When *yin* is at its peak, to give life inside;
Not only is this to go counter to *yin-yang*,

10 *Dao Yuan* 168b 32- 169a 3 在陰不腐，在陽不焦。

11 *Dao Yuan* 170a 37- 170b 9 天地陰陽，四時日月，星辰雲氣。

But it is also be contrary to their positions"¹².

It is only in the *Shiliu Jing* that we find the more familiar pattern:

This... when *yin* is at its maximum,
 Then one can move on to promote *de*;
 ... the people is achievement, is that by which you feed them;
 When *yang* begins to contract then you can sharpen *xing*;
 When *yin* doubles, night lengthens;
Qi overshadows the earth to make her pregnant,
 This is that by which they can continue their family line"¹³.

The contrast of the two times in the year is expressed by the "winning" or "contraction" of *yin-yang*. The characters employed are *ying* 贏 and *su* 俗 but in other contexts we find *ying* 贏 and *chu* 紕. How significant the graphic variants are is hard to tell; the meaning is not altered. The first of the two refers to "winning", "expanding", "flourishing". The graph *ying* 贏 is used for this in *Wang Lun*, though the graph *ying* 盈 is also found in the same column of the *Mawangdui* text (59). *Guan* uses *ying* 贏 in the passage above (85a) and again in 88a. *Cixiong Jie* writes *ying* with the graph *nie* 涅, a further example of its anomolous status. Neither *su* 俗 nor *chu* 紕 appear in the *Jingfa* but in *Guan* 85a *su* is used and in *Guan* 88a-b *chu* is written. Hence there is variation in the use of the graphs employed within *Guan* itself. With this in mind we shall turn to the *Guan* 88a-b text to see if it is in harmony with the text just quoted from 85a-b.:

"If in full times one carries out policies of contraction,
 Then the *yin* season will take its turn again,
 Earth *qi* will contract again,
 Then in correcting names, if you sharpen *xing*,
 Hibernating insects will not come out;
 Snow and frost will return to cold clarity,
 Sprouting crops will also wither,
 These disasters will arise.

12 *Si Du* 40b 21- 41a 24

極陽以殺，極陰以生，是謂逆陰陽之命。
 極陽殺於外，極陰生於內。已逆陰陽，又逆其位。

13 *Guan* 84b 33- 85b 4

是... 贏陰布德，... 民功者，所以食之也。
 俗陽修刑，重陰長夜，氣閉地孕者，所以繼之也。

Chapter Five: *Yin and Yang*

One who does thus, in all cases, affairs will not come to completion.
 If, when the season is contracting,
 One yet carries out policies of expansion,
 The *yang* mode will return
 Earth *qi* will not be gathered in.
 Then in correcting names, if you relax *xing*,
 Hibernating insects will chirp on,
 And grasses and sedges will flower once more,
 When you finish *yang* and then again have *yang*,
 One who does this, in all cases, his affairs will not work"¹⁴.

In contrast to the quotation from column 85, this part of *Guan* is much more detailed, spelling out the consequences of going counter to the season. There is not, though, any disparity between the two passages. What is new in the second quotation is that the ruler's inappropriate actions influence the natural world, causing disorder in agriculture and the patterns of the insects and crops. In the Han dynasty this theory was known as the "theory of resonances" (*gan-ying* 感應).

The theory is also found in *Xing Zheng*. *Xing* and *de* are first defined in terms of *yin-yang*:

"*Xing* is dark and *de* bright; *xing* is *yin* and *de yang*"¹⁵.

Next, in the terminology of stillness, *jing* 靜, and activity, *zuo* 作, the policies of the two parts of the year are denoted. If the ruler carries out the appropriate policies then he shall enjoy the favour of heaven and earth. If not, then he shall suffer:

"If stillness and activity are done at their proper time,
 Heaven and Earth will cooperate with one.
 If stillness and activity miss their proper times,
 Heaven and Earth will take from one.
 The Way of Heaven-Earth:
 Cold and hot, dry and damp cannot stand together;

14 *Guan* 87b 30- 89a 24

其時羸而事紕，陰節復次，地氣復收。正名修刑，蟄蟲不出，雪霜復清，萌穀乃肅，此災...生。如此者舉事將不成。
 其時紕而事羸，陽節復次，地氣不收。正名弛刑，蟄蟲發聲，草莖復榮。已陽而又陽，重時而無光。如此者舉事將不行。

15 *Xing Zheng* 109a 23-32: 刑晦而德明，刑陰而德陽。

Hard and soft, *yin* and *yang* certainly cannot both run by the same route;
 The two foster each other.
 Times bring each other to accomplishment"¹⁶.

Thus this passage shows the same concern with conforming to the appropriate times and seasons.

There is one more text that we might place here, though since it is damaged it is hard to situate it. This is a section from II.12 describing the way the ruler rules:

"Thus the king does not rule the State by luck,
 Ruling a State must be done by the primordial Way;
 Above, he knows Heaven's seasons;
 Below, he knows Earth's benefits;
 In the centre he knows human affairs.
 He is good at *yin-yang*..."¹⁷.

Such are the passages of the *Huangdi Sijing* that can be grouped under this heading. In considering them it must first be asked if they are all mutually compatible in terms of vocabulary and meaning and secondly, what the background to the different sections is.

That the quotations from *Guan* and *Xing Zheng* come from the same stable is fairly obvious. Both chapters use the *yin-yang* background as the foundation of their *xing-de* thought. The presence of *yin* permits the ruler to use *xing* and the presence of *yang* permits him to use *de*.

More uncertain is the relationship between *Si Du* and the *Guan-Xing Zheng* unit. The *Si Du* never uses *xing-de* and prefers to use the term *ji* 極 "at the peak of" as well as the verb *sheng* "to be full" rather than the verb *ying*, "to be full like the moon". Moreover, it warns the ruler against practising a policy at the height of its contrary. Presumably he must wait until the contrary is in decline. In the two *Shiliu Jing* chapters it seems he need not wait for the decline to begin. Whether our interpretation of *Si Du* is correct can only be

16 *Xing Zheng* 110b 1-11a 14

靜作得時，天地與之。靜作失時，天地奪之。
 夫天地之道，寒熱燥濕，不能并立。
 剛柔、陰陽，固不兩行。兩相養，時相成。

17 II.12 131b31-132a 27

王者不以幸治國，治國固有前道：上知天時，下知地利，中知人事。
 善陰陽，...

Notice that *qian dao* 前道 is translated the "primordial Way" as in the *Liji: Zhong Yong* 中庸 p. 10
 道前定，則不窮。The Way is primordially established and thus it is never exhausted.

ascertained by looking more closely at the vocabulary associated with the *yin-yang* quotation from the same chapter.

There is a distinct network of terms used to describe the pattern of reversal in *Si Du*. By looking at these and their use we can perhaps see if they form a cluster which is unique to the *Jingfa* and is distinct from the terminology of reversal present in *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*. The cluster in question is well-illustrated by a few phrases that follow on from the mention of *yin-yang*:

"The one who acts appropriately (*dang*)...

Having reached the peak (*ji*), he turns back (*fan*).

Fullness (*sheng*) and decline (*shuai*):

This is the Way (*dao*) of heaven-earth, the pattern (*li*) of the human world"¹⁸.

The terms on which we shall concentrate have been transliterated.

Dang 當 (acting appropriately)

Dang is found chiefly in the *Jingfa* but it is also found in the *Shiliu Jing*, notably in *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*, and in *Cheng*¹⁹. It is frequently paired with *ji* in the expression "going beyond the pole and exceeding what is appropriate"²⁰. This phrase is found twice in *Guo Ci*, once in *Zheng Luan* and once in *Xing Zheng*. The former is a chapter of *Jingfa* and the latter two of *Shiliu Jing*. *Dang* forms a binomial with "heaven" in *Guo Ci* and in *Si Du*²¹. The former of these two instances of "heaven's *dang*" is clearly correlated with the expression "heaven's pole":

"Thus only the sage can go to the limit of heaven's pole, can use heaven's *dang*"²².

In other words this use with "heaven" is the same as that in the phrase "going beyond the pole and exceeding what is appropriate".

18 *Si Du* 41b 13-31 當者有...，極而反，盛而衰，天地之道也，人之理也。

19 Distribution of *dang* in the *Huangdi Sijing*:

Jingfa I.1 (4b); I.2 (9b x3, 10a, 11b, 14b); I.3 (18a); I.5 (37a x2, 37b, 39a, 40a, 41b); I.6 (51a, 57b); I.7 (59b, 60b x2, 64b, 65a);

Shiliu Jing II.1 (79a); II.2 (86a); II.5 (106a); II.6 (108b x2, 111b x2); II.8 (117b, 118b); II.11 (127b); II.13 (135a); *Cheng* no. 16 (149a, 149b)

20 *Guo Ci* 10a 29-32, 14b 3-6; *Zheng Luan* 105b 30-106a 3; *Xing Zheng* 111b 2-5 過極快當

Notice that I follow Chen Guying in reading the third character in the phrase as 佚 *yi* rather than 失 *shi*. However, this reading need not be pressed too far since *shi* also makes good sense, "loosing" instead of "exceeding".

21 *Guo Ci* 11b 18-19; *Si Du* 39a 17-18 天當

22 *Guo Ci* 11b 8-19 故唯聖人能盡天極，能用天當。

Ji 極

Ji is used, then, in common with *dang*. Like *dang* it is more common in the *Jingfa* but it is also found in the other three books of the *Huangdi Sijing*. The difference of distribution is not only a factor of the different lengths of the books²³. It is, moreover, only associated with *yin-yang* in *Si Du*.

Li 理

While *dao* is a frequent term in the *Huangdi Sijing*, *li* is not. *Li*, pattern, occurs 29 times in the *Jingfa*, twice in the *Shiliu Jing* and three times in *Cheng*²⁴. Without attempting to analyse all these occurrences we can at least note the presence in *Si Du* of six instances of *dang*, five of *ji* and five of *li*. *Guan* and *Xing Zheng* together use *dang* five times, *ji* four times and *li* never. That such an important philosophical term as *li*, pattern, could just be forgotten is implausible. Rather one must suppose that while there are some common elements in the thought and vocabulary of *Guan-Xing Zheng* and *Si Du*, there is nonetheless a distinct philosophical background at work in each. For this reason it is plausible to maintain that the instructions for appropriate behaviour at the peak of *yin-yang* in *Si Du* and *Guan-Xing Zheng* is fully in accordance with the distinctive vocabulary of the two units.

The question which must then come to mind is whether the *Si Du* unit is earlier or later than the *Guan-Xing Zheng* unit. The question goes beyond the scope of our present reflection but one can at least note certain works which are closer to one or other of the two units.

The origin of the terminology of reversal is to be found in the mists of early Chinese philosophy. It comes to expression in both *Laozi* and the *Zhou Yi*. The dates of both these works are disputed. Huang Junliang 黄君良 believes that *Laozi* relied on the

23 Distribution of *ji* in the *Huangdi Sijing*:

Jingfa I. 1 (6a); I. 2 (9b, 10a, 10b, 11b, 14b); I. 5 (40b x 2, 41a x 2, 41b); I. 6 (49a, 50b, 52a, 52b x 2); I. 7 (60a x 2); *Shiliu Jing* II. 2 (81a, 86a); II. 4 (99a); II. 5 (100a, 106a); II. 6 (108b, 111b); II. 7 (113b); II. 8 (119a); II. 9 (123a, 124a); *Cheng* no. 19 (150a x 2); no. 30 (154a); *Dao Yuan* 171a, 172a

The colometric evidence gives a proportion of 5:4 for the first two books. *Ji* is in the proportion 18:11, which is nearer to 6:4, hence showing that *ji* is indeed more common in *Jingfa* as opposed to *Shiliu Jing*. The other two books are rather short for accurate statistical work.

24 Distribution of *li* in the *Huangdi Sijing*:

Jingfa I. 4 (28a); I. 5 (39b, 40a, 41b, 42a, 45a); I. 6 (51b x 4, 53a, 55b, 56a); I. 7 (57b, 59b, 61b x 2); I. 8 (66b, 67a x 2, 69b); I. 9 (74b, 75a x 2, 75b x 2, 76b, 77b);

Shiliu Jing II. 9 (122b); II. 15 (141b)

Cheng no. 13 (147b), no. 42 (159a x 2)

early strands of the *Zhou Yi*²⁵. He enumerates six themes which he believes *Laozi* to have obtained from the *Zhou Yi*. The theme of "things at a peak must return" is the sixth in his study. Under this heading he notes that the commentary to the *bo* 剝 hexagram is "the weak changes to the hard" and the commentary to the *guai* 夬 hexagram reads "the hard cuts back the weak"²⁶. Hard and soft refer to the lines of the hexagrams. As one changes to the other so the hexagram itself becomes a new hexagram. In *Xing Zheng* and elsewhere in the *Huangdi Sijing*, hard and soft are associated with *yin-yang* and so it is easy to see how the interplay of the lines could be read as the interplay of *yin-yang* or vice-versa.

If the pattern of reversal comes from the *Zhou Yi*, its expression in terms of *ji*, the peak, comes from *Laozi*. Chapter 58 of the *Laozi* reads,

"Disaster is what blessing leans on,
Blessing is what disaster is concealed in
Who knows its peak (*ji*)?"²⁷.

It is from this source that the language of *Si Du* finds its source. The current continues in other works. In a chapter of the *Guanzi* dated by Rickett to the middle of the third century at the earliest (post 250B.C.)²⁸, it is said,

"The number of the Way is to arrive and then turn back,
to fill up and then decline"²⁹.

The term *ji* is used in the same context in the *Heguanzi*, a work dated to the Qin-Han interregnum (c.206 B.C.)³⁰:

"Things coming to the peak and then returning:
The name for this is 'flowing round in a circle'"³¹.

Finally in the Han text, the *Huainanzi*, it is said,

"The Way of heaven-earth is to come to the peak and then return,

25 Huang Junliang, "*Laozi*" *sixiang suyuan*

26 *Zhou Yi* 23 *Bo* 剝 p. 15: 柔變剛也; *Zhou Yi* 43 *Guai* 夬 p. 27: 剛決柔也

27 *Dao De Jing* 58 禍兮福之所倚。福兮禍之作伏。孰知其極。

28 Rickett, W.A., *Guanzi* Vol. I, p. 241

29 *Guanzi* 15 *Zhong Ling* 重令 p. 111c 天道之數，至則反，盛則衰。

30 The most thorough study of the dating of the *Heguanzi* is that undertaken by Carine Defoort in her unpublished thesis: *Ho-Kuan-Tzu*, Doctoral Dissertation, Catholic University of Leuven, 1993. Graham tries to establish precise dates for various chapters but this is not wholly accepted by others, notably Li Xueqin, who largely agrees with Defoort's dating.

31 *Heguanzi* 5 *Huan Liu* 環流 Vol. 1 p. 15 物極則反，名曰：環流。

To fill out and then fade away"³².

The terminology of coming to a peak, filling out and declining is exactly what is found in *Si Du*, rather than what is present in *Guan-Xing Zheng*. The terminology of the latter chapters was mirrored in the *Guo Yu: Yue Yu xia* as was noted in our study of *xing-de*. Hence while we may not be in a position to argue time of authorship, we can posit different intellectual backgrounds for the *yin-yang* passages of *Si Du* and *Guan-Xing Zheng*.

5.2 (c) Third Use: Sincerity

One of the distinctive features of *Si Du* is the association of *yin* and *yang* with inside and outside. The same set of characters appears in *Cheng*:

If one displays (*yang*) affection and harbours (*yin*) hate

This is said to be to putting one's love outside and holding hate inside:

Even be there no confusion within yet will there be enemies attacking outside.

If one's love is indeed love and one's hate indeed hate,

Then confusion will not attain one and external enemies will withdraw"³³.

Here though the contrast has nothing to do with the seasons or with any philosophical distinction. It is simply a matter of asking the ruler to be sincere.

5.2 (d) Fourth Use: Three and Five *ni*

The fourth use of *yin* and *yang* occurs in two related but rather baffling passages in *Guo Ci* and *Guan*. The latter runs,

"When using the people, do not be inflexible"³⁴,

In all affairs do not let *yang* be too *yang*³⁵;

In exploiting³⁶ the earth do not let *yin* be too *yin*;

For the one who lets *yin* be too *yin*, Earth will be infertile;

For the one who lets *yang* be too *yang*, steals glory;

32 *Huainanzi* 20 *Tai Zu* 泰族 p. 674 天地之道，極則反，盛則損。

33 *Cheng* No. 39: 157a20-157b23

陽親而陰惡。

謂處其膚，而內其蠶。不有內亂，必有外客。

膚既為膚，蠶既為蠶。內亂不至，外客乃却。

34 This translation is based on the similar passage in the *Yue Yu xia*. *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* 越語下 p. 654 note 12 explains that in using troops one does not always follow the same course of action.

35 "Proliferate" means "going to excess". This is what the two phrases seem to mean.

36 Emending *li* 力 (strength) to *li* 利 (profit by) since both sound alike and so could be confused.

The one who is inflexible runs up against armies"³⁷.

Although this passage is joined to what precedes and follows it by "therefore" (*shi gu* 是故) it is very hard to see the logic of the link. Since much of the same vocabulary reappears in *Guo Ci* in a more extended passage we shall consider the two sections together.

- (1) Do not let *yang* be too *yang*;
 - (2) Do not let *yin* be too *yin*;
 - (3) Do not exhaust the soil;
 - (4) Do not be inflexible;
 - (5) Do not form factions.
- (1') From those who let *yang* be too *yang*,
Heaven takes their official status;
 - (2') For those who let *yin* be too *yin*,
The soil and earth are barren;
 - (3') For those who exhaust the soil,
Heaven will add to their plight with warfare;
 - (4') For those who are inflexible,
Their people will be scattered in the four quadrants;
 - (5) Those who form factions,
Will attack each other from within.
- (1'') If you let *yang* be too *yang* you will suffer hardship;
 - (2'') If you let *yin* be too *yin* you will go hungry;
 - (3'') If you exhaust the soil you will lose the earth;
 - (4'') If you are inflexible you will lose the people;
 - (5'') If you form factions there will be confusion.

These are called "the five goings against the current"³⁸.

37 *Guan* 86b 6- 87a 6: 使民毋人勢，舉事毋陽察，利地毋陰蔽。
陰蔽者土荒，陽察者奪光，人勢者撞兵。

38 *Guo Ci* 12b 16- 14a 2 In my edition the text is set out in the order in which it is written. Below it will be set out in columns:

1. 毋陽竊。	1'. 陽竊者，天奪其光。	1''. 陽竊者疾。
2. 毋陰竊。	2'. 陰竊者，土地荒。	2''. 陰竊者饑。
3. 毋土蔽。	3'. 土蔽者，天加之以兵。	3''. 土蔽者亡地。
4. 毋怙勢。	4'. 人勢者，流之四方。	4''. 人勢者失民。
5. 毋黨別。	5'. 黨別者，外內相攻。	5''. 黨別者亂。

此謂五逆。

The most obvious distinction between these two passages is that in *Guan* there are three prohibitions and in *Guo Ci* there are five. The five are given the special title "going against the current" whereas the three receive no special title. The source of the three in *Guan* is without any doubt the *Guo Yu: Yue Yu xia*.

The most plausible explanation of the five prohibitions of *Guo Ci* is that they have developed out of the three of *Guan*. The five can be compared to the three according to the following table:

<i>Guan</i>	<i>Guo Ci</i>
1	4
2	1
3	2

In other words the the third and fifth are new to the *Guo Ci* and the order of the others is somewhat altered. Furthermore, the consequences of the first prohibition in *Guan* are similar to those of the third in *Guo Ci*. Most significantly the set of prohibitions is given a collective name in *Guo Ci*, "the five goes against the current", whereas in *Guan* there is no such name. This suggests that the *Guo Ci* set is later than the *Guan* set.

The *Guan* set does have an earlier pedigree in the *Yue Yu xia*. Fan Li is talking about how to use the army. When the army is far ahead of the enemy it can use *yang* but not excessively; when the enemy are close then the army should affect weakness and use *yin* though not to excess. This is a policy of caution and deception, wearing down the enemy without trying to engage him in close battle. Thus Fan Li says that in using the army there is no absolute rule of action. Circumstances must dictate tactics:

"Thus the one who can use troops well,
Accommodates to the norm of Heaven and Earth
And goes along with it:
Behind then using *yin*; before then using *yang*;
Close then using weak; far then using hard;
Behind there is no *yin* going to excess; before no *yang* going to excess;
In using the masses there is no constancy"³⁹.

³⁹ *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 653

古之善用兵者，因天地之常，與之俱行。

The editor of *Guan* has adapted these lines, changing them from indicative statements (*wu* 無) to imperatives (*wu* 毋) and adding the consequences for failing to obey them. Moreover the setting has been changed. In *Guan* the three prohibitions are introduced by "therefore" (*fu shi gu* 夫是故) and the passage following them is again introduced by "therefore" (*shi gu* 是故). The preceding passage is about the use of *xing-de* with the seasons and the following passage is about how the ruler will help his country to flourish so that the five grains ripen. The setting is then not military.

In *Guo Ci* the additional two prohibitions further extend the scope of the set. One new prohibition (no. 3) is related to the earth, which fits in with the context in *Guan*, and a second (no. 5) is related to the court. Hence there is a clear history of increasing scope from the military application of the *Yue Yu xia* to the agricultural dimension of *Guan* and finally to embrace the ruler's own court in *Guo Ci*.

It should, however, be noted that the five prohibitions fit rather awkwardly with the rest of *Guo Ci*. *Guo Ci* is concerned with the punishing of a State that has earned Heaven's reprove. The one who attacks such a State and exploits its resources for himself will fall. The true sage will completely destroy the enemy State and thus accomplish the work of Heaven. This program is not evidently related to the five goings against the current. However, at the end of the five goings against the current the editor integrates the five into the principles that have governed the first half of the chapter. In particular the phrase "going beyond the pole and exceeding what is appropriate" reappears⁴⁰. Hence it seems that the five have been deliberately edited into their context in *Guo Ci*.

The upshot of this long discussion is that these passages illustrating what we termed the "fourth use" of *yin-yang* point to an earlier dating for *Guan* as opposed to *Guo Ci*. Our observations on *li* 理 suggest that *Si Du* is later than *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*. If it can be shown that *Guo Ci* and *Si Du*, both chapters of *Jingfa*, belong to one editor and that that editor has been at work throughout the *Jingfa*, then we might be able to make conclusions about the relationship of *Jingfa* to *Shiliu Jing*. This is an issue which will be treated in the second part of this thesis. Before concluding our study of *yin-yang* some mention should be made of the famed "*yin-yang wu xing*" (陰陽五行) theory, since the

後則用陰，先則用陽，近則用柔，遠則用剛。

後無陰蔽，先無陽察，用人無藝。 It is these three last phrases that find their way into *Guan*.

40 *Guo Ci* 10a 29-32; 14b 3-6: 過極佚當。

presence or absence of this in the *Huangdi Sijing* may be relevant to questions of dating.

5.3 *Yin-yang wu xing*

The phrase, *yin-yang wu xing*, is well-known from Han dynasty texts and the association between *yin-yang* and the five agents or five elements, *wu xing*, so familiar that we have a tendency to assume that it was always so. In fact *yin-yang* exist quite independently of any *wu xing* theory until late Warring States' China and vice-versa.

Kanaya Osamu 金谷治 has shown that the separation of the four seasons according to a theory of *qi* preceded the use of *yin-yang* applied to the seasons⁴¹. Kanaya judges this period to be around 300 B.C. and to be represented by the Chu Silk Manuscript and chapter eight, *You Guan* 幼官, of *Guanzi*⁴². Rickett believes that this date is too early and that one may only claim a "pre-latter half of the third century B.C." date for *You Guan*⁴³. Be that as it may, the two works present the four seasons and name them individually:

"Only... four months, then increasing and decreasing do not attain their balance;
Spring, summer, autumn, winter...have... constant"⁴⁴.

You Guan consists of a calendar and an essay each of independent origin and then rearranged into a chart. The rearrangement is Han but the two components are late Warring States. The calendar alone mentions the seasons by name and, though it does not mention the five agents by name, Rickett believes that it must be based on five agents concepts and correlates. The calendar gives detailed descriptions of what to do in each season. This is all developed far beyond what is found in *Guan* or *Si Du*. Moreover there is no trace of any five agent thought patterns in the *Huangdi Sijing*. Rickett cites two calendars that predated the influence of the five agents: the *Xia xiao zheng* 夏小正 of the *Da Dai Liji* and the *Shi xun jie* 時訓解 of the *Yizhoushu*⁴⁵. The authenticity of the

41 Kanaya Osamu (Yu Shihua 于時化 tr.) *Yin-yang wuxing shuo de chuangli*

42 Kanaya believes that *You Guan* is an early example of the association between *yin-yang* and *wuxing* theories. In *You Guan* the fifth agent, the virtue of earth, is awkwardly placed in the middle of the year with no period assigned to it. By the end of the Warring States period, the *Lushi Chunqiu* is able to fit the five agents with the four seasons and, finally, in the *Chunqiu Fanlu* 61 *zhishui wuxing pian* 治水五行篇 and *Guanzi* 41 *Wuxing pian* 五行篇 the year is divided into five parts.

43 Rickett, W.A., *Guanzi* Vol. I, pp. 166-9.

Rickett dates the calendar of *You Guan* to the latter half of the second century B.C. and hence later than the *Lushi Chunqiu*. He does believe, however, that those parts of the calendar which mention periods of twelve days are earlier.

44 *Changsha Zidanku Zhonguo Chu Boshu Yanjiu* p. 50

惟[x2]四月，則贏紕不得其當。春夏秋冬、口有口常，

45 Rickett, W.A., *Guanzi* Vol. I, pp. 158-9

second of these two is contested but the first is from the early Warring States period. Both it and the *Shi xun Jie* are concerned with agriculture alone. The introduction of politics is only attested in the *Lushi Chunqiu*. Now the material in *Guan* is concerned with both agriculture and politics but not with the five agents of the *Lushi Chunqiu*, hence it may represent a stage between the pure agricultural calendars and the politico-agricultural *wuxing* calendars. While more detailed study of this topic could be done, for our present purposes we need only note that in a context where *wuxing* theory would be apt it is not encountered in the *Huangdi Sijing*.

Kanaya traces the origin of *yin-yang* to the contrast of hard and soft. This latter pair is associated with female-male in *Guan* and *Xing Zheng* and hence with *xing-de* and *yin-yang*. In what we identified as the "first use" of *yin-yang* we saw that the pair was frequently used in connection with darkness and brightness. This association is attested in the *Zuo Zhuan*. The tenth book of the *Zuo Zhuan* lists six *qi* as "*yin-yang*, wind-rain and darkness-brightness"⁴⁶. The reference occurs in the advice of a doctor who goes on to say that the separation of the six produces the four seasons and their order the five agents. While this passage is set in the year 541 B.C. the date of its composition is not known with certainty. What is of interest is that it is put on the lips of a doctor, for the association of the five agents with medicine and with the Yellow Emperor is well-attested by the finds at Mawangdui. Indeed, the very frequency of the association makes its absence in the *Huangdi Sijing* all the more striking.

Conclusions

The findings of this chapter may be summarised as follows:

1. The list of *yin-yang* elements in *Cheng* is earlier than a similar list in the *Guiguzi* and does not include the pair *xing-de* which is associated with *yin-yang* in *Guan-Xing Zheng*.
2. The use of *yin-yang* in *Guan-Xing Zheng* suggests an association with the thought of Fan Li.
3. *Guo Ci* builds on *Guan* and is subsequent to it.
4. The use of *li* in *Si Du* and elsewhere in the *Jingfa* suggests that *Jingfa* is later in date

⁴⁵ *Da Dai Liji* 47 *Xia xiao zheng* 夏小正 pp. 24-47

⁴⁶ *Yi Zhou Shu* 52 *Shi xun jie* 時訓解 pp. 25-27

46 *Zuo Zhuan* 10 *Zhao Gong* 昭公 Year 1 #8 六氣曰：陰、陽、風、雨、晦、明。

than most of the *Shiliu Jing*.

5. There is no evidence of *wuxing* theory in the *Huangdi Sijing*. This is striking in that *wuxing* theory is associated with early medical theory, associated with the Yellow Emperor as well, and with the policies appropriate for the seasons and with *yin-yang*. It seems probable that the *Huangdi Sijing* predates the propagation of *wuxing* theory in these contexts.

These conclusions suggest that more work is needed to determine the relationship of *Jingfa* and *Shiliu Jing* and the unity of each book in itself. The next pair to attract our attention is one that is found in *Jingfa*, *Shiliu Jing* and *Cheng* and with a frequency that exceeds any of the pairs so far considered. The pair in question is *ni-shun*, going against or with the current.

Chapter Six: *Ni* 逆 and *Shun* 順

Of all the pairs so far discussed, *ni* and *shun* are the most common in the *Huangdi Sijing*. In *Jingfa* they are singled out for definition more than once. Some of these instances involve lists of a number of elements described as so many *ni* or *shun* as the case may be. There are other uses of the pair that are not highlighted and that are simply part of the embedded metaphor of ordinary language. There are also cases in which the characters are used without any specific cosmological opposition in mind. The procedure followed here will be to first identify each use of the characters in their context and then to suggest some classification of these uses.

Before undertaking this work it may be appropriate to comment on the translation of the terms. In the *Chunqiu* *ni* means "to meet" in the sense of "going out to meet"¹. This use may be illustrated by an example drawn from the *Guo Yu*. Duke Huan 桓 goes out in person to meet the returning Guan Zhong 管仲:

Duke Huan went in person to meet (*ni*) him in the suburbs².

These uses show that *ni* can be used when two persons are moving towards each other. It is not simply a passive waiting for the arrival of Guan Zhong. Likewise, we must suppose that *shun* is not a passive, being carried along by, but active going along with. More usually in our texts *ni* has a pejorative sense and this is brought out in a little vignette found in both the *Lushi Chunqiu* and the *Huainanzi*³:

使烏獲疾引牛尾，尾絕力勮⁴，而牛不可行，逆也。

"If one lets Wu Huo⁵ exert all his strength to pull an ox's tail, the tail will break,

His strength be exhausted and the ox cannot move, this is *ni*."

Shun is defined by the same scene:

1 Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 5, p. 922 notes in his index, *ni*: to meet. Generally used of officers going to meet a bride for their ruler or for the king: I. ii. 5; II. iii. 5; viii. 6; III. xxiv. 3; V. xx5. 3; VII. i. 2; VIII. xiv. 3; IX. xv. 2. To meet one's own bride: II. xxvii. 5; VI. iv. 2. To go to meet a coffin: VIII. ix. 1

In Mongolian the verb 托 〇 〇 〇 〇 〇 〇 X means "to go to meet someone who is coming", "to receive" but also "to block", especially of a military attack. See *Meng-Han Cidian* 蒙漢辭典, Huhhot: Nei Menggu Renmin, 1976, p. 1063 and Hangin, G., *A Modern Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Indiana University, 1986, p. 505

2 *Guo Yu* 6 *Qi Yu* 齊語 p. 223: 桓公親逆之于郊。

3 *Lushi Chunqiu* 1.3 *Zhong Ji* 重己 p. 34; *Huainanzi* 9 *Zhu Shu* 主術訓 p. 305

4 The text writes *dan* 𠂔 which Gao You reads as *dan* 單 meaning *jin* 盡 exert one's effort but the form of the character leads commentators to read it as *li jin* 力盡. See Chen Qiyou, *Lushi Chunqiu Xiaoshi*, pp. 39-40 note 23.

5 Wu Huo was a strongman of King Wu 武 of Qin, who could lift 1,000 *jun* (30,000 catties); See Ames, R., *The Art of Rulership*, p. 246, note 103

使五尺童子引其轅⁶，而牛恣⁷所⁸之，順也

"If you let a five foot tall lad pull its nose-ring then the ox follows one's wish,

This is *shun*⁹.

What this story shows is the folly of going against what is natural. No matter how strong one is one will never succeed. Whereas by going along with what is natural one needs very little effort to attain one's goal¹⁰. The image of water present in the shape of the character *shun* is then present even in these uses. One advances along the river by rowing with the current rather than by rowing against it.

Modern motorway parlance provides the word "contraflow", which could suggest "proflow" as its contrary. The business world knows of "pro-active" and from this one could form "contra-active". Neither "proflow" nor "contra-active" is a particularly felicitous term and while "contraflow" would suit *ni* well and "pro-active" translates *shun* correctly, it will perhaps be better to fall back on transcription as with the other pairs.

Having said this we can now turn to the usage of the characters in the *Huangdi Sijing*, looking first of all at those chapters where both characters are altogether absent. Neither appears in *Dao Yuan*, and in *Cheng* only two proverbs contain them. In *Shiliujing* they are not found in II. 1, 4, 7, 9 and 15. Since most of these chapters are very short we cannot draw too many conclusions from this absence. The absence in II.7 *Cixiong Jie* should come as no surprise given the anomalous nature of that chapter.

For convenience each instance of *ni* or *shun* will be lettered by the Greek alphabet.

6.1 Use of *Ni* and *Shun* in the *Jingfa*

I.1 *Daofa*

In *Daofa* there is a set of definitions, the third of which is *ni*:

α "There are obstacles to affairs called *ni*, called "not weighing up",

6 This means the ox's nose-ring. For this and the following two notes, see Chen Qiyou, p. 40, note 24

7 Read 恣 *zi*, to do as one pleases, as 從 *cong*, to follow.

8 Text adds an extraneous 以 after 所

9 This is the version in the *Lushi Chunqiu*. In the *Huainanzi*, the story is, 今使烏獲、藉蕃從後牽牛尾，尾絕而不從者，逆也；若指之桑條以貫其鼻，則五尺童子牽而周四海者，順也。 Now, if Wu Huo or Jie Fan led an ox from behind by the tail, the tail would break and it would not follow, this is *ni*; But if one took a twig of mulberry and pierced the ox's nose, even a five foot youth could lead it and roam round within the four seas, this is *shun*. See Ames, p. 197 for another translation.

10 Notice the sense of "natural" here. It does not mean "free from human work". In this latter sense the tail is more natural than a man-made nose-ring. What is natural, *then*, is what man can do in combination with the ox, a question of cooperation.

Called "not knowing what use it has"¹¹.

In his unpublished notes on the *Huangdi Sijing* Graham explains *ni* here as "going against the flow of the living and generative process"¹². He is not too sure of the meaning of the rest but we may suppose that the obstructions impeding the course of *affaires d'etat* are what is termed *ni* and that these arise from lack of weighing up a course of action or from not knowing how to use a particular person, situation or policy. Within the context we see how both the "affairs" and the obstructions come from the same dark source. While on the surface they are in opposition in their origins they are one. Thus we read,

β "Whether *ni* or *shun*, dying or birthing, things give themselves a name"¹³.

As things emerge out of the abyss they create their own form and name no matter whether they be opposite to one another or not. Indeed the theme of *Daofa* is the emergence of contraries from the one Way thus requiring the ruler to be sufficiently enlightened to grasp the distinction at its root¹⁴. *Ni* and *shun* are simply an illustration of two such contraries.

I.2 *Guo Ci*

In *Guo Ci* the annexation of a State followed by the restoration of its capital is said to be an instance of (γ)"recklessly heading counter current (*ni*)" and bringing one's State to peril and ultimate destruction¹⁵. It is attractive, but impossible to substantiate, that the writer of these lines had in mind the policy of King Fu Chai of Wu, who, having conquered Yue, allowed it to regain strength and so brought about his own downfall. However it is, the conclusion is that the sage alone can truly grasp the pole of Heaven and act appropriately to undertake the work of Heaven.

δ The second half of *Guo Ci* lists five "counterflows", which were discussed in the preceding chapter. We noted (Chapter 5.4 (d)) that they expand on three items in the *Shiliujing* known also from the *Yue Yuxia*. They are now graced with the title *ni*.

11 *Dao Fa* 2a 22-34 事有害曰逆，曰不稱，曰不知所為用。

12 Graham, A.C., *Peerenboom Notes* Part 1, p. 1

13 *Dao Fa* 8a 14-21 逆順、死生，物自為名。

14 *Dao Fa* 6a 3- 15 反索之無形，故知禍福之所從生

"He seeks it back in the formless and thus knows whence misfortune and fortune are birthed."

15 *Guo Ci* 11a 5 - 11b 7 "When annexing the State of others: if one restores its capital and city walls, lays out its palace and temple, listens to its bell and drum, profits by its wealth, weds its sons and daughters, this is called....By thus wildly going counter to the flow, one's State will be brought to peril, destroyed and ended."

The last phrases read 逆以荒，國危破亡。The expression 以荒 is rather odd.

I.3 *Jun Zheng*

ε *Ni* does not occur in this chapter and *shun* only in a non-technical sense of "conformity":

"The one who follows custom accords with the people's heart"¹⁶.

I.4 *Da Fen*

The main theme of this chapter is the contrast between six *ni* and six *shun*. These decide the rise and fall of a State, thus it is the ruler's job to understand their distinction and so to foster life and reward or alternatively to punish and send out military expeditions¹⁷. The duality of the conclusion, one attitude to promote life and one to bring punishment, reminds us of the contrasts between *xing* and *de*, *wen* and *wu*. *Ni* and *shun* are the principles by which the ruler moves from insight to practical action.

The list itself is, however, not without its problems. There are clearly six *shun* but the list of *ni* is more problematic. The *ni* are mentioned in order, then repeated and elaborated. In the initial list there are six but in the elaboration there are seven items:

ζ <u><i>Ni</i></u>	<u><i>Ni</i> elaborated</u>
1. Son as father	1a. Eldest son usurps
2. Minister as ruler	2a. Chief minister as ruler
3. Faction of ministers	3a. Rebellion led by minister
4. Ruler loses position; ministers do not	4a. As no. 4
5. Ruler and ministers all lose positions ¹⁸	5a. As no. 5
	5b. Ruler a tyrant; ministers confused
6. Usurpation by a concubine	6a. Shared authority ¹⁹

Are we to suppose that what I have numbered 5b "Ruler a tyrant; ministers confused" 主暴臣亂 is missing from the first list or is it an addition to the second list? In favour of the former hypothesis is that since only four characters are at issue it would be easy to

¹⁶ *Jun Zheng* 16a 20-25: 俗者順民心也。

¹⁷ *Da Fen* 28a 22-28b 18 六順六逆口存亡興壞之分也。主上者執大分以生殺，以賞罰，以必伐。 "The six *shun* and six *ni*...determine the separation between rise and fall. The lord above grasps the great distinction so as to birth or slay, so as to reward or punish, so as to send expeditions necessarily." The grammar of the last three characters is awkward. Mansvelt Beck links to what follows, "If the lord...then there will be great peace" and translates the recalcitrant passage as "and thereby making strife inevitable".

¹⁸ Chen Guying places 4 and 5 of my list as one. See CGY note ad loc.

¹⁹ For Chinese text, see lines 23a 24-27a 19

overlook them; whereas if we suppose them to be an addition in the elaboration section then it is a matter of adding in 24 characters in all²⁰:

主暴臣亂，命曰大荒。外戎內戎，天將降殃，
國無小大，有者滅亡。(26b 2-25)

"The ruler being a tyrant and the ministers confused it is called "Great Waste":

Externally there is war; internally there is war.

Whether the State be great or small,

Its possessor will be overwhelmed and come to an end."

In favour of the second hypothesis is that there are only six *shun* and that the six *ni* of the first exposition all relate to inner-court challenges to the ruler's authority, whereas 5b is a more general situation involving the whole State and in which the ruler is at fault. This seems to me to be more probable. A later copyist may well have known of some similar passages elsewhere and added in the extra item²¹.

ζ The six *shun* are

1. Ruler does not lose position
2. Ministers lose post and so do not constitute an alternative power base²².
3. Ruler is munificent; ministers loyal
4. Ruler rules; ministers minister
5. Ruler manages the legal system; ministers respect Pattern
6. Ruler ...; ministers are like spokes about him²³

Apart from the first two, which are related to numbers four and five of the *ni*, there is no correlation between these six and the six *ni*²⁴. Partly for this reason, and with some textual support, it is proposed that the title of I. 4 is *Da Fen*, the Great Distinction²⁵ rather than *Liu Fen* the Six Distinctions²⁶.

20 Chen Guying says nine characters are missing. See apparatus ad loc.

21 Chen Guying thinks there are only six but that 4 and 5 are one and hence he can include 5b as 5. Wang Hansheng, *Xuan Yuan Huangdi*, pp. 129-30, counts seven *ni* and fails to explain the discrepancy.

22 Chen Guying includes my no. 2 with no. 1 and puts in 27b 27-31 as the fourth, ahead of 27b 23-26. Such a re-ordering of the text requires explanation, not included in his draft manuscript.

23 For Chinese text see lines 27b 26- 28a 21

24 Li Xueqin proposes a possible correlation. See my technical preface for discussion on this topic. Li Xueqin, *Mawangdui Boshu "Jingfa: Da Fen" ji Qita*, p. 277

25 See my technical preface for further discussion of this title.

26 Graham's comment on the title is revealing. Graham, A.C., *Peerenboom Notes*, Part 1, p. 9: "The *fen* of this chapter bothers me, can't think of a good English word. Can't yet even put my finger on just what it means."

I. 5 *Si Du*

In the *Si Du* chapter, *ni* and *shun* are encountered but under the umbrella of *wen* and *wu*. In the opening paragraph of the chapter there are two cases of *ni*. The first is simply "rebellion":

η "Ruler and minister exchanging posts is called rebellion (*ni*)"²⁷

The second case is more concerned with cosmic matters:

θ "Movement and stillness out of time is called 'counterflow'"²⁸.

The former, rebellion, leads to the loss of the root 本, the *raison d'etre* of the State; the latter, counterflow, to the loss of the blessings of Heaven on the soil.

Following the introductory passage on *wen* and *wu*, there is a passage which develops four situations contrasted in terms of going against the current or with it in internal or external affairs:

1. In internal affairs governing by *shun*; *ni* used for external affairs:
Results are achieved but with loses.
2. In internal affairs governing by *ni*; *shun* used for external affairs:
Results are achieved but the State will die.
3. In internal and external affairs alike following *ni*: this is called 'Double Calamity'
One's person is in danger of being killed;
The State is in danger, destroyed and lost.
4. In external and internal affairs alike following *shun*:
This is called 'acting appropriately to Heaven'
Results are achieved and not frittered away; later one will not meet calamity.²⁹

The passage is very abstract in content but the message is clear: only *shun* leads to success. Clearly *shun* is an active rather than a passive going along with the Way of Heaven³⁰. Further on in the text there is a section in which *yin* and *yang* are being applied to external and internal with the added mention of slaying and birthing. Though the the term *ni* occurs in this latter discussion it is no longer the highest category of thought but simply a verb, to go against³¹ (κ). Between these two sections is a passage on according with Heaven:

27 *Si Du* 35b 18-24 君臣易位謂之逆 Notice that the word for "ruler" here is *jun* 君; whereas in L4 it was *zhu* 主.

28 *Si Du* 36a 6- 12 動靜不時謂之逆。

29 The Chinese text is on lines 38b 1- 39a 27

30 Mansvelt Beck translates *shun* as "Volgzaamheid", which is listed in the dictionary as "docility". This seems too passive to me.

31 是謂逆陰陽之命 (40b 29- 41a 6) "This is called going contrary to the decrees for *yin* and *yang*."

λ "...*Shun* is movement; the correct is the root of affairs.
 To grasp the Way and respect Pattern,
 It is necessary to begin from the root and take *shun* as its warp and woof;
 To make punishments fit the crime, it is necessary to centre on Heaven's Pattern.
 If one turns one's back on agreements, then one will be at a loss;
 If one overuses punishments, then one will suffer loss.
 Turning one's back on *ni* and uniting to appropriate action,
 One acts or there are affairs³².
 Even if there be no success there will at least be no calamity"³³.

In this passage *shun* is associated with correctness, respect for agreements and the proper use of punishments; *ni* with the opposite. The stream within which one is either *shun*, with the current, or *ni*, against the current is that of the Way, the Pattern or what is appropriate to Heaven. This is terminology with which we are already acquainted. What is new here compared with the *wen-wu* or *yin-yang* passages is that honouring or disregarding agreements is mentioned.

The chapter then discusses *yin-yang* and returns to the Way of Heaven and the Pattern of being human. This discussion leads to a logical distinction:

μ "*Ni* and *shun* have the same Way but different Patterns"³⁴.

That is to say on the level of the Heavenly Way the two elements are one, but in actual practice in the human sphere they are different. Each has its own Pattern. Pattern expresses the individuation and Way the unity out of which they emerge and to which they adhere. The ruler is called on to discern how the differences arise,

μ "Knowing in depth *ni* and *shun*, this is called 'the Thread of the Way'"³⁵.

The "thread" (紀 *ji*) is another term rooted in the Way and belonging to the same sphere of discourse. The passage ends with three sayings unrelated to our present topic.

The chapter then moves to a new note with a list of eight measurements. These establish a sense of order in the spheres of Heaven, Earth and Man. In this context we

32 為若有事 Chang & Feng translate as "If he has affairs (to manage)" (p. 17-8) Mansvelt Beck translates with asterisks, indicating uncertainty, as "Turning one's back on *ni* and uniting oneself to *shun* is as if...". It is possible that 若 is here a conjunction as in *Shiji* 128 *Gui Ce Liezhuan* 龜策列傳 p. 3241: 卜有賣若買臣妾牛馬。In divining if there is to be selling and buying of ministers, concubines, oxen and horses."

33 *Si Du* 39b 6-40a 30 The opening phrase of this passage (39a 28-39b 5) is damaged and thus unclear in meaning.

34 *Si Du* 41b 32-42a 3 逆順同道而辨理。

35 *Si Du* 42a 4-11 審知逆順，是謂道紀。

return to *ni* and *shun*:

v "Beautiful and ugly have names; *ni* and *shun* have form; *nature* and *artifice* . . . have substance. Kings and dukes grasp . . . and so bring what is under Heaven to correctness"³⁶.

There is a clear progression from name to form to substance. *Ni* and *shun* are philosophical categories that help in this progression. The context of name-form discourse and the perception of the ruler is worth noting too.

I.6 Lun

Lun is another chapter in which *ni* and *shun* figure frequently. The opening section is about how the lord of men can govern by respecting Heaven as heaven and Earth as earth, which leads on to:

ξ "If one does not go along (*shun*) with the sequence of the four seasons, then the people will complain. If one does not fix the positions of external and internal, nor respond to the transformations in movement or stillness, then affairs will fail within and undertakings will fail without"³⁷.

This advice is said to embrace the eight norms (*ba zheng* 八正), which are the four seasons, external and internal, movement (that is moving the army to war) and stillness (that is leaving the people on their farms). If one respects these eight then success is assured,

ξ "If one does go along (*shun*) with the sequence of the four seasons,
 . . . the people do not . . . complain.
 If one fixes the positions of external and internal
 And responds to the transformations in movement and stillness,
 Then affairs will succeed within and undertakings will succeed without"³⁸.

The ultimate consequence is that one will be united to Heaven and Earth.

The chapter is full of numbered lists. There are eight norms, seven laws, six handles and three names. *Ni* and *shun* recur in connection with the seven laws:

36 *Si Du* 44a 24- 44b 8: 美惡有名，逆順有形，情偽有實，王公執口以為天下正。The missing character is presumably some word like the Way but we cannot be sure.

37 *Lun* 47a 5- 35 不順四時之度而民疾。不處外內之位，不應動靜之化，則事寤於內而舉寤於外。

38 *Lun* 47b 21-48a 18 順四時之度，. . . 而民不. . . 疾。處外內之位，應動靜之化，則事得於內，而舉得於外。

- o "That by which each of the seven laws matching its name is called a thing;
That by which each of the things is united to the Way is called Pattern;
That in which Pattern is present is called ...
When a thing is not united to the Way, this is called 'losing Pattern';
When 'losing Pattern' is present, this is called 'Counterflow' (*ni*)³⁹;
Counterflow and Pro-activity (*shun*) each decree themselves,
Thus it is possible to know perdurance and decline, rise and fall"⁴⁰.

The self-decretal of *shun* and *ni* is similar to the self-naming of names spoken of at the end of the chapter⁴¹. The enlightened ruler has the insight to

- π "Grasp the six handles⁴² to command what is under Heaven;
Understand the three names⁴³ in order to...the myriad affairs;
Inspect counterflow and pro-activity in order to observe
The Pattern of the peril and death of hegemony and kings;
Know the wherefore of empty-full, movement-stillness;
Arrive at the mutual responding of name and reality;
Exert oneself to know truthfulness and insincerity and not go astray"⁴⁴.

This vision of the reality of the world is ordered according to the principles of counterflow and pro-activity and only once this has been grasped can the "way of kings and dukes be accomplished"⁴⁵.

39 Mansvelt Beek translates this *ni* by "Weerspanningheid", recalcitrance.

40 *Lun* 51a 26- 52a 8 The passage is too long to quote here, see my edition *ad loc*.

41 *Lun* 57a 12- 23 物自正也，名自命也，事自定也。"Things correct themselves; names name themselves; affairs fix themselves." Makeham, J., *Name and Actuality*, pp. 85-8, refers to this theory as a correlative theory of naming, though he quotes this passage of *Lun* on p. 73 n. 41 when discussing the meaning of *ming* (name).

42 The six handles (*liu bing* 六柄) are concerned with ruling. They are
1. Observing the dying and birthing of States;
2. Sorting out and knowing the wherefore of perdurance and decline, rise and fall;
3. Moving an army so as to deplete the strong and restore the weak;
4. Turning so as not to lose the distinction between yea and nay;
5. Altering so as to punish what will die off and foster what will live;
6. Transforming so as to make one's virtue bright and eradicate obstructions. (*Lun* 54a 3-54b 13)

43 The three names (*san ming*) are related to order in the State:
1. The first is called 'correct': names are in place and [the State] is secure;
2. The second is called 'incorrect': names are discarded and there is disorder;
3. The third is called 'the strong lord destroys and there is no name.' (*Lun* 54b 22- 55a 13)
A similar set occurs in *Guanzi* 12 *Shu Yan* 樞言 p. 108a: 名正則治，名倚則亂，無名則死。
The name in this passage refers back to five names, three relating to government of men and two to the management of affairs. Thus here *ming* 名 should be translated as "terminology". "When terminology is correct, then the State is secure; when terminology is incorrect then there is disorder; if there is no terminology then there is death." See Rickett, *Guanzi*, Vol. I, p. 223

44 *Lun* 52b 29- 53b 8 See my edition for the Chinese text.

45 *Lun* 53b 9-15 然後帝王之道成。

After listing the six handles and the three names, the chapter then gives another use of *ni* and *shun*. First we are told what it is to go against the Way:

ρ "When movement and stillness are at inappropriate times;
Sowing and planting lose the suitability of the Earth:
This is to go against (*ni*) the Way of Heaven-Earth"⁴⁶.

Going against Pattern is related to human affairs:

ρ "When a minister does not love his lord; an inferior does not love his superior;
The hundred clans do not love their affairs; then this is go against Pattern within"⁴⁷.

When the ruler sees this situation obtaining in another State he is licensed to attack it:

ρ "Where counterflow is is called a dying State: a dying State, attack it"⁴⁸.

The opposite situation demands a contrary response:

ρ "Where with-the-current is is called a living State: a living State, foster it"⁴⁹.

The ruler must discern the veins of the universe and see the pattern of *ni* and *shun*:

ρ "Counterflow and with-the-flow have their Pattern,
'Nature' and 'artifice' are bound together"⁵⁰.

In this whole passage the distinction of Way and Pattern has been applied to Heaven and its affairs, matching the season, and Man and his affairs, loyalty to the superior. In the former case we see *ni* as going against the Way, a rather metaphysical concept, and in the latter as rebellion, a more mundane affair. Naturally, a sharp division between the metaphysical and the mundane is not implied, thus both can be called *ni*.

Secondly we should note that *ni* and *shun* are connected with the truthfulness of persons and with the logical question of naming. Where there is insincerity there is incorrect naming and this is *ni*. On this note the chapter ends.

I. 7 Wang Lun

In contrast to the preceding chapter this one never uses *shun* and employs *ni* only as an adjective in subordination to a noun. This absence is curious since the chapter, like its predecessor, has numbered lists and discusses internal court affairs. The expressions

46 *Lun* 55a 23- 55b 5 動靜不時，種樹失地之宜，則天地之道逆矣。

47 *Lun* 55b 6- 26 臣不親其主，下不親其上，百族不親其事，則內理逆矣。

48 *Lun* 55b 27- 56a 8 逆之所在，謂之死國，死國伐之。

49 *Lun* 56a 14- 25 順之所在，謂之生國，生國養之。

50 *Lun* 56a 26- 34 逆順有理，則情偽密矣。

where *ni* occurs are, however, worth citing since they occur elsewhere in the *Huangdi Sijing*.

In 59b we hear of "rebellious conduct" (*ni jie* 逆節) and the same is mentioned in I. 8 *Lun Yue* (68a), II. 13 *Xing Shou* (135a) and II. 14 *Shun Dao*. In order these passages are as follows,

59b(σ) "Rebellious conduct not succeeding is called 'gaining Heaven';

If indeed rebellious conduct succeeds,
Heaven will not grant one one's full span of life
But rather redouble its punishment"⁵¹.

68a(τ) "When rebellious conduct begins to sprout, prudently do not first correct it.

It will, rather, arrive by itself at its own punishment"⁵².

135a(υ) "When rebellious conduct shows its omen"⁵³,

Who will overcome and prevent it"⁵⁴?

140a(φ) "He does not arrogate to himself to initiate affairs

But waits for rebellious conduct to come to an end"⁵⁵.

Each of these passages has a common theme and vocabulary. In the second and third rebellious conduct is likened to the emergence of a blade of grass sprouting. The wise ruler will allow it to grow up and then it will be punished in due course by Heaven. The ruler must not anticipate such punishment by immediate and drastic action but waits for it to come in due time. The first of the three quotations is also a counsel of reassurance: even though at present it seems that the rebel might succeed, in practice he will fail because Heaven will punish him. The phrase is known from the *Yue Yu xia* where it is applied to the wicked deeds of King Fu Chai of Wu. The King of Yue is told to wait before he attacks his rival:

"If rebellious conduct's omen emerges
And Heaven-Earth have not yet formed their sign,
Yet one goes first to punish it, one's affair will not thereby come to succeed.
On the contrary one will receive Heaven's punishment.

51 *Wang Lun* 59b 10-31: 逆節不成，是謂得天。逆節果成，天將不盈其命而重其刑。

52 *Lun Yue* 68a 30- 68b 8: 逆節始生，慎毋先征，彼且自底其刑。

53 Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204-273 A.D.) explains *meng* 萌 as *zhao* 兆, omen. *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* 越語下 p. 650 note 3 萌，兆也。

54 *Xing Shou* 135a 22-30: 逆節萌生，其誰肯當之。

55 *Shun Dao* 140a 19-28: 不擅作事，以待逆節所窮。

You, O King, should wait for it"⁵⁶.

The omen Fan Li is talking about is the killing of the worthy minister Shen Xu 申胥 in 484 B.C. for just criticism of King Fu Chai. However, this is simply one indication that King Fu Chai is bad, going against (*ni*) the Way, Yue must still wait for a sign from Heaven, such as famine, sent to punish Wu.

The only other use of *ni* in *Wang Lun* is in the expression *ni de* 逆德, which is the second of the three evils 凶:

"The first is called 'liking harmful weapons';

χ The second is called 'promoting rebellious virtue';

The third is called 'yielding to the heart's desires'"⁵⁷.

The first of these three uses an expression known to us from the *Yue Yu xia* and from the *Weiliaozi*⁵⁸. In the former, Fan Li explains the meaning of both rebellious virtue and liking harmful weapons:

"Courage is the rebellious virtue; weapons are harmful instruments;

Combat is the last resort of affairs;

Secretly plotting rebellious virtue, liking to use harmful instruments,

Begins by attacking others but others end up bringing it against one"⁵⁹.

From this we see that courage is the rebellious virtue, because, presumably, it is courage that inspires the rebel. There is a temporal progression in Fan Li's speech: courage leads to liking weapons which leads to conflict. In the *Wang Lun* list it is a matter of logical progression: liking weapons is because one is courageous and one is courageous because one follows one's heart's desires. Thus the *Wang Lun* list traces war back to its origins in the heart. Fan Li's passage simply observes the course of a rebellion. It is not unreasonable to assume that the Fan Lian order is primary, in time, and that of *Wang Lun* secondary.

A third version is found in *Weiliaozi*:

"Weapons are harmless instruments; combat is the rebellious virtue;

Affairs must have a root, thus the king punishes tyranny and confusion

56 *Guoyu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* 越語下 p. 650 逆節萌生，天地未形，而先為之征，其事是以不成，雜受其刑。王姑待之。

57 *Wang Lun* 64a 16-30: 一曰好凶器。二曰行逆德。三曰縱心欲。

58 *Laozi* 31 uses a similar expression saying that weapons are un-fortunate instruments 不祥之器。

59 *Guoyu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 643 夫勇者，逆德也；兵者，凶器也；爭者，事之末也。陰謀逆德，好用凶器，始於人者，人之所卒也。

Whilst rooting himself in *ren* and justice"⁶⁰.

This version is dependent on the *Yue Yu xia* but has been adapted to a Confucian context, with *ren* and justice (*yi*).

I. 8 *Lun Yue*

The *Lun Yue* chapter opens with the contrast between *wen* and *wu*, but the language of *ni* and *shun* is omnipresent. Having set out the seasons of *wen* and *wu*, the chapter explains,

ψ "As for the Pattern of human affairs,
 One holds on to going against (*ni*) or with (*shun*) it.
 Should one's achievement surpass Heaven, then there is death formed.
 Should one's achievement not reach up to Heaven, retreat and be without name.
 Should one's achievement match up to Heaven,
 One's name will be fully accomplished.
 This is the Pattern of human affairs"⁶¹.

Going for or against are the principles governing the success of one's enterprises. One must aim at the proper balance, neither attempting to out-do Heaven nor to fall short. The consequences of the principles are in stark contrast:

ψ "If one goes with the flow then one lives, Pattern is then accomplished;
 If one goes against the flow then one dies, one is lost and without name"⁶².

What goes on among men is the result of a turning against the Way of Heaven:

ψ "If one turns one's back on the Way of Heaven, the State is without a ruler.
 In a State without a ruler, going against and going with oppose each other"⁶³.

The result of this is that the State is lost. After this warning the chapter goes on to develop the theory that Heaven will punish the wicked:

ψ "If one sins against Heaven;
 Then one loses the land and changes the ruler (i.e. is occupied by an invader);
 If one does not follow Heaven's constancy;

60 *Weiliaozhi* 23 *Bing Ling Shang* 兵令上 B23/17-8: 兵者、凶器也，爭者、逆德也，事必有本，故王者伐暴亂、本仁義焉。

61 *Lun Yue* 66b 18- 67a 23 人事之理也，逆順是守。功溢於天，故有死形。功不及天，人退而無名；功合於天，名乃大成。人事之理也。

62 *Lun Yue* 67a 24- 67b 1 順則生，理則成，逆則死，失則無名。

63 *Lun Yue* 67b 2-17 倍天之道，國乃無主。無主之國，逆順相攻。

If one does not spare the people's strength;
 Then in all one's undertakings there is no achievement⁶⁴;
 If one fosters death and punishes life, this is called, 'going against achievement'.
 If there is not a disaster meted out by others,
 There will certainly be a punishment from Heaven"⁶⁵.

It is in this context that mention is made of rebellious conduct, as we noted when discussing *Wang Lun*.

The chapter concludes by advising the ruler to see how matters arise. The principles of going-against and with-the-flow are referred to,

ω "Inspect their form and name; when form and name are already fixed;
 Going-against and going-with have their place; dying and birthing are separated;
 Maintaining, losing, flourishing, declining have their place.
 Only then does one form a threesome with the constant Way of Heaven and Earth
 And then one decides the place of disaster, blessing, dying, birthing,
 Maintaining, losing, flourishing and declining"⁶⁶.

As in previous passages we can see a connection here between the ruler's insight, the principles of going-against and going-with and the self-defining of name and form. The principles are deduced from what is given by name and form and then used to apply to concrete situations in order to decide what is happening in the rise and fall of States. The ruler who can do this is said to "have the Way"⁶⁷.

1.9 *Ming Li*

In *Ming Li* interest is first focused on the nature of the ruler's clarity of vision.

Rebellion emerges from the dark and hidden:

A "None can see intuitively, thus counterflow is formed;
 Things do not come to life, thus counterflow is shaped"⁶⁸.

64 Mansvelt Beck translates to mean, "one will go round in circles and get nowhere"

65 67b 26-68a 21. 為若得天，亡地更君，不循天常，不節民力，周遷而無功。
 養死伐生，命曰逆成。

Graham (*Peerenboom Notes* Part I p. 13) admits to not understanding the first two characters of this quotation 為若. I have translated by "if".

66 *Lun Yue* 68b 19-69b 2 必審觀事之所始起，審其形名。形名已定，逆順有位，死生有分，存亡興壞有處。然後參之於天地之恆道，乃定禍福、死生、存亡、興壞之所在。

67 *Lun Yue* 69b 32-70a 1 有道

68 *Ming Li* 71b 24-72a 8 莫能見知，故有逆成。物乃不生，故有逆形。

Graham explains this type of knowledge as first-hand knowledge as opposed to knowledge acquired by hearing

The term *ni* reappears at the end of the chapter:

B "Those who rebel (*ni*) and expand upward without knowing where to stop
Will perish"⁶⁹.

This is what was termed earlier as trying to go beyond Heaven. The final two lines of the chapter refer to *zhong ni* 重逆 and *liang ni* 兩逆. The first of these could be read as a very serious counterflow or perhaps also as a double (reading 重 as *chong*) counterflow. The second may mean a couple of counterflows, e.g. two rebellions in the one State, or it may mean rebellions in two States or it may mean that one State is affected by attack from without and rebellion within. The last harks back to the analysis of counterflow in internal and external affairs outlined in *Si Du*. Thus one translation is,

"Grave rebellion...if one puts into practice fidelity to this way,
The State will be in danger, there will be disaster;
A couple of rebellions (one internal and one external), mingle
And together bring calamity, the whole State is in danger and perishes"⁷⁰.

With this *Jingfa* comes to an end and our inquiry must continue in the following book, *Shiliujing*.

6.2 Use of *Ni* and *Shun* in the *Shiliujing*

Shun is used only occasionally in the *Shiliujing*. In *Guan* the ordered use of *xing* and *de* is described as "flowing along (*shun*) with Heaven"⁷¹ (Γ). In *Xing Zheng* the one who flows along (*shun*) with Heaven prospers⁷² (Δ). In II.12 it is a question of flowing along (*shun*) with the people⁷³ (E) and in *Shun Dao* it is the Way itself with which one must flow along, as the title shows⁷⁴ (Z). The acme of flowing along (*shun*)⁷⁵ is to use as little force as possible and yet to gain fame (Z).

As a verb *ni* is associated with seasons in *Guan*: "Do not go counter to the seasons

(Peerenboom Notes Part I p. 2). Counterflow has its origins deep in the primeval chaos and would require intuition to be seen.

69 *Ming Li* 76b 31- 77a 8: 逆則上溢而不知止者亡。

70 *Ming Li* 77a 31- 77b 22: 重逆 [x2], 守道是行, 國危有殃。兩逆相攻, 交相為殃, 國皆危亡。

71 *Guan* 87b 23- 29: 先德後刑, 順於天。First *de* last *xing*, flowing along with Heaven.

72 *Xing Zheng* 107b 28- 108a 1: 順天者昌 The one who flows along with Heaven prospers

73 II. 12 129b 14...25: 聖人...順於民。The sage...flows along with the people...

74 *Shun Dao* 141a 3-4 順道 Following the Way

75 *Shun Dao* 140b 32- 141a 2 順之至也。

of Heaven"⁷⁶ (H) and likewise in *Wu Zheng*⁷⁷ (⊙), *Zheng Luan*⁷⁸ (I) and *Shun Dao*⁷⁹ (K). In the last it is Heaven which will run counter to the seasons one has chosen. Related expressions are "going against Heaven"⁸⁰ (Λ), "going against the Way of Heaven"⁸¹ (M), "going against the pole of Heaven"⁸² (N). *Ni* is also verbal in the prohibitions "Do not go counter (*ni*) to the soil"⁸³ and "do not go counter to the soil's effort"⁸⁴ (Ξ).

We have had occasion to mention the rebellious conduct of *Xing Shou* and *Shun Dao*⁸⁵. A similar expression is "rebellious troops" (*ni bing* 逆兵) in *Wu Zheng*⁸⁶ (O). Here it refers to the uprising led by Chi You 蚩尤. In *Zheng Luan* the same uprising is referred to in these words: "the rebellious affair then begins"⁸⁷ (Π).

In *Ben Fa* there is also a reference to the formation of counterflow⁸⁸ (Σ). This is close to what we have seen in the *Jingfa* though the context is very specific, applying to fighting for vengeance sake.

The use of *ni* and *shun* as a pair occurs only in *Guan*, *Zheng Luan* and *Xing Zheng*. That *Guan* and *Xing Zheng* have common vocabulary has been demonstrated already; that the use of *ni* and *shun* is common comes as no surprise. Li Mo presents the chaos time as one in which "ni and shun had no fixed standard, just as *de* and *nue* have no fixed shape, stillness and activity have no fixed time, before and after have no fixed name"⁸⁹ (T). The wording is similar to what we have seen in the *Jingfa* but the pair *de* and *nue*, for instance, are peculiar to the *Shiliujing*. In *Xing Zheng* *ni* and *shun* are applied to *de* and *xing*:

Y "Xing and *de* foster each other; *ni* and *shun* are then formed."⁹⁰

In *Zheng Luan* Ji of Tai Shan 太山之稽⁹¹ contrasts the regular order of Heaven

76 *Guan* 87a 21-24: 毋逆天時

77 *Wu Zheng* 95a 11-14: 反義逆時 Reversing justice (*yi*) and going counter to the seasons.

78 *Zheng Luan* 105b 22-25 as in the preceding note.

79 *Shun Dao* 140a 33-36: 天逆其時。 Heaven goes counter to his seasons.

80 *Xing Zheng* 108a 2-5: 逆天者亡。 The one who goes counter to Heaven perishes.

81 *Xing Zheng* 108a 6-9: 毋逆天道。 Do not go counter to the Way of Heaven.

82 *Bing Rong* 119a 3-6: 逆天之極。

83 *San Jin* 125a 10-12: 毋逆土。

84 *San Jin* 125a 13-16: 毋逆土功。

85 See under the discussion of *Wang Lun* above.

86 *Wu Zheng* 92a 1-4: 以待逆兵。 so as to wait for the rebellious troops.

87 *Zheng Luan* 102b 19-23: 其逆事乃始。 his rebellious affair then begins.

88 *Ben Fa* 129a 15-18: 兼始逆矣。 One is beginning to be going against.

89 *Guan* 81b 11-26: 逆順無紀, 德虐無型, 靜作無時, 先後無名。

90 *Xing Zheng* 109a 15-22: 刑德相養, 逆順若成。

91 Chen Guying notes that Ji of Tai Shan is either the Yellow Emperor's teacher or the Yellow Emperor himself. Chen believes the latter is the case. Certainly this ascription makes the reference of the proper adjective "his" *qi* 其 at 104a 15 clearer. However, most commentators adopt the former approach and take the referent of this "his" as assumed by the context to be the Yellow Emperor. I follow the majority. Chen does not produce any other reference where the

with the petty disorder of Chi You:

Φ "Heaven's course runs without disorder; *ni* and *shun* have their order."⁹²

Here it would seem that *ni* and *shun* are as much part of the whole as *yin* and *yang*, rather than that *shun* is always to be preferred.

6.3 Use of *Ni* and *Shun* in *Cheng*

Shun appears in one aphorism and *ni* in another. The following quotation is from the 35th aphorism: "If elder and younger brother live together, they cannot get along (*shun*) together"⁹³ (X). The passage continues with a further reference to *shun* in the same regard but the exact meaning is hard to decipher, perhaps it means "according to": "why do they not come to teach each other, according to the tenderness of younger and elder brother."⁹⁴ Neither of these cases is of much interest to our research here. The cases of *ni* are more interesting:

Ψ "If in the cold season you alone behave as if it were the hot season;
If in the cold season you alone behave as if it were the cold season,
Your life is in danger, because you are going against the flow (*ni*)."⁹⁵

This saying well illustrates the point of *ni*, doing something against what common sense dictates.

6.4 Questions raised by this Survey

Before we undertake a systematic study of the material in this chapter, we should take stock of the questions that must orient our investigation. We are concerned with understanding the connections in the philosophical thought between different discourse units or chapters within the *Huangdi Sijing*. Initially we may have to frame our questions with regard to the level of each of the four books and then of each chapter but we must also be prepared to look at discourse units defined by content alone.

Yellow Emperor is given the title "Ji of Tai Shan". See CGY note on *Zheng Luan* # 1; See my Chapter 7 note 34.

92 *Zheng Luan* 102b 7-14: 天行不悖，逆順有類。 Note the reading of 102b 8 as 行 *xing* and of 102b 10 as 悖 *bei*. 102b 10 is a *hapax legomenon* and 102b 8 may perhaps be read correctly as 刑 *xing* though this seems not to be the case here.

93 *Cheng* no. 35 155b-9: 昆弟相居，不能相順。

94 *Cheng* no. 35 155b 26-156a 1: 胡不來相教順弟兄慈。

95 *Cheng* 49 161b 32-162a 16: 寒時而獨暑。暑時而獨寒。其生危，以其逆也。 My translation was based on the advice of Professor Li Xueqin. I notice also that Graham gives the same translation in his unpublished notes (*Peerenboom Notes Part II* p. 17).

1. Can we distinguish philosophical uses of *ni* and *shun* from vernacular uses ?
2. Are these philosophical uses predominant in both *Jingfa* and *Shilitujing* or at least in certain chapters of each?
3. How do *ni* and *shun* relate to the other pairs discussed previously?
4. In any given discourse unit where another pair is operative which one takes precedence?
5. How do *ni* and *shun* help in positioning the *Huangdi Sijing* with respect to other early philosophical works?
6. Are there any numbered lists of *ni* and *shun* in other works?

To tackle these questions, the diachronic study of the text just undertaken will be reorganised in a synchronic form. That is, the occurrence of *ni* and *shun* will be reexamined according to categories of usage. In establishing the categories the aim must be to focus attention on those matters highlighted by the text itself and distinguish these uses from cases in which *ni* and *shun* are merely terms of ordinary speech. In this way we hope to see if there is a *ni-shun* philosophy in the *Huangdi Sijing* and if so are how far it permeates. The method is the same as was observed with *xing-de* and the other pairs. The task is more demanding owing to the greater prevalence of *ni-shun* compared with previous pairs.

6.5 Classification of uses of *ni* and *shun*

Four categories of usage will be established. The first is of vernacular occurrences of no particular philosophical weight, the second of unstressed philosophical uses, the third of numbered lists and the fourth of stressed philosophical uses. The first category is included for the sake of completeness and will not be studied any further.

Category One: Vernacular Usage

I. 3 16a <i>shun</i>	ε
I. 5 35b <i>ni</i> as rebellion	η
I. 5 41a <i>ni</i> as "to go against"	κ
I. 7 59b rebellious conduct	σ
I. 7 64a rebellious virtue	χ
I. 8 68a rebellious conduct	τ

I. 9 76b rebellion	B
II.3 92a rebellious troops	O
II. 5 102b rebellious affair	Π
II. 6 108a going against Heaven, the Way of Heaven	Λ, M
II. 8 119a going against the pole of Heaven	N
II. 10 125a going against the soil	Ξ
II. 11 129a going against, meaning rebellion	Σ
II. 12 129b <i>shun</i> , going along with	E
II. 13 135a rebellious conduct	υ
II. 14 140-1 <i>shun</i> , going along with the Way & <i>ni</i> as rebellious conduct Z, φ	
III no. 35 155a <i>shun</i> as get along with and as according to	X
III no. 49161-2 contrary behaviour in the seasons	Ψ

Category Two: Unstressed Philosophical Uses

I. 1 8a With dying/birthing, thing/name	β
I.2 11b refers to the restoration of an annexed State	γ
I. 5 36a included under the umbrella of <i>wen</i> and <i>wu</i>	θ
I. 5 44 <i>ni-shun</i> with name-form	ν
I. 9 71-2 <i>ni</i> in primeval chaos time	A
II. 2 81 With <i>nue-de</i> , stillness and activity	T
II. 2 87b With <i>xing-de</i>	Γ
II. 5 102b With the course of Heaven	Φ
II. 5 105b Going counter to the seasons	I
II. 6 109a With <i>xing-de</i>	Y

Of some interest here is whether we can use the pair to see any links between *xing-de*, *nue-de* and *wen-wu*. This might help us to see how *Guan* and *Xing Zheng* relate to the *Jingfa*.

Category Three: Numbered Lists

I. 1 2a <i>Ni</i> is the third in a list of four	α
I. 2 12b-14a List of five <i>ni</i>	δ

I. 4 23b-28a List of six (or seven) *ni* and six *shun* ζ

Category Four: Key Philosophical Uses

I. 5 38b-39a related to internal and external affairs ι

I. 5 39-42 related to Heaven, Pattern and the Way λ, μ

I. 6 47a-48a related to four seasons, external/internal, movement/stillness ξ

I. 6 51a-52a related to Pattern, rise and fall ο

I. 6 52b-53b related to movement/stillness, name/substance π

I. 6 55a-57b related to timeliness, love for superior, movement/stillness, name/substance,
thing/name ρ

I. 8 66b-69b related to Pattern, birthing/dying, form/name, rise/fall ψ

I. 9 76b-77b related to disaster for the State Β

There is much overlap between the themes expressed in these sections such that in general we can see a common bedrock of intertwining thoughts. Heaven, Pattern, the Way, the seasons, external and internal, movement and stillness, rise and fall, name and substance are all associated with *ni* and *shun*. These ideas form what we may call the "*Jingfa* cluster"⁹⁶. We can postulate that *Si Du* (I.5), *Lun* (I.6), *Lun Yue* (I.8) and *Ming Li* (I.9) share this common background. Moreover if we include similar passages listed under categories two and three, we might extend the scope of this common discourse to include *Daofa* (I.1). *Guo Ci* (I.2) might also be considered in this camp given its use of *ni* listed in category two and to its list of five *ni*. Similarly we may even put *Da Fen* (I.4) in the same group by virtue of its lists of *ni* and *shun*. The only chapters of *Jingfa* left out of consideration are *Jun Zheng* (I.3) and *Wang Lun* (I.7). Thus apart from these two chapters *Jingfa* seems to have a degree of homogeneity such that one might consider it as the work of a common author/authors. Whether and how *Jun Zheng* and *Wang Lun* fit the rest of *Jingfa* is an issue to which we must return. There is no conclusive evidence from a study of *ni-shun* that the *Jingfa* cluster is present in the *Shiliu Jing*. The ramifications of these conclusions will be studied in part two of the thesis. Before leaving *ni-shun*, however, we will try to situate the *Huangdi Sijing* uses of the terms within their philosophical context.

96 By "cluster" I refer to what Zhang Dainian, *Zhongguo Gudian Zhaxue*, p. 3, calls a system of categories.

6.6 Study of Other Works in which *ni-shun* are used

6.6 (a) Lists of *ni-shun*

The lists are the easiest to locate and compare so we shall start here. The *Zuo Zhuan*, *Guanzi* and *Yizhoushu* all contain lists of *ni* and *shun*.

Duke Zhuang of Wei 衛莊公 (r. 758-35) had two sons by different women, one a member of his second wife's harem, the other a concubine he specially liked. The first son later succeeded his father as Duke Huan 桓 (r. 735-19) but Duke Zhuang spoilt the other son, Zhou Yu 州吁 (held power for nine months in 719). Shi Que 石碯 remonstrated with Duke Zhuang for his indulgence to Zhou Yu, pointing out six cases of insubordination (*ni*) and six of compliance (*shun*):

"The base being an obstacle to the noble, the young override their elders,
Distant relatives exclude those who are near; new friends exclude old friends;
A small State attacks a large one; debauchery destroys righteousness,
These are the so-called six *ni*.
The ruler righteous, the minister acting rightly, the father compassionate,
The son filial, the elder brother considerate, the younger brother respectful,
These are the so-called six *shun*"⁹⁷.

The lists demonstrate clearly the need to respect the proper Confucian hierarchy of relationships. Zhou Yu ultimately killed his half brother and was later put to death by the people of Wei. The story is used to show the loyalty of Shi Que as a minister. Thus in this one episode we cover relations of fathers, sons, brothers and rulers but not of friends or attacks by States. Turning to the *Huangdi Sijing* it is obvious that the closest we come to these two lists is in *Da Fen*. The lists there were restricted to the court and the question of usurption. Shi Que is more concerned with the proper order of relations and the *Da Fen* with maintaining the power of the reigning ruler.

The *Yizhoushu* contains two lists of *shun*. In Chapter 28 there are seven of them:

"The seven *shun*:

One, going along with Heaven and gain [the benefit of] the seasons;

⁹⁷ *Zuo Zhuan* I Yin 隱 Year 3 # 6, pp. 8-9 The year is 719 but the conversation is supposed to have taken place before the accession of Duke Huan, that is before 735.

賤妨貴、少陵長、遠間親、
新間舊、小加大、淫破義，所謂六逆也。
君義、臣行、父慈、
子孝、兄愛、弟敬，所謂六順也。

Two, going along with the Earth and gain help;
 Three, going along with the people and gain harmony;
 Four, going along with profit and wealth suffices;
 Five, going along with gaining and help is clear;
 Six, going along with *ren* and there is no loss;
 Seven, going along with the Way and there are results"⁹⁸.

These seven are closer to our text in terms of meaning. We noted cases in which *shun* took Heaven, Earth, the people and the Way as its object especially in the *Shiliujing*. The general cosmic interest is also more appropriate to the technical use of *ni* and *shun* in the *Jingfa*.

Chapter 68 has a further four *shun*. These are related to military matters:

"Establishing the enemy is an obstruction, destroying him is profit,
 Conquering him is ease, standing together with him is possible,
 Attacking him at the right time, these are called the four *shun*"⁹⁹.

The content of these four has little to do with the *Huangdi Sijing* except to show that military thought was interested in *ni* and *shun*, a point which is not irrelevant given the military tone of much of our text. The use of *ni* in the first part of *Guo Ci*, for example, is a military one.

There are also four *shun* in the *Guanzi*. They are found in the first chapter, *Mu Min* 牧民, which Rickett believes to be post Confucian but as close to the ideas of Guan Zhong as any chapter in the *Guanzi*¹⁰⁰.

"The effectiveness of government lies in following the people's heart;
 The failure of government lies in going contrary to the people's heart.
 People hate worry and work, I rest and repose them.
 People hate poverty and meanness, I enrich and ennoble them;
 People hate danger and collapse, I preserve and secure them;
 People hate wiping out and wiping away, I birth and feed them.
 If you can rest and repose them, then the people will worry and work for you;

98 *Yizhoushu* 28 *Xiao Kai Wu* 小開武解 p. 12 lines 12-13

七順。一順天得時，二順地得助，三順民得和，四順利財足，五順得助明，
 六順仁無失，七順道有功。

99 *Yizhoushu* 68 *Wu Ji* 武紀解 p. 43 lines 15-16

立之害，毀之利，克之易，并之能，以時伐之，此謂四順。

100 Rickett, W.A., *Guanzi* Vol. I, pp. 51-2

If you can enrich and ennoble them, then the people will be poor and mean for you;

If you can preserve and secure them,

then people will endure danger and collapse for you;

If you can birth and feed them,

then people will endure wiping out and wiping away for you.

Thus punishments do not suffice to cower their mind;

Executions do not suffice to tame their hearts.

Thus though punishments be many yet minds will not be cowered,

Then commands will not run;

Though punishments be numerous yet hearts will not submit,

Then the one in high places is in danger.

Thus follow their four desires, then the far-off will draw close of their own accord;

Practice their four hates, then the near-by will rebel.

Thus knowing that to give is to receive is the jewel of government.

These are the four *shun*¹⁰¹.

The four *shun* we have here are more elaborately developed than any of the lists in the *Huangdi Sijing*. They are closest in theme to the one use of *shun* in the *Jun Zheng* chapter of *Jingfa*, which spoke of conformity to the people's heart. This makes the absence of a list of *shun* in *Jun Zheng* all the more striking. A possible explanation of this contrast between the *Mu Min* and the *Jun Zheng* is that the latter is earlier in time. Finally, one should note that all four lists of *shun* and *ni* are from Confucian or from post-Confucian works.

6.6 (b) Use of *ni* and *shun* in military texts

Military texts are one body of literature that use *ni* and *shun*. *Sunzi* uses *ni* but not in any noteworthy sense¹⁰². In the *Simafa*, there are two uses of *shun* and one of *ni*, thus:

101 *Guanzi* 1 牧民 p.92a, reading 興 as 行 after Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744-1832) and 畏 as 恐. 政之所行，在順民心；政之所廢，在逆民心。民惡憂勞，我佚樂之；民惡貧賤，我富貴之；民惡危墜，我存安之；民惡災絕，我生育之。能佚樂之，則民為之憂勞；能富貴之，則民為之貧賤；能存安之，則民為之危墜；能生育之，則民為之災絕。故刑罰不足以恐其意，殺戮不足以服其心。故刑罰繁而意不恐，則令不行矣；殺戮衆而心不服，則上位危矣。故從其四欲，則遠者自親；行其四惡，則近者叛之。故知予之為取者，政之寶也。右四順。

Rickett's version of this passage is on p. 54 of his *Guanzi* Vol. I. For copyright reasons I have not used it.

102 *Sunzi* 7 *Jun Zheng* 軍爭篇 A7/7/21: 用兵之法，高陵勿向，背邱勿逆
The method of using troops: if the enemy is on a high hill do not face him; if he has his back against a mound do

"following the Way of Heaven", "going counter to the seasons of Heaven" and "following Heaven and respecting seasons."¹⁰³ These expressions are familiar to us. *Weiliaozhi* refers to combat as "rebellious virtue" as we have already seen¹⁰⁴. *Wuzi* talks of government in terms of following Heaven and man and in another place of following custom¹⁰⁵. *Shun* is associated with the wind in one case¹⁰⁶. *Ni* occurs in the expression "rebellious troops"¹⁰⁷ and more importantly in a philosophical sense in, "when the State is in confusion and the people tired, to undertake war and move the hosts is called *ni*"¹⁰⁸. The *Liu Tao* talks of following (*shun*) the customs of the people¹⁰⁹, relates *ni* to wind, water and war chariots on hilly ground¹¹⁰ and contrasts *ni* and *shun* in connection with *de* and *li*, force¹¹¹.

The overall impression given by these instances is of striking similarity to the vernacular use of *shun* and *ni* in the *Huangdi Sijing*.

6.7 (c) Use of *ni-shun* in Warring States' Daoist Texts

Three works merit a mention here: *Shen Dao*, the Chu Silk Manuscript and *Guanzi*. Fragments 41 and 44 of *Shen Dao* use *ni* and fragment 45 has *shun*. Fragment 41 speaks of the relation between ruler and minister using the binome, *ni-luan* 逆亂, utter chaos¹¹². Fragment 44 uses the binome *dao-ni* 倒逆, topsey-turvey contrariness:

"Ruler and minister exchanging position is called 'topsey-turvey' contrariness.

If there is topsey-turvey contrariness then there will be confusion"¹¹³.

The exchange of positions was mentioned in *Si Du* but there it was simply described as *ni*.

not go to meet (*ni*) him.

103 *Simafa* 1 *Ren Ben* 仁本 D1/45/15: 先王之治，順天之道。The governing of the former kings was to follow the Way of Heaven; D1/45/19: 背德逆天之時 Turning his back on virtue and going counter to Heaven's seasons.

3 *Ding-Jue* 定爵 D3/48/3: 順天奉時 Following Heaven and respecting seasons.

104 See the discussion of *Lun Wang* earlier in this chapter.

105 *Wuzi* 1 *Tu Guo* 圖國 C1/36/22: 舉順天人; C1/37/3 順俗而教

106 *Wuzi* 3 *Zhi Bing* 治兵 C3/40/17-18: 風順致呼而從之; 風逆堅陳以待之。

If the wind is favourable shout and follow it; if the wind is contrary keep solid ranks and wait for the enemy.

107 *Wuzi* 1 *Tu Guo* 圖國 C1/36/29: 逆兵

108 *Wuzi* 1 *Tu Guo* 圖國 C1/36/30-31: 國亂人疲，舉事動衆曰逆。

109 *Liu Tao* 14 *Wen Qi* 文啟 p. 326: 順其民俗。

As noted above a similar phrase is found in *Wuzi* 1 *Tu Guo* 圖國 C1/37/3: 順俗而教。

110 *Liu Tao* 29 *Bing Zheng* 兵徵 p. 358: 逆大風甚雨之利。Going contrary to the advantages of great wind and heavy rain; 35 *Jun Lue* 軍略 p. 373: 逆波上流 going against the waves and upstream;

58 *Zhan Ju* 戰車 p. 410: 車之逆地也 land contrary to the use of chariots.

111 *Liu Tao* 7 *Shou Tu* 守土 p. 311: 順者，任之以德，逆者，絕之以力。

Those that submit, treat them with *de*; those that are recalcitrant, cut them off with force.

112 Thompson, P.M., *The Shen Tzu Fragments*, p. 255: 逆亂之道也 the way of utter confusion.

113 Thompson, P.M., *The Shen Tzu Fragments*, p. 257: 君臣易位也; 謂之倒逆。倒逆則亂矣。

Barring the use of numbers with *ni* the only binomial used with *ni* as the noun qualified is *zhong* (*chong*) *ni*. One might expect the binomes to be of a later date. Fragment 45 describes the opposite situation to that of Fragment 44 and terms it the *shun* of ruler and minister¹¹⁴.

In the Chu Silk Manuscript *ni* is used with respect to the order of sun, moon and stars, to times of filling-up and emptying. Similar language is found in *Wang Lun* and the opening of *Lun Yue* though in neither case is the language of *ni* and *shun* involved. *Ni* in the Chu work is also applied to the moon¹¹⁵.

Apart from the list of four *shun*, mentioned above, the *Guanzi* has several passages of interest. Chapter 2 contrasts the one who follows Heaven thereby winning its backing and the one who goes against Heaven and thus incubates his own downfall¹¹⁶. Chapter 42 relates *xing-de* to going along (*shun*) with Heaven:

"First *de* then *xing*, going along with Heaven"¹¹⁷.

In chapter 53 the ruler is invited to go along with the seasons of Heaven, whilst modern rulers, in chapter 47, are depicted as "practising contrariety (*ni*) and not learning the Way"¹¹⁸. In chapter 15 *ni* is used of sedition and four abuses of power are listed, whilst *shun* is described as obedience¹¹⁹. The Way is defined as going along with Pattern and not deviating in chapter 30¹²⁰. The virtuous ruler is invited to attack rebellious States in chapter 23 but not submissive States¹²¹. *Shun* is used of government in chapter 11 and *ni* is twice used in the expression *ni qi* 逆氣 in chapter 52¹²². Finally there is an interesting instance in chapter 12 which Rickett renders as "the ruler should be resolute in his

114 Thompson, P.M., *The Shen Tzu Fragments*, p. 257: 君臣之順。

115 Chu Silk MS A1 p. 50: 日月星辰，亂逆其行。羸紂逆亂，舟木亡常。 . . . 逆月閏之勿行。 "If the sun, moon, stars and constellations are disordered in their course. When increasing-decreasing go in contrary cycles then plants and trees have strange growths...going against the phases of the moon..."

116 *Guanzi* 2 *Xing Shi* 形勢 p. 93b: 順天者有其功，逆天者懷其凶。

117 *Guanzi* 42 *Shi* 勢 p. 150c- 151a: 先德後刑，順於天。

118 *Guanzi* 53 *Jin Zang* 禁藏 p. 161a: 順天之時，約地之宜，忠人之和。 Follow the seasons of heaven, bind to the suitability of earth, match what is harmonious to man. (Reading 忠 *zhong* as 稱 *chen*)
Guanzi 47 *Zheng Shi* 正世 p. 153b: 行逆不修道

119 *Guanzi* 15 *Zhong Ling* 重令 pp. 111a- 2a

120 *Guanzi* 30 *Jun Chen shang* 君臣上 p. 133a: 順理而不失之謂道。

121 *Guanzi* 23 *Ba Yan* 霸言 p. 127b: 先王之伐也：伐逆，不伐順。 The punishments of the former kings were thus: they punished the rebellious; they did not punish the submissive.

122 *Guanzi* 11 *Zhou He* 宙合 p. 105a: 順而令行，政成。 If *shun* then commands run and government is accomplished.

Guanzi 52 *Qichen Qizhu* 七臣七主 p. 159a 逆氣生則令不行 When *ni qi* is birthed then commands do not run.

consistency (*ni*); the minister should be resolute in his obedience (*shun*)"¹²³.

Given the length of the *Guanzi* these references appear slight in comparison with the first two books of the *Huangdi Sijing*. The range of meaning is similar though except perhaps for the last example. The cosmic use of *ni* and *shun* is also not so prevalent as in the *Jingfa*.

6.6 (d) Use in Late Warring States-Early Han Literature

For our present purposes we shall confine ourselves to the *Heguanzi*, *Lushi Chunqiu*, and *Chunqiu Fanlu*.

The first of these works is interesting in that its use of *ni* and *shun* is very close to that in the *Huangdi Sijing*. There are philosophical uses of *ni* and *shun* in Chapter 6 where it is said that going against the seasons of Heaven is unlucky. *Ni* and *shun* are paired with benefitting and harming and all four are said to arise from differences between ruler and ministers, rise and fall¹²⁴. *Ni* and *shun* are also paired in Chapter 10 "Going along with a policy of consideration different things get on with each other; going against a policy of consideration like things perish with each other"¹²⁵. This is immediately followed by a passage describing the sage's attitude to Heaven and Earth. If the sage treats Heaven and Earth differently, one as father the other as mother, but goes along with them his policy will succeed. If he goes against them then even similar things will perish.

Shun occurs in chapters 11 and 14. In the former it is associated with *ren* and *yi* and can be accumulated¹²⁶. In the latter it gives victory in battle whereas *ni* brings defeat:

"Strength with the Earth, going along with Heaven, is the victory of troops.

Going along with the Way, uniting with the human,

If one does not know this, one takes *ni* for *shun*, disaster for profit.

If one takes *ni* for *shun* then one's wealth is poor;

If one takes disaster for profit then one's troops are captured."¹²⁷

Ni is used in three places in chapter 7 "using base to go against noble"; "rebellious

123 *Guanzi* 12 *Shu Yan* 樞言 p. 108b: 人主操逆，人臣操順。 Rickett, W.A., *Guanzi* Vol. I, p. 223

124 *Heguanzi* 6 *Dao Duan* 道段 A p. 19a: 逆、順、利、害，由此出生。

125 *Heguanzi* 10 *Tai Hong* 泰鴻 B p. 26a: 順愛之政，殊類相通；逆愛之政，同類相亡。

126 *Heguanzi* 11 *Tai Lu* 泰錄 B p. 27b: 積順之所成。 Accumulating what *shun* accomplishes.

127 *Heguanzi* 14 *Bingzheng* 兵政 Cp. 11b: 力之於地，順之於天，兵之勝也。順之於道，合之於人，其弗知者，以逆為順，以患為利。以逆為順，故其財貧；以患為利，故其兵禽(擒)
Taking the final verb as passive.

conduct" and "rebellious virtue"¹²⁸. Chapter 4 has a garbled passage in which *ni* occurs and is explained by Wu Shigong 吳世拱 as *ju* 拒, to resist, reject¹²⁹. Chapter 17 talks of confusing *ni* 亂逆¹³⁰. Although the unity of the *Heguanzi* is a matter of some discussion, yet to find a similar range of meanings in it to those in the *Huangdi Sijing* at least suggests compatibility among all the meanings of the pair in question and so could be used to support an argument propounding a general family resemblance between disparate parts of the *Huangdi Sijing*.

Shun and *ni* are used in the *Lushi Chunqiu* with respect to the Way of Heaven, Heaven and one's Heaven¹³¹. Twenty years of confusion in the State of Jin is referred to as *ni*¹³². *Ni* is also used in talking of agriculture and the seasons. In one case it is used in its most concrete sense as to go against the flow 逆流¹³³.

Lastly we must glance at the *Chunqiu Fanlu*, where *ni-shun*, *yin-yang* and *xing-de* are all neatly arranged in one system:

"There is the ordering of 'so' and 'not-so' of *ni* and *shun*"¹³⁴.

Again,

"Circulating the kinds of *yin* and *yang*,
So as to distinguish the Pattern of *ni-shun*"¹³⁵.

Or "*Xing* returns to *de* and goes along with (*shun*) *de*"¹³⁶.

And finally,

"*Yang* moves with *shun*; *yin* moves with *ni*:"

If when *ni* is moving one is *shun*, if when *shun* is moving one is *ni*, this is *yin*"¹³⁷.

One imagines that Dong Zhongshu wanted to bring harmony to all these types of terminology and so produced these passages. All the language is present in the *Huangdi Sijing* but nowhere is there such a systematic synthesis of all the terms.

128 *Heguanzi* 7 *Jin Die* 近迭 A p. 20a: 以賤逆貴。; A p. 20b 逆節; A p. 22a 逆德。

129 *Heguanzi* 4 *Tian Ze* 天則 A p. 5b: 實逆淫辭

130 *Heguanzi* 17 *Tian Quan* 天權 C p. 21a

131 *Lushi Chunqiu* 7.5 p. 412 順天之道/逆天之道; 19.3 p. 1256 順天; 19.6 p. 1294 順天; 17.1 p. 1031 順其天。

132 *Lushi Chunqiu* 23.6 *Yuan Luan* 原亂 p. 1577: 晉惠公逆之。

133 *Lushi Chunqiu* 21. 5 *Ai Lei* 愛類 p. 1463: 逆流。 Other uses on pages 1636 and p. 1732; *shun* also on pages 145, 336, 478, 648, 733, 905-7, 959 and 1635-6. Frequent rather than common.

134 *Chunqiu Fanlu* 44 *Wang Dao Tong San* 王道通三 p. 794c: 是非逆順之治。

135 *Chunqiu Fanlu* 44 *Wang Dao Tong San* 王道通三 p. 794c: 運陰陽之類以別逆順之理。

136 *Chunqiu Fanlu* 44 *Wang Dao Tong San* 王道通三 p. 794c: 刑反德而順於德。

137 *Chunqiu Fanlu* 44 *Wang Dao Tong San* 王道通三 p. 794c:

陽行於順，陰行於逆，逆行而順，順行而逆者，陰也。

6.6 (e) Use of *Ni* and *shun* in Wu-Yue literature

It is striking how popular the use of *ni-shun* discourse is in dealing with the conflict between Wu and Yue. The *Lushi Chunqiu* puts the victory of the King of Yue down to his ability to first follow (*shun*) the hearts of his people¹³⁸. We have already discussed some passages from the *Yue Yu xia*. Here we look at three other works.

In the *Wu Yue Chunqiu* the King of Yue says to the King of Wu:

"The *qi* of one who goes counter to the times dies;

The *qi* of one who goes with the times lives"¹³⁹.

Later Shen Xu tells the same king that a father may find himself with a "disobedient son" and a ruler with a minister of "rebellious conduct"¹⁴⁰. He is trying to free the king from bad ministers, though he fails.

Fan Li, in the *Yue Jue Shu* talks in a more philosophical vein of going along with under Heaven¹⁴¹ and explains the way of man as not going contrary to the four seasons:

"The one who follows them [the seasons] is blessed;

The one who goes counter to them has disaster;

The way of man does not go contrary to the four seasons"¹⁴².

As the fuller context shows both of these passages are juxtaposed with *yin* and *yang*. As we saw in our third chapter, this association with *yin-yang*, and also with *xing-de*, is to be observed in one of Ji Ni's remarks:

"Flowing with them (*yin-yang*) brings *de*; flowing against brings disaster.

Therefore the sage can make their *xing* bright and abide in their path;

Follow their *de* and avoid their opposition.

Whoever undertakes the hundred affairs must flow with Heaven-Earth,

And the four seasons and form a threesome with *yin-yang*"¹⁴³.

138 *Lushi Chunqiu* 9.2 順民 p. 479-480: The story is told from the King's imprisonment in Wu to his toiling with the people. He himself ploughs while his wife herself weaves until he overthrows Wu and all because he first followed the people's heart: 先順民心.

139 *Wu-Yue Chunqiu* 7 *Gou Jian ru Chen Waizhuan* 句踐入臣外傳 p. 33/27: 逆時氣者死; 順時氣者生。

140 *Wu-Yue Chunqiu* 7 *Gou Jian ru Chen Waizhuan* 句踐入臣外傳 p. 34/20: 知父將有不順之子, 君有逆節之臣。

141 *Yue Jue Shu* 4 *Yue Jue Wu Neizhuan* 越絕吳內傳 p. 14/17-18: 公卿大夫, 當調陰陽, 和順天下。

142 *Yue Jue Shu* 4 *Yue Jue Wu Neizhuan* 越絕吳內傳 p. 14/22-23:

人道不逆四時者, 言王者以下, 至於庶人, 皆當和陰陽、四時之變, 順之者有福, 逆之者有殃, 故曰: 人道不逆四時之謂也。

143 *Yue Jue Shu* 5 *Yue Jue Ji Ni Neijing* 越絕計倪內經 p. 19/6-8:

順之有德; 逆之有殃。是故聖人能明其刑而處其向; 從其德而避其衡。凡舉百事, 必順天地四時, 參以陰陽。

The highest principles may be *yin-yang* but in practical matters, such as deciding when to attack Wu, *ni-shun* must be observed:

"Conforming to the nature of the myriad things;

Short and long, going-against and going-with can be observed, that is all"¹⁴⁴.

Where in *Guan yang* was used to describe the policy of doing in Autumn what is appropriate in Summer, in the *Yue Jue Shu* we find *shun* used to describe Summer activity:

"If in Autumn it is warm (*shun*) and flowers return to bud,

Then the punishments of the hundred officials will not be executed"¹⁴⁵.

It is the little man who does not know the principles of *ni-shun* and who prefers to act out of brute force alone. The sage moves armies in accord with Heaven, Earth and man:

"The sages moves troops, rising to Heaven and uniting with *de*,

Descending to Earth and uniting to illumination,

Hitting the centre with men and being one with their heart.

The small man acts out of force and strength and does not know *ni-shun*"¹⁴⁶.

There is little doubt that these texts are subsequent to the *Huangdi Sijing*. They display a full five agent theory that is nowhere present in our work. Nonetheless they confirm an association between the Wu-Yue texts and the *Huangdi Sijing*.

Conclusion

Out of the four lists of *ni* or *shun* that we studied, we noted that scope of the first of the *Yizhoushu* examples was closest to the *Huangdi Sijing*. The *Guanzi* list is clearly later than the *Huangdi Sijing* whilst that of the *Zuo Zhuan* is earlier. All the lists can be described as Confucian to some degree. Their counterparts in the *Huangdi Sijing* all come from the *Jingfa*, which while not so obviously Confucian may be thus considered as not wholly unrelated to such a background. That the *Jingfa* is not itself Confucian is revealed in a small detail: the first *Yizhoushu* list mentions *ren*; the *Jingfa* never uses the term.

The military texts provided no clear examples for comparison but the vernacular

144 *Yue Jue Shu* 5 *Yue Jue Ji Ni Neijing* 越絕計倪內經 p. 18/6: 刑於體萬物之情，短長、逆順，可觀而已。

145 *Yue Jue Shu* 16 *Yue Jue waizhuan Shen Zhong* 越絕外傳枕中 p. 48/21: 秋順而復榮者，百官刑不斷也。

146 *Yue Jue Shu* 15 *Yue Jue Waizhuan Ji Jun Qi* 越絕外傳記軍氣 p. 45/8-9: 夫聖人行兵，上與天合德，下與地合明，中與人同心。 . . . 小人。 . . . 不知逆順。

use of *ni-shun* is similar to what is found throughout the *Huangdi Sijing*. The texts discussed under the heading of "Warring States' Daoist texts" show many of the same philosophical uses of *ni-shun* as encountered in the *Huangdi Sijing*. Of the later texts, *Heguanzi* comes the closest to the *Huangdi Sijing*. By the time of the *Chunqiu Fanlu*, *ni-shun* are used as technical terms in a coherent system which embraces *xing-de* and *yin-yang*. We have already noted how Han texts have harmonised *ci-xiong* with *pin-mu* and here again is a case of such work of harmonising and system-building.

The Wu-Yue texts show how *ni-shun* are used with respect to *xing-de*. They come closest to *Guan-Xing Zheng's* use of the pairs. They do not provide any evidence of the "Jingfa cluster" of terms. There is thus no evidence permitting the equation of *xing-de* with *wen-wu*.

Hence we may conclude that the *Jingfa* is, by and large, a homogenous work with its own special cluster of philosophical terminology that may be related in some way to Confucianism but is not drawn from the Wu-Yue background which dominates some chapters of the *Shiliu Jing*. Whilst thus claiming some distinction for the *Jingfa*, it should be noted that the vernacular use of *ni-shun* is common to *Jingfa*, *Shiliu Jing*, various military texts and philosophical texts, notably the *Guanzi*. The exact nature of the relationship of the *Jingfa* and *Shiliu Jing* will be discussed in part two of the thesis.

Study of *ni-shun* has shed no light on *Dao Yuan* and little on *Cheng*. There is no doubt that these two works have a distinctive identity. Again discussion of this must be postponed to our second part.

The major advantage of this study has been to show that *Jingfa* has a distinct cluster of ideas that unifies most of its parts. Whether or not there is a similar unifying factor in *Shiliu Jing* can be perhaps be determined by studying the person of the Yellow Emperor, who more than any one theme dominates most of the chapters of the *Shiliu Jing*. Retaining our interest in paired concepts, we shall focus on his relationship to opponents, notably Chi You.

Chapter Seven: The Yellow Emperor and Chi You

Study of *ni-shun* has helped to identify a cluster of terms which are of particular relevance to the *Jingfa*. Our knowledge of the *Shiliu Jing*, however, remains patchy. Indeed so far our study has only concentrated on three of the fifteen chapters: *Guan*, *Xing Zheng* and *Cixiong Jie*. In turning to the figure of the Yellow Emperor it may be possible to remedy this defect. Our study will focus on his role in binary thought and also on how much he can be taken as an integrating element among the fifteen chapters. Since his name does not appear in *Jingfa*, *Cheng* or *Dao Yuan* we cannot draw any overall conclusions for all four books. It should be noted that various writers are unhappy about calling the four books "the canons of the Yellow Emperor" because the emperor only appears in one of them¹.

In our study of binary pairs, we have concentrated on philosophical concepts. We have not examined the whole range of vernacular pairs, such as south and north, nor have we dealt with personalities, such as Kings Wen and Wu. The *Shiliujing* obliges us to look at two contending figures: the Yellow Emperor and Chi You. The account of their battle is found in two versions, one in *Wu Zheng* and one in *Zheng Luan*. Outside the *Huangdi Sijing* a number of versions of the battle are to be found. As previously we shall also look at this material. Moreover, just as we investigated every use of the characters in the pairs, so too we shall look at every reference to the Yellow Emperor so as to determine the consistency of the portrait painted.

Gong Weiyong 龔維英 claims that the Yellow Emperor is female in origin².

- 1 Qiu Xigui is of this opinion. See his essay in Chen Guying, *Daojia Wenhua Yanjiu* Vol. 3, p. 251: "Of the four *pian*, the second 'Shida Jing' often mentions the Yellow Emperor, the other three *pian* never do so. From this one can see that they do not appear to constitute four parts of the *Huangdi Sijing*."
- 2 Gong Weiyong, *From worship of the female to the original form of the Yellow Emperor: An Investigation* 由女陰崇拜探溯黃帝的原型 in *JiangHan Luntan* 江漢論壇, 1988 no. 12 pp. 58-62, 67
Gong Weiyong, *The Yellow Emperor: A Symbol of National Unity* 黃帝, 民族凝聚力的象征 in *Dongyue Luncong*, 東岳論叢, 1992 no. 5 pp. 95-6
The chief evidence for the supposed femininity of the Yellow Emperor are passages in the *Shiji* and *Jinshu* with support from the *Huainanzi* and *Dadai Liji*. Here we can note the references from the three Han texts:
Shiji 27 *Tianguan Shu* 天官書 p. 1319 黃帝, 主德, 女主象也。"The Yellow Emperor masters *de*, is the symbol of a female chief." The chapter is written under the influence of Five Agent theory and employs *xing-de* (p. 1351).
Huainanzi 3 *Tianwen* 天文訓 p. 94 軒轅者, 帝妃之舍也 "Xuan Yuan is the dwelling of the Emperor's concubine." Xuan Yuan is a cognomen of the Yellow Emperor. Major, J., *Heaven and Earth in early Han Thought*, p. 81 discusses this passage and the relevant *Jin Shu* text. Gong argues that if the concubine is there then this is because Xuan Yuan is female.
DaDai Liji 63 *Di Xi* 帝繫 p. 126 黃帝產玄嫫 "The Yellow Emperor bore Xuan Xiao"; 黃帝產昌意 "The Yellow Emperor bore Chang Yi." Gong argues that the verb "bore" 產 *chan* is said of the woman only.

Indeed he argues that the character 帝 *di*, translated as Emperor here, is derived from female reproductive organs. The question need not detain us here. What may be relevant is to ask how far the Yellow Emperor can be seen to act in our manuscript in a female role. If female is this in tandem with the male as in *pin-mu* or in conflict as in *ci-xiong*³.

7.1 The Yellow Emperor in the *Shiliujing*

In II. 1 we are introduced to the Yellow Lord (*Huang Zong* 黃宗). He speaks of himself in relation to Heaven, Earth and Man. These three themes are mentioned, then repeated in greater detail in a cumulative structure. Dissecting this structure we can see in turn what is said about each.

"I received a command from Heaven...

I am the partner of Heaven,

Thus I establish my kingship and the three high officials;

I establish my State and place the feudal princes and the three counsellors.

I count the days, enumerate the months, reckon up the year

So as to match the sequence of sun and moon...

I am like Heaven in its great brightness. I am in awe of Heaven...

I keep to vacuity and sincerity"⁴.

The key to this passage is the enumeration of the months and days. The Yellow Emperor was associated with calendar lore. Establishing the year in accord with Heaven gave him authority to set up officials and reign. Like the Daoist sage he keeps to emptiness and is inwardly truthful.

"I confirmed my seat on Earth...I imitate the Earth broad and prosperous...

I favour the Earth and the Earth does not turn to desert"⁵.

It was widely held both in ancient Israel and in China that if the king was correct then the Earth would be fertile.

"I made my name among men...I love the people...

3 I refer here to the use of these binary pairs in the *Huangdi Sijing*. In the *Huainanzi* 3 *Tianwen* 天文訓 *ci-xiong* are identified with left and right and taken into the *yin-yang, xing-de* framework (p. 124).

4 L1 78b8-12 吾受命於天. . . . 78b. 26-79a 18 乃配天乃立王三公。立國置君三卿。數日歷月計歲，以當日月之行. . . . 79a 24-31 吾類天大明。吾畏天. . . . 79b 3-5 執虛信。

5 L1 78b 13-6 定位於地. . . . 79a 19-23 吾允地廣裕. . . . 79b 26-32 吾愛地而地不曠。

I favour the people and the people do not desert"⁶.

The virtuous ruler attracts the people. The chapter ends with a strange motto:

"Could I but love relatives and promote the worthy,

I shall not give up until I have done so"⁷.

Does this mean that the Yellow Emperor is a sort of Confucian, loving relatives, and Mohist, promoting the worthy? Confucians did adapt the legend of the Yellow Emperor, stressing the wise advice he was given by his ministers. That is hardly the theme of most of this chapter where it is the Emperor's position as the one man who is like Heaven and Earth in his treatment of the people.

II. 2 *Guan* has been discussed at some length already. It is set as a dialogue between the Yellow Emperor and Li Mu. The Yellow Emperor sends Li Mu on a secret mission to tour the land and see what is happening. The content of the chapter has a rhythm of its own that is quite unrelated to the mission of Li Mu. Nonetheless, the categories of *yin* and *yang* which dominate the chapter are described in the *Huainanzi* as being birthed by the Yellow Emperor. The reference is brief: "The Yellow Emperor birthed *yin-yang*"⁸. In II.6 *Xing Zheng* the initial discussion is between Gao Yang and Li Mu. The former is known from other sources as the Yellow Emperor's grandson. The discussion is equally unrelated to the personalities concerned.

II. 4 *Guo Tong* comprises a discussion between the Yellow Emperor and his advisors. Guo Tong 果童 speaks up talking of the constancy of Heaven and Earth and making a number of binary distinctions including *yin-yang* and *de-nue*⁹. Guo Tong argues that order can be established only by making plain the sharp distinction between contraries: "He made a circuit of the States in the four quadrants to make plain the acme of poverty and low estate"¹⁰. Despite the overwhelming use of binary terms in this chapter one looks in vain for any philosophical scheme or policy such as is present in the *Jingfa*. It is more as if in *Guo Tong* one encounters the building blocks out of which a philosophy of

6 L1 78b 17-20 成名於人 . . . 79a 34-5 親民 . . . 79b 19-25 吾愛民而民不亡。

7 L1 80a 17-30 吾苟能親親而興賢，吾不遺亦至矣。

8 *Huainanzi* 17 *Shuo Lin* 說林 p. 561 黃帝生陰陽。

9 *Guo Tong* 95b-98b The following pairs are present: foster and rectify 畜正, balance and equalize 均平, Heaven-Earth 天地, above-below 上下, man-woman 男女, darkness-brightness 晦明, *yin-yang* 陰陽, mountains-marshes 山澤, black-white 黑白, beautiful-ugly 美惡, desiring fertility and rectifying names 俗德-正名, stillness and initiating activity 靜作, *de-nue* 德虐, heavy-light 重輕, men-things 人物, abilities-form 才形, father-mother 父母, noble-base 貴賤, poor-rich 貧富, 而 the former generation and the coming generation 前世-後世。

10 *Guo Tong* 99a 10-19 周流四國，以示貧賤之極。

binary pairs can be made.

II.7 *Cixiong Jie* associates the Yellow Emperor with auspicious and inauspicious days in the calendar. He is spoken of under the title of "majestic Lord" (*Huang Hou* 皇后).

II.9 *Cheng Fa* is another Yellow Emperor-Li Mu dialogue. The chapter is structured by three questions from the Emperor and the replies to these given by Li Mu. The initial question sets the scene:

"I am but one man, yet I gather together all under Heaven"¹¹.

Cunning people will be born; flatterers dispute and use adroitness.

It is not possible to stop them.

I fear going astray if I use them and thus bringing disorder to all under Heaven"¹².

The problem is the presence of dishonest elements. In order to ensure order he asks if there is a law or model that will serve as a guide to make the people correct:

"I sincerely ask, under Heaven is there an all-embracing law with which one may Correct the people"¹³.

As in *Xing Zheng* so too here, Li Mu takes the matter back to the earliest times before Heaven and Earth were formed. At this time there was one law and all can be traced back to this one. The Emperor's second question follows on logically. If in the past there was this one, is it still around now? Li Mu describes how the One was brought down by a phoenix and how the rulers used it and so slanderers and flatterers withdrew. The speech is rather anachronistic in its setting since it mentions the five emperors, though it is supposedly addressed to the Yellow Emperor, one of the five¹⁴. This little discrepancy testifies to the fact that the text of the Yellow Emperor chapters could exist independently of the dialogue framework in which they are set. The final question is whether the One will

11 Doubtless modern English idiom would write "in the world" for *Tian xia* 天下 but the Chinese metaphor is known in English. Anglo-Saxon writes "under lyfte" (*English* beneath the sky/ *German* unter der Luft) See Hamer, R, *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse*, London: Faber, 1970, p. 130

12 *Cheng Fa* 119b 8- 120a 6: 唯余一人兼有天下，猜民將生，佞辯用智，不可法祖，吾恐或用之以亂天下。

13 *Cheng Fa* 120a 7-18: 請問天下有成法可以正民者？

14 Exactly which five emperors are referred to it is not said. Tradition leaves two lists of the five: *Shiji*: 1 *Wudi Benji* 五帝本記: pp. 1-32; *Shi Ben*, *Da Dai Liji* 62 *Wu Di De* 五帝德 p. 117-123: Huang Di 黃帝, Zhuan Xi 顓頊, Di Ku 帝嚳, Tang Yao 唐堯 and Yu Shun 虞舜 *Liji* 6 *Yue Ling* 月令 pp.83-96; *Lushi Chunqiu* Ch. 1-12: Tai Gao 太皞 (Fu Xi 伏羲), Yan Di 炎帝 (Shen Nong 神農), Huang Di 黃帝, Shao Hao 少昊 Zhuan Xi 顓頊

always be applicable. In his answer Li Mu stresses that the One extends to the whole universe and is also the root of all things, hence nothing can be apart from it. The sage must see this, become correct, and so correct others. The conclusion shows his concern for the people in a binary couplet:

"Eradicating what harms the people
And upholding what benefits the people"¹⁵.

Such a sage will know what brings disaster and blessing, just as he did in II.7 *Cixiong Jie*. In *Cheng Fa* we find then a metaphysics of the One and the many in which the One is the Hole from which the many emerge, "though the myriad things be many yet they all issue from one hole"¹⁶, whilst also being the One that extends to the limits of the four seas. While there are some binary expressions there are no binary principles such as *ni* or *shun* serving as mediators between the One and the many.

The next Yellow Emperor chapter is *Shun Dao*. Again the Emperor is in dialogue with Li Mu. Unlike *Cheng Fa* binary language is important philosophically. The opening question takes us back to the earliest times when Da Ting had the empire¹⁷. The question is about Heaven and Earth but it does not receive a reply in what follows. Indeed the chapter is a curious mixture of elements, much of which can be traced in other texts. Here we shall set out the parts of the chapter commenting on their divergence from other sources.

Li Mu's first reply sets out the femininity of Da Ting. This takes up some of the language of *Cixiong Jie* and is indeed the closest any other passage in the *Huangdi Sijing* comes to that chapter. Since it is so close to texts known before the Mawangdui discovery we should set it out with similar passages:

"He was peaceful, calm, correct and silent, first establishing the weak mode."

Guanzi 55 *Jiu Shou* 九守 p. 162a 安徐而靜，柔節先定，
Guiguzi 12 *Fu Yan* 符言 p. 135 安徐正靜，其被節無不肉(定)，
Shiliu Jing 14 *Shun Dao* 138a 3-10 安徐正靜，柔節先定。

The *Guiguzi* passage differs in the second half and is thought to be corrupt. The only

15 *Cheng Fa* 124a 6-16: 除民之所害，而持民之所宜。

16 *Cheng Fa* 123b 3-10: 萬物之多，皆闕一空。

17 For Da Ting see *Zhuangzi* 10 *Qu Qie* 祛篋 p. 37a where he is included in a list of twelve worthies in whose time people used ropes as a form of sign writing. Also numbered among the twelve is *Xuan Yuan* 軒轅, another name for the Yellow Emperor. The *Han Shu* 20 *Gujin Renbiao* 古今人表 p. 864 lists 大廷(庭)氏 *Da Ting* as the fourth in a list of the earliest 仁人, a grade below the sages.

difference between the *Shun Dao* citation and the *Guanzi* passage is the presence of *zheng* 正, correct, rather than *er* 爾, yet. The humility of the sage is that he always keeps in the background. He is kind towards others:

"Being correct and trustworthy, he was benevolent, being kind and compassionate he loved men; he took correctness as his inner conduct and did not presume to go ahead of others."

Guanzi 誠信以仁之，慈惠以愛之，端政象，不敢以先人

Shun Dao 正信以仁，慈惠以愛人，端正象，弗敢以先人。

The differences here are slight¹⁸. An initial *zheng* in the *Shun Dao* and an initial *cheng* in the *Guanzi*, both have a similar meaning. The *Guanzi* repeats the object pronoun twice whilst the *Shun Dao* omits the first instance and writes the noun, *ren*, in its place in the second. The distinction of *zheng*政 and *zheng*正 in the third phrase is purely one of orthography. The negative particles *bu* and *fu* do not indicate any major difference either.

"His heart was at peace without any desires; grasping the One and not seeking elsewhere. He imitated femininity and what he mastered was gentleness."

Guanzi 中靜不留，裕德無求，形於女色。其所處者，柔安靜樂

Shun Dao 中情不絀，執一毋求，刑於女節，所主乃柔

Here there is greater divergence. Some of this may be the result of the editing of the *Huangdi Sijing*. Thus we should not make too much out of the second and ninth characters above. The fourth character has been edited to read 求 *qiu*, pressing, in haste, and this could not have been used in place of 留 *liu*. Assuming the more difficult reading to be earlier we may suppose that the *Guanzi* passage is later. This may explain why the second phrase introduces *de* in the *Guanzi* whilst *Shun Dao* prefers the One. Indeed, a little further on *Guanzi* mentions both *xing* and *de* together as "going along with Heaven." (*shun yu Tian*). The writer of the *Shun Dao* seems not to know of *xing-de* as a pair, rather he uses *de* in a Confucian sense perhaps.

"He was established in not daring and acted in inability.... He kept to the mode of weakness and adhered to this."

Guanzi 行德而不爭 (the passage continues with what is 138a 3-10 in *Shun Dao*)

18 As can be seen from the apparatus Chen Guying wishes to reedit this section. He believes that the *Huangdi Sijing* is a Daoist work and therefore cannot use Confucian vocabulary in a positive sense. Hence he wishes to edit out *ren* 仁 and *ci* 慈 and reorganise the text. The *Guanzi* passage suggests that this action is unwarranted and so calls into question the absoluteness of Professor Chen's premise that the *Huangdi Sijing* is a homogenous, pure Daoist work.

Shun Dao 好德 不爭

Guanzi 行於不敢，而立於不能， 守弱節而堅處之。

Shun Dao 立於不敢， 行於不能. . . 守弱節而堅之。

The closeness of these passages makes the absence of *xing-de* in *Shun Dao* all the more striking. The conclusion of the *Guanzi* chapter also mentions *wen-wu*, but in the *Shun Dao* the conclusion touches on the Yellow Emperor's adversary:

"Waiting for the cock tally to be exhausted and then pursuing it."¹⁹

It suggests that what we have in *Shun Dao* is a first stage in the universalizing and philosophizing of Fan Li's practical advice. *Guanzi* represents a further development integrating the language of *wen-wu* found in the *Jingfa*.

After this section *Shun Dao* then describes what the good ruler does not do. The emphasis on the passage is on not initiating affairs (*zuo shi* 作事) but rather following the movement of Heaven and Earth. The contrast is with the one who heads rebellions, plots in secret and pursues rebellious (*ni*) conduct.

The ending of the whole chapter is found word for word in the *Yue Yu xia* where it is introduced by "therefore" *shi gu* 是故. Here in *Shun Dao* it is introduced by 若此者, "such a one as this":

"He will win in war such that the enemy will not take revenge;

He will gain land such that it will not be handed back;

When war is won outside, blessings will be birthed inside,

The force used will be small indeed; one's renown will go far"²⁰.

This ending draws one back to the *Yue Yu xia* as well as forward to the *Huainanzi*. Interestingly both the same part of the *Yue Yu xia* and chapter fifteen of *Huainanzi* provide verbal links with II. 8 *Bing Rong* as well. Immediately preceding the above quotation the *Yue Yu xia* reads,

19 *Shun Dao* 139a 21-8: 胥雄節之窮而因之。

20 Attention should be drawn to some variants. The *Yue Yu* likes to use the conjunction 而 *er*, whereas *Shun Dao* does without; 兵 *bing* appears in the *Yue Yu* where *Shun Dao* has 戰 *zhan*. This can be explained as the writer of *Shun Dao* repeating the 戰勝 *zhan sheng* of 8 characters earlier. The passage is also found in the *Huainanzi*, though with additions. In the following I exclude these additions and copy only the characters immediately relevant to the *Huangdi Sijing*. The first line is from the *Yue Yu xia* p. 646; the second from *Shun Dao* 140b 8-31; the third from *Huainanzi* 15 *Bing Lue* 兵略訓 p. 519

戰勝而不報，取地而不反，兵勝於外，福生於內，用力甚少，而名聲章明。
戰勝不報，取地不反，戰勝於外，福生於內。用力甚少，名聲章明。
戰勝不報，取地而不反... 戰勝於外，福生於內，是故名必成....

"Heaven and Earth give it form, the sage thereby completes it"²¹.

Huainanzi chapter 15 can be used to explain the *san sui* 三隧 of *Bing Rong* as three conditions being the Way of Heaven, the form of the Earth (the terrain) and the situation of men (the state of the troops and their leaders)²². This shows if nothing else that the connection with the Yellow Emperor is not essential. The various parts of the discourse make good sense in other contexts too.

Precisely because these texts can exist in contexts where the Yellow Emperor is not mentioned, we have to say that the presence of the Yellow Emperor in the *Shiliu Jing* is not necessarily an essential part of the material that composes the book. On the other hand the same presence of the Emperor may be the sign of an editor using his name to gather together various reflections on philosophy, government and military matters. At the very least the presence of this one figure presiding over chapters as distinct as *Guan* and *Cixiong Jie* makes us want to know more about how the editor saw him.

A key aspect of this portrayal must be the two chapters which discuss his battle with Chi You. These establish his right to rule and to determine the order of future society. Just as the battle of Zhou 周 and Shang 商 is the key to Zhou's legitimacy of rule and hence a centrepiece of the *Yizhoushu* so too the battle of the Yellow Emperor and Chi You is the centrepiece of the *Shiliu Jing* as it has been handed down to us²³. The two versions of the Yellow Emperor's battle with Chi You in the *Shiliu Jing* share a lot of common vocabulary but are not identical.

7.2 The Battle with Chi You in the *Shiliujing*

In II.3 *Wu Zheng* the Yellow Emperor asks Yan Ran how to begin and end in promoting the five correctnesses. The five in question are the five directions (centre, east, west, south and north) which are to be made correct. Yan Ran replies,

"Begin with yourself, when the centre (that is yourself) has correct measure,

Then later go beyond to meet others.

When outside and inside meet together

21 *Bing Rong* 117a 12- 21; *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* 越語下 p. 646 天地形之。聖人因而成之。

22 See note in my edition *Bing Rong ad loc.*

23 The *Yizhoushu* comprises 70 chapters, some of which are now lost. Of the surviving chapters two deal directly with Zhou's defeat of Shang: chapter 36 *Ke Yin* 克殷 and chapter 40 *Shi Fu* 世俘.

Then all is correct and affairs are completed"²⁴.

The emperor is concerned with order but notes that the State is in instability. Yan Ran again:

"If the prince is sincere within and correct without,
What disaster is there that cannot be stabilised?"²⁵.

The virtue of sincerity was singled out in II.1 and may be described as the virtue of inner order corresponding to outer order.

"If in the left hand you hold the compass, and in the right hand hold the square;
What disaster can arise here under-Heaven?"²⁶.

The holding of these instruments is a symbol of bringing order. In the *Huainanzi* these instruments are assigned to two different emperors in a group of five according to the five phase theory. There the marking cord becomes the instrument of the Yellow Emperor whilst the compass is assigned to Tai Hao, emperor of the east, and the square to Shao Hao, emperor of the west²⁷. The *Huangdi Sijing* does not use five phase terminology but prefers simple contraries. Thus the compass and square symbolize the totality of grasp. The binary contrast continues,

"When men and women are of one mind, what disasters can arise in the State?"²⁸.

The next line says that the five correctnesses lead to the five brightnesses²⁹, meaning that all is in hand in all directions and then,

"Left and right hold the compasses so as to meet the rebellious (*ni*) army"³⁰.

The army in question is that of Chi You. The ability to order the world springs from inner correctness and in order to achieve this meditation is required:

24 *Wu Zheng* 90b 19-91a 8: 始在於身。中有正度，後及外人。外內交接，乃正於事之所成。

25 *Wu Zheng* 91a 27-91b 2: 后中實而外正，何患不定？

26 *Wu Zheng* 91b 7-12: 左執規，右執矩，何患天下？

27 *Huainanzi* 3 *Tian Wen* 天文訓 pp. 88-9: 東方，木也，其帝太皞(伏羲)，其佐句芒，執規而治春...西方，金也，其帝少昊，其佐蓂收，執矩而治秋。"The east is wood; its emperor is Tai Hao (Fuxi); his aide is Gou Mang. He holds the compasses and governs spring... The west is metal; its emperor is Shao Hao; his aide is Ru Shou. He holds the square and governs autumn." John Major notes that this whole passage is a verbatim quotation of the Mawangdui *Wuxingzhan*, see Major, J., *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought*, pp. 70-73.

28 *Wu Zheng* 91b 13-20: 男女畢同，何患於國？

29 These are found in the *Heguanzi* 8 度萬 p. 44: 天地陰陽取稽於身，故布五正以司五明。"Heaven-Earth, *yin-yang* are evidenced in the human body, thus one can promulgate the five correctnesses so as to ruler over the five brightnesses." The editor, Lu Tian 陸佃 explains the five brightnesses as five ranks of title: (1) *Qi* and the August One; (2) Spirits; (3) Worthies and Sages; (4) Princes and Kings; (5) Dukes and Earls.

30 *Wu Zheng* 91b 29-92a 4: 左右執規，以待逆兵。

"You, prince, do not know yourself, so go down to the abyss and seek to be ordered within. When ordered within, you, prince, ...know yourself and withdraw yourself"³¹.

The abyss in question is the abyss of the self. The physical location is a high mountain. In the *Jingfa* the ruler is required to see to where contraries emerge. It is precisely the practical meditation of the Yellow Emperor that could serve as a model for the sage's insight. The way of self-withdrawal is the Way itself:

"One who takes the same path as the Way; his affairs will be the same (as the Way);
One who takes a path other than that of the Way; his affairs will be other"³².

Using this principle one can come to a spirit of non-contention:

"Today there is great contention under Heaven, when the moment comes, can you, prince, prudently not contend (for the Empire)?"³³.

The question of conflict is found in *Xing Zheng* and is common in Warring States military literature. To achieve non-contention one must be rid of all extraneous motives:

"Anger lies in the blood and *qi*; contention is in the outer fat and skin.

If anger is not appeased, it results in a great and running sore.

If the prince can expel these four (blood, *qi*, fat and skin)

Then how can dry bones be *contentious*"³⁴.

To rid himself of this anger and become like dry bones the Emperor goes up Mount Bowang and spends three years in quiet meditation so as to examine himself.

Zheng Luan

The prelude to the battle in *Zheng Luan* is quite a different story. Instead of Yan Ran, we have Li Mu and the Commandant of Tai Shan in dialogue³⁵. The first part of the chapter is damaged but seems to be about a secret meeting in which the ministers decide to let Chi You run free until such time as he begins to fall. That he will fall is not to be

31 *Wu Zheng* 92a 17-92b 5: 后身未自知, 乃深伏於淵, 以求內型。內型已得, 后口自知屈后身。

32 *Wu Zheng* 92b 21-32: 道同者其事同, 道異者其事異。

33 *Wu Zheng* 92b 33-93a 13: 今天下大爭, 時至矣, 后能慎勿爭乎?

34 *Wu Zheng* 93a 23-93b 21: 怒者血氣也, 爭者外脂膚也。怒若不發, 浸腐是為癩疽。后能去四者, 枯骨何能爭矣?

35 As noted in my chapter six, Chen Guying, note 91 (p121), believes that the Commandant is the Yellow Emperor himself. The *Huainanzi* 6 *Lan Ming* 覽冥訓 p. 205 says: 昔者, 黃帝治天下, 而力牧, 太山稽輔之。"Of old, the Yellow Emperor ruled under-Heaven and Li Mu and the Commandant of Taishan assisted him."

doubted. As the Commandent says,

"Heaven's course is correct and sure; the sun and moon do not stop;
In constant movement, it (heaven's course) oversees all-under-Heaven"³⁶.

The constancy is the familiar Fan Lian reversal at the peak:

"Human nature has a peak, by desire debauchery increases;
When debauchery increases.....they lose"³⁷.

This line is similar to one in the *Daofa* where it is said that life is indissociable from desires and thus leads to dissatisfaction³⁸.

In what must surely refer to Chi You, the commandent advocates allowing him to rebel in the sure knowledge that his rebellion will reach its peak and then falter,

"Yield to him so that he becomes a pest; give to him so that he may squander;
Disregard him so that he gets anxious; deal with him so that he is at a loss."³⁹

Finally he may be captured but his end will be the natural result of the inevitable decline:

"Capture him and punish him; lift and raise him up;
Let him fall and do not save him;
Let him go to his death before he is able to repent"⁴⁰.

Li Mu argues that Chi You believes he enjoys the protection of Heaven. The response is that this is misfounded and downfall is inevitable:

"Assuage his cravings, encourage his strength
And let him fall into wickedness himself"⁴¹.

This is possible because the One Above (the ruler) grasps the One and waits for Heaven-sent disasters and for popular discontent. Under Heaven's course *ni* and *shun* both have their place. The ruler can afford to wait until the moment decreed by Heaven, Earth and man.

36 *Zheng Luan* 100a 4- 20: 夫天行正信，日月不虛，啟然不怠，以臨天下。

37 *Zheng Luan* 100a 21- 32: 民生有極，以欲淫溢，淫溢口失。

38 *Daofa* 1b 31- 2a 5: 生有害，曰欲，曰不知足。"There is an obstacle to life called 'desire', called 'not-knowing one has had enough'."

39 *Zheng Luan* 100b 5- 21: 予之為害，致而為費，緩而為口，憂恫而窘之 There are problems with the punctuation of this text.

40 *Zheng Luan* 100b 22- 101a 14: 收而為之咎，累而高之，踣而弗救也。將令之死而不得悔。

41 *Zheng Luan* 102a 3- 12: 盈其時，紉其力，而投之惡，

7.3 The Two Accounts

Some comment on the distinctions between these two preparations for the battle is required. We need to understand why there are two accounts and what each one brings. The second relies heavily on the *Yue Yu xia* with its waiting for disasters to be visited on Wu before the time to attack comes. The order of Heaven is that of reaching a peak and then declining, which we have seen at work in *yin-yang*, *wen-wu*, *xing-de*, *nue-de* and *ni-shun*. Of these pairs only the last is mentioned explicitly.

The account in *Wu Zheng* is a meditation text: the Yellow Emperor ascends the mountain to meditate. Within the *Huangdi Sijing* there are two other meditation passages. In *Lun* a series of ten stages of meditation leads to the sage being able to know intuitively, thus grasping the Way and ruling the world:

"Strength births awe, awe births insight, insight births correctness,
Correctness births stillness; where there is stillness, there is equanimity;
Where there is equanimity there is peace; where peace, simplicity,
Where simplicity, the purest essence; where purest essence there is clairvoyance;
At the peak of clairvoyance, one's intuitive knowing will never be confused"⁴².

Apart from correctness (stage four) they do not correspond to the meditation of *Wu Zheng*. The other possible meditation text is II. 15. This is a logical inspection of the real nature of things. If the sage can be calm and concentrate then he will see what things really are, how their names fit their forms. He will respect Pattern and be free to respond to the situation as it is without being tied to the old⁴³. The language of II. 15 is that of the *Jingfa* cluster rather than that of the meditation of *Wu Zheng*.

To understand these passages and the role of the Yellow Emperor we will have to look at other documents. Before doing so a few comments on the battle with Chi You and the covenant that follows it should be made. Yan Ran, in giving permission for the Yellow Emperor to fight, points out the inevitability of contention:

"Instigating contention is inauspicious;
Not contending will also not bring success"⁴⁴.

This is similar to Li Mu's advice in *Xing Zheng*. The Yellow Emperor attacks, the account

42 *Lun* 52a9-52b3: 強生威，威生慧，慧生正，正生靜。靜則平，平則寧，寧則素，素則精，精則神。至神之極，見知不惑。

43 For more detailed discussion of II.15 see my technical preface.

44 *Wu Zheng* 94a 27-94b 5: 夫作爭者凶，不爭者亦無成功。

is the same in both chapters, and wins. *Zheng Luan* then describes the fate of Chi You's corpse, whilst *Wu Zheng* moves straight to the covenant. Both accounts of the covenant carry the line, "the one who acts against justice and goes counter to the seasons"⁴⁵. In *Zheng Luan* the phrase is amplified in the language of going beyond the peak and exceeding what is appropriate which we have already met in the *Jingfa*. The *Zheng Luan* also adds a reference to Gong Gong, who broke a celestial column⁴⁶.

Mark Lewis notes that the *Zheng Luan* account of the dismemberment of the corpse is the description of a sacrificial meal⁴⁷. Chi You, as a strange double of the Yellow Emperor, is sacrificed so that peace may be achieved. The sacrificial banquet that follows his slaying is the proper context in which a covenant is made. It is his blood that makes the covenant binding⁴⁸. Even though *Wu Zheng* does not mention the banquet, yet its account of the meditative preparation and final covenant indicate the same scenario.

7.4 The Battle of the Yellow Emperor and Chi You

The Yellow Emperor's battle is treated in other texts and it is to those that we will now turn. Our purpose will be to try and discern what elements of the tradition have been accepted by the *Shiliujing* and if accepted, how they are treated and also to understand the battle in the context of polar oppositions.

In a study of the myth of the yellow emperor, Le Blanc mentions twenty categories or main themes relating to the emperor⁴⁹. He divides these twenty into two groups: (1) genealogical ancestry and paradigmatic emperorship and (2) the god of the centre. The first group includes the earliest known extant reference to the yellow emperor on a

45 *Wu Zheng* 95a 11-14 & *Zheng Luan* 105b 22-25: 反義逆時。

46 The legends connected with Gong Gong are set out and annotated by Remi Matthieu in *Anthologie des mythes et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, # 8, 36 and 50.

47 Lewis, M.E., *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, pp. 206-7. Allan, S., *Drought, human sacrifice and the Mandate of Heaven*, relates sacrifice to the gaining the right to act as medium between heaven and mankind and thus establish a dynasty. Hence the Yellow Emperor's slaying of Chi You, as a scapegoat for himself, ensures his right to rule.

48 The radical of the character *meng* 盟 (covenant) is *min* 皿, a dish for holding the blood of the victim.

49 Le Blanc, C., *The Myth of Huang Ti*, pp. 50-1 The twenty groups in their two sections are,

A 1. Son of Shao Dian, 2. Miraculous birth and childhood, 3. Ancestor of royal Zhou, 4. Ancestor of barbarians, 5. Brother of Yan Di, 6. Battles Yan Di for the throne, 7. Battles and kills Chi You, 8. Conquers vast territory, 9. Subdues and pacifies barbarians, 10. Sage emperor, 11. Chooses wise counsellors, 12. Teacher of civilized institutions, 13. Master of esoteric arts and doctrines, 14. One of five emperors;

B 15. Never died, became a god, 16. Gave birth to *yin-yang*, 17. God of Kunlun, 18. God of the earth, 19. God of the centre, 20. God of the planet Saturn

Wang Hansheng, *Xuan Yuan Huangdi* presents information about the Yellow Emperor in a pre-critical way.

bronze of 357-20 B.C.⁵⁰. The latter group of texts are said to be nearly all later than the first. Le Blanc supposes, however, that before the first group of texts the yellow emperor was current in pre-Shang or Shang myths as a more than human figure. The references in the *Huangdi Sijing* fall into the seventh, eighth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth of his categories. Considered in terms of the chapters of the *Shiliujing* we obtain the following list:

- II.1 78b, 79 Categories 8 and 12 Conquerer and Teacher;
- II. 2 *Guan* 80b, 82b Categories 11 and 13: Chooses counsellors, master of esoteric
- II. 3 *Wu Zheng* 94a-b Categories 7 and 11: Choose counsellors, fights Chi You
- II. 4 *Guo Tong* 98a Category 10: Sage emperor
- II. 5 *Zheng Luan* 104a Category 7: fights Chi You
- II. 8 *Cheng Fa* 119b, 121a: Categories 11 and 13: as for *Guan* above.

This is only intended as a rough guide but it is of some use in establishing comparisons with other texts. Most noticeably the list here shows that there is no mention of the birth or genealogy of the Yellow Emperor nor of his divinisation. Of texts with more than a few entries, these same omissions are recorded for *Guanzi*, *Shangjunshu* and *Shen Buhai*. The *Da Dai Liji* is similar in having no references to the later divinisation but it does include genealogical material.

Variant Traditions

In discussing the battle it is common practice to take the *Shi Ji* as the first point of reference. In the first lines of that work we find the Yellow Emperor in combat with Yan Di 炎帝 at Ban Quan 阪泉 and with Chi You at Zhuo Lu 涿鹿. The *Mozi* and *Sunzi* have a further version in which he fights four or five dragons or emperors. The authors of the *Gushibian* 古史辨 conclude that there can have only been one battle but that it is related differently in varying traditions⁵¹. This seems to be correct. Sima Qian's attempt to include as much as possible is simply a reflection of his desire to preserve as much of his heritage as he knows and to edit it into a reasonable pattern of events.

In the *Shiji* we find three causes of the conflict: (1) the feudal lords fight each other and oppress the people; (2) Chi You is the most obstreperous of these lords; (3) Yan Di

50 Le Blanc, C., *The Myth of Huang Ti*, p. 53 note 8

51 Lu Simian & Tong Shuye (ed.), *Gushi Bian* Vol. 7A, pp. 199-207

attacks the feudal lords who flee to the Yellow Emperor for help. In the fight against Yan Di the Yellow Emperor is referred to by name as Xuan Yuan and is contrasted with Shen Nong 神農. In a sentence which is displaced to after the Chi You battle, it is said that the feudal lords honour him, that he replaces Shen Nong and is called "the Yellow Emperor"⁵². Here we have the two principal accounts. We notice variations in the opponent and the place. Using these variations we can establish a list of the accounts of the battle:

<u>A</u>	<u>Chi You at Zhuo Lu</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Location</u>
	<i>Shiji</i> 1 p. 3	Chi You	Zhuo Lu 涿鹿 ⁵³
	<i>Shi Ben</i> (2) <i>xia</i> note p. 75	"	"
	<i>Zhanguo Ce</i> 3 p. 74	"	"
	<i>Zhuangzi</i> 29 p. 338	"	" or 濁鹿
	<i>Yizhoushu</i> 56 p.30	"	"
	<i>Taiping Yulan</i> 155 p. 753 b ⁵⁴	"	", which is also Ban Quan
<u>B</u>	<u>Chi You in other places</u>		
	<i>Taiping Yulan</i> 155 p. 753 b ⁵¹	"	Ban Quan, which is also Zhuo Lu
	<i>Yizhoushu</i> 56 p. 30	"	Zhong Ji 中冀
	<i>Shanhajing</i> 17 p. 1385a	"	Ji Zhou 冀州
	<i>Shuyiji</i> (<i>Peiwen Yunfu</i> p. 1301b) ⁵⁵	"	Ji Zhou
	<i>Gui Zang</i> p. 33A ⁵⁶	"	Qing Qiu 青邱
	<i>Shiliujing</i> :II.3 & 5	"	No place mentioned
	<i>Shang Shu: Zhou</i> 29 <i>Lu Xing</i> p. 133	"	No place (Not Yellow Emperor)
	<i>Huainanzi</i> 15 <i>Bing Lue</i> p. 489	"	No place mentioned
<u>C</u>	<u>Opponent is Yan Di</u>		
	<i>Shiji</i> 1 p. 3	Yan Di 炎帝	Ban Quan

52 Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence*, pp. 176-9 discusses the opposition between *Shen Nong* and the Yellow Emperor. Since it does not involve a battle as such, I will not deal with it here.

53 Chinese texts for this table will be found in an appendix to this chapter. Some texts are also cited in my footnotes.

54 The source is the *Diwang Shiji* 帝王世紀.

55 The *Shuyiji* 述身記 is said to be compiled under the Liang 梁 dynasty (502-556 A.D.) by Ren Fang 任昉 (460-508 A.D.).

56 This citation is recorded in Ma Guo Han's *Yu Han Shan Fang Ji Yishu juan* 1, p. 33a (No. 2, p. 14a). The dates of birth and death of Ma Guo Han 馬國函 are not known but he took his *Jinshi* 進士 exam in 1832.

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<i>Liezi</i> 2, p. 28	Yan Di	Ban Quan
<i>Xinshu</i> 2.3 p. 736b	Yan Di	Zhuo Lu
<i>Taiping Yulan</i> 79 p. 367b ⁵⁷	Yan Di	Zhuo Lu
<i>Guo Yu</i> 10 p. 356	Yan Di	No place mentioned
<i>Huainanzi</i> 15 <i>Bing Lue</i> p. 489	Yan Di	No place mentioned

D Other Opponents

<i>Da Dai Liji</i> 62 p. 118	Chi Di 赤帝	Ban Quan
<i>Wenzi</i> 11 p. 870b	Chi Di	
<i>Mozi</i> 47 lines 48-52	Qing, Chi, Hei, Bai (Huang) Dragons	4 (5) quarters
<i>Sunzi Bingfa xia</i> 3 p. 164	Chi, ..., Hei, Bai Emperors	4 quarters
<i>Shiji</i> 25 p. 1241	Disaster of fire	Zhuo Lu
<i>Yizhoushu</i> 61 p. 38	Ban Quan	Zhuo Lu
	(protagonist is not the Yellow Emperor)	
<i>Huainanzi</i> 6 p. 207	Black dragon Ji Zhou (Nu Gua as protagonist)	

Yinqueshan Yinyangshu (Yates) p. 109 # 1357 Chi You No place mentioned

E Place alone mentioned

<i>Zuo Zhuan: Xi</i> year 25	Ban Quan
<i>Sunbin Bingfa</i> 2 p. 21	Zhuo Lu 蜀祿
<i>Lun Heng</i> 57 p. 191	Zhuo Lu

The place is often said to be in the countryside outside Zhuo Lu or Ban Quan, Zhuo Lu *zhi ye* 之野⁵⁸. Remi Matthieu believes the Ban Quan tradition to be the oldest but he says that this was only a few kilometres from Zhuolu⁵⁹. The tradition of the commentators is that Zhuo Lu and Ban Quan are both names for Shang Gu 上谷⁶⁰. The name Ji Zhou means the central of the nine *zhou* and so is the same as Zhong Zhou⁶¹. Moreover in the *Tujing*

57 This quotation is also from the *Gui Zang*. It is found in the *Taiping Yulan* and also in Ma Guohan's *Yu Han Shan Fang Ji Yishu* 玉函山房輯佚書 *juan* 1 p. 32b (No. 2, p. 13b)

58 According to the *Er Ya* 9.6 野 *ye* is the third in the regions outside a city: suburbs, pastureland, *ye*, forest and frontier.

59 Matthieu, R., *Études sur la mythologie et l'ethnologie de la Chine ancienne*, p. 612 note 5

60 The commentaries on the citations from the *Shiji* in the *Taiping Yulan* (155 and 308) say as much. The former reads 今上谷有涿鹿縣及蚩尤城阪泉地，又有黃帝祠，皆黃帝戰蚩尤之處也。 Nowadays Shang Gu has Zhuo Lu County and Chi You Town Ban Quan, also there is the Yellow Emperor's temple, all are where the Yellow Emperor fought Chi You. (TPYL 155)

61 Gao You, himself from Zhuo Commandery Zhuo County 涿郡涿縣 says of Ji Zhou that it is the central of the nine *zhou* and is today what is said to be within the four seas. 冀州，九州中謂今四海之內。 in

圖經 Zhuo Lu and Ji Zhou are said to be different names for the same place⁶². Matthieu believes that the name Ji Zhou was used by a southern tradition that was ignorant of the geography, even the mythological geography, of Hebei Province. The four or five directions of the *Mozi-Sunzi* version are also related to this central place.

The names of the opponents Chi Di and Yan Di are not unrelated, either. If the character 赤 *chi* is indeed a shaman dancing in flames to bring down rain then it is related to the two fire radicals of the character 炎 *yan*⁶³. The account of the battle in the *Shanhaijing* is also concerned with rain and drought and so conversely with fire.

The only account which stands out as different is one from the *Gui Zang*. (Not the citation of the *Gui Zang* in the *Tai Ping Yu Lan*) In this myth Chi You attacks a hollow mulberry tree. Dr. Allan discusses this myth in the light of her thesis that Xia myth was constructed by inverting Shang myth⁶⁴. Thus the Shang God, Shang Di, is in inverse contrast to the Yellow Emperor and the colour yellow in contrast with the *xuan* 玄 of the Shang⁶⁵.

What is striking is that the accounts in the *Shiliujing* are the fullest and yet there is no mention of the place of the battle given. What is of more interest, however, is the context of the references to the battle.

7.5 The Context of the Battle

In many cases the question at issue is the reconciliation of the use of arms with a virtuous person. The Yellow Emperor is cited as a model of virtue in the *Lushi Chunqiu* 1.4 where Xi Peng 隰朋 imitates his ancestors and asks his inferiors to correct him, embarrassed that his virtue is not up to that of the Yellow Emperor. *Hanfeizi* shows this virtue as such to produce order. Thus he can write, "even ten Yellow Emperors could not order this"⁶⁶. The one mention of the battle with Chi You in the *Zhuangzi* is from the

Huainanzi 6 覽冥 p. 207

62 *Tai ping Yulan* 162 p. 788a

63 Lewis, M.E., *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, pp. 179 The graph which is now written as *chi* 赤 or *yan* 炎 is said by Lewis to represent "a human figure standing in flames and referred to a rainmaking ceremony which is known in Zhou texts as 'exposing the shaman' or 'burning the shaman'".

64 Allan, S., *Son of Suns*, p. 309; Allan, S., *The Myth of the Xia Dynasty*, pp. 121-2; *The Shape of the Turtle*, pp. 64-7

65 Allan, S., *The Shape of the Turtle*, p. 64-7. Allan sees the origin of the Yellow Emperor as in his being lord of the underworld, in contrast to the High Lord (*shang di* 上帝) of the Shang. While he could be seen as Lord of the western Paradise, she believes that *wu xing* theory stressed his identification with the centre and hence with the Hollow Mulberry, which brought about a clash with Chi You. Hence though this account is special it nonetheless fits with the tradition of Ji Zhou and the four or five dragons, where again it is control of the centre which is at issue.

66 *Hanfeizi* 49 *Wu Du* 五蠹 9.16: 雖有三黃帝, 不能治也。

primitivist who believes that in fact the Yellow Emperor's rule already marks a fall from virtue: "The Yellow Emperor could not attain virtue"⁶⁷ The *Guanzi* is more practical⁶⁸. Though the Yellow Emperor was a person of virtue yet he could not dispense with an army, how much less so in a fallen time when virtue is no longer up to that of the three emperors. In the *Lushi Chunqiu* the logician Gong Sunlong argues that in the disorder of modern society the disbanding of the army would put the Yellow Emperor in difficulty, how much more an ordinary ruler⁶⁹. This question of virtue reemerges in the Han Dynasty. Wang Chong's reference to the Yellow Emperor's battle occurs in the context of a eulogy of the Han dynasty⁷⁰. Wang Chong argues that the Han is clearly superior to other regimes since it does not suffer from rebellions and wars. Naturally this requires a little adroitness to argue that Xiong Nu invasions and early opposition do not really count. From our point of view, though, Wang Chong reverses the late Warring States' opinion that even the virtuous must have an army.

Alongside the question of virtue is that of the desire to rule over the whole world. When Su Qin 蘇秦 is trying to argue for the use of force as essential if one wishes to reign or be hegemon over all-under-Heaven he cites a list of rulers who have engaged in war. The Yellow Emperor's battle is in the list⁷¹.

In other cases the texts are concerned to set out a biography of the Yellow Emperor and thus the battle is mentioned. This is so with the *Shiji* account in particular. In the same line the references in the *Taiping Yulan* on the relevant *Shiji* passages are located one in political geography, the other in a section on war. The *Shuyiji* citation is also concerned with geography, tales of interesting things from around China. The *Shanhaijing* context is also geographical but the story there is connected with rain and drought. Nonetheless philosophical issues do arise for as we have seen Sima Qian sets his account of the battle in the context of coming to terms with conflict. This is an important

67 *Zhuangzi* 29 *Dao Zhi* 盜跖 p. 338: 不能致德。

68 *Guanzi* 16 *Fa Fa* 法法 p. 114c: 黃帝、唐、虞帝之隆也，資有天下，制在一人，當此之時也，兵不廢。今德不及三帝，天下不順，而求廢兵，不亦難乎？

"The Yellow Emperor, Tang and Yu were august emperors. They held all under-Heaven, and its control was all under one man. Yet at this time armies were not abolished. Now when virtue is not up to that of the three emperors and under-Heaven is not ordered would it not be hard to seek to abolish armies?"

Zhao Shouzheng believes this passage should be moved to Chapter 28 *San Huan* 參患. Zhao, *Guanzi Tongjie* Vol. I, p. 383

69 *Lushi Chunqiu* 18.1 *Shen Ying* 審應 p. 1143: 雖黃帝猶若困。"Even the Yellow Emperor would be in a fix."

70 *Lun Heng* 57 *Hui Guo* 恢國 p. 191 After recounting tales of earlier battles, Wang Chong writes, 前代皆然，漢不聞此。"Earlier dynasties were all like this; under the Han one does not hear of such things."

71 *Zhanguo* 3 *Qin Yi* 秦一 p. 74: 惡有不戰者乎？"Where then is there no engaging in war?"

theme throughout Yellow Emperor literature. It is developed in relation to the theme of the origin of weapons. In this we can see the concern to reconcile virtue and war to be the key issue.

One tradition traces the origin of weapons back to Chi You. In the *Shiben* Chi You uses metal to make weapons⁷². The Han dynasty scholar Song Zhong 宋衷 comments, "Chi You made five weapons: *ge*-halberd, spear, *ji*-halberd, *qiu*-spear and *yi*-spear." In the *Lushi Chunqiu* 7.2 "people" (人 *ren*) say that Chi You made weapons whilst in the *Da Dai Liji* Duke Ai 哀 says the same⁷³. However, in the same chapter of the *Lushi Chunqiu* it is noted that, before Chi You, people cut trees to make weapons of war, the winner becoming the leader. This theme can be traced back to the *Shangjunshu* chapter 18 where we hear that, before the Yellow Emperor, people cut trees and killed beasts. Hence it is said that the origin of conflict is longstanding and so conflict cannot be stopped⁷⁴.

The origin of conflict is taken back to the emergence of man in various ways. In both the *Shiji* chapter 25 and the *Da Dai Liji* man is born with joy and anger and so weapons come into existence as a result of these emotions within him⁷⁵. In the *Heguanzi* chapter 12 weapons arise along with knowledge 智 *zhi*⁷⁶. Yet according to the *Xing Zheng* chapter conflict was present even before man came on the scene. In the primeval times little worms wriggled and fought⁷⁷. This is a fact of life. The appearance of people in their separate clans is simultaneous with the appearance of conflict between enemies.

72 *Shiben* 1st Version: pp2-3: 蚩尤以金作兵器。; 2nd Version p.76 蚩尤作五兵: 戈、矛、戟、酋矛、夷矛。

73 *Lushi Chunqiu* 7.2 *Dang Bing* 蕩兵 p.383: 人曰: "蚩尤作兵", 蚩尤非作兵也。

Da Dai Liji 75 *Yong Bing* 用兵 p.209: 公曰: 蚩尤作兵與? 子曰: 否。

74 *Lushi Chunqiu* 7.2 *Dang Bing* 蕩兵 p.383: 未有蚩尤之時, 民固剝林木以戰矣, 勝者為長。

Huainanzi 15 *Bing Lue* 兵略訓 p.489: 兵之所由來者遠矣! "How distant is the origin of weapons!"

Da Dai Liji 75 *Yong Bing* 用兵 p.209: 傷害之生久矣, 與民皆生。 "The origin of wounding is ancient. It arose together with the people."

Shangjunshu 18 *Hua Ce* 畫策 p.22-3, lines 1,3,4: 神農... 以強勝弱, 以眾暴寡。故黃帝... 內行刀鋸, 外用甲兵。 "Shen Nong used force to conquer the weak and many to terrorise the few, so the Yellow Emperor used the knife and saw within and outside used armour and weapons."

75 *Shiji* 25 *Lu Shu* 律書 p.1240: 兵者, 聖人所以討強暴, 平亂世, 夷險阻, 救危殆。自含血[齒]戴角之獸犯則校, 而況於人懷好惡喜怒之氣? 喜則愛心生; 怒則毒螫加, 情性之理也。 "Weapons are that by which the sage disputes with powerful tyrants, pacifies a disordered era, overcomes dangers and obstacles, saves from peril and disaster. Ever since beasts had blood and bore horns and fought it has been so, so how much more with men who harbour the *qi* of likes and dislikes, joy and anger? They rejoice and so the partial heart is born; they are angry and so poison is added, this is the pattern of feelings and character."

Da Dai Liji 75 *Yong Bing* 用兵 p.210: 人生有喜怒, 故兵之作, 與民皆生。

"Man at birth has joy and anger, thus weapons are made. They arise along with the people."

76 *Heguanzi* 12 *Shi Bing* 世兵 C p.1: 兵知(智)俱起。 "Weapons and wisdom arose together."

77 *Xing Zheng* 107b 9-16: 天地已定, 蚊蟻畢爭。

Conclusion

To summarise our findings so far: in the Warring States' Period the Yellow Emperor's battle is cited in a discussion on the righteousness of keeping armies and speculation on the origin of conflict. The consensus in the texts examined here is that complete demilitarisation is impossible and so the virtuous ruler need have no qualms about keeping an army. In this context Chi You represents an element that must be eradicated. Thus the opposition between Chi You and the Yellow Emperor is one of absolute conflict in which only the latter should win. In this respect they do not form a binary pair like *yin-yang*. On the other hand the very presence of unordered and disordering forces such as Chi You is what gives the Yellow Emperor the right and duty to use force himself. This later use of force is combined with virtuous civilising influences.

From this analysis we can see how binary pairs could become important political principles. The very presence of Chi You and his ilk calls forth a binary response in the Emperor. There is punishing, slaying and war and also action by the attraction of virtue alone. Turning to the Mozi-Sunzi tradition of one centre fighting rebellious quarters we see that it is the opposition of centre to periphery which demands that the centre employ binary means to establish order. Here again there is opposition as well as binary contrast. We may resume the argument as follows,

1. One wishing to bring order to the world will act virtuously;
2. On the periphery of or from within the world there are rebellious elements;
3. Therefore the one who orders must use coercive measures in tandem with attractive ones and in both he is virtuous.

This results in patterns which cannot simply be put into binary language. If the orderer, let us say the Yellow Emperor, is to follow female conduct in true Daoist fashion he will yield to Chi You and ultimately prove victorious. However, his victory can only be won by using force of arms, which may be *yin* in contrast to attractive virtue but are male in contrast to the passivity of the female. The philosopher may then decide to employ one overarching set of concepts such as *yin-yang* and change their reference accordingly. Alternatively one could keep binary terminology for the orderer and the ordered world and simply exclude the disordered. Or one could have some concepts for the ordered-

disordered contrast and others for the binary methods of ordering.

The *Huangdi Sijing* comes closest to the last of these three options. *Wen-wu* belong only to the orderer, as do *de-xing*. *Ni-shun* pertain to the orderer-disordered relationship. Chi You leads a rebellion which must be suppressed. There is no place for *ni* in the cosmos even though it has always been there. The case of Chi You is a clear example of the conflict between the ordered centre and the rebellious periphery. It is because of this situation that the ruler must adopt a binary approach to the world. The longing for a non-binary approach is there in the writings of Wang Chong or in the idealism of the Zhuangzian primitivist but practical persons realise that such a longing is foolish. The ruler may not disarm.

From the point of view of the literary structure of the *Shiliu Jing* the major point learned in this chapter is that the figure of the Yellow Emperor is invoked for his dealings with conflict. It may be that if we look on the *Shiliu Jing* as a military text in the same sense that chapter 15, *Bing Lue*, of the *Huainanzi* is a military text we may have a clue to its possible unity. This type of military text is not concerned with tactics or strategy but with the basic principles of the use of force. In part two we will be able to take up this theme and consider the *Shiliu Jing* from the viewpoint of a war minister at a ruler's court.

Appendix: Chinese Texts referring to the Yellow Emperor's Battle

Shiji 1 *Wudi Benji* 五帝本記 p.3: 軒轅之時，神農氏世衰。諸侯相侵伐，暴虐百姓，而神農氏弗能征。於是軒轅乃習用干戈，以征不享，諸侯咸來賓從。而蚩尤最為暴，莫能伐。炎帝欲侵陵諸侯，諸侯咸歸軒轅。軒轅乃修德振兵，治五氣，藝五種，撫萬民，度四方，教熊羆貔貅羆虎，以與炎帝戰於阪泉之野。三戰，然後得其志。蚩尤作亂，不用帝命。於是黃帝乃徵師諸侯，與蚩尤戰於涿鹿之野，遂禽殺蚩尤。而諸侯咸尊軒轅為天子，伐深農氏，是為黃帝。

In the time of Xuan Yuan, the descendents of Shen Nong had fallen in virtue. The feudal lords attacked

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each other, terrorising the ordinary people and Shen Nong's people could not regulate them. Thus Xuan Yuan learnt to use stick and halberd so as to regulate this unhappy state. The lords all came and followed him. Now Chi You was the most violent of all. None could attack him. The Firey Emperor wanted to attack the lords; the lords all came back to Xuan Yuan. Xuan Yuan thereupon cultivated his virtue and wielded his weapons, ordering the five *qi*, planted the five grains, consoled the myriads of people, measured out the four directions, named the troops "black bears", "brown bears", "arctic foxes", "tiger-eaters", "wild cats" and "tigers", so as to fight the Firey Emperor in the country by Ban Quan. After three battles he attained his objective. Chi You created disturbance, not heeding the emperor's command. Thus the Yellow Emperor thereupon led the feudal lords to war and fought Chi You in the country by Zhuo Lu, then seized and killed Chi You. (The animals in this list are all fierce beasts. My translations are partly indebted to Mattieu's *Index zoologique*, Matthieu, *Etudes sur la mythologie*, see pp. 1075-1130)

Shiji 25 *Lu Shu* 律書 p. 1241: 昔黃帝有涿鹿之戰以定火災。

Formerly the Yellow Emperor had the battle of Zhuo Lu so as to control a conflagration.

Shi Ben 2 (Note of Song Zhong 宋衷) p. 76: 黃帝誅之(蚩尤)涿鹿之野。涿鹿在彭城南。

The Yellow Emperor punished him (Chi You) in the country by Zhuo Lu. Zhuo Lu is to the south of Peng Town.

Zhan Guo Ce 3 *Qin Yi* 秦一 p. 74: 黃帝伐涿鹿而禽蚩尤。 . . 由此觀之，惡有不戰者乎。 The Yellow Emperor attacked Zhuo Lu and seized Chi You...From this it is obvious, how can there be no war? (ie. war is inevitable).

Zhuangzi 29 *Dao Zhi* 盜跖 p. 79a: 黃帝尚不能全德，而戰涿鹿之野，流血百里。

Even the Yellow Emperor could not be wholly virtuous. He fought in the country by Zhuo Lu and blood flowed for a hundred *li* (1/3 mile).

Yizhoushu 56 *Chang Mai* 嘗麥 p. 30: 蚩尤乃逐帝，爭于涿鹿之阿，九隅無遺，赤帝大懼，乃說于黃帝，執蚩尤殺之于中冀。

Chi You thereupon pursued the emperor, fought with him around Zhuo Lu, encountered him nine times without success. The Firey Emperor was greatly disturbed, and then spoke of it to the Yellow Emperor who took hold of Chi You and killed him in Zhong Ji (the Central District).

Taiping Yulan 79b p. 367b quoting *Diwang Shiji*: 黃帝 . . . 與神農氏戰于阪泉之野，三戰而克之 The Yellow Emperor fought with Shen Nong in the country by Ban Quan, after three battles he conquered him.

also 黃帝 . . . 與神農氏戰于阪泉之野，三戰而克，討蚩尤氏擒之于涿鹿之

野。The Yellow Emperor fought with Shen Nong in the country by Ban Quan, after three battles he conquered him and disputed with Chi You and seized him in the country by Zhuo Lu.

Tai ping Yulan 155 p. 753 quoting *Diwang Shiji* 敵王世紀: 黃帝都涿鹿於周官幽州之域在漢為上谷而世本允涿鹿在彭城南然則上谷本名彭城

The Yellow Emperor's town Zhuo Lu was in the area of the Zhou District of You Zhou, which was called Shanggu in the Han and the *Shi Ben* speaks of Zhuo Lu as being to the south of Peng Town therefore Shanggu's original name is Peng Town.

p. 753b: 今上谷有涿鹿縣及蚩尤城阪泉地又有黃帝祠皆黃帝戰蚩尤之處也。

Now Shanggu has Zhuo Lu County and Chi You's town, the place Ban Quan and also has the Yellow Emperor's temple. All are the place where the Yellow Emperor fought Chi You.

Shanhaijing 17 *Dahuang Beijing* 大荒北經 p. 1385a: 蚩尤作兵，伐黃帝。黃帝乃令應龍攻之冀州之野。應龍畜水。蚩尤請風伯、雨師，從大風雨。黃帝乃下天女曰魃。雨止，遂殺蚩尤。

Chi You invented weapons and attacked the Yellow Emperor. The Yellow Emperor, thereupon, ordered Ying Long to attack him in the country by Jizhou. Ying Long gathered the waters. Chi You called on the Master of the Wind and the Master of the Rain. These sent down wind and rain. The Yellow Emperor thereupon sent down the heavenly maiden called "Ba". The rain stopped. Then he killed Chi You.

Peiwen Yunfu p. 1301b quoting *Shuyiji* 述異記: 蚩尤氏兄弟七十二人銅頭，鐵額，食鐵石。今冀州人掘地得髑髏如銅鐵者即蚩尤之骨也。今有蚩尤齒長二寸堅不可碎。秦漢間說蚩尤氏頭有角與軒轅以角抵人。今冀州有樂名“蚩尤戲”其民兩兩三三頭戴牛角而相抵。漢造角抵戲其遺製也。

Chi You and his brothers numbered 72 persons. They had heads of bronze, foreheads of iron and ate iron stones. Today the people of Ji Zhou dig the ground and collect skulls as hard as bronze or iron which are the bones of Chi You. Nowadays there is a two-inch tooth of Chi You so hard it cannot be broken. Between the Qin and Han it was said that Chi You had horns on his head and fought with Xuan Yuan by butting people with his horns. Nowadays Ji Zhou has a pastime called 'Chi You Game' in which people each wear ox horns and butt each other. The Han left horns-to-butt-game as their legacy.

Shang Shu: Zhou Shu 29 *Lu Xing* 呂刑 p. 133: 蚩尤惟始作亂。Chi You began to create disturbance.

Yinqueshan Yinyangshu (Yates) 陰陽書 p. 109 # 1357: 黃帝之見敵。When the Yellow Emperor saw the enemy.

Huainanzi 6 *Lan Ming* 覽冥 p. 207: 女媧 . . . 殺黑龍以濟冀州。 Nu Gua killed the black dragon in the morning at Jizhou.

Huainanzi 15 *Bing Lue* 兵略訓 p. 489: 兵之所由來者遠矣！黃帝嘗與炎帝戰矣。

The origin of weapons lies far back! The Yellow Emperor once fought the Firey Emperor.

Huainanzi 15 *Bing Lue* 兵略訓 p. 490: 黃帝戰於涿鹿之野。 The Yellow Emperor fought in the country by Zhuo Lu.

Huainanzi 15 *Bing Lue* 兵略訓 p. 490: 炎帝為火災，故黃帝擒之。 The Firey Emperor caused a conflagration, so the Yellow Emperor seized him.

Liezi 2 *Huangdi* 黃帝篇 p. 47: 黃帝與炎帝戰于阪泉之野。 The Yellow Emperor fought with the Firey Emperor in the country by Ban Quan.

Taiping Yulan 929, p. 4130b quoting *Mozi*: 帝以甲乙殺青龍於東方，以丙丁殺赤龍於南方，以庚辛殺白龍於西方，以壬癸殺黑龍於北方。

The Yellow Emperor, on Jiayi, killed the green dragon in the east, on Bingding killed the red dragon in the south, on Gengxin killed the white dragon in the west, on Rengui killed the black dragon in the north.

Mozi 47 *Gui Yi* 貴義 lines 48-52 p. 84: as in *Taiping Yulan* but some add: 以戊己殺黃龍於中方。 on Moji he killed the yellow dragon in the centre.

Taiping Yulan 79 p. 367b quoting *Gui Zang* 歸藏: 昔黃神與炎神爭涿鹿之野。

Formerly, the Yellow Spirit and the Firey Spirit fought in the country by Zhuo Lu.

Ma Guo Han, *Yu Han Shan Fang Ji Yishu juan* 1 p. 33a (No. 2, p. 14A): 蚩尤伐空桑，帝所居也。蚩尤出自羊水八肱八趾疏首九淖以伐空桑黃帝殺之于青邱。

Chi You attacked the hollow mulberry, the place where the emperor lived. Chi You came out of the *yang* river with 8 arms and 8 legs and disshevelled hair to the nine marshes to attack the hollow mulberry. The Yellow Emperor killed him at Qing Qiu.

Gushi Bian Vol. 7 p. 204 & Allan, S., *Son of Suns*, p. 309 quoting *Gui Zang*: 蚩尤出自羊水，登九淖以伐空桑，黃帝殺之於青邱。 Chi You came out of the *yang* river to the nine marshes to attack the hollow mulberry. The Yellow Emperor killed him at Qing Qiu.

Wenzi 11 *Shang Yi* 上義 p. 870b: 赤帝為火災故黃帝擒之。 The Red Emperor caused a conflagration so the Yellow Emperor seized him.

Xin Shu 2:3 *Zhi Bu Ding* 制不定 p. 736: 黃帝行道而炎帝不聽，故戰涿鹿之野，血流漂杵。 The Yellow Emperor practised the Way but the Firey Emperor would not obey, so they fought in the country by Zhuo Lu and blood flowed in torrents.

Chapter Seven: The Yellow Emperor and Chi You

Yizhoushu 61 *Shiji* 史記 p. 38: 昔阪泉氏用兵無已，誅戰不休，并兼無親，文無所立，智士寒心；徙居至于獨鹿，諸侯畔之。阪泉以亡。

Formerly the master of Ban Quan used weapons without restraint, punishing and fighting without ceasing, gathering without love, *wen* had no place to stand, wise men were left with cold hearts; he moved over to live at Zhuo Lu, the princes surrounded him. Thus Ban Quan died.

Zuo Zhuan Xi 僖 year 25 /*Fu* 附 1: 遇黃帝戰于阪泉之兆。 The omen of meeting the Yellow Emperor's battle at Ban Quan

Sunbin Bingfa 2, p. 20: 黃帝戰蜀祿。 The Yellow Emperor fought at Shu Lu.

Sunzi Bingfa (Yinqueshan) xia 3 p. 164 The text is defective but may be restored to give 伐赤帝 . . . 伐青帝 . . . 伐黑帝 . . . 伐白帝 . . .

Attacked the Red Emperor, Green/Blue Emperor, Black Emperor, White Emperor...

Lun Heng 57 *Hui Guo* 恢國 p. 191: 黃帝有涿鹿之野。 The Yellow Emperor had his affair outside Zhuo Lu.

Guo Yu 10 *Jin Yu* 4 晉語四 p. 356: 二帝(黃帝，炎帝)用師以相濟也。

The two emperors (Yellow & Firey) used weapons to attack each other.

Da Dai Liji 62 *Wu Di De* 五帝德 p. 118: 黃帝 . . . 以與赤帝戰于阪泉之野。

The Yellow Emperor... fought with the Red Emperor in the country outside Ban Quan.

Shiliu Jing 3 *Wu Zheng* 94b 10-95a 4 (Chinese text in my edition *ad loc.*)

The Yellow Emperor thereupon took out his axes of punishment and mobilised his troops. In person he raised the drumsticks and encountered Chi You and slew him.

Shiliu Jing 5 *Zheng Luan* 104a 12- 105a 24 (Chinese text in my edition *ad loc.*)

Thereupon he took out his axes of punishment and mobilised his troops. The Yellow Emperor in person encountered Chi You and slew him. He stripped off his skin to make a target. He had men shoot at it and rewarded the best. He cut off his hair and put it in heaven calling it "Chi You's Banner". He stuffed his stomach and made it into a ball. He had men kick it and rewarded the winner. He fermented his bones and flesh and poured them into *lao jiu* wine and made all under heaven drink it..

PART TWO: *Sitz im Leben* and Redaction

The first part of this thesis has been devoted to literary criticism in which the text of the *Huangdi Sijing* has been analysed chiefly by means of a study of the language used to express binary terms relating to government. In this way sections of the text have been identified as being distinct units and links between different passages have been established. In the second part of the thesis genre, tradition and redaction criticism are employed to determine the influences which brought about the text. The process is described in the Vatican document mentioned in the Introduction and is worth quoting here in full:

"Genre criticism seeks to identify literary genres, the social milieu that gave rise to them, their particular features and the history of their development. Tradition criticism situates texts in the stream of tradition and attempts to describe the development of this tradition over the course of time. Finally, redaction criticism studies the modifications that these texts have undergone before being fixed in their final state; it also analyzes this final stage, trying as far as possible to identify the tendencies particularly characteristic of this concluding process. While the preceding steps have sought to explain the text by tracing its origin and development within a diachronic perspective, this last step concludes with a study that is synchronic: at this point the text is explained as it stands, on the basis of the mutual relationships between its diverse elements, and with an eye to its character as a message communicated by the author to his contemporaries.¹"

The first two chapters of this part of the thesis are given over to genre criticism and tradition criticism, though account is also taken of the methods of redaction. It is hoped that this study will uncover the *Sitz im Leben* of the sources identified in the first part of the thesis. In a final chapter the text will be examined from the synchronic point of view.

Chapter eight looks at the legacy of Fan Li. Along with Fan Li consideration is given to those military theorists whose thought may be similar to that of the *Shiliu Jing*. The background of these men is that of military specialists at the court of feudal princes. This group is well attested, notably in the *Heguanzi*, *Weiliaozi*, *Sunzi* and *Sun Bin Bingfa*. Rand lists Wu Qi, Fan Li, Sun Bin, Yue Yi 樂毅 and Yue Yi's son Xian 閑 as itinerant

¹ The Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*, Vatican, Rome, 1993, p. 38

advisors on military affairs and compares them to the "philosophers" of the civil realm:

"The purveyors of martial wisdom in Zhan-guo [Warring States] times compare closely with their contemporaries in the civil realm; both provided their intellectual wares as individual expositors, risking that military or political success would vindicate their sageliness.²"

The redactor of the *Shiliu Jing* is one step removed from Fan Li as what he edits is not presented as individual advice to one ruler but universal principles valid for all times and places. The inclusion of *Cheng* in the final redaction deserves attention too. One can well imagine that an advisor would want a stock of proverbs ready to hand to use in his remonstrances. Something similar is found in the *Yizhoushu*. Indeed the latter may well be the best model we have for the type of work that the *Huangdi Sijing* is.

Another genre which is significant for the *Huangdi Sijing* is that of the Daoist *Jing* or Canon. The title of the *Shiliu Jing* is suggestive of this genre. Even more suitable as a candidate is the *Dao Yuan*. This short work is similar to the first chapter of the *Wenzi*, attributed to Wenzi, the alleged teacher of Fan Li. Hence all three of these books, *Shiliu Jing*, *Cheng* and *Dao Yuan* can be related to the tradition of military advisors.

The status of *Jingfa* will be discussed in chapter nine. It too continues in the line set by the *Shiliu Jing* but its preference for *wen-wu* rather than *xing-de* suggests an influence other than Fan Li's has been operative as well. How this influence relates to the movements of fourth-century B.C. Chinese philosophy will be an important subject of debate.

2 Rand, *The Role of Military Thought*, p. 63

Chapter Eight: Redaction of the three books: *Shiliu Jing*, *Cheng*, *Dao Yuan*8.1 Review of the Structure of the *Shiliu Jing*

Before discussing the *Shiliu Jing* we would be well advised to look over the fruits of our research in part one. On the surface it seems that the *Shiliu Jing* contains several types of material. In the first place we noted the unique status of *Cixiong Jie* and also how *Shun Dao* may have one passage which is close to it in dealing with the "hen mode." Study of *xing-de* showed the closeness of *Guan* and *Xing Zheng*; whilst study of the Yellow Emperor's battle indicated that *Wu Zheng* and *Zheng Luan*, though different, yet shared some common material. Furthermore, though the figure of the Yellow Emperor could be seen as not essentially linked to the content of the chapters in which he appears, nonetheless, we were obliged to analyse them. In so doing we traced the threefold pattern of Heaven, Earth and Man which dominates I.1 and is also present in *Bing Rong*, *San Jin*, II.12, and *Xing Shou*. *Ben Fa* is related to *San Jin* and *Bing Rong* in that all are military texts. *Guo Tong*, *Cheng Fa*, II.12 and *Shun Dao* all deal with ordered government according to the Way. Finally II.15 is unique in using the *Jingfa* cluster of terms.

Thus the categories that we identify overlap in some cases and form a set of family resemblances with the odd black sheep such as *Cixiong Jie* and II.15. The order in which the pieces appear in the Mawangdui manuscript does not seem to have any relevance to the meaning of each chapter nor to the overall meaning of the whole. The only exception to this would be if it could be proved that *Shun Dao* was intended as a conclusion to the preceding thirteen chapters. II.15's status will be discussed in my next chapter. Thus the material of *Shiliu Jing* may be set out as follows:

- (1) II.7 *Cixiong Jie*
- (2) II.15
- (3) II.2 *Guan* & II.6 *Xing Zheng*
- (4) II.3 *Wu Zheng* & II.5 *Zheng Luan*
- (6) Texts dominated by Heaven, Earth, Man either military or civil: II.1, 4, 8-13
- (7) II.14 *Shun Dao*

Of these categories, only the second and last never include a mention of the Yellow

Emperor. Thus it is not implausible to suppose that, though the vocabulary employed in each chapter may be distinct, in some cases unique to that chapter, all the chapters could have been gathered from Yellow Emperor sources or made compatible with Yellow Emperor sources.

In his edition of the *Lushi Chunqiu* Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 takes great pains to classify each essay under its source school. The mention of *yin-yang* for instance leads him to put a text into a *yin-yang* school. The latter classification is a Han dynasty term and thus subsequent to the composition of the *Lushi Chunqiu*. That various teachers expounded their doctrines and had followers is evident. That the texts they produced had different types of language is something we have shown from comparing *pin-mu* with *ci-xiong*, but in the edited *Lushi Chunqiu* it seems unhealthy to go looking for such neatness of schools³. So too in the *Shiliu Jing*⁴: the texts may have been penned by different people but what has come down to us is a clear attempt to gather these essays into one work. By looking at the process of redaction we may be able to gain some clues as to who the editor was and from what milieu he came and what his editorial policy was.

8.2 *Shun Dao* as a possible conclusion to the *Shiliu Jing*

In presenting *Shun Dao* as a possible conclusion to the *Shiliu Jing* I am considering the hypothesis that an editor who had before him chapters one to thirteen might want to add a final essay that recapitulates the previous ones. *Shun Dao* is a possible candidate for such a conclusion.

"The Yellow Emperor asked Li Mo saying"⁵,

This line recalls *Guan*, *Zheng Luan*, *Xing Zheng*, *Cheng Fa* in its mention of Li Mo and also *Wu Zheng* and *Guo Tong* in its dialogue setting.

"When Da Ting ruled under-Heaven, *yin* and *yang* were not separated..."⁶.

3 Contrast Zhang Binyan's listing of thinkers at the Jixia Academy, which does not assign each to a separate "school."

4 Professor R. Yates has written to me in private to say that he thinks that because some parts of the Mawangdui Four Books (what I call the *Huangdi Sijing*) belong to the *Yin-Yang* school so this invalidates the ascription to the Yellow Emperor. Unfortunately I have not seen his detailed defence of this opinion but my interest here lies in the work of editing that has produced the *Shiliu Jing* in its present form. I have shown in part one that there are different sources at work in the composition of the chapters and in this we are in agreement. I wish now to show that the gathering of these essays in one cover is not merely accidental. In the case of the *Lushi Chunqiu* the various essays are organised according to a definite scheme and in an orderly fashion. The *Shiliu Jing* appears to lack such neatness of ordering.

5 *Shun Dao* 137a 19-24: 黃帝問力墨曰

6 *Shun Dao* 137a 25- 137b 2: 大庭氏之有天下也, 不辨陰陽

This opening with its cosmic use of *yin-yang* echoes passages in *Guan* and *Guo Tong* as we have seen. The setting in the ahistorical is also a feature of *Xing Zheng* and *Cheng Fa*. Li Mo then describes Da Ting's behaviour:

"He was peaceful, calm, correct and silent...

He grasped the One...

He did not compete"⁷.

These sentences have been selected as sharing common material with *Cixiong Jie*, *Cheng Fa*, and *Wu Zheng* respectively. The consequences of being able to do this are that the people follow. The ruler is one who

"Does not head rebellions...

Does not plot in secret...

Carefully comforts his troops so to pursue the sequences of Heaven and Earth"⁸.

In this he is unlike Chi You but like the military general of *Bing Rong* and *Xing Shou*. He waits for the reversal of Heaven before attacking, just as the Yellow Emperor does in fighting Chi You. The title of the chapter, *Shun Dao* 順道, recalls the message of II.12 that the ruler must go along with the Way.

Thus a case can be made for showing that *Shun Dao* reechoes many sentiments, though not all (it may be recalled *xing-de* are absent), which are expressed in the *Shiliu Jing*. This does not amount to proving that it was consciously intended as a conclusion in the way that the last chapter of *Huainanzi* is manifestly a resume of the whole work⁹.

We will perhaps gain more from looking at the editor's technique in detail than speculating on the possible status of *Shun Dao* within the *Shiliu Jing*.

8.3 The Legacy of Fan Li

The use of *xing-de*, *yin-yang* and *de-nue* in *Guan* and *Xing Zheng* enabled us to group these two chapters as both derived from the thought of Fan Li as found in the present *Yue Yu xia*. In what follows I presume that the present *Yue Yu xia* contains the text in the form that was known to the writer of *Guan*. This premise may be false but it is more

7 *Shun Dao* 138a 3-6: 安徐正靜; 138b 11-12: 執一; 138b 30-31: 不爭

8 *Shun Dao* 139b 15-18: 不為亂首; 139b 23-5: 不陰謀; 140a 9-18: 慎安其衆, 以隨天地之從。 Chen Guying reads the third phrase as "carefully stabilises his masses." Since the precise translation is not at issue in my use of the text, we may simply note that both readings are equally possible.

9 *Huainanzi* 21 *Yao Lue* 要略. The title itself means "summary" and each chapter summarised is mentioned by name.

likely to be true in that the *Yue Yu xia* discussess one definite historical incident whilst *Guan* is abstracted from all particular historical circumstances.

8.3 (a) Fan Li and *Guan*

Fan Li's speech on the correct use of the army is probably the source of a quotation in *Guan*. In the *Yue Yu xia* Fan Li claims to have "heard" it said that "when [sun and moon] are at their brightest then one should imitate them [and advance] when at their darkest [eclipse] then one should act according to them and remain concealed.¹⁰" On the lips of the Yellow Emperor, *Guan* puts exactly the same phrase. Unfortunately the introduction to it falls on part of the manuscript which is damaged beyond repair¹¹.

[The first line is missing]

Taking as its constant,

Its brightness is to be imitated and one practices the hidden Way¹²."

If this is the correct reading of the passage then it is quite different from that of Wei Zhao as translated above. The lacuna in the text means that the "sun and moon" are not mentioned so it is disputable as to what the brightness belongs.

Three lines later in *Guan* it is clear that the text is drawn from Fan Li's speech on the proper use of arms. The description of the Way of Heaven as bright, *Tian Dao huang huang* 天道皇皇, is borrowed for *xing-de* and then the passage moves on to talk about the sun and moon. Setting out the text from the *Yue Yu* side by side with that of *Guan* it is easier to follow the similarities:

Yue Yu xia

天道皇皇日月以為常
明者以為法微者則是行
陽至而陰陰至而陽
日困而還月盈而匡

Guan 86a-86b

刑德皇皇日月相望
Quoted in 83a above
Omitted
以明其當而盈口無匡

10 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 653: 明者以為法，微者則是行。Wei Zhao notes (p. 654 note 5): "ming 明 (brightness) is when the sun and moon are full; wei 微 (tiny) are when the sun and moon are eclipsed. When bright you should follow them and advance; "acting" is when they are eclipsed you should secretly follow them."

11 Yu Mingguang's suggestion that the text be repaired by quoting from the earlier speech with its reference to *de-mie* would leave the "its brightness" of this passage without any referent.

12 *Guan* 83a: 13-31: 因以為常，其明者以為法而微道是行。It has been suggested to me in private that *dao* 道 (Way) is a mistake for *zhe* 者 (making *wei* a noun) as in the *Yue Yu*. The phrase *wei zhe* is not found in the *Huangdi Sijing*. In 109b the phrase *wei dao* occurs in the same sentence as here. If correction is required it should be made in both places. Though very plausible, without further proof I am unwilling to follow this private suggestion.

Yue Yu xia:

"Heaven's Way is majestic, it takes the sun and moon as its constants
 What is bright is its Law; yet it puts into practice what is tiny (and dark).
 When *yang* has come then *yin* follows; when *yin* comes then *yang* follows;
 The sun sinks and returns; the moon waxes and wanes"¹³.

Guan: *Xing-De* are majestic; as the sun and moon face each other;

Thereby illuminating their opposition and waxing and waning"¹⁴.

The *yin-yang* passage is excluded and the term *dang* is introduced. Now *Guan* does not exclude the use of *yin-yang* in general but it does give higher priority to *xing-de*. This can be seen in the granting to *xing-de* the status accorded to the Way of Heaven in Fan Li's speech. In the *Yue Yu xia* Fan Li prefers *de-nue* when he wishes to make this contrast¹⁵. *Xing-de* are never used in the *Yue Yu xia*. Thus here we can clearly see that the editor is quoting Fan Li but recasting his thought in terms of *xing-de*.

Fan Li's speech continues with a perfect binary exposition in terms of *yin-yang*. The opening part of this section is not included by the editor of *Guan* but the final part is. This final part is in the form of a triplet, reorganised slightly by the editor¹⁶:

Yue Yu xia:

古之善用兵者，因天地之常，與之俱行

後則用陰，先則用陽，

近則用柔，遠則用剛。

後無陰蔽，先無陽察

用人無藝，

Guan:

夫是故使民毋人藝

舉事毋陽察，力地毋陰蔽。

陰蔽者土荒，陽察者奪光，

人藝者撞兵。

Yue Yu xia:

"Thus the one who can use troops well,

Adapts to the norm of Heaven and Earth

And goes along with it:

13 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 653 The translation relies on Wei Zhao's notes. In particular he glosses *kuang* 匡 as *kui* 虧, which Giles translates as "wane" when applied to the moon Giles, H.A., *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, London: Kelly and Walsh, 1892, no. 6484

14 *Guan* 86a 21-86b 2.

15 *Nue* is used six times in the *Yue Yu xia*: p. 646, p. 657 (x5). The last five of these are all related to a proverb: 無助天為虐，助天為虐者不祥。"Do not abet Heaven in bringing disaster, the one who abets Heaven in bringing disaster will be unfortunate."

16 86b 3-87a 6

Behind then using *yin*; before then using *yang*,
 Close then using weak, far then using steely;
 Behind there is no *yin* being too *yin*; before no *yang* being too *yang*;
 In using the masses there is no constancy"¹⁷.

Guan:

Hence when using the masses do not be constant;
 In undertaking affairs do not let *yin* be too *yin*;
 In exploiting the Earth do not let *yang* be too *yang*;
 For the one who lets *yin* be too *yang* the Earth is infertile;
 For the one who lets *yang* be too *yang* steals glory,
 The one who is constant in using the masses encounters attacking troops"¹⁸.

The meaning of this passage was discussed in chapter five of the thesis. Here we can notice how the *yin-yang* parallelism has been omitted in *Guan* and the editor has developed the three final phrases so that they are no longer indicatives (*wu* 無) but imperatives (*wu* 毋) with consequences if they are not obeyed.

The next quotation from Fan Li is related to an earlier passage of the *Yue Yu xia*. When the King of Yue has to decide which of his two ministers to send as a hostage to Wu, Fan Li replies by comparing himself and Wen Zhong 文種. In the *Shiji* the reply reads as follows:

范蠡曰：兵甲之事，種不如蠡；填¹⁹撫國家，親附百姓，蠡不如種²⁰

"Fan Li said, 'In affairs of weapons and armour, Zhong is not up to Li; in pacifying the State and caring for the hundred clans, Li is not up to Zhong.'

The *Yue Yu xia*'s version of this speech is,

四封之內，百姓之事，蠡不如種也。四封之外，敵國之制，立斷之事，種不如蠡也。²¹

"Within the four boundaries, in affairs of the hundred clans, Li is not up to Zhong.

Outside the four boundaries in controlling enemy States, in affairs of determining

17 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 653

18 *Guan* 86b 3- 87a 6

19 Read as 鎮 *zhen*, to put down

20 *Shiji* 41 *Yuewang Gou Jian Shijia* 越王句踐史家 p. 1742

21 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 646

judgements, Zhong is not up to Li."

The meaning of both the *Shiji* and the *Guo Yu* text is the same but the vocabulary used is quite different. In the *Yue Yu xia*, after the period as a hostage comes to an end the same question is put again and a new answer is given, which builds on the earlier one

Fan Li's words are as follows:

四封之內，百性之事，時節三樂，不亂民功，不逆天時，
 五谷陸熟，民乃蕃滋，君臣上下，交得其志，
 蠡不如種也。

"Within the four boundaries, for the affairs of the hundred clans there are three seasons for contented work. In not upsetting the people's work (by making them engage in military expeditions out of season), in not going counter to the seasons of Heaven, thus the five grains ripen together, the people flourish and increase, ruler and minister, high and low each obtain what they want from the other, in this Li is not the equal of Zhong"²².

This passage is adopted into *Guan* almost word for word. However, the reference to the minister's names is dropped and so also is the introductory "within the four boundaries"²³:

是故為人主者，時控三樂，毋亂民功，毋逆天時。然則
 五谷陸熟，民乃蕃滋，君臣上下，交得其志。

By moving from a concrete historical situation to a general matter the redactor has had to produce a new introduction, "Therefore, the one who acts as Lord of men." He has also altered the grammar. The "not upsetting" is written in the *Yue Yu* with the indicative 不 *bu* but now it is not a description of Zhong's policies but rather an order to the ruler, hence the imperative 毋 *wu*. The consequences of the policy indicated is brought out by the addition of 然則 "hence". There are some variations in the form of the characters which testify more to the poor quality of the *Huangdi Sijing* manuscript than to content of the text itself. The character 陸 *mu* of the *Yue Yu* normally means harmony and has been borrowed for 種 *mu* (*miuk*) meaning ripe quickly²⁴.

22 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 646

23 *Guan* 87a 7-87b 10

24 In *Guan* the copyist or author has written 溜 *liu* (*liu* Karlgren, 1923 p. 183). It is hard to see how this variation could have arisen upon either morphological or phonetic grounds. Chen Guying shows that graphs with the phonetics 留 *liu* and 秀 *xiu* were interchangeable and hence that this passage should read 秀 *xiu*. Other editors prefer 種 on the basis of the *Yue Yu xia* text. Whichever graph is preferred the meaning is not substantially altered. It means "ripe".

The passage is followed by a phrase the editor has already used once in the chapter, "Heaven complies and completes it"²⁵. The expression is found in the *Yue Yu xia* and is either out of context here or is brought in for special stress. Immediately after this *Guan* refers again to *xing-de* and then describes what to do in the seasons of *yin* and *yang*. Notice that the editor is quite prepared to use *yin-yang* language alongside that of *xing-de*. The source of the passage in question was discussed earlier in our *yin-yang* chapter. After this digression the *Guan* once more returns to Fan Li for material. This time Fan Li is trying to persuade the king to be patient. He says that he has "heard" that,

"If the High God has not accomplished it,
Then keep to the return of the times"²⁶.

In *Guan* the religious element is removed and the saying is applied to the sage:

"The sage exercises no craft, he keeps to the turn of the times"²⁷.

The lessons to be learned from this work of editing will be drawn up in full later. As regards *Guan* it is evident that the *xing-de* passages are being superimposed on the Fan Li material, which is otherwise quoted verbatim.

8.3 (b) Fan Li in *Bing Rong* and *Shun Dao*

Fan Li's speech on the policy of Wen Zhong that was quoted in *Guan* continues with an exposition of his own policy. This is for external affairs:

四封之外，敵國之制，立斷之事，因陰陽之恆，順天地之常，柔而不屈，強而不剛，德虐之行，因以為常；死生因天地之刑，天因人，聖人因天；人自生之，天地形之，聖人因而成之。是故戰勝而不報，取地而不反，兵勝於外，福生於內，用力甚少而名聲章明。²⁸

"Outside the four boundaries, the controlling of enemy States, affairs requiring decisions adapt to the constancy of *yin-yang*, flow along with the perennity of Heaven-Earth, soft yet not bending, strong yet not too hard, the course of *de-mue* take adaptation as their constant. Slaying and birthing adapt to the ruling of Heaven-Earth. Heaven accords [blessing or disaster] to man, the sage accords to Heaven [sees the symbol sent by

25 Used in *Guan* 84a 25-9: 天因而成之。

26 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 648: 上帝不考，時反是守。

27 *Guan* 89b 10-17: 聖人不巧，時反是守。

28 *Guo Yu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 646

Heaven]. Man produces it [his conduct] himself, Heaven and earth form it [make misfortune and good fortune clear], the sage accords with [Heaven and Earth] and accomplishes it [the business]. Therefore [the sage] wins wars and [the enemy] does not riposte; he annexes land and it does not revert to [the enemy]. His troops are victorious outside and blessing arises within. He uses the smallest force and yet his name and reputation shine out."

One part of this text is quoted in *Bing Rong* and one part in *Shun Dao*. In *Shun Dao* the relevant text is introduced by *ruo ci* 若此, "such a one as this"²⁹. The context is far removed from the dialogue with the King of Yue.

Unfortunately the manuscript of *Bing Rong* is damaged such that one cannot tell in what way the passage from Fan Li was introduced. The topic of *Bing Rong* is the army's modelling itself on Heaven and Earth. The quotation may have begun with the "man himself births it" of Fan Li and then continues until the "therefore" of Fan Li's speech. In all this would only make a total of some fourteen characters, not a substantial piece.

This leads to several lines about the sage and a conclusion, not derived from the *Yue Yu xia*, which is virtually identical with a passage of *Guan*.

Guan 90a 6-28

不達天刑，不繻³⁰傳
當天時，與之皆斷。
當斷不斷，反受其亂。

Bing Rong 117b 6-28

聖人不達刑，不繻傳
因天時，與之皆斷。
當斷不斷，反受其亂。

"(The sage) does not cause the punishments of Heaven to fall into default;

Nor treat his covenants as unreliably as a re-entry pass.

In all decisions he matches the seasons of Heaven.

Should one fail to adjudicate what should be adjudicated,

Then in return one will meet disorder."

In the first line of the above three attention should be drawn to the additional "Heaven" (*tian*) in the *Guan* text and to the extra "not" (*bu*) before *chuan*. In the second line the only difference is that *Guan* prefers *dang*, to hit on the mark, whilst *Bing Rong* uses *yin*, to adapt to. The third line is the same in both chapters. The first four characters of this line

29 *Shun Dao* 140b 16-23 : 戰勝於外，福生於內。 "In war he is victorious outside and blessing is birthed within." Note that this text reads *zhan* 戰, war, not *bing* 兵, troops or weapons.

30 As noted below, I believe the graph *bu* 不 written here to be redundant. Hence it only appears in the apparatus to my edition. For the meaning of *da xing* 達刑 see note to 40a 11. For the meaning of *xu chuan* 繻傳 see note on 58b 27.

are quoted in many later works, the *Shiji*, *Hanshu* and *Hou-Hanshu*. The last four characters form a phrase which seems to be modelled on one of Fan Li's expressions, found just after his reference to God on high mentioned above:

"In return receives its disaster"³¹.

Exactly what these variations can tell us about the editing of *Guan* and *Bing Rong* is hard to say. One might make some tentative remarks.

The choice of *yin* 因 in *Bing Rong* is normal when talking of the seasons. The choice of *dang* 當 in *Guan* may be owing to scribal confusion with the following two *dangs*. The extra *bu* 不 after 90a 11 in *Guan* looks like a mistake. These errors could well have come in at the level of the copyist and so tell us nothing about the internal relationship of the two passage. What is clear, though, is that both *Guan* and *Bing Rong* are from the same background. Since we have already shown that *Xing Zheng* and *Guan* are related this means that we can assert that at least these three chapters all form one unit.

The conclusion of Fan Li's speech outlining his own policy is set as the conclusion of *Shun Dao*³². The "therefore" of Fan Li is replaced by "such a one as this". The "yet" (而) of the first two clauses of the passage is omitted and a new ending to the whole is added, "the peak of flowing-along-with" (*shun zhi zhi ye* 順之至也). This ending explains the title, *Shun Dao*, flowing-along-with the Way. Otherwise, apart from the substitution of *zhan* 戰 for *bing* 兵, there are no changes in the text. *Shun Dao* contains one further citation of Fan Li in line 139b:

"He does not make empty his masses, he does not act as lord of the troops,
He does not head rebellions"³³.

The *Yue Yu xia* reads,

"He does not make empty his masses
So as to avoid giving a pretext for rebellion"³⁴.

In both cases the texts are describing the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. In both cases the passages concerned are longer than the extract here. Indeed the similarity of one phrase may simply be due to it being a stock phrase in the context rather than a definite

31 *Guoyu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 648: 反受其殃

32 The *Shun Dao* version of this passage was discussed and translated in my chapter seven in the section on the Yellow Emperor in the *Shiliu Jing* (7.1).

33 *Shun Dao* 139b 7-18: 不曠其衆，不為兵主，不為亂首。

34 *Guoyu* 21 *Yue Yu xia* p. 645: 無曠其衆，以為亂梯。

borrowing from the *Yue Yuxia*.

With this we come to an end of the major borrowings of sections of Fan Li's speeches.

The only other two chapters of the *Shi Liu Jing* that borrow texts from the *Yue Yuxia* are *San Jin* and *Xing Shou*. The former borrows three *ni*, which were examined in chapter six of this thesis. The latter uses the phrase, "the rebellious conduct births its omen"³⁵, a text also discussed in chapter six.

Thus these other borrowings may be simply of certain phrases and are not such clear evidence of a tradition. The most helpful ones from our point of view are those discussed first in this chapter. From these texts one can see that the editor of the *Guan* and related texts was interested in three themes:

1. passages outlining the civil and military theory of the king's two ministers;
2. passages on the proper use of troops;
3. passages on the need to wait for the right moment.

He was not interested in the sending of a hostage to Wu, in the time to attack Wu or in the army of Yue. In other words all references to immediate historical circumstances were to be discarded.

From this treatment of Fan Li's speech we can draw some conclusions about the way in which the editor has operated. He has quoted verbatim, though with a few minor changes; none of the quotations are acknowledged as such but at least in two cases one can see that the quotation is introduced by a short phrase such as "therefore" or "hence"; the citations are lifted from their historical context and presented as universal principles.

8.4 The legacy of Fan Wenzhi

A further point worthy of consideration in the school of Fan Li is its relation to Fan Wenzhi 樊文子 of Jin 晉 (fl. 575 B.C.). Fan Wenzhi is an advisor in Jin who also shows caution in calling for war, is careful about Heaven and speaks in terms of "inner" and "outer", *de* and *xing*. He figures prominently in the *Guo Yu* 12 *Jin Yu* 晉語 6 and also in the *Zuo Zhuan* 8.16. Before looking at his thought it may be helpful to draw attention to a few peculiarities, which may be more than mere coincidence. The name "Fan" perhaps is

35 *Xing Shou* 135a 22-25: 逆節萌生

merely coincidental, yet let us remember that Fan Li also came from Jin. More striking is a grammatical feature of the *Guo Yu* that is relevant to both Fans.

He Leshi 何樂士 has shown that the use of the particles *yu* 于 and *yu* 於 differed over time³⁶. The former, three-stroke *yu*, is the older form and is the only one used on oracle bones; the latter, eight-stroke *yu*, first appears in the Western Zhou and then supplants the former in the late Warring States. The exact relationship between the two is more complex than this but nonetheless simple percentages show that three-stroke *yu* is commoner in the first eight books of the *Zuo Zhuan* and eight-stroke *yu* in the last four books. In the philosophers the distribution balance has tipped increasingly in favour of the eight-stroke *yu*, especially in *Zhuangzi* and in the *Zhan Guo Ce*. The following list of percentages of three-stroke *yu* to eight-stroke *yu* is based on He Leshi's figures

<i>Zuo Zhuan</i> 1-8	<i>Zuo Zhuan</i> 9-12	<i>Lun Yu</i>	<i>Mengzi</i>	<i>Mozi</i>	<i>Xunzi</i>
122 %	63%	4%	7%	6%	3%
<i>LSCQ</i> ³⁷	<i>Guanzi</i>	<i>Zhuangzi</i>	<i>Hanfeizi</i>	<i>ZhanGuoCe</i>	<i>Guo Yu</i>
5%	7%	0.2%	1%	0.2%	18%

Looking more closely at the *Guo Yu* figure one finds quite a range of percentages for individual chapters but most striking of all is the complete absence of three-stroke *yu* in chapters 12 and 21, the former dealing with Fan Wenzi, the latter with Fan Li³⁸. It is dangerous to draw too much from small statistics but one wonders if it does not point to some relationship between Fan Li and Fan Wenzi, or at least to a relationship between those who wrote down their deeds and words. Further research on this topic is required.

On the level of thought Fan Li expresses himself by a clear tripartite division into Heaven, Earth and Man; Fan Wenzi speaks only of Heaven, and even of Heaven's Decree, *Tian ming* 天命³⁹. Both share the contrast between external and internal affairs,

"The one who acts as minister is able to bring harmony within and only after does he plan for external matters."⁴⁰

36 Lecture given at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London on 1st June 1994

37 *Lushi Chunqiu*

38 Zhang Yiren's index gives four three-stroke *yu* in one phrase in chapter 20, but the mainland edition writes these as eight-stroke *yu*. Their addition or omission makes a striking difference to the percentage count: including them the figure is 17%, excluding them 0%. This illustrates the danger of relying too much on statistics. In the present case the evidence of the *yus* is presented merely as a possible non-coincidence. Kenny, *The Aristotelian Ethics*, p. 75, explains that statistical surveys need a sample large enough to contain at least ten occurrences of the word in question. Relying on only four three-stroke *yu* is thus too unreliable to be statistically significant.

39 *Guo Yu* 12 *Jin Yu* 6 p. 421

40 *Guo Yu* 12 *Jin Yu* 6, p. 416: 為人臣者，能內睦而後圖外。

Fan Wenzi also shows a marked reluctance to engage in war until he is sure he can win. This is not simply a matter of calculation but of principle,

"Only the one who lays on *de* is able to receive many blessings."⁴¹

Just as the *Huangdi Sijing* exalts the position of the sage as the one who can see, so too Fan Wenzi stresses the sage,

"Only the sage is able to be without worry for external matters and also without concern for internal matters."⁴²

He also talks about the Way of Heaven as being unloving, that is not inclining to special friends or relatives but only to *de*:

"The Way of Heaven is unloving, it only accepts *de*."⁴³

Each of the above sayings are presented as quotations or as something which Fan Wenzi has heard. Fan Li presents his thought in a similar way. Whether they are really quoting is not always clear.

With Fan Wenzi one can perhaps trace the tradition that was to surface in Fan Li one century later.

8.5 *The Wenzi and the Genre of Dao Yuan*

The sayings of Confucius contained in the *Lun Yu* are recorded apart from their historical context. One may read this as an attempt to give them universal significance. However, in many cases the context is known from other sources or has been suggested by later commentators. As a whole the Confucian tradition does not try to claim to be wholly ahistorical. Confucius certainly knew the material contained in the Spring and Autumn Annals of his home State, even if he did not compile them himself. Later Confucians continue their master's example by setting their doctrines as the product of an historical era, albeit rather idealised.

The Daoists also looked back to the past. However, their past could well be pre-historical, set in the chaos time when things first emerged. This is the case in the *Shiliu Jing* and in *Dao Yuan* as we noted when discussing one of the uses of *yin-yang*. This past is a-human and hence history is not of the same importance to the Daoist. Rather than

41 ib. p. 418: 唯厚德者能受多福。

42 ib. p. 417: 唯聖人能無外患，又無內憂。

43 ib. p. 421: 天道無親，唯德是授。

preaching a doctrine handed down, if honoured more in the breach than in the observance, through human history, the Daoist is endeavouring to capture a pre-human cosmogenesis and present his doctrines as in accordance with that. His perspective is then that of the perennial (*chang*), the permanent (*heng*) and his coordinates are Heaven, earth and the unvarying Way. This attitude to history leads to a different type of literature.

The Daoist *jing* is a text that purports to be true of the chaos time, a-historically. The classic text of the genre is the *Dao-De Jing*. Another possible example are the *jing* of chapters 30-35 of the *Hanfeizi*⁴⁴. This last example shows how *jing* state universal truths which can then be illustrated by historical examples. *Hanfeizi's jing* are illustrated in *shuo* 說 (commentaries) with historical personages and incidents, e.g. Chapter 31 *jing* 2, 5 and 6⁴⁵.

The *Shiliu Jing* is one possible candidate for consideration as a Daoist *jing*. One can but attempt to compare it in style with the *Dao-De Jing*⁴⁶.

The *Shiliu Jing* and *Dao-De Jing* are of roughly the same length. The latter has 5,467 characters⁴⁷ whilst the former claims to have 4,606 (?) characters⁴⁸. The *Dao-De Jing* is divided into two parts, and there is some dispute as to which part comes first, and is further subdivided into 81 chapters, though some of these are run together in the *Mawangdui* manuscripts. The order of the chapters also is subject to some variation. In contrast the *Shiliu Jing* only numbers fifteen parts. Our own researches have indicated the arbitrary order of these fifteen chapters and even questioned to what extent they have been integrated into a coherent whole.

Perhaps a better candidate for consideration as a Daoist *Jing* is the fourth book, *Dao Yuan*. While we do not possess any clear ancestor of this book, there are two texts which are evidently related to it: the first chapters of the *Huainanzi* and of the *Wenzi*

44 As explained in my preface, "chapter" here translates *pian*. My usage here concurs with that of W.K.Liao, *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu*, p. v.

45 *Hanfeizi* 31 *Neichushuo xia* 內儲說下 p. 791 There are many historical examples here.

46 It would be even more instructive if one knew the date of the *Dao-De Jing*. However its dating is still a matter of great dispute. One should perhaps distinguish between the date of individual verses or stanzas and the date of the final edition. The date of the latter may be post *Shiliu Jing* but most scholars are agreed that some of the material contained in that edition is early. Chen Guying and his followers argue strongly for an early date for the whole edition but their arguments rest largely on taking the legends about Lao Dan as scientific history à la Lord Acton. The problem is that such a method, even if it justified this reading of the legends, will never be able to prove that the present text was actually written by the ancient sage.

47 This figure is reached by adding together the figures in Henricks' edition of the *Mawangdui* texts (p. 50 & 89). It is not wholly dependent on those texts, since both manuscripts suffer from lacunae and so the figure is based on an estimate including received text material. The standard received text is some hundred characters shorter.

48 For discussion on this character count and other colometric matters see my technical preface.

respectively⁴⁹. Though both the latter are considerably longer than the *Huangdi Sijing: Dao Yuan*, a comparison of all three would be profitable. It can hardly be mere coincidence that the titles of all three are so similar: *Dao Yuan* for the *Wenzi* and *Huangdi Sijing* and *Yuan Dao* for the *Huainanzi*.

Traditionally *Wenzi* was supposed to predate *Huainanzi* but scholars have questioned the relationship and argued that *Wenzi* is a summary of the *Huainanzi* in simpler language. Barbara Kandel believes there was a "proto-*Wenzi*" but that the *Huainanzi* is older than the present *textus receptus* of the *Wenzi*⁵⁰. However, since Kandel wrote in 1974 archaeologists have uncovered versions of the *Wenzi* in which the text is substantially the same as the received version but the ascription to interlocutors is different. In the received version the work is presented as a dialogue between Laozi and *Wenzi*, the former being the teacher. In one place in the received text, however, the questioner is a certain King Ping 平 王 and it is *Wenzi* who provides the answer⁵¹. History records two Kings Ping, one the Eastern Zhou monarch who reigned from 771 to 720 B.C., well before the period of the "philosophers" and the other King Ping of Chu, 529-516 B.C. It is the latter with whom *Wenzi* enters into dialogue. Now the newly excavated texts are said to present the whole work as their dialogue⁵². *Wenzi* is the teacher. It is thought that later, when Laozi's star rose, it was considered fitting to portray Laozi as the teacher and *Wenzi* as the pupil, completely ignoring the king. At the same time the work may have been re-edited.

The result is that we have a composite work and hence there may well be grammatical patterns or expressions that suggest a late dating but the core of the work could still be older.

Wenzi himself deserves some attention. His family name (姓 *xing*) was *Xin* 辛 and his personal name (名 *ming*) was Yan 研 or Ni 倪⁵³; his professional name (字 *zi*) was *Wenzi*. He was called *Jiran* 計然. He came from Jin and went to Chu and Yue. He studied under Laozi and was himself the teacher of Fan Li. If we take the legend that Laozi

49 My use of "chapter" is explained in the preface. Note Major, *Heaven and Earth*, p. iii, and Larre, *Les grands traités*, p. 7, both use "chapter" to refer to the *juan* of *Huainanzi*. My usage agrees with theirs.

50 Kandel, B., *Wen Tzu*; Rand, C. C., *Chinese Military Thought and Philosophical Taoism*, p. 185, note 30

51 *Wenzi 5 Dao De* 道德 p. 843c

52 This archaeological information is unpublished and is based on my conversations with Professor Li Xueqin in 1993

53 Karlgren, B., *Grammata Serica Recensa* 239g-h 研 ngian; 873f 倪 ngiëg. The two were close in sound and so could be confused.

was a contemporary of Confucius (551-479 B.C.), then Jiran could easily have been his pupil and known King Ping of Chu (529-516 B.C.). He may well have known King Gou Jian of Yue (497-465 B.C.) as well and certainly his pupil could be Fan Li. In the *Hanshu* Jiran is listed among the ministers of Gou Jian, whilst Fan Li is given higher status⁵⁴. Even if we cannot ascribe the *Dao-De Jing* in its present form to Laozi himself or the *Wenzi* to Jiran, it remains, nonetheless, significant that legend ascribes a connection between them which may well say something about relationships between their works. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the fourth book of the *Huangdi Sijing*, the *Dao Yuan*, bears the same title as the first chapter of the *Wenzi* and that both are related to the *Dao-De Jing*. Based on the legend we may suppose the *Dao-De Jing* to be the work of Laozi, who taught Jiran, who wrote the *Wenzi* and who then taught Fan Li, whose thought is the basis for the *Huangdi Sijing*. Unfortunately the relationship is not as clear as this and the legend is fraught with problems as to its origins and reliability. If one could be sure of it then it would provide some basis for affirming a relationship between the *Dao Yuan* and the *Shiliu Jing*.

According to other scholars *Jiran* is the title of Fan Li's book. All depends on the reading of three passages in the *Shiji*. One reads,

"Of old King Gou Jian of Yue was enclosed above Kuai Ji,
And then used Fan Li JiRan"⁵⁵.

The editors of the *Shiji* reads as "Fan Li, Ji Ran". In a history of Chun Qiu philosophy edited under Zhou Lisheng, the passage is read as "Fan Li 《Jiran》"⁵⁶. The following sentence begins "Jiran said..."⁵⁷. This could be understood as a person speaking but it could equally well be a book. One paragraph further on Fan Li says,

"Jiran's plans are seven, Yue has used five of them and attained its objective"⁵⁸.

Again the name, Jiran, may be taken as the title of a book. Even if we accept that Jiran is the name of a book and not the work of Wenzi Jiran, there is, nonetheless, stronger evidence of a link between the *Wenzi* and the *Huangdi Sijing* in the fourth book of the latter, *Dao Yuan*.

Kandel's lists comparing the chapters of the *Huainanzi* to those of the *Wenzi* are of

54 The *Hanshu* lists Fan Li as a third grade sage, a *zhi ren* 智人, whereas Gou Jian, Wen Zhong and Jiran are one grade lower. *Hanshu 8 Gujinren biao* 古今人表 p. 933

55 *Shiji* 129 *Huozhi Liezhuan* p. 3256 昔者越王句踐困於會稽之上，乃用范蠡、計然。

56 Zhou Lisheng (ed.) *Chunqiu Zhaxue*, Shandong Daxue Chubanshe, 1989, p. 364

57 *Shiji* 129 *Huozhi Liezhuan* p. 3256: 計然曰：

58 *Shiji* 129 *Huozhi Liezhuan* p. 3257: 范蠡...曰：計然之策七，越用其五而得意。

the great value in comparing the two works. By and large material in the first chapter of the *Huainanzi*, *Yuan Dao* is found in the first chapter of the *Wenzi*, *Dao Yuan* and vice versa. There are a few exceptions. The last part of the *Yuan Dao*^{HNZ} is found in chapter three of the *Wenzi* and one section in the middle of the *Yuan Dao*^{HNZ} is placed in the fourth chapter of the *Wenzi*. *Dao Yuan*^{WZ} contains two sections which occur elsewhere in the *Huainanzi*, one in chapter nine and one in chapter twelve. Having said that, the order in the two chapters is markedly different and *Yuan Dao*^{HNZ} is considerably longer than *Dao Yuan*^{WZ}. When one comes to compare either or both with the *Huangdi Sijing Dao Yuan* one is struck both by certain similarities of language and thought and also by the lack of clear correspondance. The only case anywhere in which it is obvious, though unacknowledged, that the *Dao Yuan*^{HDSJ} is being quoted is in a gloss by Heshang Gong 河上公 on chapter 25 of the *Dao-De Jing*⁵⁹. Thus any comparison of the *Dao Yuan*^{HDSJ}, *Dao Yuan*^{WZ} and *Yuan Dao*^{HNZ} can only be accomplished on the grounds of their common genre and theme.

The structure of the *Dao Yuan*^{HDSJ} is as follows:

1. A depiction of the primeval chaos, before distinctions arose (168a1 - 168b 14);
2. The universality of the Way, by which all things come to be what they are (168b 15- 169b 14)
3. Definition of the Way, which exceeds all naming (169b 15- 170a 36)
4. The Way is not changed by anything (170a 37-171a 26)
5. The sage is able to penetrate to the essence (171a 27- 172a 25)
6. The sage king and superior can use it to bring order (172a 26- 173a 19)
7. Two maxims (173a 20- 173a 39)
8. On obtaining the Way (173b 1- 174a 22)

From this plan it can be seen that the piece has a certain order and logic to it. One could in fact consider the first four parts as a unit depicting the cosmological status of the Way and the last four as the manner in which the Way is applied to government. The shift between

59 *Dao Yuan*^{HDSJ} 168b 32- 169a 3: 在陰不腐，在陽不焦。 "Not rotting in *yin*, nor burning in *yang*." Heshang Gong clearly quotes this in commenting on the line 周行而不殆 "Going all around and not being used up." in chapter 25 of the *Dao De Jing*. His commentary reads: 道通行天地無所不入，在陽不焦，托陰不腐，無不貫穿不危殆。 "Dao penetrates all heaven and earth; there is nothing into which it does not enter; in *yang* it is not burnt, trusting to *yin* it does not rot. There is nothing it does not pierce through whilst yet not being in peril or being used up." Notice Heshang Gong reverses the order of the *yin-yang* clauses and writes *tuo* 托 trusting to rather than *zai* 在, in, before *yin*. See Yan Lingfeng 嚴靈峰, *Dao-De Zhiguilun*, Vol. 8 p. 12b

the two halves occurs in 171a 27 with "Thus only the sage...⁶⁰"

Something similar to the first part of the above is found in both *Dao Yuan*^{WZ} and *Yuan Dao*^{HNZ}. However, the argument is developed considerably. One example may make the point. In *Dao Yuan*^{HDSJ} it is said of the Way,

"Birds obtain it and fly, fish obtain it and swim, beasts obtain it and run"⁶¹.

In the other two works it is said,

"By it is a mountain high, by it is an abyss deep,

By it animals run, by it birds fly,

[By it sun and moon are bright]⁶²;

By it stars and celestial bodies move,

By it female unicorns go out, by it phoenixes soar"⁶³.

The bestiary has expanded.

The *Wenzi* version is further distinguished by including questions and answers in the text; whilst the *Huainanzi* does not have this dialogue but does give many historical or quasi-historical illustrations. In particular the *Huainanzi* integrates a whole account of a journey to Heaven, reminiscent of the *Chu Ci*. One feature that both share but which is wholly lacking in the *Dao Yuan*^{HDSJ} is a prolonged metaphor on water. The account is inserted in different places in the *Wenzi* and *Huainanzi* but both begin from the observation that water is the weakest of all things under Heaven yet its greatness cannot be fathomed⁶⁴. This sentiment surely derives from the *Dao-De Jing*. Even if new manuscripts show that the *Wenzi* was not originally intended as the teachings of Laozi received by *Wenzi*, there is nonetheless no doubt that the *Wenzi* still quotes the *Dao-De Jing*. Even the *Huainanzi*, with its absence of dialogue, quotes Lao Dan on water⁶⁵. Now, the *Huangdi Sijing* never makes any reference to Laozi, nor does it quote, even in

60 *Dao Yuan*^{HDSJ} 171a 27-30: 故唯聖人...

61 *Dao Yuan*^{HDSJ} 169a 12-23: 鳥得而飛，魚得而游，獸得而走。

62 This line is only found in *Yuan Dao*^{HNZ}.

63 *Yuan Dao*^{HNZ} p. 2: 山以之高，淵以之深，獸以之走，鳥以之飛，日月以之明，星歷以之行，鱗以之游，鳳以之翔。 *Dao Yuan*^{WZ} p. 830a is the same as this except that it does not include 日月以之明 and that 星歷以之行 is placed after 鳳以之翔. All these passages go back to chapter 39 of the *Dao-De Jing*: 天得一以清，地得一以寧，神得一以靈，谷得一以盈，萬物得一以生，侯王得一以為天下貞。 Heaven obtained the One and so became clear; Earth obtained the One and so became stable; Spirits obtained the One and so became potent; Valleys obtained the One and so became full; the myriad things obtained the One and so became alive; Lords and kings obtained the One and so became leaders of under Heaven. (The *Mawangdui* texts read the last character as 正 *zheng* and omit 萬物得一以生).

64 *Wenzi* 831b; *Huainanzi* p. 26

65 *Huainanzi* p. 28

unacknowledged form, the *Dao-De Jing*. It could well be that it was written before the *Dao-De Jing* took its present shape.

Shiliu Jing and *Dao Yuan* both belong to the genre of Daoist *Jing* in that they purport to derive their philosophy from the chaos time and in this sense are a-historical. The genre does not seem to have a clearly definable style but to range from the pithy sayings of *Hanfeizi* and the *Dao-De Jing* to longer essays which may incorporate narrative, dialogue and historical illustrations.

Tradition associates the emergence of two of these works, the *Dao-De Jing* and the *Wenzi* with teachers who are said to have been in a teacher-pupil lineage which is traceable to Fan Li. *Dao Yuan* is certainly related to one part of this tradition, namely the *Wenzi*. More work needs to be done to substantiate the legends and their literary significance yet even as they stand they already point *Dao Yuan* into the Fan Li tradition of military advisors

8.6 Fan Sui and the genre of *Cheng*

Cheng has not been touched on to any noticeable degree in the first part of this thesis. At this point in our study we can but rely on external features to determine its genre⁶⁶. Two approaches will be taken. Firstly one can look for other similar collections of proverbs and see how *Cheng* compares with them. Secondly, one can examine how later personages used the *Cheng* aphorisms to illustrate their arguments. For the first approach the *Zhou Zhu* 周 祝 chapter of the *Yi Zhou Shu* will be considered. For the second, one proverb from *Cheng* will be shown as it is used in given historical contexts.

The *Yi Zhou Shu* is a work of disputed date and varied contents. It is much longer than the *Huangdi Sijing* and is Confucian in orientation⁶⁷. Nonetheless, it does provide some points for comparison. At the heart of the *Yi Zhou Shu* is the seizure of power by the Zhou leaders from the Shang. The work is concerned with justifying the power of the

66 My study of binary pairs in part one has not produced any evidence to establish the relationship of *Cheng* to the first two books. Doubtless more work is necessary. Statistical evidence, though does not point to a close relationship between *Cheng* and the first two books (the fourth is too short to be statistically significant). Based on the table of the ten most frequently used characters at the end of my concordance one may calculate relative resemblance by "Spearman's *rho*". This demands comparing the ranking of the ten characters. For two perfectly similar texts the value of Spearman's *rho* is 1.0; for two perfectly dissimilar texts it is 0. Comparing *Jingfa* and *Cheng* the value is 0.45; comparing *Shiliu Jing* and *Cheng* it is 0.23. See Kenny, A., *The Aristotelian Ethics*, pp. 77-9 for the mathematical formula and method of calculation.

67 See Yanaka Nobuichi (Bibliography List D), "Yizhou shu" yu "Guanzi" de sixiang bijiao, 38-40

Zhou and the justice of their cause. It resembles the *Huangdi Sijing*, particularly the *Shiliu Jing*, in that the latter too places a battle at the centre. It is the Yellow Emperor's defeat of Chi You which ensures that he and whosoever follows him, has the mantle of power.

The *Zhou Zhu* chapter of the *Yi Zhou Shu* is a list of proverbs rather like those in *Cheng* though more connected. There is the same tendency in both collections to combine metaphysics, practical advice and observations drawn from nature. The following comparison will sketch these common elements without attempting to provide a close analysis of the two works.

Cheng opens with a metaphysical proverb,

"The Way is without beginning yet [things] respond [to it],

Until it comes, you do not have it; once it comes assimilate to it.

When something is about to come, its form will come first.

Basing on its form, name by means of the name.

What does the saying mean?⁶⁸"

In the *Zhou Zhu*, there are also metaphysical passages:

"Heaven acts as a lid, Earth as a hub:

For the one who uses the Way well, he comes to the end without being restricted,

Earth acts as a hub, Heaven as a lid,

The one who uses the Way well, comes to an end without harm.

Within Heaven and Earth there is cold and hot,

The one who uses the Way well, comes to an end without drying up;

If one spreads out the five agents, one needs must win,

What Heaven covers over can ultimately be assayed"⁶⁹.

Nature provides the material for the following parables:

"Tigers and wolves are fierce, yet can be tamed;

Elder and younger brother living together cannot get along together"⁷⁰.

And from the *Zhou Zhu*:

68 *Cheng* no. 1 143a 1-37: 道無始而有應。其未來也，無之；其已來，如之。有物將來，其形現之。建以其形，名以其名。其言謂何。

69 *Yi Zhou Shu* 67 *Zhou Zhu* 周祝 p. 42 lines 24-5: 天為蓋，地為軫，善用道者終無盡；地為軾，天為蓋，善用道者終無害；天地之間有滄熱，善用道者終不竭。陳彼五行必有勝，天之所覆盡可稱。

70 *Cheng* no. 35 155a 33-155b 9: 虎狼為猛可楮，昆弟相居，不能相順

"A tiger is fierce yet [because it is greedy] it falls in a trap and is caught;
 A man is wise yet [because of desire] he can be cheated;
 A leaf is pretty, yet [not] if cut off from its tree (*He* tree);
 A stalk is pretty yet [not] if removed from its branch;
 A branch is pretty yet [not] if uprooted from its root"⁷¹.

There is advice to the ruler:

"When there is rebellion among the feudal lords,
 If the one who corrects the rebellion loses Pattern,
 Then the chaotic State will turn against him
 If it is not possible for this to happen in his own time
 Then, when his sons and grandsons come, it will surely happen.
 Thus it is said, "If one controls others but loses Pattern,
 One will be controlled by them"⁷².

In the *Zhou Zhu*:

"Teach them with rites and the people will not compete;
 Rule them with laws and the people begin to listen,
 Adapt to their capacity and the people are then quiet"⁷³.

Thus one can see that the collection of proverbs was standard practice for philosophers. These proverbs were used to influence policy or to comment on events.

The use of proverbs in practical politics can be shown from one of the proverbs included in the *Cheng* collection which figures in two historical contexts and in one other philosophical work. Looking at the use of this proverb illustrates how such sayings were employed.

The proverb in question reads,
 "Do not give weapons to a brigand; do not give provisions to a thief.
 If one gives weapons to brigands and provisions to thieves,
 Then the short will become long; the weak strong.

71 *Yi Zhou Shu* 67 *Zhou Zhu* 周祝 p. 42 lines 16-7: 虎之猛也而陷於獲; 人之智也而陷於詐; 葉之美也解[其]柯, 柯之美也離其枝; 枝之美也拔其本。

72 *Cheng* no. 42 158b25-159a32: 諸侯有亂, 正亂者失其理, 亂國反行焉。其時未能也, 至其子孫必行焉。故曰: 制人而失其理, 反制焉。

73 *Yi Zhou Shu* 67 *Zhou Zhu* 周祝 p. 42 lines 12-13: 教之以禮民不爭, 被之以刑民始聽, 因其能, 民乃靜。

By increase and decrease, change and transformation,
 Finally they will turn and go for you"⁷⁴.

Part of this proverb is quoted by Fan Sui 範雎 in 301 B.C.. The story is found in both the *Shiji* and the *Zhan Guo Ce*⁷⁵. Fan Sui tells the king of Qin that his policy of passing by Han and Wei to attack Qi is parallel to the case of Duke Min of Qi attacking Chu. Though Duke Min defeated Chu yet he had travelled too far and also showed up his aggressivity. The result was that the feudal lords gathered and defeated Qi. In the same way if Qin were to attack Qi this would give Han and Wei the opportunity to attack Qin. From this one can see that the saying is something similar to the Greek Pyrrhic Victory. In the context of the research undertaken here it is worth noting that a proverb which, on the surface, may seem to be a matter of worldlywise wisdom can be used by an advisor on foreign and military affairs. In this respect *Cheng* as a whole could serve someone like Fan Li and his successors.

The saying could also be used in moral education. Thus Xunzi says that only those worthy of receiving education should be taught. To teach those unworthy of being taught is a case of giving provisions to thieves and weapons to brigands⁷⁶. The meaning is something like "do not throw pearls before swine."

Xunzi was the teacher of Li Si 李斯, who makes use of the proverb at the beginning of his career in Qin. Li Si quotes examples from Chinese history of how rulers have made use of advisors from other States-- he includes King Zhao's use of Fan Sui-- or enjoyed "foreign" music and valuable commodities from "foreign" climes. Li Si himself is from Chu and seeks employment in Qin. He explains that just as Mount Tai is big because it does not let its soil go and the sea is deep because it welcomes even a tiny stream, so too a true king will welcome all people until all come under his sway and there are no boundaries or outsiders. If the ruler refuses to accept the people who come to him then the learned men will leave him and no longer come west to Qin. It is this which is said to be a case of

74 *Cheng* no. 37 156a 30- 156b 23: 毋籍賊兵，毋賚盜糧，籍賊兵，賚盜糧，短者長，弱者強，羸絀變化，後將反施。

75 *Shiji* 79 *Fan Sui Caize Liezhuan* 範雎蔡澤列傳 p. 2409; *Zhan Guo Ce* 5 *Qin* 3 秦三 p. 171

76 *Xunzi* 27 *Da Lue* 大略 p. 100 line 110: 非君子而好之。非其人也。非其人而教之。賚盜糧借賊兵也。

"lending weapons to brigands and giving provisions to thieves"⁷⁷. The brigands and thieves are the other States; the weapons and provisions are the foreign advisors and goods.

Li Si is not only a military advisor but an advisor on all political matters. In his hands one can see how a collection of proverbs was open to many interpretations. These interpretations invest the original text with new layers of meaning. The same process of re-interpretation took place with most Chinese philosophical works as they moved from the teachings of master to pupil to become political ideologies. The process of the emergence of early Han *Huang-Lao* political thought from texts such as the *Huangdi Sijing* is one such movement of re-interpretation. It is documented chiefly in the *Huainanzi*, and the *Shiji*. The study of the *Huangdi Sijing* against the backdrop of its subsequent political reinterpretation is a fascinating subject but one outwith the bounds of the present discussion.

Conclusion: Military Advisors

In this chapter genre criticism has shown that parts of the *Shiliu Jing*, *Cheng* and *Dao Yuan* all have some degree of affinity with the Daoist military advisors of mid-Warring States' China. Redaction criticism has revealed that parts of the *Shiliu Jing* have been developed from the work of Fan Li. This seems to be a dominant strand in the redaction process but it is not the only current as the study of *ci* and *xiong* made evident. The diversity of the chapters makes a sustained redaction criticism difficult to write. It may be that the present set of fifteen (or sixteen) chapters was only grouped together when *Jingfa* was written. In this case it is only from a consideration of *Jingfa* that the redaction of the whole text can be undertaken.

⁷⁷ *Shiji* 87 *Li Si Liezhuan* 李斯列傳 p. 2545: 藉寇兵而資盜糧

Chapter Nine: Redaction of the *Jingfa*

Study of *wen-wu* in the *Jingfa* showed that the pair was used consistently throughout the book. In looking at the five *ni* included in *Guo Ci* we noted that they had been deliberately edited into their context. Examination of *shun-ni* brought to light a cluster of ideas proper to the *Jingfa* that emerged in most of the book's chapters. Thus we can take as a premise for our investigations that the nine chapters of the *Jingfa* comprise a consistent whole. By consistent we do not mean perfectly homogenous. The opening seven-year cycle of *Jun Zheng*, for instance, is not explicitly described in terms of *wen-wu*; the five *ni* of *Guo Ci* have an independent origin and, we might add, *Wang Lun* is composed largely of numbered lists with little attempt at extensive editorial reworking. Nonetheless, we will presume the unity of *Jingfa* to a greater extent than was possible with *Shiliu Jing*.

9.1 Method of Investigation

In the previous chapter we undertook a critical examination of certain passages and their sources to discover the way in which the redactor thought. In the case of the *Jingfa* we do not have such a clear source and hence we are obliged to proceed by a different method. The discussion of *ni-shun* and *wen-wu* brought to light a cluster of ideas that we called the *Jingfa* cluster. This thought comprises the seeing of the ruler, the principles of going-with and going-against and the self-defining of name and form. It is put in the context of the Way that births the Law and is enacted by the ruler who stands in a threesome with Heaven and Earth by participating in their working¹.

In the present chapter we shall look at some of the key concepts of the *Jingfa* and try to trace their origins. In so doing we shall attempt to follow the chronological development that made it possible for them to be combined in the one pattern of thought. The starting point for such an investigation will be from the death of Mozi around 390 B.C. until the rise of Zou Yan 鄒衍 in about 302 B.C.². We can postulate that the *Jingfa*

- 1 Though the translation of 參於天地 as "forming a threesome with Heaven and Earth" may be considered too picturesque in that the idea "three" is not necessarily paramount, I still think it does express a fundamental fact that Man, Heaven and Earth all cooperate in harmony. A more prosaic expression such as "share in" does not contain this view of the world and man's place in it.
- 2 Graham, *Divisions in Early Mohism*, p. 23, notes that a prominent Mohist who died in 381 B.C. was already a patron of a school of Southern Mohists. This indicates that Mohist doctrines were circulating from the early fourth century

does not predate Mozi himself for it uses Mohist terminology, notably the expression *jian ai*. The final date is based on the absence of the characteristics of Zou Yan's *wu xing* theory, even though its treatment of the seasons was to lend latter *wu-xing* theorists, such as those in the Guanzi, to combine *Jingfa* material with *yin-yang wu-xing* theory.

Hence our efforts will concentrate on those terms that might have arisen during this period, the fourth century B.C., and are specific to the *Jingfa* as opposed to the *Shiliu Jing*. Terms requiring attention are *fa, dao, dang, du, li, ming, xing*³. Though the characters may appear in the *Shiliu Jing* our investigation in this chapter will be with their specific use in the *Jingfa*. It is not necessary for us to engage in a complete survey of fourth century philosophy. Instead our inquiry will be limited to three spheres which seem to be of relevance, namely the Mohists and their adherents at the Jixia Academy, Shen Buhai and the legalists, also found in the Jixia Academy, Zisi and the tradition of study on the Book of Changes. A fourth sphere is the Daoist tradition of Laozi but since this is also behind the *Shiliu Jing* as well it will not tell us much that is specific to the *Jingfa*. Our aim is not so much to explore all the influences behind the *Jingfa* as to examine what specially inspired its editor/author.

9.2 The Mohist schools

It is at first sight paradoxical to look at a work which advocates the annexation and total destruction of another State, as does the *Jingfa* in *Guo Ci*, as having much to do with Mohism. Mozi was famous for opposing war and for coming to the defence of small towns. Yet we have noticed several passages that derive directly from the *Mozi*. That this is possible can be appreciated by looking at the history of Mohism.

Graham labels the three schools of Mohists, who divided after the master's death

B.C.. For the dating of Zou Yan, see Sun Kaitai, *The Chronicle of Zou Yan*, pp. 56-55.

3 These terms are chosen as of significance and also because they are amenable to study. Statistical evidence makes other avenues of research possible. The following terms to do with government are, for instance, predominant in the *Jingfa* as opposed to the *Shiliu Jing* but proper study of them requires more information about their distribution in early Chinese texts than is currently available in published concordances.

Graph	Meaning	Absolute Number (JF/SLJ)	Frequency (JF/SLJ) in %		%Difference
<i>Guo</i> 國	State	77:28	1.54%	0.67%	0.87%
<i>Tianxia</i> 天下	under Heaven	37:17	0.74%	0.41%	0.33%
<i>Zhu</i> 主	Lord	30:6	0.6%	0.14%	0.46%
<i>Wang</i> 王	King	27:4	0.54%	0.09%	0.45%
<i>Chen</i> 臣	Minister	26:1	0.52%	0.02%	0.50%
<i>Ming</i> 命	Command	25:5	0.5%	0.11%	0.39%
<i>Jun</i> 君	Prince	11:4	0.22%	0.09%	0.13%

in 390 B.C., as Purist, Compromising and Reactionary⁴. Mohism had begun in the circles of the artisans and lower classes but it was taken up as a philosophical teaching at the court of Kings and Dukes. Thus in order to appeal in the realm of practical politics some Mohists compromised and accepted both punitive warfare and hereditary office. The school labelled "Reactionary" by Graham went the furthest on this road and Graham supposes that they were operative in the southern kingdom of Chu, where hereditary rule within Chu proper was maintained longer than in the northern States. The Purist reacts against this by defending Mozi's original doctrines⁵. Thus from the point of view of a reactionary Mohist it is conceivable that a Mohist could maintain the sharp distinction between ruler and ruled and encourage war where it is a case of punishing a tyrant.

Another characteristic of Mohism that developed over the course of time was a concern for public proclamation of Law⁶. In the defence of cities under siege the Mohists organised the population by public noticeboards on which were set the rules and regulations to be followed. Whereas a Confucian would seek to reform the moral character of an individual and so lead him to the desired action, the Mohist had to organise populations in a quasi-military manner and, for this, law had to be public. From here it is but a small step to the public proclamation of law for the whole State.

In turning to the *Jingfa* one will then be looking not only for passages which are explicitly Mohist but also for the type of terminology developed in Mohist circles. Though it has been shown that Mohist argument differed from much traditional Chinese argument in that it came from a knowledge of practical, technical matters such as the design of defensive weapons and in the *Jingfa* there is no argument of this kind, no references to technological advances, nonetheless the Mohist vocabulary could surely serve the ends of one interested in more speculative philosophy⁷.

Graham assigns four chapters of the present text of *Mozi* to the Reactionary⁸; the Compromiser is credited with nine or possibly ten chapters⁹. Material in the

4 Graham, *Divisions in Early Mohism*, p. 28, does not commit himself to exact dating of the emergence of the documents that are now part of the received *Mozi*. He does, however, believe that the three tendencies emerged early.

5 Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, pp. 51-3

6 Yates, R.D.S., *New Light on Ancient Chinese Military Texts*, pp. 243-4

7 See Garrett, M.M., *The "Mo-Tzu" and the "Lu-Shih Ch'un-Ch'iu"*, pp. 77f., 310-14 & Yates, R.D.S., *New Light on Ancient Military Texts*

8 The four in question are Chapter 10 Elevation of Worth, Chapter 13 Conforming Upwards, Chapter 28 Heaven's Intent and Chapter 36 Rejection of Destiny (with the replacement of 36/5-13 by 35/10-18)

9 These are 9, 12, 16, 19, (22), 25, 27, 31, 32, 37 with parts of 35/18-33.

Compromising or Reactionary chapters may be closer to the *Huangdi Sijing* in that the *Sijing* advocates military expeditions and so is far removed from the pure Mohist approach. It is also significant that the Reactionary developed his thought in Chu, for the language of the *Huangdi Sijing* is most probably southern, Chu dialect¹⁰. To undertake a complete study of all the Compromising and Reactionary chapters is beyond our scope. We can but follow a few significant features.

From Graham's table of the chapters of the *Mozi* we note that only three: 10, 13 and 28 can be certainly assigned to the Reactionary school. These three chapters correspond to 8, 11 and 26 of the Purist and 9, 12, 27 of the Compromising schools. One example from the *Shang Tong* 尚同 chapters (11-13) may be relevant to our enquiry. Graham notes that the Purist version (11) respects an ordered hierarchy of four levels from village head (里長 *li zhang*) to the Son of Heaven (天子 *Tianzi*)¹¹. The compromising school does not require respect for this hierarchy when offences are to be reported whilst the reactionary adopts a feudal hierarchy¹². Graham cites as significant for showing the feudal, Confucian nature of the reactionary the following proverb:

"Administering the State under Heaven is like administering a family"¹³.

Turning to the *Jingfa* we note that it is in the context of State government that we find the phrases:

"If there is not a father's conduct one cannot get a son to be of use;

If there is not a mother's virtue, one cannot use the people's force to the utmost"¹⁴.

The quotation itself uses the word "people" and implies that the kingdom is like a family. Thus the very trait that Graham focuses on as specific to the reactionary is here present. Furthermore when we look to see how the *Jingfa* understands *shang tong*, "conforming with the above", we find that it involves the ruler in using *wen-wu*, matching the rhythms of Heaven-Earth and according to the people's heart¹⁵. There is no mention of the

10 Long Hui, "Laozi" *Yiben qian gu yi shu tanyuan*, p. 31, argues in favour of a Chu origin. Huang Zhao, *Guanyu "Huanglao Boshu" zhi wo-guan*, p. 16, has suggested that the Chu touch comes from a scribe who was in a man of Chu and who wrote down what a man of Qi was saying. That is the original was in Qi dialect but taken down verbatim by a southerner. Huang's opinion is implausible. Yet Zhang Chongchen, *Chuci Qi-Lu Fangyan Zhenggu*, shows that many Chu people studied in Qi. People certainly circulated from State to State.

11 Graham, *Divisions in Early Mohism*, p. 22

12 Graham, *Divisions in Early Mohism*, p. 23

13 *Mozi* 13 *Shang Tong xia* 尚同下 p. 21 lines 44-45: 治天下之國若治一家。

14 *Jun Zheng* 21b 2-20: 無父之行，不能得子之用；無母之德，不能盡民之力。

15 *Si Du* 38a 4-20: 參於天地，合於民心，文武并立，命之曰上同。Participating in (forming a threesome with) Heaven-Earth, uniting to the people's heart, *wen-wu* standing together, its name is called "conforming with the above".

Mohist hierarchy of superiors. Thus we see Mohist terminology annexed wholly to the ruler's interests. The development of reactionary Mohism is the most plausible background for this use of Mohist language.

The *Jingfa* thus stresses the position of the ruler¹⁶. He is the one who manages laws and measures 法度 *fa-du*, rewarding and punishing 賞罰 *shang-fa*, and impartially favouring, *jian ai*¹⁷. Whilst Mohists stressed the exemplary role of sages and kings, in the *Jingfa* the emphasis has shifted from the impartial favouring of all to the selflessness of the law¹⁸. In other words the "love" of the Mohist has been taken over by its impartiality, the public law that is to be respected by all. One can envisage such a change coming about in the shift from a city under siege to the *Jingfa* context of the successful ruler. The clearest linguistic sign of the change from early Mohism to the *Jingfa* lies in the shift in meaning of *fa*. No longer does it refer to the exemplary conduct of Kings Wen and Wu, rather it is combined with *du*, system, in a binome referring to a public legal system¹⁹. Nonetheless the word *fa* surely retains some of its sense as exemplar even in this later usage just as the later stress was already present around the time of Confucius²⁰. We are not dealing with an absolute shift of meaning but with a movement of emphasis.

The use of *du*, measure, in this way is not an unexpected development from early Mohism. Indeed it may well be one of a set of geometric terms that the Mohists used. Graham shows that Mohist logic was related to geometry. As carpenters the Mohists were interested in measuring straight lines. Their scaling ladders and multiple-bolt arcuballistae required a fine grasp of practical geometry²¹. From the starting-point, *duan*²², a line could be drawn. The importance of lines gives rise to the use of the square,

16 See note 3 above which shows how the *Jingfa* as a whole displays a marked preference for terms connected with ruling.

17 *Jun Zheng* 19a-22b

18 Note the use of *fa* 法 as exemplar in the following passage about Kings Wen and Wu: *Mozi* 16 *Jian Ai xia* 兼愛下 p. 27 lines 62-3: 古者文武為正均分, 賞賢罰暴。勿有親戚弟兄之所阿。即此文武兼也。雖子墨子之所謂兼者。於文武取法焉。

"Of old Wen and Wu performed correcting and levelled assignments, rewarding the worthy and punishing the violent. They did not incline to relatives and brethren. This was the impartiality of Wen and Wu. Even the impartiality of Master Mozi derived its example from Wen and Wu." The tasks cited here as part of the exemplary conduct of Wen and Wu are the very tasks that are embraced in the *Jingfa* by the abstract principles of *wen-wu* and conducted under rule of the established law.

19 Yu Mingguang note on *Jun Zheng* 21a 1-5 而生法度者 "and the one who produces the legal system", explains *fa du* as *fa lu zhi du* 法律制度. Yu Mingguang, 1989, p. 251 note 27.

20 *Lun Yu* 20 *Yao Yue* 堯曰 p. 83: 審法度 Legge, p. 351, translates as "examined the body of the laws". It is generally accepted that chapter 20 of the *Lun Yu* is post-Confucian but it is still probably pre-*Jingfa*.

21 See Garrett, *The "Mo-Tzu" and the "Lu-Shih Ch'un-Ch'iu"*, pp. 306-312

22 Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, p. 160

compass, plumb-line and water-level. These provide images which are operative in the *Jingfa* as applicable to the public use of law. While these terms are not restricted to Mohism they do receive an impetus from the Mohist use and so suggest a background for the *Jingfa*.

9.3 Mohist Geometric Terms

Du 度 measure

This character occurs 46 times in *Mozi* and 28 times in the *Jingfa*. In the *Huangdi Sijing* it also occurs twice in *Dao Yuan* and in two aphorisms of *Cheng* and once in the *Wu Zheng* chapter of *Shiliu Jing*²³. Clearly, then, it belongs to the special vocabulary of the *Jingfa* rather than of the other three books of the *Huangdi Sijing*. In chapter four of *Mozi*, the term *du* is associated both with artisans and with the character *fa*. The passage in question lists four kinds of measuring device and shows how the artisans have exemplars to measure:

"The hundred artisans in doing their business

All have an exemplar by which to measure"²⁴.

In contrast to the artisans, the rulers of the world, according to *Mozi*, have no exemplar. He instances some bad rulers who do not deserve to be imitated and concludes there can be nothing better than "imitating Heaven; Heaven's course is broad and without self-appropriating thus the sage kings take heaven as their exemplar"²⁵.

In *Si Du* parts of this same chapter are quoted but the perspective has changed. To the four measurements of *Mozi* four more have been added to bring the number up to eight. These are described as eight measures but these eight are subordinate to the concept *ji* 稽²⁶. The interest of the *Jingfa* lies in the hierarchy of Heaven, Earth and Man, each

23 *Jingfa* I.1 : 5a, 6b, 7b (x2); I.3 : 20a, 20b (x2), 21a; I.4 : 28a; I.5 : 38a, 42b, 43a, 43b, 46b; I.6 : 47a, 47b, 49a, 50a, 50b; I.8 : 65b; I.9 : 70a (x3), 70b (x2), 71a, 73a, 74a. Present in every chapter but *Guo Ci* and *Wang Lun*.

Shiliu Jing II.3 *Wu Zheng* 90b; *Cheng* no. 27 153a; last # 166b; *Dao Yuan* 169a, 174a

24 *Mozi* 4 *Fa Yi* 法儀 p. 3 line 4 : 百工從事皆有法所度

25 *Mozi* 4 *Fa Yi* 法儀 p. 4 lines 9-10 : 莫若法天。天之行廣而無私...故聖王法之。(即以天為法。)
The expression *wu si* 無私 "without self-appropriating" is always understood as in contrast to the public realm. One might translate as "private" though the Western connotations of the latter are not fully appropriate.

26 This character normally means to "test" or "inspect" but in chapter 65 of *Laozi* it is used as the equivalent of *kai* 楷.
[Karlgren, 1923, p. 129 reads 楷 as 'k'ai and p. 346 reads 稽 as 'k'ici. Chen Fuhua and He Jiuying, *Guyun Tongxiao*, p. 193, list both characters in rhyme group 8 (脂部 *zhi bu*) though under different initials (見 *jian* and 溪 *xi* respectively). Modern Cantonese reads 稽 as *kai* and 楷 as *kaai*.] It is this latter sense which is intended here. Henricks translates the occurrence in *Laozi* as "principle". Henricks, *Lao-tzu*, p. 152

layer of which has its *ji*²⁷. Heaven is now the ordered course of the stars and seasons and it is at the level of man that one must "exclude self-appropriating and establish the public"²⁸. The use of "no self-appropriating" is worth noting. Though only found twice in *Mozi*, the section of chapter four discussed above contains one of those occurrences. The phrase becomes common in the *Jingfa* (10 instances)²⁹.

Dang 當 "Be plumb with, fitting of name and object"

Another term that is favoured by the Mohists is *dang*, to be plumb with, or in logic, "fitting" of name and object. Karlgren says that the fundamental sense of the character is "value"³⁰. The Mohist logicians used it as a technical term to express the relationship between name and object³¹. In the *Huangdi Sijing* the term is used 34 times. Of these uses two occur in one of the aphorisms of *Cheng*, one each in II. 1, 2, 5, 11 and 13, two in II. 8 *Bing Rong* and four in II. 6 *Xing Zheng*. In *Jingfa* the term appears 21 times³². The most interesting use of the term is as a noun sometimes qualified by *tian*, heaven. In this use it is commonly in tandem with *ji*^{R75} 極, the peak, in the phrase "going beyond the peak and exceeding what matches." 過極佚當³³. This is found twice in *Guo Ci*, once in *Zheng Luan* and once in *Xing Zheng*³⁴. Graham notes that *guo* 過 is the counterpart of *dang* although in the *Mozi* there are no examples of the two being used in contrast in the same sentence³⁵. The expression *guo ji*^{R75}, going beyond the peak, is known from the *Yue Yu xia* whilst the term *dang* never appears there.

The common sense of fitting is found in the *Jingfa* in 9b (x3), 18a, 37a (x2), 37b, 40a, 41b, 51a, 57b, 59b, 60b (x2), 64b and 65a. Among these instances the commonest use is of punishments matching the crime. Such an expression is never found in the *Mozi* in the same words. Rather the *Mozi* always specifies that punishments match the violent or

27 *Si Du* 43a 25- 44a 23 includes the "principle" (*ji* 稽) of Heaven, Earth and Man.

28 *Si Du* 44a 15-9 : 去私而立公

29 *Jingfa* I.1 : 3b, 4b, 7b; I.2 : 10a; I.3 : 21a, 22b; I.4 : 29a, 34b; I.5 : 44a; I.9 : 75a

30 Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, p. 280

31 Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science*, p. 202-3

32 See Concordance: *dang* 當.

33 To avoid confusion I cite these characters with the Kangxi dictionary radical number: 極 R75; 稽 R115. For translation of *yi* 佚 see note on *Guo Ci* 10a 31 *ad loc.*

34 *Guo Ci* 10a, 14b; *Zheng Luan* 106a; *Xing Zheng* 111b

35 Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science*, p. 191 "In all usages *kuo* (過) is the counterpart of *tang* (當) 'be plumb with', although there are no examples of the two contrasted in a single sentence...*Kuo* is 'going beyond' in the sense either of 'missing, erring'...or of 'exceeding'."

that rewards match the worthy. Indeed one must conclude that the *Jingfa*'s use of *dang* is not directly traceable to the *Mozi*. This is perhaps because the *Jingfa* does not share in the later Mohist passion for logic. Thus while there is Mohist influence on the *Jingfa*, that influence does not extend to an interest in logic and sophistry.

Fa 法 "Exemplar"

The term *fa* 法 is used both as a noun and a verb in the *Huangdi Sijing*. As a verb it is found three times in the *Shiliu Jing* and twice in the last section of *Cheng*³⁶. As a noun it occurs in three aphorisms of *Cheng* and 11 times in the *Shiliu Jing*³⁷. In the *Jingfa* it is not common but it does have great status. In *Daofa* it occurs along with *Dao* as the visible order of the world³⁸. In *Jun Zheng* it occurs only in the binome *fa-du*, the legal system³⁹. In *Lun* it appears only with the number seven referring to a table of "laws"⁴⁰. Finally there is one instances each in *Lun Yue* and *Ming Li*, as well as one more in the title of *Jingfa*⁴¹.

Schwartz studies the use of *fa* in early Chinese thought and highlights its use in *Mozi* as model of a pattern of behaviour⁴². Graham translates the Mohist definition of *fa* as "The 'standard' is that which if it resembles it is so"⁴³. In *Daofa* the term is employed along with another important Mohist terms: *zhi* 執, to grasp hold of. The wheelwright holds (*zhi*) his compass and square so as to measure (*duo* 度) what is square or round under Heaven⁴⁴. In the same way the ruler of the *Jingfa* holds on to the *dao* and births the Law⁴⁵. He measures gains and losses by the string (*sheng*)⁴⁶. The term translated rather feebly here by "measures" is *yin* 弓| "to draw" or "pull". The image is lost without the metaphor behind it. For this we can turn to a rather obscure part of *Mozi*. Graham translates, "As for the pull (*yin*) of the rope on the *trundle-axle* (?), it is like a pull (*yin*) on the cross-bar

36 *Shiliu Jing*: *Guo Tong*: 98b; *Bing Rong*: 116b (x2); *Cheng* 166a, 166b

37 *Shiliu Jing* II.2: 80b, 83a (x2); II. 3: 95a; II. 6: 109a, 111a, 111b; II. 7: 113b; II. 9: 120a, 120b, 124b
Cheng no. 2 143b; no. 5 144a; no. 17 149b

38 *Daofa* 1a (x4), 9a e.g. 1a 道生法 "The Way births the law."

39 *Jun Zheng* 20b 法度者 (x2), 21a 生法度者

40 *Lun* 48b, 50b 行七法, 51a 七法 (x2)

41 *Lun Yue* 66a 常有法式; *Ming Li* 74b 以法斷之; *Ming Li* 77b 經法

42 Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, p. 322

43 法。所若而然也。 Graham, *Later Mohist Logic*, p. 215. On p. 316 he translates the same expression as "The *fa* (standard) is that in being like which something is so."

44 *Mozi* p. 42 Ch. 26 *Tian Zhi shang* 天志上 line 42: 匠執其規矩以度天下之方圓。

45 *Daofa* 1a 18-22: 執道者生法 "The one who holds the Way births the Law."

46 *Daofa* 1a 4-10: 法者引得失以繩。 "The law measures gains and losses by the rope."

from inside a boat"⁴⁷. The exact nature of what is going on here need not detain us. All we need note is that a phrase appropriate to technology has been transposed into the philosophical domain.

That artisans' technical vocabulary has been transformed into philosophical language in the *Jingfa* is indeed the case but the development of the *Jingfa* does not follow the Mohist-Sophist interest in definitions and logic; instead interest is taken up by the Way and its manifestation in the world. Thus while the Mohists provide some of the linguistic features and philosophical interests for the redactor of the *Jingfa* they do not necessarily supply his main inspiration. For this we may turn to other sources.

9.4 The Early Jixia Academicians

The association of the *Huangdi Sijing* with the Jixia Academy has been advocated on various grounds: an interest in the Yellow Emperor, links with early Legalism and with Qi culture⁴⁸. We have noticed that Mohism cannot account for the complete cluster of important ideas in the *Jingfa* so it is perhaps within the Jixia circles that we can look for the addition of new ideas. Among the first arrivals of note at the Academy was the Mohist, Song Xing 宋鉞.

Song Xing (360-290 ? B.C.) is a pacifist in both *Zhuangzi* and *Mengzi*. He arrived at the Jixia Academy in 346 B.C. The Academy had been established perhaps early in the reign of Tian Wu 田午 as Duke Huan 桓 of Qi (374-357 B.C.). His work is only known from scraps but the testimony is unanimous in asserting that he advocated describing "being dishonoured" as not "shameful"⁴⁹. This doctrine fits in with a line of debate on correct naming.

Confucius' proposal that the first thing to do in the State of Wei 衛 is to rectify names is well-known. As Legge points out the Duke of Wei had usurped the throne from

47 Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science*, p. 392-4: 若夫繩之引粘也，是猶自舟中引橫也。 Graham is uncertain how to translate 粘 *gu*. Hence the italics and question-mark around "trundle-axle" are his.

48 Cai Degui, *Qixue, Luxue yu Jixia Xuegong*, contrasts the culture of Qi and Lu. Xu Kangsheng, *Lueshuo Huanglao Xuepai de Chansheng he Yanbian*, believes that *Jingfa*, *Cheng* and *Dao Yuan* all belong to the same tradition as the "four" chapters of *Guanzi* (*Xin Shu* etc.) which was later developed at the Jixia Academy in works such as *Shiliu Jing*. Xu's later dating of the *Shiliu Jing* is based on the dubious premise that it mentions the Yellow Emperor. A better study is Wang Bo's "*Huangdi Sijing*" he "*Guanzi*" *Si Pian* though this tends to treat the *Huangdi Sijing* as a homogenous unit without respecting the differences between books and chapters.

49 See Zhang Bingnan 張秉楠 (ed.), *Jixia Gou Chen*, pp. 33-7. *Xunzi* 18 *Zheng Lun* 正論 p. 69 line 102: 子宋子曰：見侮不辱。 Master Songzi said, "Being dishonoured is not shameful."

his father and so Confucius says he should resign his post and call himself "son" rather than "duke"⁵⁰. Confucius moves the argument from names (*ming*) to speech (*yan*) to the accomplishment (*cheng*) of affairs. He does not contrast *wen* and *wu* specifically but establishes a contrast between rites and music on the one hand and punishments on the other, which is in the *wen/wu* pattern. Finally he talks of names as hitting the mark, that is corresponding exactly to the situation they are applied to. The passage in question reads,

"If names be not correct, then speech will not go along [with facts],
 If speech does not go along [with facts], then affairs will not be accomplished.
 If affairs are not accomplished then rites and music will not flourish.
 If rites and music do not flourish then punishments will not hit the mark.
 If punishments do not hit the mark,
 Then the people will have not know where to place hand or foot.
 Thus for the gentleman, the names he uses must be such as can be spoken,
 The speech he uses must be such that it can be put into practice"⁵¹.

The question of correct names is found also in a Compromising chapter of the *Mozi*. Mozi was opposed to war. When asked how he could justify the suppression of tyrants by good kings he pointed out that this was not a case of offensive warfare but of punishment. All lies in the correct terminology:

"Thus it is not what is called 'attacking', rather it is punishment."⁵²

The Mohists would go on to develop far more intricate views of language. Here it suffices to look at Song Xing's "dishonour".

"Master Songzi said, 'Make clear that being dishonoured is not shameful,
 Then people will not fight.
 All men take being dishonoured as shameful and so they fight;
 If one knows that being dishonoured is not shameful
 Then one will not fight'"⁵³.

50 Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. I p. 263 note 3. A more thorough discussion of this passage and Confucius' attitude to *zheng ming* is found in Makeham, *Name and Actuality*, pp. 35-47. Makeham concludes that "the primary arena for the application of Confucius' doctrine of 'correction of names' was socio-political rank and class differentiation." (p. 42).

51 *Lun Yu* 13 *Zi Lu* 子路 #.3 p. 54: 名不正，則言不順，言不順，則事不成，事不成，則禮樂不興，禮樂不興，則刑罰不中，刑罰不中，則民無所措手足。故君子，名之必可言也，言之必可行也。

52 *Mozi* 19 *Fei Gong xia* 非攻下 p. 33 line 48: 則非所謂攻也。所謂誅也。

53 *Xunzi* 18 *Zheng Lun* 正論 p. 69 lines 93-4: 子宋子曰：明見(被)侮之不辱，使人不鬥。人皆以見(被)侮為辱，故明也；知見(被)侮之不為辱，則不鬥矣。

From this one can see that he retains the pacifism of his master but the battlefield is moved from moral persuasion to logic.

Song Xing was also concerned with the limitation of desires, teaching his disciples that man's essential needs were few:

"Master Songzi said, 'Man's character is such his desires are few.

But all suppose their own character is such that they desire much,

This is an error."⁵⁴

The *Jingfa* shares Song Xing's interest in names and desires. The expression "correct name" occurs only in a military sense⁵⁵. Yet concern for the correspondance between name and actuality is expressed in three chapters in the *Jingfa*.

In *Daofa* it is a matter of the formation of things out of the primeval darkness. Form and name are a pair that go together and establish the nature of things as black or white:

"When form and name are established

Then there is the distinction of black and white"⁵⁶.

Both here and in *Lun Yue* the context is that of the sage ruler observing the world and ascertaining the direction in which things are going:

"He must minutely observe from whence affairs arise,

Examining their form and name"⁵⁷.

In *Si Du* the pairs employed are name and achievement (*ming-gong* 名功) and name and reality (*ming-shi* 名實). The context is that of the ruler who has kept or lost the Way:

"When name and achievement match then one endures for long;

When name and achievement do not match,

The name advances and reality withdraws, this is called losing the Way"⁵⁸.

The matching of name and reality is a topic in *Lun* as well:

"When name and reality correspond then be fixed;

When name and reality do not correspond then be still"⁵⁹;

54 *Xunzi* 18 *Zheng Lun* 正論 p.70 line 114:

子宋子曰：人之情，欲寡，而皆以己之情為欲多，是過也。

55 *Lun* 54b 24-8: 正名位而安。

56 *Daofa* 3b 3-11: 形名立，則黑白之分已。

57 *Lun Yue* 68b 19-30: 必審觀事之所始起，審其形名。

58 *Si Du* 45b 10-30: 名功相孚，是故長久；名功不相孚，名進實退，是謂失道。

59 Mansvelt Beck changes *jing* 靜, silent, to *zheng* 爭, strife.

Things correct themselves; names decree themselves; affairs fix themselves"⁶⁰.

This citation comes from a passage outlining "going along with the Way" and "going against it". The same was the case in *Lun Yue* where the remarks on form and name led on to "determining the pattern of going along and going against". In *Ming Li* the phrase form and name are supplemented by the term "sound":

"Form and name produce sound; sound and reality harmonise"⁶¹.

However, the more important association of "name" in this chapter, *Ming Li*, is with pattern (*li* 理). Again this is something that the one who holds the *Dao* will observe. Minutely examining name and pattern, ending and beginning is called investigating pattern. The aim is to be able to follow names and investigate pattern. This point was already made briefly in *Lun Yue* but in *Ming Li* it is made explicit.

The only other part of the *Huangdi Sijing*, bar an aphorism in *Cheng*⁶², for which this is an issue is II.15. II. 15 does not fit any of the *Shiliu Jing* material. It discusses gaining and losing and insists that it is necessary to inspect names and forms (141a). These fix and define themselves, the onlooker being quite passive. The onlooker must forget himself and then respond to what he sees (141b). He is not bound to the old, that is tradition and prejudice should not influence him (142a)⁶³. The use of the term *li*, pattern, is a possible sign that this chapter belongs to the same circle as the *Jingfa*. Perhaps the editor of the *Jingfa* was also responsible for editing the whole *Huangdi Sijing* and wrote this addition to the *Shiliu Jing*.

Taking all this material together we can see that the emphasis is markedly unConfucian. Confucius saw rectification of names as an appropriate policy for a minister or ruler to undertake. For the Compromising Mohist it was not an active policy but a description of past events. Song Xing was concerned with altering the subject's own perception of affairs. In other words from the Confucian active changing of the world we

60 *Lun* 56b 29- 57a 23 :

名實相應則定，名實不相應則靜。物自正也，名自命也，事自定也。

61 *Ming Li* 75b 21-8: 形名出聲，聲實調合。

62 *Cheng* no. 13 147b 17-33: 知天之所始，察地之理，聖人彌綸天地之紀。

"He knows from whence Heaven begins; he inspects the pattern of Earth; the sage knows without rent or confusion the thread of Heaven-Earth."

63 II. 15 141a 5-142a 29: 欲知得失，請必審名察形。形恆自定，是我愈靜。事恆自施，是我無為。靜也不動，來自至，去自往。能一乎？能毋有己，能自釋而尊理乎？能止乎？紆也，屯也；其如莫存。萬物群至，我無不能應。我不藏故，不挾陳；向者已去，至者乃新。新故不繆，我有所周。 A translation is given in my technical preface p. 232.

reach the passive acceptance of Song Xing. In the *Huangdi Sijing* the ruler's vision is wholly passive. He does not decree which names are to be applied; rather he determines his action according to whether names are correct or not without seeking to change those that do not match reality⁶⁴.

The issue of desires, which also preoccupied Song Xing, is mentioned most notably in *Daofa*. Desire is defined as not knowing one has enough⁶⁵. Thus like Song Xing the *Daofa* calls for restraint. Yet whereas Song Xing believes that he can teach people that their desires are in reality few and thus will not lead to harm. *Daofa* treats desire as an inevitable but dangerous part of life⁶⁶.

No consideration of Song Xing can be undertaken without reference to Guo Moruo 郭沫若. Guo believed that four chapters of the *Guanzi* were by Song Xing. This opinion has been amply refuted elsewhere. The four chapters in *Guanzi* that Guo singled out are *Nei Ye*, *Xinshu shang*, *Xinshu xia* and *Baixin*. In a recent study of the first three of these chapters, Roth supposes the two *Xinshu* chapters to have been late Warring States or Early Han texts⁶⁷. The *Nei Ye* is thus the only one that could be pre-*Jingfa*. *Nei Ye* is a piece of internal meditation and of only indirect relevance to the *Jingfa*. It does introduce some terms that are important in the *Jingfa*. In particular we find *Dao*, *ji*^{R75}, *ji*^{R11568}. There is also one paragraph in it which is very similar to II.15⁶⁹. However, *Nei Ye*'s use of *qi* is not reflected in the *Jingfa* and there is not sufficient evidence to determine a close relationship between the two works.

9.5 The Beginnings of Legalism: Shen Buhai 申不害

At about the same time as Song Xing was active at the Academy, Shen Buhai was Prime Minister of Han 韓. He was appointed to the position in 351 and died in 337 B.C. His own writings are only preserved in fragments reassembled by the early twentieth

64 Makeham, *Name and Actuality*, describes the shift outlined in this paragraph as one of a shift from a nominalist to a correlative theory of naming. See especially pp. 85-95. I believe the *Jingfa* justifies situating the shift earlier than Makeham supposes.

65 *Daofa* 2a 1, 3-5: 欲, 不知足。

66 *Daofa* 1b 31-2a 1: 生有害, 曰欲。

67 Roth, *The Uses of Transcendence*

68 For an annotated copy of *Nei Ye* see Zhang Bingnan (ed.), *Jixia Gou Chen* pp. 37-43. A rough count reveals that *dao* is used 21 times, *ji* R75 4 times and *ji* R115 once.

69 Zhang Bingnan, *Jixia Gou Chen*, p. 41

century scholar, Ke Changji 柯昌濟⁷⁰. As in the *Jingfa* there is great interest in relationships between rulers and ministers. Regarding the question of names, one reads the following:

"Names correct themselves, affairs decree themselves,
Therefore the one who has the Way begins with names so as to correct things
Follows affairs so as to fix them"⁷¹.

And further on it is said,

"Previously Yao's ruling of under Heaven was by names:
His names were correct and so under Heaven was ordered.
Jie's ruling of under Heaven was also by names;
His names were incorrect and under Heaven was in confusion,
Thus the sage respects the correctness of names"⁷².

It only requires one word to rule all:

"Thus if his one word is correct then under Heaven is ordered;
If his one word is incorrect then under Heaven is misled"⁷³.

As well as correct names Shen Buhai was concerned about the Way:

"The Way of Heaven is without self-appropriation
It is called Perennially correct"⁷⁴.

This type of ruling is attributable to the Yellow Emperor:

"The Yellow emperor's ruling under Heaven was to place the law and not to alter,
So the people were peaceful and happy with his law"⁷⁵.

These quotations show that in the middle of the fourth century B.C. the law had risen in status. Its new status accorded with the self-defining of names that was also part of the

70 Creel, *Shen Pu-Hai*, has also reassembled the fragments. His work makes no mention of Ke Changji. Both Ke's and Creel's editions are listed in my bibliography: List C under *Shen Buhai* for the former, List E, Creel, for the latter.

71 *Shen Buhai Da ti* 大體 pp. 3a-b:

名自正也；事自定也。是以有道者自名而正之，隨事而定之也。

72 *Shen Buhai: Da Ti* 大體：昔者堯之治天下也以名；其名正，則天下治。
桀之治天下也，亦以名；其名倚而天下亂。
是以聖人貴名之正也。

73 *Taiping Yulan* 624, p. 2798a 申子曰：明君治國而晦，晦而行，行而止。止故一言正而天下定；一言倚而天下靡。 Included under the heading of *Shizi* 尸子. (Creel, *Shen Pu-Hai* p. 353 says *ding* 定 should be read as *zhi* 治) The bright ruler, in administering the State, dims his light. Dimming his light he acts. While acting he appears to stand still. Standing still, thus if his one word is correct then under Heaven is ordered; if his one word is incorrect then under Heaven is disordered.

74 *Shen Buhai 3 Za Pian* 雜篇, p. 5b: 天道無私是謂恆正. (Creel, *Shen Pu-Hai*, p. 358 reads *wei* 謂 as *yi* 以.)

75 *Shen Buhai 3 Za Pian* 雜篇, p. 6a: 黃帝之治天下，置法而不變，使民安樂其法也。
Taiping Yulan 638, p. 2857b

intellectual scene. To make more conclusions than this is hardly warranted by the evidence. All we can say is that there are elements common to both Shen Buhai and the *Jingfa* without being able to say which came first.

9.6 Tian Pian 田駢 and the middle period of the First Academy

The first period of the first Academy (348-286 B.C.) was dominated initially by Chun-yu Kun 淳于髡 (*fl.* 348-319 B.C., *ob.* 301 B.C.), Song Xing and their companions. The Academy witnessed Mencius' debate with Gaozi in around 330 B.C. and then, some ten years later, in 319 B.C., it was host to the early legalist scholars: Tian Pian, Jie Yu 接予, Shen Dao 慎到 and Huan Yuan 環淵. As well as being the founders of legalism these are the first group of scholars whom we know to be interested in Huang-Lao thought. One of their number, Yin Wen 尹文, a colleague of Song Xing, is credited with a work on the *Dao*⁷⁶. With the 319 B.C. group we have conclusive evidence that scholars thought in terms of the Daoist Way. The king of Qi discovered this when he asked Tian Pian for advice on government:

"Tian Pian used the arts of the Way to instruct Qi"⁷⁷.

Shen Dao speaks of both the Way, the Heavenly Way, and the Law, two important concepts for the *Jingfa*. In Fragment 23 of *Shen Dao* it is said that even if a law be not good it is still better than no law⁷⁸. Fragment 26 says that rules should be honoured and no exceptions made even if the motives be full of goodness:

"Desire may not interfere with times:

Concern may not break law;

Honouring may not infringe rule;

Salaries may not harm position"⁷⁹.

This is a polemical piece unlike what we find in the *Jingfa*. It could be that is earlier than the *Jingfa*, in which case we must suppose that the *Jingfa* takes these matters for granted,

76 Graham, (*Disputers of the Tao*, p. 95 note) dates the *Yinwenzi* to around the year 200 A.D. Li Xueqin "*Guanzi: Xinshu deng Pian de zai Kaocha*", p. 14-15) quotes with an approval an article by Hu Jiacong stating that *Yinwenzi* is a Jixia work and notes that while parts of it may be later the basic content is original. Hu's article is entitled, "*Yinwenzi yu Jixia Xuepai Huang-Lao Xuepai-- jianlun 'Yinwenzi' bing fei Weishu*". Hu has written a further article on the same subject: "*Yinwenzi bing fei Weishu*".

77 *Lushi Chunqiu* 17.8 *Zhi Yi* 執一, p. 1133: 田駢以道術說齊。

78 Thompson, *The Shen Tzu Fragments*, p. 242 Fragment 23: 法雖不善，猶愈於無法。

79 Thompson, *The Shen Tzu Fragments*, p. 245 Fragment 26: 故欲不得干時，愛不得犯法；貴不得踰規，祿不得踰位。

or that it was written in a different context in which discussion was necessary or that it was later and thus needed to defend itself against attack. These possibilities are not completely exclusive. However, if we remember that Mencius was still well-known, though perhaps no longer at the Academy, then one can see that Shen Dao could not avoid polemic. Shen Dao holds that only what is of Law should be considered. Law is the Way:

"In a State that has the Way, the Law is established thus private goodness does not run; the ruler is established thus the worthy are not honoured; the people are united in one ruler, affairs are decided by the law, this is the great Way of the State"⁸⁰.

There is a rigidity here, an exclusiveness, that the *Jingfa* feels no need to state. Indeed for the *Jingfa* the law is a means to establishing the worthy too, rather than an excuse for excluding them. Is this because it is written in the south, like the reactionary *Mozi*, rather than the harsher regimes of the north?

The next figure of importance to grace the Academy was Zou Yan 鄒衍. He arrived there at the age of twenty-two in 302 B.C. At precisely what time he began his work of combining *yin-yang* with *wu-xing* it is not necessary to know but at least it was at some time in the next half century before his death in 250 B.C.⁸¹ His career is of relevance to the *Jingfa* in as much as it never shows any trace of *wu-xing* theory. This is in contrast to parts of the *Guanzi*, which in other respects come close to the *Jingfa*⁸². In other words we take the opening of the third century B.C. as a *terminus ad quem* for the redaction of the *Jingfa*.

9.7 Commentary on the Changes : Zisi 子思

The preceding discussion has touched on many of the main concepts of the *Jingfa*. One, however, still remains to be discussed, that is *li* 理, pattern⁸³. The character is known from early works such as the *Shi Jing* and *Zuo Zhuan* but it is very rare. Yet in the *Xunzi* and *Hanfeizi* it has become a common philosophical term. Since Xunzi taught

80 Thompson, *The Shen Tzu Fragments*, p. 277 Fragment 77: 故有道之過，法立則私善不行，君立則賢者不尊；民一於君，事斷於法，國之大道也。

81 Sun Kaitai 孫開泰 *Zou Yan Shiji Kaobian* pp. 44-50 and *Zou Yan Nianpu*, pp. 56-55 (note pages in reverse order).

82 *Guanzi* 40 *Si Shi* 四時 refers to the *li* of Heaven-Earth (天地之大理 p. 148a) and talks of the Way birthing Heaven-Earth, and birthing *de* (道生天地. . . 道生德 p. 149a) but the chapter is dominated by *yinyang wuxing*.

83 In my chapter five I presented the occurrences of *li* in the *Huangdi Sijing*. See Chapter 5.2 (b) of this thesis.

Hanfei one may suppose that the philosophical use originated with Xunzi or that he acquired it from some other source.

The character itself depicts the veins in a piece of jade. From this basic metaphor it is extended to include the patterning of society. Thus in the *Jie Zang xia* 節葬下 chapter of the *Mozi*, *li*, social structure/order, is contrasted with *luan*, confusion:

"Rich and poor, many and few, firm and perilous, *li* and confused"⁸⁴.

In the *Mozi Fei Ru xia* 非儒下, *li* is an equivalent of *yi*, justice:

"He does not dwell in unrighteousness, nor practice what is not *li*"⁸⁵.

Li also moved from these uses to apply to the rationale of logical distinctions:

"*Li* is the source of this, not-this (i.e. right and wrong, true and false)"⁸⁶.

"The men of humanity (仁 *ren*) discuss with each other the structure of their views on acquiring and letting go, this and not this"⁸⁷.

The second citation is from the *Mozi, Fei Ru xia*. The logical chapters of *Mozi* use *li* even more than the early chapters. Graham provides a discussion of its usage in these logical chapters, in which he writes,

"*Li* is the patterned arrangement of parts in a structured whole, of things in an ordered cosmos, of thought in rational discourse, and in *Names and objects* of words in a completed sentence"⁸⁸.

This definition covers the metaphysical, physical and logical spheres. It is a summary of pre-Qin usage and includes the usage of Hanfei and Xunzi.

9.8 The Thought of Zisi

One key to understanding *li* is to be found in the grandson of Confucius, Master Zisi. Zisi lived from 483 to 402 B.C. His work was known both to Mencius, who followed him, and Xunzi, who criticised him. He is traditionally credited with the authorship of the *Zhong Yong* 中庸 and three other chapters included in the *Li Ji*: 30 *Fang Ji* 坊記, 32 *Biao Ji* 表記, 33 *Zi Yi* 緇衣. These three latter chapters quote the Book of Changes six

84 *Mozi* 25 *Jie Zang xia* 節葬下 p. 25 line 14: 富貧、衆寡、定危、理亂。

85 *Mozi* 39 *Fei Ru xia* 非儒下 p. 63 line 33: 不義不處，非理不行。

86 *Lushi Chunqiu* 18.4 *Li Wei* 離謂 p. 1178 理也者，是非之宗也。

87 *Mozi* 39 *Fei Ru xia* 非儒下 p. 63 line 22: 仁人以其取舍是非之理相告。

88 Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science*, p. 191. *Names and Objects* is Graham's name for a book he has been able to reconstruct from the *Mozi*'s logical chapters.

times in all⁸⁹. It is even possible that Zisi already knew the commentaries on the Changes. The *Zhong Yong*, for example, has passages that are similar to the *Wen Yan* commentary on the Changes⁹⁰. Thus some of the commentaries, far from being Qin works as many suppose, may in fact be pre-Zisi⁹¹. With this in mind we shall turn first to Zisi's treatment of *li* and then to the commentaries themselves.

In the *Zhong Yong wen* and *li* are juxtaposed in a list of the virtues of the sage. The context does not of itself give sufficient information to distinguish them and clearly they are felt to be virtually synonymous⁹². A second passage in the same work also puts them in tandem whilst providing more scope for contrast. The sage is said to be

"Simple yet cultured (*wen*), gentle yet principled (*li*)"⁹³.

The terms translated "gentle" and "simple" are roughly synonymous so too must *wen* and *li* be⁹⁴. In more metaphysical works it seems that *wen* came to mean the pattern imposed by cultured society whilst *li* was the pattern that was inherently present. Thus the distinction is made between the humanising sphere and the natural sphere. Yet one should not press this distinction too far. Clearly it is not yet operative in the quotations from the *Zhong Yong* given here. What is operative, however, is an understanding of *li* as perhaps slightly less important than *wen*. In later works one can notice that it retains this subordinate role in relation to the Way, *dao*. This trait of subordination is inherent in the word as the following example from the *Shi Jing* makes clear:

"I determine its chief boundaries (*jiang*) and distinguish its small veins (*li*)"⁹⁵.

89 *Liji* 30 *Fangji* p. 287: 易曰：東鄰殺牛不如西鄰之禴祭，寔受其福。

Liji 30 *Fangji* p. 288: 易曰：不耕種。不^𠄎畲。凶。

Liji 32 *Biaoji* p. 291: 易曰：初筮告。再三瀆。瀆則不告。

Liji 32 *Biaoji* p. 296: 易曰：不家食。吉。

Liji 32 *Biaoji* p. 297: 易曰：不事正侯。

Liji 33 *Ziyi* p. 304: 易曰：不恆其德。或承之羞。恆其德貞。婦人吉。夫子凶。

90 Li Xueqin, *Zhou Yi: Jing, Zhuan Suyan*, pp. 71-79

91 Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, p. 359 Graham dates most of the appendices to "within a few decades on either side of 200 B.C." He refers to the work of Shchutskii. Shchutskii dates the basic text of the *Yi Jing* to no later than the seventh century B.C. He considers the *Wen Yan Zhuan* to be the oldest of the commentaries, none of which can be older than the fifth century B.C. See Shchutskii, *Researches on the I Ching*, pp. xxviii-xxix; 193-4.

92 The passage in question is *zhang* (paragraph) 31 of the *Zhong Yong*. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, p. 134 says that parts of the *Zhong Yong* may be early but that the philosophical sections are from about 200 B.C., after the Qin unification. The texts quoted here are from what he identifies as the Qin part.

93 *Zhong Yong* # 33, p. 16: 簡而文溫而理

94 *Hanfeizi* 20 *Jie Lao* 解老 #27.4: 理者，成物之文也。"Li is the *wen* that makes things what they are." This is further evidence of the similarity of the two words *wen* and *li*.

95 *Shi Jing* 210 *Xin Nan Shan* 信南山: 我疆我理。The same contrast of *jiang* and *li* is found in Odes nos. 237

True to its origins in jade, *li* retains the sense of fine detail rather than the overarching lines.

The date of the *Zhong Yong* has also been questioned by many, including Graham, such that the passages quoted above are ascribed to around 200 B.C.⁹⁶. Recent archaeological and linguistic studies have questioned this late dating. According to Li Xueqin the arguments against early dating can be summed up by two: firstly because there is mention of a mountain in Qin and Confucians are supposed to be from Lu, it is said that the *Zhong Yong* could only be from after the Qin unification. Li points out that it is not impossible for someone from one region to refer to a mountain in another region and also that Song Xing and Yin Wen both made hats on the model of a Qin mountain, though neither were from Qin and both flourished a century before the Qin unification⁹⁷. Secondly, it has been claimed that the *Zhong Yong* refers to standardised gauge for carts and this was only introduced under the Qin. Graham appeals to this latter argument. Li shows that it comes from a misreading of the character *jin* 今 in its sense of "today" rather than its use as a conditional "if"⁹⁸. If Li's thesis is accepted then the use of *li* in the *Zhong Yong* is certainly earlier than in *Xunzi*. However, as given, Li's arguments only attempt to disprove the late dating thesis. They do not adequately establish the early dating proposal. In particular, one could argue that even if the *Zhong Yong* is rooted in the fifth century, the received text, including its use of *li*, is not necessarily all from such an early date.

Looking to the commentaries on the *Zhou Yi* we find the *Wen Yan* 文言

and 262. The character *li* only occurs four times in the *Shi Jing*, of which these instances number all but one.

96 Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, p. 134. Zhu Bokun, *Yixue Zhexue Shi*, p. 44, assumes a late dating of the *Zhong Yong* as a basis for dating the *xiang* 象 commentary on the *Zhou Yi*.

97 *Zhuangzi* 33 *Tianxia* 天下 p. 85b: 宋綰、尹文... 作為華山之冠。"Song Xing and Yin Wen invented Mout Hua hats."

98 *Zhong Yong* # 28, p. 14 今天下車同軌，書同文，行同倫 If under Heaven carts had the same ruts (i.e. gauge), books had the same characters, behaviour had the same norms.

Li Xueqin provides two examples of this use of *jin* (*Zhouyi Jingzhuan Suyuan* p. 73):

今墓遠，則其葬也如之何？ (*Liji* 7 *Zengzi Wen* 曾子問 p. 111) "If the tomb is far away, then what should be done about his burial?"

今王與百姓同樂，則王矣。 (*Mengzi* 1 *Lianghuiwang* B 梁惠王, p. 9) "If the King and the people were to have the same pleasure, then you would be truly king." [Nb. Li Xueqin gives the wrong reference for this citation. Printing error.]

To these one can add the following, where *jin* refers to a future possible:

奪項王天下者，必沛公也，吾屬今為之虜矣。 (*Shi Ji* 7 *Xiangyu Benji* 項羽本記 p. 315)

十日之內，數萬之眾今涉魏境。 (*Zhanguo Ce* 26 *Han Ce Yi* 韓策一 p. 1004) "Within ten days tens of thousands of troops will have entered the borders of Wei.

In the next case *jin* is redundant, meaning the same as the following *jiang* 將:

右師視速而言疾，有異志驗。若不我納，今將馳矣。 (*Zuo Zhuan* 8 *Cheng* 成 year 15.11 p. 239) "He will soon be riding off rapidly" See Yang & He, *Gu Hanyu*, p. 236

commentary⁹⁹ has a very significant use of *li*:

"The gentleman is yellow and in the centre and is *au fait* with *li*"¹⁰⁰.

For all its Confucian opening this sentence comes close to Yellow Emperor thought, associating the colour yellow with the centre and with *li*. In the first of the Attached Verbalisations (*Xi Ci Zhuan* 繫辭傳)¹⁰¹ there are three uses of *li*. The first two talk about the *li* of under Heaven, *Tian xia zhi li* and see this as something to be acquired by the sage who is midway between Heaven and Earth¹⁰². The third instance comes from a contrast between the *li* of Earth and the *wen* of Heaven¹⁰³. In this we can see that the two, *wen* and *li*, are virtually synonymous but that priority is being accorded to *wen*, belonging to Heaven. In the second part of the same commentary *li* is only used once, in a usage parallel to that of *zheng*, correct¹⁰⁴. Both are verbs. A verbal use of *li* is also apparent in the *Shuo Gua* 說卦 commentary¹⁰⁵ where *li* is parallel to *he shun*, go along with:

"Going along (*he shun*) with *Dao* and *De* and patterning (*li*) on Justice (*yi*)"¹⁰⁶.

There are two other instances of *li* in the same commentary but they need not detain us here¹⁰⁷. From the above it is already evident that *li* has risen in philosophical status. It is the pattern of the Earth and of the central region. Not as exalted as the *wen* of Heaven it is nonetheless in a corresponding position. In *Cheng* one aphorism speaks of the *li* of Earth in this way¹⁰⁸. Whether owing to later dating or a more overtly philosophical context, the usage of the *Jingfa* is more developed than these uses in the *Zhou Yi* commentaries.

9.9 The Relationship of *Li* and *Dao*

The next step in the formation of the *Jingfa*'s understanding of *li* depends on a contrast between *li* and *dao*. Whether this originated with the *Jingfa* we are not in a position to say¹⁰⁹. One can but produce a further early text that might help to situate the

99 Zhu Bokun, *Yixue Zhexue Shi*, p. 45, dates the *Wen Yan* commentary to before the *Lushi Chunqiu*.

100 *Zhou Yi* 4/2/*lyan*: 君子黃中通理。

101 Zhu Bokun, *Yixue Zhexue Shi*, p. 49, dates the *Xi Ci Zhuan* to post Zhuangzi, Shang Yang and Guanzi: *Nei Ye*.

102 *Zhou Yi* 39/*xiA*/1: 易簡而天下之理得矣。

Zhou Yi 39/*xiA*/1: 天下之理得...

103 *Zhou Yi* 40/*xiA*/3: 俯以察於地理。

104 *Zhou Yi* 45/*xiB*/1: 理財正辭。

105 Zhu Bokun, *Yixue Zhexue Shi*, p. 50, dates the *Shuo Gua* commentary to the post late Warring States' period.

106 *Zhou Yi* 49/*shuo*/1: 和順於道德而理於義。

107 *Zhou Yi* 49/*shuo*/1: 窮理盡性以至於命。; 49/*shuo*/2: 將以順性命之理。

108 *Cheng* no. 13 147b 22-5: 察地之理。 "Examining the *li* of Earth."

109 Zhang Dainian, *Zhongguo gudian zhexue gainian fanchou yaolun*, p. 39, says that *li* emerged as a philosophical concept in the middle Warring States' period. Zhao Jihui, "*Huangdi Sijing*", pp. 714-5, notes that *li* did not emerge as

period in which this happened. Such a text is the *Shang Jun Shu*. Although this work uses the character *li* rarely, it is used in an interesting manner. When talking of different dynasties, Lord Shang argues that they all had the same Way but different *li*. They did not merely imitate each other:

"Thus raising up kings has a Way yet supporting them has different Patterns."¹¹⁰

The same passage goes on to say that King Wu took by *ni* and valued *shun*. He contended for the Empire and abdicated. He took by force and maintained by *yi*¹¹¹. The terminology is not exactly that of the *Jingfa* but the binary pattern is similar.

The work which most notably uses *li* with *dao* in a way similar to that of the *Jingfa* is *Xunzi*. *Xunzi* (325-235 B.C.) flourished (298-238 B.C.) during the second term of the Jixia Academy (278-221 B.C.). He went to the Academy during its first period in 310 B.C. and thus may have met Song Xing, Tian Pian, Shen Dao and Zou Yan. He would have been thirty-nine when the first Academy was dispersed and returned in 278, on its revival, at the age of forty-four as the leading scholar of the day. As well as knowing the late Mohists and early Legalists, *Xunzi* was one of the first to take up Zisi's work, critically, and refer again to the Changes¹¹².

In the *Jingfa* *li* behaves in the following manner: (1) In tandem with *dao* it is to be followed (*xun* 循)¹¹³; (2) it may be hit right on (*zhong* 中), left (*li* 離), lost (*shi* 失), cut off (*jue* 絕)¹¹⁴; (3) it is the pattern of Heaven or Heaven-Earth, or more usually of man or human affairs and also of *ni* and *shun*¹¹⁵. In *Xunzi* usage is not precisely the same but there are common features. *Li* occurs as part of the binominal *daoli* or as the *li* of *dao*¹¹⁶. It is to be followed (*xun*)¹¹⁷. It may be hit right on (*zhong*), left (*li*) or lost (*shi*)¹¹⁸. It is the pattern of "things" (*wu*) rather than of Heaven or man; man has "character" (*xing* 性)¹¹⁹. *Ni* and

a philosophical term only with *Hanfeizi*. He further credits the *Jingfa* with the first (known) use of the concept. It was then taken up by *Mengzi* and *Zhuangzi* before being used by *Hanfeizi*. He does not examine its use in the *Zhou Yi* as I do below.

110 *Shang Jun Shu* 7 *Kai Sai* 開塞 p. 12 line 20: 故興王有道而持之異理。

111 *ibidem* 武王逆取而貴順爭天下而上讓其取之以力持之以義。

112 *Xunzi* 14/5/44; 97/27/39; 98/27/47

113 *Jingfa* I. 4: 28a; I. 5: 39b; I. 9: 75b

114 *Jingfa* I. 5: 40a (*zhong*); I. 5: 45a (*li*); I. 6: 51b; I. 7: 59b; I. 8: 69b (*shi*); I. 7: 57b, 61b (*jue*)

115 *Jingfa* I. 5: 40a (heaven); I. 7: 65b (heaven and earth); I. 5: 41b, 45a; I. 8: 66b, 67a (man/human affairs); I. 5: 42a; I. 6: 56a (*ni/shun*)

Other uses of *li* occur I. 6: 51b, 53a, 55b; I. 8: 67a; I. 9: 74b, 75a, 75b, 76b

116 *Xunzi* 3/1/41: 道之理 the *li* of *dao*; 6/2/45: 道理 *dao-li*

117 *Xunzi* 56/15/67: 義者循理。The man of *yi* (justice) follows *li*.

118 *Xunzi* 85/22/61 (中 *zhong*); 86/22/79 (離 *li*); 85/22/61 (失 *shi*)

119 *Xunzi* 82/21/79: 知物之理... 知人之性。Knowing the *li* of things... knowing the nature of man.

shun have it¹²⁰. In one place it does have some more cosmic meaning when ruler and minister, father and son, elder and younger brother, husband and wife are said to have the same *li* as Heaven and Earth¹²¹. The differences can be partly accounted for on the grounds that Xunzi writes in the Confucian tradition, whereas the *Jingfa* is in the Daoist tradition. Xunzi speaks of the character of man whilst the *Jingfa* is concerned with the impersonal order of human affairs. If Xunzi is willing to speak of *li* in human affairs, he applies it to the social hierarchy rather than to the rise and fall of rebellious movements. That said, one can see sufficient similarity to realise that the term was in current philosophical use in the late fourth, early third century B.C.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the formation of some of the key terms that appear in the redactor's philosophy in the *Jingfa*. There is no doubt that the biggest influence on him came from Daoism, perhaps by way of Fan Li and the *Shiliu Jing*. Here we have not touched on this point but concentrated on other sources, which seem to have not influenced the *Shiliu Jing*. Thus Mohism provided a technical terminology and a concern with relationships of love between ruler and ruled. It was a Mohism though that accommodated social hierarchy and accepted war as a means of punishment. Song Xing's interest in names and in desires is also shared by the *Jingfa* though neither seems to have gone the way of the sophists and logicians. Shen Buhai, Shen Dao and Tian Pian display an interest in the Law and the Way and link it with the Yellow Emperor. This type of thinking is certainly of utmost significance for the *Jingfa*. Zisi and Xunzi reach out to the Book of Changes. The former may have known the commentaries on the Changes with their characteristic division into Heaven, earth and man, a tripartite structure which is dominant in the *Huangdi Sijing*. Both give some clues as to the origin of the term *li* in the philosophical sense that it bears in the *Jingfa*.

By looking at the *Jingfa* we have noted that it is much more consistent than the *Shiliu Jing*. Consistency can be the work of an author, editor or compiler. In the *Shiliu Jing* of these three factors: authorship, redaction and compilation, the latter is dominant overall. In the *Jingfa* there is clearer evidence of the second element, though the third is

120 Xunzi 68/18/72: 不知逆順之理。 Not knowing the *li* of *ni-shun*.

121 Xunzi 28/9/67: 君臣父子兄弟夫婦...與天地同理。

still present. To what degree one can talk about authorship must remain a moot point.

The redactor of the *Jingfa* may also be responsible for the redaction of II. 15 of the *Shiliu Jing*. Maybe he edited all four books, though the evidence is weighted against it¹²². However, further discussion would go beyond the scope of this little work. All one can suggest is that further research should concentrate on the date of emergence of key philosophical terms and on more comparative statistical work between the books of the *Huangdi Sijing* and other works with a claim to be of the same period. What our study has done is to show some of the interchanges in the fourth-third centuries B.C. between people of different "schools": Daoist, Mohist, Confucian. As a final conclusion we shall re-examine the meaning of "school" as applied to early Chinese philosophy. In particular we shall be looking at what the so-called "*Huang-Lao*" or "Yellow Emperor Daoist" school was.

122 Statistical studies may be of help in deciding this issue. Apart from the ten most frequently used graphs presented in a table after the concordance and other information interspersed throughout my argument, it is worth drawing attention to the following graphs which also show a high degree of difference in frequency between the *Jingfa* and the *Shiliu Jing* (*Cheng* and *Dao Yuan*, being short, make statistical work more unreliable). Notice that the lack of dialogue in the former is bound to influence the use of phrases such as "he replied":

Graphs more frequent in *Jingfa*

Graph	Meaning	Absolute Number (JF/SLJ)	Frequency in % (JF/SLJ)		% Difference
wei 謂	to call	51:17	1.02%	0.41%	0.61%
yue 曰	to say	51:35	1.02%	0.84%	0.18%
sheng 生	to birth	45:24	0.90%	0.57%	0.33%
shi 失	to lose	42:12	0.84%	0.29%	0.55%
wai 外	outside	29:5	0.58%	0.12%	0.46%
nei 內	inside	27:4	0.54%	0.10%	0.44%
bi 必	necessarily	26:7	0.52%	0.17%	0.35%
yi 亦	also	21:9	0.42%	0.22%	0.20%
chu 處	place	19:1	0.38%	0.02%	0.36%

Graphs more frequent in *Shiliu Jing*

di 地	earth	29:52	0.58%	1.25%	0.67%
ren 人	human being	34:50	0.68%	1.20%	0.52%
wei 為	to do	33:47	0.66%	1.13%	0.47%
shi 是	this	26:41	0.52%	0.98%	0.46%
cheng 成	to become	27:35	0.54%	0.84%	0.30%
shi 時	time	23:30	0.46%	0.72%	0.26%
xing 行	to go, practise	18:29	0.36%	0.69%	0.36%
jie 節	mode, tally	8:28	0.16%	0.67%	0.51%
nai 乃	thereupon	8:24	0.16%	0.57%	0.41%
ruo 若	if	4:24	0.08%	0.57%	0.49%
dui 對	to reply	0:8	0.00%	0.19%	0.19%

Chapter Ten: Conclusion: *Huang-Lao*

In the first part of the thesis certain binary concepts were studied with a view to distinguishing discourse units in the text. It emerged that the *Huangdi Sijing* is not a homogenous text. In the second part of the thesis it was shown that the *Jingfa* was dominated by a fairly consistent philosophy whilst a possible social context of the last three books was shown to be that of the military advisors to rulers in Warring States China. The *Jingfa* would also fit into the same social context.

In this conclusion there are still a number of tasks to be undertaken. Firstly, one must try to situate the four books in their intellectual context. Secondly, attention should be brought to bear on issues which require further study using the method adopted in this thesis. Finally, some comments will be made on the issue of "schools" of thought.

10.1 *Huang-Lao* Thought

Ever since its discovery in 1972-3, the Mawangdui texts that we have been studying have been described as *Huang-Lao* texts. The term *Huang-Lao* is known from Han dynasty sources. The combination of Yellow Emperor and *Laozi* teaching became an important political philosophy after the discrediting of Legalism in the Qin and before the rise of Confucianism as the State philosophy under the Han emperor Wu. The discovery at Mawangdui has given a boost to scholarship interested in this area. It is beyond the scope of the present work to review every article in this domain but it is feasible to look at the main patterns in which *Huang-Lao* thought has been presented.

Attention has been turned in two directions: towards texts and towards doctrine. The two interact. Thus scholars seek to define a body of texts that one can call *Huang-Lao*. Such texts may be whole works or may be chapters of a work¹. The

1 There is no universal agreement on what constitutes the *Huang-Lao* corpus. Among major works that are often included under this bracket are the following: *Dao-De Jing*, *Huangdi Sijing*, *Yinwenzi*, *Heguanzi*, *Wenzi*, *Huainanzi*. Rickett identifies as *Huang-Lao* the following chapters of *Guanzi*: 8 *You Guan* (essay), 15 *Zhong Ling*, 17 *Bing Fa*, 23 *Ba Yan*, 29 *Zhi Fen*. To these one may add 36 *Xin Shu shang*, 37 *Xin Shu xia*, 38 *Bai Xin*, 49 *Nei Ye* and for some also 12 *Shu Yan*. Graham identifies certain parts of certain chapters of the *Zhuangzi* as "syncretist". Roth says these are also *Huang-Lao*: 11 *Zai You*/66-74, 12 *Tiandi*/1-18, 13 *Tiandao*/1-45, 60-64, 14 *Tianyun*/1-5, 15 *Ke Yi*, 33 *Tianxia*. (Numbers after the dash are Graham's). Chen Qiyou does not use the classification "School of *Huang-Lao*" in his work on the *Lushi Chunqiu* but some would see the whole book as influenced by *Huang-Lao*. Sarah Queen identifies seven chapters of the *Chunqiu Fanlu* as *Huang-Lao*: 18 *Li He*, 19 *Li Yuan Shen*, 20 *Bao Wei Quan*, 21 *Kao Gong Ming*, 22 *Tong Guo Shen*, 77 *Xun Tian zhi Dao*, 78 *Tiandi zhi Xing*. Wu Guang, *Huanglao zhi Xue Tonglun*, 122-8, gives three schools of *Huang-Lao* thought: a Chu 楚 school; a Qi 齊 school based at the Jixia Academy and thirdly, the *Lushi Chunqiu*.

identification of these passages is largely undertaken according to the doctrine that they present. At the same time the texts themselves present material which enriches our knowledge of the doctrine. There is a danger here that the scope of *Huang-Lao* will develop out of all proportion. From text "A" one discovers doctrine "X", which doctrine is also present in text "B", but text "B" has further passages which expand our knowledge of the doctrine to "X¹", which leads to text "C". Thus the process may continue.

The best way to control such a process is to identify core texts or core doctrines which state the *sine qua non* of what it is to be a *Huang-Lao* text. Remembering that *Huang-Lao* is a Han term, the favourite candidate for defining the doctrine of *Huang-Lao* is Si-Ma Tan's description of Daoism preserved in the *Shiji*². However, the discovery of the *Huangdi Sijing* has naturally led many to see it as the defining text of *Huang-Lao* thought. This discrepancy highlights a problem that is frequently not addressed: the term *Huang-Lao* is a Han classification. The identification of "schools" with fixed doctrines is something that began in the late Warring States. Thus *Xunzi*, *Lushi Chunqiu* and *Zhuangzi* all contain lists of schools with their adherents and doctrines³. The *Huangdi Sijing* is a composite text of pre-Han date. In other words while Si-Ma Tan deliberately set out to exalt Daoism, that is *Huang-Lao*, above all other doctrines, the author/editors of the *Huangdi Sijing* cannot be shown to have had such a polemical doctrinaire position. In other words they did not set out to write a book of *Huang-Lao* thought.

This is in marked contrast to present-day scholarship. There is a plethora of articles expounding *Huang-Lao* thought. These are characterised by two features: textual syncretism and systematising doctrine. Authors happily quote from any portion of the *Huangdi Sijing* and indeed from other works to illustrate their point. In so doing they overlook the niceties of distinct portions of the text. For example, we have seen that

See Rickett, *Guanzi* Vol. I; Graham, *Chuang-tzu*, p. 39; Roth, *Who Compiled the "Chuang Tzu"*, p. 122; Chen Qiyou, *Lushi Chunqiu*; Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon*, pp. 102-111

2 *Shiji* 130 *Tai Shi Gong zixu* 太史公自序 pp. 3288-92. "Tai Shi Gong" is the title of Si-Ma Tan. Roth translates and discusses this passage in *Who Compiled the "Chuang Tzu?"*, pp. 86-8. Roth bases his understanding of what "Daoism" is on this passage. This method has the merit of being based on the fact that it is Si-Ma Tan who invented the term "Daoism". This understanding of "Daoism" is "*Huang-Lao*".

3 *Xunzi* 12 *Fei Shier Zi* 非十二子, pp. 15-17
Hanfeizi contains several attacks on other philosophers eg. 49 *Wu Du* 五蠹 attacks Confucians and Horizontalists and Verticalists, 50 *Xian Xue* 顯學 attacks Confucians and three sects of Mohists.
Lushi Chunqiu 7 *Bu Er* 不二 pp. 1123-4 Lists Lao Dan, Confucius, Mo Di 墨翟, Guan Yin 關尹, Liezi 列子, Chen Pian 陳聃, Yang Sheng 陽生, Sun Bin 孫臏, Wang Mou 王廖, Er Liang 兒良.
Zhuangzi 33 *Tianxia* 天下, pp. 84b-87c lists Mo Di 墨翟 and Qin Huaili 禽滑釐, Song Xing 宋銜 & Yin Wen 尹文, Peng Meng 彭蒙, Tian Pian 田駢 and Shen Dao 慎到, Guan Yin 關尹 & Lao Dan 老聃, Zhuang Zhou 莊周, Hui Shi 惠施, Huan Tuan 桓團 & Gongsun Long 公孫龍.

ci-xiong and *pin-mu* are distinct in the *Huangdi Sijing* but for Chen Guying there is no difference⁴. Systematising is undertaken in papers such as one delivered by Roth in 1991, which sets out the cosmology, political theory and psychology of the *Huangdi Sijing*. Certainly such an enterprise is attractive. It enables one to grasp the whole pattern of thought of an author. Yet, it is misleading in the sense that the *Huangdi Sijing* itself is not a systematic work.

10.2 Future Research

Thus both textual syncretism and systematising doctrine are hermeneutical tools which depend on rearranging the material they seek to interpret. In so doing they can distort and give a false impression. This danger is one that is not unknown in the world of scholarship. Library shelves still have books on the "theology" of St. Paul. From his various letters texts are quoted at random and reorganised according to some contemporary Western theology to produce a systematic doctrine. More nuanced works may build in a historical dimension such that one can see the development of the doctrinal system from *Galatians* to *Romans*, for example. Yet the attempt will founder unless it takes account of the literary status of St. Paul's writings. Paul wrote letters and these can only be properly understood in the context to which they were addressed. By removing them from that context, one can end up with absurdities in which women keeping their head covered becomes as much part of Paul's *doctrina perennia* as his paeon to love. Scholarship on Chinese *Huang-Lao* is still hermeneutically unaware of this type of distortion.

In part one of this thesis we showed that the text of the *Huangdi Sijing* is composite and thus warned interpreters against textual syncretism. In part two we looked at the *Sitz im Leben* of the work and showed how it was probably intended as a manual for military advisors. It attempts to stand apart from all historical circumstances but it is not designed as a reflective history. Rather it can serve as a source for advice in practical situations. The treatment of a proverb known from *Cheng* illustrates the great variety of contexts in which the work may function. These contexts provide the forum in which the

4 Rand, C.C., *Chinese Military Thought*, pp. 211-218 treats the *Huangdi Sijing* under the rubric of civility and martiality (*wen-wu*) and quotes from *Xing Zheng*, *Wu Zheng* and other chapters that never use the characters *wen* or *wu*.

work was intended to be read. It was not, then, designed as a work to define itself against Confucianism or Mohism or any other such "doctrine". Put another way, pre-Qin authors were seeking for the theory that would lead to the best practical results rather than for the theory that expounded some purely theoretical truth.

Peerenboom argues that the *Huangdi Sijing* expounded a natural law ethic⁵. Without discussing the pros and cons of his position, one must say that even if it is true, the purpose is not what one might expect. The "natural law" of Aquinas is expounded because Aquinas believed that it expresses what is true. In *Guo Ci* the ruler is ordered to destroy an enemy State in its entirety because this is the work of Heaven. However, as we have seen, what is in the writer's mind is not eternal truths but a generalisation based on the rise of Yue, after it had been almost but not entirely destroyed, in contrast to the total destruction of Wu.

Hermeneutics needs to be practical in the case of the *Huangdi Sijing*. One needs to know what situations gave rise to its philosophy and where it was used later. This enterprise is clearly more difficult than that of the systematising doctrinist. It demands too that one is clear about the date of composition of the *Huangdi Sijing*. Na Wei's attempts to show how the *Huangdi Sijing* describes the situation in the Han court fail because the writing can apply equally well to many Warring States' courts and there is also little doubt that the *Huangdi Sijing* is largely a pre-Han work⁶. My work on the editing of *Guan, Xing Zheng* and *Bing Rong* shows how they are modified from the *Guo Yu: Yue Yu xia* and thus illustrates how the text was formed in the light of historical circumstances. More of this work is necessary.

One example of such scholarship that has already been undertaken is an article by Mukai Tetsuo 向井哲夫, relating historical incidents in the *Chunqiu Shiyu* 春秋事語 to passages in the *Huangdi Sijing*⁷. Mukai talks of the latter as the concrete historical material which corresponds to the abstract *Jingfa*⁸. Both documents come from the same

5 Peerenboom, *Law and Morality in Ancient China*

6 Na Wei, *Handai Daojia de Zhengzhi Sixiang he Zhijue Tiwu*. On p. 39 of this work the author relates the seven year program of *Jun Zheng* to historical circumstances in the Han dynasty. Years one to three are said to apply to the second Han emperor, whilst the third year is said to apply to an incident recorded in the *Shiji* for the same period. We have shown that the scheme of three years of gentle rule followed by three of ordered firmness are based on philosophical considerations of balance rather than on historical incidents as such. This is one case in which historical naivety can be as disrespectful of the text as neglect of historical context is.

7 Mukai Tetsuo, *Ch'un-ch'iu shi-yu*, ES 84, 37-51

8 Mukai Tetsuo, ES 84, p. 50

tomb. Were it not for this fact it seems unlikely that anyone would think of relating the two. Indeed, Mukai's associations are at best only probable and at worst very tenuous. A story about a dispute in a boat in which *yin-yang* are never mentioned is said by Mukai to correspond to the final section of *Cheng* with its classification into *yin* and *yang*⁹. Stories one, three and eleven in his article are all related to the same line in *Guo Ci*. Clearly even he cannot think that the connection is absolute.

If done more convincingly, this kind of hermeneutics has the advantage of being true to the type of early Chinese philosophical texts. The *Lun Yu* for instance contains pithy sayings whose historical context is sometimes preserved in other works. Just as Paul's letters need to be replaced in their context so too the *Huangdi Sijing* must be put into its historical context. Specific textual links, common phrases and vocabulary need to be identified. Mukai, by contrast, outlines vague general meanings.

The method I have adopted in this thesis is not designed purely for one work alone. It has features that make it applicable to other new texts. One feature, not so evident in the thesis proper, is the editing and presentation of the text itself. I have consistently referred to the text by numbers which enable portions of the text to be cited without being bound to the vagaries of modern pagination. In this, my edition builds on the *Wenwu* editions and provides a standard system for all future scholars. By adopting the practice of using an apparatus my edition is able to present a clear text and to avoid cluttering it with various forms of brackets beloved of Chinese scholars. Information proper to the manuscript is thus distinguished from the edition of the text and makes the whole much less confusing. This is standard practice in western Biblical and literary studies and hopefully will become so in Sinology.

The singling out of binary concepts was related to my initial discovery of the incompatibility of *wen-wu* and *xing-de* in the *Huangdi Sijing*. It is not the only feature that could have been studied. Other works may indicate other prominent features calling for similar attention. What is important is to identify certain key features that are important and yet indicate the specificity of the work in question. If the terms are too universal the task is made much harder. I did not follow Peerenboom and others in concentrating on terms such as *Dao* or *Tian* as it would be hard to see the specificity of the parts of the work.

9 Mukai Tetsuo, ES 84, p. 47

I have made some remarks based on statistical information but these have been sketchy and more could be done. Attention to grammatical context and comparison with other pre-Qin works as well as mere occurrence of a character is required and this is more demanding than might appear at first sight.

Nonetheless, there will always be a place for concentrating on some specific themes such as those treated in my part one. In his work on Mencius and Aquinas, Lee Yearley notes that he was almost drawn to the conclusion that the two thinkers could not be fruitfully studied together until he "concentrated on their accounts of virtue" and "saw resemblances I had not thought existed"¹⁰. So too our study of selected binary pairs has revealed contrasts and similarities previously not highlighted or even acknowledged.

Thus the future for studies on the *Huangdi Sijing* is twofold. On the one hand more work needs to be done in establishing a critical edition. Some passages are still not fully understood and, whilst Chen Guying's commentary is the most thorough, it still needs to be digested by the Sinological community. On the other hand more work can be done in relating the text to its historical context, as in Mukai Tetsuo's work. The interaction of text and historical context is not unknown to Chinese scholarship. Unfortunately many of the early articles on the Mawangdui manuscripts are dominated by an inappropriate post-Hegelian German ideology, which has little to do with Chinese philosophy. Peerenboom's interpretation on the basis of a contemporary American writer is also unpromising¹¹. The West has excellent traditions of exegesis and hermeneutics in which the text is foremost. China too, from the earliest times, has its own ways of understanding texts in relation to history. By drawing on these traditions one is liable to gain more fruit.

10.3 Schools of thought

One road that has attracted attention but which is an intellectual "dead-end"¹², is that of the investigation of "schools". In his typically cautious manner, Li Xueqin notes,

¹⁰ Yearley, *Mencius and Aquinas*, p. 2

¹¹ Peerenboom quotes Dworkin and lists two of his works in his bibliography: one from 1977 and one from 1986. Maybe Dworkin is a great philosopher but his interest in legal issues is too narrow for most Sinologists to be aware of. See Peerenboom, *Law and Morality in Ancient China*, p. 358

¹² It is interesting to note the metaphorical richness associated with "dead-ends". In France, the expression is the "bottom of the sack" (*cul de sac*); in Germany, a "forest path" that leads nowhere (*Holzweg*). In English, the image is of death.

"Pre-Qin thinkers, apart from the Mohists, did not distinguish schools in the way that later generations did. The *Han Zhi*'s categories should also not be distinguished too sharply"¹³.

Professor Li goes on to promise a further article on the term "school". What we need to remember is that the idea of a "school" is post-Qin and that the term is only one hermeneutical tool. If it can help then we are entitled to use it, but the tool must not be allowed to gain more importance than the matter it is explaining. At least the discovery of the *Huangdi Sijing* has made us aware that Laozi and Zhuangzi were not treated as one until post-Han times¹⁴. In this respect *Huang-Lao* is early Daoism and is distinct from Zhuangzi.

Some critics are not happy with this particular description of Yellow Emperor thought. Xiu Jianjun argues that the association of *Huang* and *Lao* no more implies that they are one than the association of Yang Zhu and Mozi implies that there was a Yang-Mo school¹⁵. Hence Xiu identifies *Huangxue*, Yellow Emperor Study, as a current that took Confucianism and Legalism as its centre and adopted a degree of Daoism¹⁶. This view is hardly tenable. It is based on a narrow understanding of what Daoism is and whilst criticising the accepted classification of Yellow Emperor thought is still bound to the same type of reasoning.

Equally uninspiring is Qiu Xigui's coining of the term "*Dao-Fa School*". At least terms such as *Huang-Lao* and Daoist are reputable Han dynasty terms. Qiu's creation is a neologism whose content can only be defined by its creator and has no objective control in any text. Here the classification system has become totally divorced from a text¹⁷.

More valuable are those articles which trace the links between pre-Qin teachers and Han dynasty *Huang-Lao*. Ding Yuanming is one such author who notes three routes of transmission¹⁸. The first is by a lineage of Daoist teachers in Yan and Qi¹⁹. The second

13 Li Xueqin, GZXX 1991.1, p. 16

14 Roth, "What is *Huang-Lao*?", p. 4 : "the virtual absence of any evidence of a philosophical lineage that can be labelled Lao-Chuang before the Wei and Chin "Profound Learning" movement in the third century A.D."

15 Xiu Jianjun, "*Huang-Lao zhi Xue*" xin lun, p. 51

16 Xiu Jianjun, "*Huang-Lao zhi Xue*" xin lun, p. 53

17 Qiu Xigui, *Mawangdui "Laozi" Jia-Yi benjuanqian-houyishu yu "Dao-Fa Jia"*, p. 78ff.

I mention Qiu's theory here just as an example. A summary of many other person's views is given by Xu Fen. Xu concludes that there are three types of theory regarding the classification of *Huang-Lao*: (1) it is Daoism; (2) it is Daoism and Legalism; (3) Eclecticism based on Daoism. See Xu Fen, *Jinniantai Huang-Lao Sixiang Yanjiu Zongshu*, p. 40.

18 Ding Yuanming, *Qixue yu Hanchu Huang-Lao zhi Xue*, pp. 70-6

19 The list goes from Heshang Zhangren 河上丈人 to Cao Cen 曹参. It is mentioned by Tang Lan, Yu Mingguang

is that the name of the Yellow Emperor gave the teaching protection in the Qin period and saved it from the extinction that the Mohists suffered. The third factor is that it absorbed *yin-yang* theories²⁰. Here the emphasis is no longer on "school" as a definite creed but on historical transmission of ideas. This is a road that deserves further attention.

Doubtless scholars will not leave this question of "school" alone but I fear it has more to do with Hegel than with China. Hegel seeks to define each philosophy as having one core message that fits into a whole scheme. In this way he writes a neat system. The desire to impose schools on pre-Qin Chinese philosophy is similar to Hegel's desire to comprehend the whole of philosophy²¹. The end result is death as living philosophers are squeezed dry and the only bird to fly at the end of the enterprise is the owl. The same will be true in the Chinese context, for the schools with their set doctrines will be lifeless abstractions never perfectly incarnate except beneath the brush of the modern author.

The road forward lies not in schemes and ideologies but in tracing the web of interaction between texts and contexts in which one can see the Chinese thinkers of the Warring States' period striving to adjust to new situations and to preserve their States and their values in a world of change. In this period when Chinese culture was forged into the literate high-culture of the Yellow river and Yangtse basins we can see what it might mean to be Chinese²². That culture was never static and in the next centuries it absorbed Indian Buddhism and more recently Western science but it is still in the process of growing. Looking back at its formative years may help to chart the way ahead for the future as text interacts again with context and new and old coexist.

"The myriad things flock and arrive;

I have nothing to which I do not respond"²³.

and others. The exact dating of the first link in the chain is disputed as also is the interval between the different teachers. Ding Yuanming (See note 18) is interested only in there being such a lineage and not in its precise dating. Vandermeersch, *La formation du legisme*, pp. 17-18 warns that "one must not picture the various schools of the late Warring States as always being established institutions grouping disciples around a master." Thus these lineages of teachers are also not to be taken too rigidly but rather as channels for transmission of ideas.

20 In her identification of *Huang-Lao* chapters in the *Chunqiu Fanlu* Sarah Queen includes chapter 78, which is full of *yin-yang wu xing* thought. Nonetheless, she still distinguishes between *Huang-Lao* and *Yin-Yang* texts. Given the use of the terms *yin-yang* especially in the *Shiliu Jing*, it seems hard to conceive of *Huang-Lao* that is not also *yin-yang*. See Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon*, pp. 102-111

21 The word "comprehend" is not chosen at random here. It is the "grasping" (co-prendere/ be-greifen) of the owl of Minerva. What is seized in its talons is dead.

22 The term "China" is a Western transliteration of a Chinese word not used for the whole country in the Warring States' period. In those days people identified themselves as belonging to the one cultured world "under Heaven."

23 II. 15 141b 32- 142a 6: 萬物群至，我無不能應。

II Edition of the *Huangdi Sijing*

Technical Preface

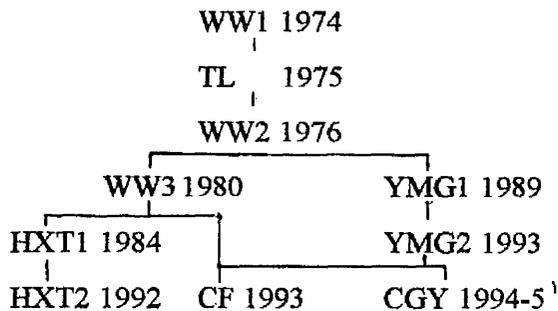
The purpose of this preface is to explain the principles according to which an edition of the *Huangdi Sijing* has been produced from the one manuscript available. Although there is only one manuscript there are already various editions of it. These will be described and commented. The technicalities of the present layout of text, critical apparatus and notes will be explained and then specific problems dealing with certain major editorial problems will be expounded in some detail.

11.1 Editions of the *Huangdi Sijing*

As a prelude to discussing the question of editions one must distinguish between transcription of a manuscript and edition of a work. A transcription aims to present in accessible format the text of a manuscript with all its peculiarities. For some Chinese manuscripts the transcription is sometimes only a photostat representation of the original. In this case the only changes introduced are those consequent on the change in material on which the text is presented. Thus text from bamboo slips is presented in a modern paper book. A typical feature of this level is that the text of one bamboo column is divided so as to fit the size of a modern page. In the case of the *Huangdi Sijing* such a practice results in dividing the columns of the silk manuscript into halves, indicated by *shang/xia* 上/下 in Chinese or "a/b" in English.

Transcription may involve a further step, with editorial consequences. Graphs are transcribed into their modern equivalents. In most cases this is a simple procedure entailing no major editorial decisions. However, even the most straightforward transcription into modern characters makes the work of limited value to the graphologist. It is common Chinese practice to transcribe the original graph and place in circular brackets after it the modern form of the character. The result is that all but two of the editions, before the present one, of the *Huangdi Sijing* are simultaneously attempting both to transcribe and to edit. In the present edition these two tasks are rigorously separated. The text is an edition and points of graphological interest are confined to the critical apparatus.

Thus the earlier works may be described as transcription-editions rather than as editions properly so named. The earliest is from 1974; the latest is an unpublished work of 1994. These editions can be arranged in chronological order, though this does not necessarily mean that all later ones read all earlier ones. It is also worth noting that in some cases the editors knew each other and so shared ideas without necessarily borrowing them from the printed versions. Yu Mingguang 余明光 deserves special note in this regard, because he worked on the team that produced the initial transcription-edition but did not read all the works published by the later team. Thus in notes he may refer to an opinion that he knows from his discussion within the team but which only appears in print in an edition he has not consulted. Leaving such interaction aside and looking only at the printed works we can draw up the following table of the principal transcription-editions:



It should be noted that of these editions, six had direct access to the original manuscripts and four did not. The latter four are HXT1 & 2 and CF and CGY. Clearly the former six are more valuable as transcriptions though as editions they may be inferior depending on the judgement of the editor. It should be noted though that all editors have had access to the photostats of the manuscript as these are found in both WW1 and WW3.

Another preliminary problem that should be indicated is that poor printing and proof-reading leads to serious unreliability in the two YMG editions and infects all other editions except perhaps CF and CGY. Since CF is unpublished this is not much consolation. HXT is in standard characters and provides a correct reading of certain graphs even when all previous editions do not. Its correctness is not maintained making it unreliable as a guide².

¹ For an explanation of these abbreviations see below p. 235

² p. 152 inverts 順 and 逆; p. 153 transcribes 天 as 地; p. 154 writes 剛 as 武. The latter two are probably the fruit of editorial decisions; the first may be a printing error but with such an irresponsible editorial policy it is hard to be sure when another source of error is at play. HXT2 amends some printing errors in HXT1 but makes new ones.

WW1 The sigla refers to the first edition of the Wen Wu Publishing House³. This is a conservative edition, whose purpose is to stress transcription rather than edition. In fact it is most valuable because of its editorial conservatism. If a graph is only extant as a few relict lines or smudges, this edition records a lacuna. It also establishes the pattern for two later editions TL and WW3. That is the text is set out with an indication of the column breaks of the original manuscript, numbered 1 to 174. These are particularly valuable in locating any passage and also in referring back to the photographs of the manuscript. However the main divisions of the WW1 edition are by textual units as presented in the manuscript. Thus the work is divided into four books with internal chapter sections.

WW1 is now out of print. It was pirated in Taiwan and published by Xu Rentu 許仁圖 in 1975. As far as I am aware this does not constitute an original edition.

Tang Lan realised that there were faults in the WW1 transcription, chiefly owing to poor proof-reading but also to failure to transcribe correctly. He felt that the evidence in the case of some damaged characters was sufficient to justify a definite reading. Thus he filled in some of the WW1 lacunae on the basis of what he saw in the original. His edition is in simplified characters and in lines rather than columns. He does not indicate half-line divisions.

Turning again to the manuscript and using WW1 and TL the Wen Wu Publishing House produced a second edition entitled *Jing Fa* 經法 in 1976. This one has some new editorial decisions on the text but no longer shows the line divisions and is in simplified characters only.

The final and best effort of the Wen Wu Press is WW3 of 1980. Modelled on the WW1 format this edition is much bolder and has fuller notes. With less than a dozen errors of transcription and proof reading and of these only three of any significance, it presents both a good transcription of the manuscript and a good edition of the text⁴. It too was

3 文物出版社 The official translation of this office is "Cultural Relics Publishing House". The same edition was reproduced in simplified characters in *Wen Wu* 1974.10, pp. 30-42.

4 The following require correction:

p. 47 col. 16 二三上 to be moved up and placed after 天;

p. 49 col. 4 四上 should read 二四上;

p. 51 col. 7, p. 52 col. 1 & p. 58 col. 5 後 should read 後(后);

p. 55 col. 13 靜 should read 靜;

p. 57 col. 8 后 should be transcribed into the standard form as 後(后)

p. 65 col. 4 九二上 should be placed between 口 and 自 of the preceding column.

p. 67 col. 4 救弗 should read 弗救;

p. 79 col. 3 生 should read 主;

p. 79 col. 6 以 should read 為

pirated in Taiwan by Wang Hansheng 王寒生 and published there in 1981.

The two Taiwan editions provide the basis for Hu Xintian's edition of 1984. I have not consulted the two earlier editions to check for discrepancy with their mainland counterparts but rely on the fact that Hu used them in producing his own work. Thus any original features they have may be taken up by Hu. Hu's is a real edition as opposed to a transcription-edition. He presents a clear text and confines graphological evidence to notes. The text is presented in its four books with chapter divisions but the dominant and peculiar feature of the enterprise is the prominence given to the column divisions. These column divisions are a feature of the only manuscript that has been preserved and certainly do not correspond to any original textual divisions. Yet Hu structures his book in segments with each segment composed of one line of text. The line is sometimes a proper textual unit but more often than not it leads to chopping sentences in half and producing illogical breaks of no semiotic value. Another feature of Hu's work is his remarkable ability to fill in all lacunae, including whole sections of fifty or more characters in *Cheng*. In his notes he further underlines how the work illustrates the Three Principles of the People of Sun Yat-sen⁵. Scholarship seems to take a back seat in this enterprise.

HXT2 does not really count as a separate edition. Hu was in his eighties and seems to have made no new decisions about the text. The quality of its printing, though, means that we have to treat it as an edition. In places the text is amended but the notes are still those of 1984 and do not always correspond to the revision of the text. In a few places the entire text is missing. In HXT2 Hu shows his true colours. The work is a series of lectures with the text of each column as its centre. The commentary includes denunciation of Mao Zedong 毛澤東 and essays advocating the religion of the Yellow Emperor. It is pure propaganda and does not deserve a place in the world of scholarship.

Returning to the mainland, the next editions are those of Yu Mingguang⁶. Though

5 p. 45 孫中山說的：民族是由自然力造成的。

Sun Zhongshan says, "The nation is formed from the force of nature."

6 The following tables present a complete review of printing errors in the 1989 & 1993 YMG editions:

(1) Errors of 1989 corrected in 1993

Page reference (1989)

p. 243 l. 2	所以	corrected to
p. 253 l. 2	雍	corrected to
p. 253 l. 7	灭	corrected to
p. 259 l. 5	口 x7	corrected to
p. 268 l. 1	失	corrected to
p. 281 l. 1	天	corrected to
p. 282 l. 4	清	corrected to

Page reference (1993)

所	p. 7 l. 4
雍	p. 30 l. 2
滅(灭)	p. 30 l. 10
口 x8	p. 45 l. 5
天	p. 64 l. 1
无	p. 92 l. 2
法	p. 95 l. 2

the second is heavily dependent on the first it is not merely a republication of the same. Some of the errors of proof-reading are corrected, though an equal number of new ones are made⁷. More significantly the notes are expanded, new editorial decisions are made and the manuscript has been freshly consulted. In the forward to the 1989 YMG1 edition Li Xueqin 李學勤 refers to the three Wen Wu editions but it seems that Yu himself did not read the third of these. Indeed in his introduction to the 1993 edition Yu mentions only the 1974, 75 and 76 editions⁸. Leo Chang and Feng Yu realised that Yu had not read the 1980 edition and thus after translating the work for the YMG2 volume they turned to WW3 and produced their own collation of WW3 and YMG2, giving the preference to the former rather than to Yu. Thus the CF edition does not refer anew to the manuscript but

p. 284 l. 5	而定	corrected to	不定	p. 98 l. 2
p. 284 l. 7	执	corrected to	执	p. 98 l. 4
p. 284 l. 8	执	corrected to	揪	p. 98 l. 5
p. 297 l. 3	extraneous 吉 after 生 removed			p. 124 l. 5
p. 305 l. 5	本	corrected to	夺	p. 139 l. 5
p. 306 l. 3	昏	corrected to	昔	p. 143 l. 3
p. 312 l. 11	放	corrected to	故	p. 155 l. 5
p. 317 l. 9	困	corrected to	困	p. 168 l. 3
p. 321 l. 12	所	corrected to	则	p. 179 l. 5
p. 326 l. 8	母	corrected to	毋	p. 189 l. 6
p. 329 l. 3 & 4	巢	corrected to	窠	p. 193 l. 3 & 4

The 1993 edition also rationalises simplified characters. Thus whereas the 1989 edition has both 于 and 於, 谷 and 穀 these characters now appear only in the simplified forms. This is a pity since the original writes both 于 and 於, 离 and 離, 余 and 餘, 无 and 無. These distinctions are not preserved in the 1993 edition.

(2) Errors of 1989 not corrected in 1993

p. 241 l. 3	p. 4 l. 3	毫	should read	稿(毫)
p. 244 l. 3	p. 11 l. 1	大小	should read	小大
p. 246 l. 3	p. 13 l. 5	朕	should read	朕(朕)
p. 246 l. 4	p. 14 l. 1	朕	should read	朕(朕)
p. 265 l. 1	p. 56 l. 4	谓	should read	胃(谓)
p. 267 l. 5	p. 61 l. 5	示	should read	视(示)
p. 270 l. 19	p. 69 l. 6	雍 after 三	should read	靡
p. 277 l. 7	p. 82 l. 9	和	should read	合
p. 284 l. 7	p. 98 l. 4 (x2)	无	should read	毋
p. 287 l. 6	p. 103 l. 4	朽	should read	巧
p. 290 l. 3	p. 108 l. 6	靡	should read	靡
p. 296 l. 1	p. 121 l. 1	大	should read	六 or 六(大)
p. 296 l. 2&3	p. 121 l. 2&3	禾	should read	朵

(The MS writes 朵 as 禾 which is clearly different from 禾 cf. 1993 p. 121 l. 4)

p. 320 l. 4	p. 173 l. 4	尊	should read	奠(尊)
p. 320 l. 6	p. 173 l. 6	六	should read	大 or 大(六)
p. 329 l. 11	p. 195 l. 3	刈	should read	刈(刈)

- 7 YMG2 commits a further 16 new errors, mostly less important but in one place a whole phrase is excluded: p. 80 line 7 after 伐。 include 重柔者吉。 Most of these new errors are minor but there is no excuse for writing 感 in place of 憾, 正 in place of 天 (p. 54 line 7), 止 in place of 上 (p. 109 line 1), 御 in place of 循 (p. 127 line 1) or 理 in place of 要 (p. 208 line 2).
- 8 YMG2 has a total of five page ones. Page one of Chen Guying's preface 序; page one of the forward 前言; page one of the introduction 说明; page one of the index 目录 and page one of the edition proper. The reference here is to the third of these page ones. Unless otherwise specified all references to YMG2 are to the fifth series of page numbers, those of the edition proper.

represents the effort of two scholars who have considered all the then mainland editions and also added their own thoughts. As such it completed the series of editions to date (1993).

In progress there is also an edition by Chen Guying, which is based on the layout of YMG but uses the text of WW3. Chen has very helpfully analysed the rhyme patterns of the text and often uses this as justification for filling lacunae or emendation. He quotes an impressive number of similar passages from other works and shies away from no difficulties. One should note, though, that he believes the whole work to be by one author and written at one time, thus he smooths over differences, carelessly equates *ci-xiong* and *pin-mu* and thus makes his work less reliable than it might be. He treats the text in discrete sections and comments on them. This can give a misleading impression that the sections he identifies are natural to the text itself. Sometimes this may be the case but it is often not and certainly not when he treats groups of proverbs from *Cheng* as groups rather than individual sayings. Chen also renders into modern Chinese.

Translators of the text have also acted as editors. The first translation to be published was in French by Jacques Decaux. The work bears a preface dated 25 December 1985. This paperback was reissued with an expanded introduction, the Chinese text of Hu Xintian and a bibliography extended to include works published in 1986. This translation is not of great merit and is of little significance for textual study⁹.

The next translation to appear was that of Yu Mingguang and Zhang Guohua 張國華 into modern Chinese published alongside the YMG2 text. The same volume also included the hurried translation into English of Chang and Feng. The latter is not wholly dependent on the Chinese edition but also marks points of departure from YMG¹⁰. By the time the volume emerged from the press Chang and Feng had already completed their own new edition and translation. Here the English translation adds nothing new to the Chinese

9 Decaux, J., *Le canon de l'empereur jaune*, Taipei, no date (c. 1985-6)

Decaux, J., *Les quatre livres de l'empereur jaune: le canon taoïque retrouvé*, Taipei, no date (c. 1986-7)

10 The haste with which this translation was done may account for the title of I.8 being transcribed whereas all other titles are translated. Another anomaly is to be found on p. 251 where we read of the "six jeopardies" but on p. 253 of the "six dangers", both phrases translating the same Chinese expression. Differences with Yu's interpretation is evident in a number of places. On p. 270 Chang refers to the "three pleasures". Yu's note, p. 101 n. 1, indicates that the "three" refers to the seasons of Spring, Summer and Autumn and not to three pleasures. The description of the sage as "obsolete" (p. 271) differs from Yu's translation and is simply incorrect. Where Yu reads "mountains", Chang reads "forests" (p. 293) and where Yu supplies a missing verb "level", Chang makes no comment other than that "one character is missing" (p. 293). There are also printing errors on pp. 225 n. 1 three for eight; 215 occupie, 237 disorder, 240 principles, 258 preverse, 269 earth, 310 retribue.

edition. Hence I have not considered their first translation as any editorial points it makes will have been absorbed in the CF edition itself.

In Holland Mansvelt Beck has translated the whole text into Dutch. As a basis he uses only the 1974 WW1 edition. Nonetheless, he does make some points of editorial value. His work is as yet (1994) unpublished. In Hawaii Peerenboom translated the text. Extracts occur in his study on the *Huangdi Sijing* but the whole translation was never published¹¹. Of some value, though, are A.C.Graham's notes on Peerenboom's translation. These do make unique editorial judgements and I am very grateful to the Belgian scholar, Dr. Carine Defoort, for making both these notes and Mansvelt Beck's translation available to me.

The next influences on my own work come from reading the text with Professor Li Xueqin for a whole year and from suggestions made by Dr. Paul Thompson. Any suggestions they have given me as well as my own editorial attempts are given in the apparatus under my Chinese name, Lei Dunhe 雷敦和. Finally, Chen Guying has provided a fairly free rendering into modern Chinese in his edition.

11.2 Technical Presentation

Each page of the edition comprises a maximum of four levels: heading, text, apparatus and notes.

Heading

The headings of the four books and the internal chapter titles of the first two are placed at the end of the relevant portions of text in the manuscript. Along with all other editors I put them as headings in the left-hand margin. Roman numerals are used to refer to the four books and arabic numerals for the chapters. Also in a prominent position above the left-hand corner of the text proper are the long black oblongs placed on the manuscript but outwith¹² the matrix of lines that houses the text proper indicating the start of the last three books.

The Text: Layout

11 Peerenboom, R.P., *Law and Morality in Ancient China*, State University of New York, 1993

12 In an age which permits the most horrible neologisms I see no need to deny a place to perfectly good English words in common use in the north British dialects: outwith (Southern English "outside"); uplift (Southern English "pick up"); upstand (Southern English "stand up"). It would be a curious state if academic English permitted "fax" and "fractal" and denied expressions familiar to many whose knowledge of their native tongue is not confined to Southern usage.

The text is laid out in horizontal lines running left to right. The line length is determined by semantic features with two objectives in mind: to present the text in a form which reflects the sense and to allow the reader to see the unity of each chapter. The former objective tends to break the text at each rhyme or end of a clause or phrase. The latter principle aims at trying to give a certain unity to each page and to each chapter of the text. The first principle can be illustrated in *Jun Zheng* where the seven year cycle is set out with a separate line for each year (p.276). The second principle is displayed in *Cheng* where the aphorisms are not cut in two by page breaks. Page breaks do not necessarily correspond to semantic breaks but I do hope that they are not totally unrelated to the sense. I have endeavoured to keep them to a minimum so as to present each chapter as a unit as far as length permits.

In the left-hand margin and over the head of the lines of text are the line numbers. The marginal numbers refer to the columns of the manuscript and are taken to begin where the overhead numbers indicate. The latter are based on the WW3 edition-- they differ slightly in the WW1 edition-- and are divided into "a/b", reflecting the division introduced by the demands of publishing the manuscript in modern book size. The line numbers are in bold type. The first number in each line is always placed above the character to which it corresponds. Subsequent characters are numbered in fives unless practical considerations demand otherwise.

Strictly speaking the numbers within each line correspond to the characters, and the characters alone, of an ideal manuscript. Elements which occur in the manuscript but are not true graphs are thus not included in the count even if they take up space on the manuscript. Such elements are the square dots at the beginning of chapters, the round dots in *Cheng*, any erased characters and odd markings or blots. Duplicated characters, indicated in the manuscript by a dot, are written out in full in my edition and counted.

The number is further ideal in that it gives a full count to any characters inserted after the initial writing and to any characters that the editor believes to have been missed out. This means that the number can be used, more or less, to refer to a place in the manuscript and to a place in the edition but strictly it is a count of this edition derived from a count of the manuscript.

A further left-hand editorial mark are the encircled Chinese-style numbers in

Cheng. There is some disagreement as to exactly how to divide the aphorisms of *Cheng* but since some decision has to be made it seems worth numbering the result to ease reference.

Finally, the chapter titles, which follow a gap in the manuscript are indicated by pointed inverted commas in my edition.

Text: Content

The text is an edition in modern standard Chinese characters. Where there are regular and common deviations from these forms they are listed at the end of this technical preface. Where there are particular deviations these are given in the apparatus below. Rarely there are notes indicated in the text, largely relevant to matters of punctuation. The notes are found at the bottom of the page. Lacunae for which the editor feels there are not sufficient grounds for preferring any of the suggestions listed in the apparatus are left as lacunae in the text. The estimate of the number of lacunae is based on WW3. Where this estimate differs from that in WW1, followed by WW2 and YMG, this may be noted in the apparatus. It should be borne in mind that this is always an estimate. There are no strict rules for the number of characters per column in the manuscript. Characters may be written more or less closely together. The dot to indicate duplication of a character takes up less space than the full character would do. In places characters have been added after the first writing. These are added in small print right to left, two graphs, and then below, again right to left. Thus suppose a piece of the silk to be damaged such that it seems that this piece allow space for two characters then two lacunae are transcribed. However, if the copyist had subsequently added more characters between the two then there should be perhaps six lacunae in the transcription. A very clear case of this possibility is indicated by 42b 15-19. The copyist has certainly overlooked five characters. Fortunately the context and similar material allows us to supply them. But if he has done the same in a place where the context is poor and we only have lacunae then there is no guarantee as to how many characters should be supplied. Thus the lacunae count is made on the grounds that the manuscript in these places was a perfect copy with no omissions and no deleted characters. Deleted characters could bring the lacunae count down; omissions would raise it. One cannot do otherwise than operate on this principle but it should be remembered that it entails setting a higher standard for the quality of the lacunae passages

than for the rest of the text.

The apparatus

The apparatus is arranged according to half lines. A typical lemma comprises the following elements: position-number, edited graph, manuscript graph. The position numbers refer unambiguously to the text as edited. The edited graph is always placed first. It is in exactly the form as it appears in the text. When it is recommended by most editors, especially by both WW3 and YMG1 no reference to any editor is given but where it is a rarer reading a reference is given. When the reference is to one of the early editions, such as TL, the purpose of stating the reference is to show that it is early in the work's editorial history. After the colon the manuscript graph is given. The graph is presented in a form readable today and is thus not a mere copy of the original. By and large it is in computerized form but the computer font is inadequate and additions have had to be made by hand.

A special problem arises with those cases in which some mark is visible but standing alone one cannot make out what the character is. These marks we may term "relics". While relics cannot justify a reading they can tell against it but more often they may be so poor as for it to be impossible to use them as evidence either way. On occasion relics have been transcribed in the lacuna box. On other occasions notes have been added where the editor feels that the relics speak against a given reading. More normally, though, lacunae fall into two types: those with confirmatory relics and those with no relics. In the case of the former WW1 always transcribed cautiously, hence as a lacuna. TL and WW2 and WW3 place a character. Thus a lemma such as the following is normally a sign of confirmatory relics: 18a 7 德 :德 :□ WW1. The photograph simply shows an indistinct smudge. WW1 indicated a lacuna. Subsequent editions all write 德. Since WW1 is alone noted as different it implies that Tang Lan was the first to write 德 and that all subsequent editors agreed with him.

This may seem a complicated procedure for showing the presence of confirmatory relics, an unnecessary digression into textual history. However, I believe it is not so. Firstly the Wen Wu editors, Tang Lan and Yu Mingguang have all inspected the original manuscript, something which I am not able to do. Secondly, the photos are not at

all clear in places. Colouring on the original certainly results in clearer forms than those in black and white photoprints. It would be presumptuous for a Western scholar to claim to be able to read the manuscript better from such photoprints than a Chinese acquainted with ancient calligraphy. Nonetheless, by including the WW1 lacuna in the apparatus I do show that any given reading is from relics, which while they must be presumed to testify at least negatively to the presence of the graph suggested, may simply permit one to deliver a verdict of non proven.

After the manuscript graph there may follow a line of readings suggested by various editors. The special case of WW1 lacunae has just been mentioned. The suggestions are also presented in the same style: graph, siglum of the edition. They are ordered chronologically left to right. Normally only those graphs are indicated that differ from the edited reading or the manuscript graph. Moreover in general WW3 and YMG1 readings are mentioned especially. One cannot then simply reconstruct any one of the editions considered from the apparatus. HXT is invoked in most instances where he differs from other editions but in places I have deemed it not worth referring to him. A case in point is 162a-163b where his inventiveness outstrips his scholarly responsibility.

The apparatus does not indicate obvious mistakes of proof-reading or editing in the editions, except for WW1. In the later case the conservative nature of the transcription gives it greater weight and it seemed necessary to state clearly that it had erred. Errors like this are provided with an error message (eg. 156b 1, 7).

The editorial policy adopted is to follow my own reading first but with immense respect for WW3 and great respect for YMG1. In most cases WW3 is preferable but in some places it chooses characters which are too *recherché* and for which backing is slight. In such cases a commoner graph is accepted (eg. 12b 27). HXT is the only edition which is never accepted alone.

Where a lemma is repeated on the same page it is not written in full. Instead a note is made indicating where it is to be found.

The Notes

Notes are found at the bottom of the page. They are brief and given in the following circumstances:

Firstly, for matters relating to punctuation of the text. Such notes are placed in the text near the relevant punctuation marks.

Secondly, for error messages;

Thirdly, to justify a given reading. Where the editor has adopted the reading of a lacuna without clear textual evidence then a note is generally supplied indicating the source of the recommended reading. This may be internal or it may be external. In internal cases the relevant passage is indicated by its number and sometimes it is repeated for the reader's benefit. Where external the source is given in Chinese, rarely with English translation. The reader of the edition must be presumed to know Chinese and often what is at stake is the form of a graph. Translation into English would be otiose.

Fourthly, to give the meaning of a given character. Here Chinese texts quoted in favour will normally be translated. Sometimes reference is made to standard Chinese dictionaries. However, it should be noted that the aim is to present a reliable edition of the text of the *Huangdi Sijing*. The aim is not to produce a commentary nor a translation. Hence remarks on meaning are minimal.

Fifthly, for extended discussion or other apposite comment. Remarks are confined to matters of editorial policy and thus kept to a minimum.

Thus what is placed on the page is similar to what one might find in the Nestle/Aland New Testament. This provides the commentator and translator with the best text possible but also with suggestions for other readings. A student of the text may decide that, for instance a reading of HXT, is clearly better than any other suggested and thus question my text. He is at liberty to do so. I shall still consider it to have been good to be able to present an apparatus which gives food for such reconstruction.

11.3 Specific Problems

The bane of the Mawangdui manuscript are the characters *da* 大 and *liu* 六. The former is written with three strokes of the brush, the latter with four. Unfortunately it is, firstly, not always easy to tell which one has been written and, secondly, one cannot be sure that the copyist transcribed correctly. This causes major problems in two contexts: the title of the fourth chapter of *Jingfa* and line 142 of *Shiliu Jing*.

11.3 (a) *The Title of I.4*

There is no problem reading what the copyist wrote as the title of I.4: he wrote *da fen* 大分. Yet in the middle of the chapter the graph is not so clear, though *da* is deemed the more probable reading¹³.

In practice one might advance two arguments in favour of *da*, one positive and one negative. The negative argument is made by CF. The chapter claims to and does list six *shun* and claims to list six *ni*. The six *shun* are set out simply in a series of six sentences only (27a 26- 28a 21). The six *ni* are listed and then elaborated. Now in the elaboration there are seven. The seventh is given in 26b 2-25. CF think that this seventh should have been included in the initial listing. In this case one would have seven *ni* and six *shun* and hence the argument in favour of *liu*, six, fails because there are not six distinctions but only one, between *ni* and *shun*. This is the "great" distinction.

This argument is not convincing. The seventh *ni* is the odd man out. All the others are concerned with internal court affairs, either within the royal family or between king and ministers. The seventh portrays king and ministers as respectively tyrannous and disordered. Moreover, since it is said twice that there are six *ni* (23a 22-3 & 28a 24-5) it seems improbable that originally there were seven and one was left out in the initial exposition.

The positive argument would interpret *da* as chief, important, referring to the same division of *ni* and *shun*. WW1 certainly read it in this sense. It is plausible in that the six *ni* and six *shun* are not directly correlated one to another¹⁴. The *ni* mention the problem of fomenting revolt by winning support for a faction against the ruler; the *shun* do not refer to the opposite of this but talk rather in positive terms of the relationship between ruler and ministers. But even if they are correlated one could still justify the title "Great Divide" rather than "six divisions". Li Xueqin appeals to two passages in *Xunzi* and one in the *Han Shu* where *da fen* has this meaning¹⁵.

13 The graph in 35b 16 is transcribed by WW3 & YMG2 as *liu*. HXT follows WW3. The quality of YMG2's publishing makes it unreliable as a guide. WW1 transcribed as *da* and read as *da*; TL, WW2 & YMG1 transcribed as *da* but read as *liu*. Is WW3's transcription correct? Only CF have considered the matter in the light of the publication of WW3 but for their own reasons they opt for *da*. Li Xueqin reads both 28b 8 and 35b 16 as *da*. Nonetheless he admits that 28b 8 is not so clear as 35b 16. Li Xueqin, *Mawangdui Boshu "Jingfa: Da Fen" ji qita*, p. 277

14 Li Xueqin, *Mawangdui Boshu "Jingfa: Da Fen" ji qita*, p. 277 correlates the lists as follows:
Ni 1-Shun 4; Ni 2-Shun 6; Ni 3-Shun 2; Ni 4-Shun 1; Ni 5-Shun 3; Ni 6-Shun 5.

Even without referring to the text one can see that this is not a smooth correlation. I suspect that we should not look for precise correlation between one list and the other. Each has its own logic and order.

15 Li Xueqin, *Mawangdui Boshu "Jingfa: Da Fen" ji qita*, p. 278 citing, among other texts:

In favour of reading *liu*, six, are the following arguments: the weakness of the negative argument used by CF, and the presence of six *ni* and six *shun*. The latter argument claims that, even if an exact correlation is not possible, the number six is of such significance that one must read *liu fen*. This is the option accepted by Tang Lan, Yu Mingguang and WW3.

Li Xueqin's argument seems persuasive based as it is on close textual reading and on consideration of relevant passages from other works.

11.3 (b) *Line 142a*

There are two characters in this line that cause problems: 142a 31 and 142a 36. The first is written *da*; the second is a relic that is read by WW3 as *liu*. At issue in this line are three problems: the title of II.15, the title of II and the number of characters in II.

II.15

Throughout the *Huangdi Sijing* titles are added at the end of the section to which they apply. They are separated from the text of that section by a blank space allowing room for two or three characters. At the end of I.9 there are two titles: the title of I.9 and the title of I. There is no significant space between these two titles, but nor are they juxtaposed very closely. The titles are, then, distinct from each other but not unduly so. The second title, *Jingfa*, is followed by a count of the number of characters used in the whole book. One would expect something similar at the end of the second book. In fact between the end of II.15 and the title name there is the expected space. However the title runs on for three closely juxtaposed characters (*shi da jing* 十大經) and is then followed by the count number for II. The problem is are there two titles here or only one?

Supposing one title then it could be either the title of II.15 or of II. There are two arguments against the former possibility: to apply the third character, *jing*, to II.15 seems to be giving it undue weight. II.15 is only 97 characters long. Though the *jing* of *Hanfeizi* are equally short, they are the basis for subsequent elaboration. There is no such elaboration in II.15 and moreover the text is about meditation and seems unsuitable as the basis for future elaboration. The second reason against applying the three characters to

Xunzi 1 *Quan Xue* 勸學 p. 2/28-29: 禮者，法之大分。"Rites are the important part of Law."

Xunzi 6 *Fei Shier Zi* 非十二子 p. 15/3-4: 苟以分_テ人_ニ為高，不足以合大衆，明大分。"By pretending to be different from others they think they are superior but they cannot even unite the masses or show forth what is important."

II.15 is that the following count can only apply to the whole of II as it states distinctly that there are 4,000+ characters.

All editions so far published or known to me take the three characters as applying to II and assert that II.15 has no extant title. However there is a further dispute as to how to read the title¹⁶. Reading 142a 31 as *da* would give the following: Ten Great Canons. Now there are fifteen extant pieces so it is hard to see what the figure "ten" can refer to here. For this reason WW3 and YMG both amend to *liu*: Sixteen Canons. Fifteen extant pieces is close to sixteen so perhaps one is missing. The only evidence in favour of a missing sixteenth section is contained in that slight relic which WW3 reads as *liu* at 142a 36.

Another possibility is that, just as we divided *ming li jing fa*¹⁷ into *mingli* and *jingfa* so too the three characters *shi da (liu?) jing* should be apportioned as titles of II.15 and II. The division must occur after the second as "ten" alone is not a reasonable candidate to serve as title. It should be noted too that on this hypothesis it does not make much sense to amend *da* to *liu* as "sixteen" would also be a strange title. The result is that II.15 is named *Shi Da* "Ten Important Points" and II *Jing* "Canon".

The major textual argument, based solely on a study of these three characters, against this reading is that there is no noticeable gap between *da* and *jing*. However, in the case of I.9 and I there was not space large enough to insert another character between *li* and *jing*. This counter-argument is not wholly conclusive for it is still the case that *da* and *jing* are very close. Another counter-argument is that the copyist was in a hurry and overlooked niceties such as a space. Proof of his hurry in this passage is not difficult to come by. In line 140a two characters had to be added after the initial writing¹⁸. In the next line one character had to be erased¹⁹. The haste continued after 142 with three characters having to be added in 143²⁰. Hence it is quite possible that a gap of a few millimetres could be closed up.

There are two other arguments that can be voiced in favour of this reading. The

16 Among opinions that have not won much support are those of Hu Xintian and Gao Zheng. Hu runs II.1 and II.2 into one piece and so has a total of fourteen chapters. He entitles II *Shida Jing* (10 Great Canons) (HXT). Gao Zheng, *Boshu "Shisi Jing" Zhengming*, argues on graphimological grounds that the title of II is *Shisi Jing* 十四經 (14 Canons). He claims that *si* was later written as *da* when the copyist transcribed into Han Dynasty *Li* 隸 characters.

17 77b 23-26 名理經法

18 140a 6 & 37

19 In front of 141a 23

20 143a 29, 143b 29-30

first is based on the applicability of the title "Ten Important Points" to II.15. The text could be set out as follows:

- 141a 5-14 If one desires to know the gaining and losing
It is necessary to examine names and investigate forms. (g'ieng)
- 141a 15-22 Forms perennially themselves define, (d'ieng)
Thus am I more tranquil (dz'iëng)
- 141a 23-30 Affairs perennially themselves run, thus have I nothing to do. (sia/gwia)
- 141a 31- 141b 6 Tranquil and not moving: (d'ung)
If something comes, by itself it arrives;
If something goes, by itself it goes. (giwang)
- 141b 7-12 Can you become single-minded? Can you halt? (t'æg)
- 141b 13-23 Can you not have self? (kiæg)
Can you yourself choose and yet respect Pattern? (liæg)
- 141b 24-31 (?) are such that they almost do not exist.
- 141b 32- 142a 6 The myriad things flock and arrive;
I have nothing to which I do not respond.
- 142a 7-21 I do not store the outdated nor hold on to what is old; (diën)
What is past is already gone; what has come is new. (sien)
- 142a 22-29 New and old do not mix; I have the wherewithal to them all englobe.

The challenge to this division will be to show that the division into ten is forced. With regard to the first four it should be noted that they all deal with the attitude of the ruler in front of things, which define themselves. If one leaves *qingbi* aside then it is clear from my edition that the first three lines are all four characters long and the fourth contains three members, one of four and two of three characters in length. The first two share a common rhyme and this rhyme is similar to that of the fourth. Thus they could form a discourse unit.

The fifth and sixth lines also share a common rhyme but their link to the seventh and eighth is less clear. The ninth and tenth share the theme of old and new. Without claiming that one can detect neatly organised poetry one can nevertheless say that a threefold division of the chapter is more natural²¹. Division into ten may be rather forced.

21 WW3 supposes that part of II.15 is lost thus the chapter may well continue in which case the rhyme pattern may become clearer.

A second argument in favour of reading *shida* and *jing* as separate titles, is that *Jing*, Canon, makes a good title for II as a whole. It frees one from the obligation to modify *da* to *shi* or to account for a lost "sixteenth" chapter. Moreover there seems to be some external evidence in its favour. The *Huangdi Neijing* (*Suwen*, *Qijiao Biandalun*) quotes a *Shang Jing* saying: "Above one knows the patterns of Heaven, below one knows the veins of the Earth, in the centre one knows human affairs"²². This citation is drawn from II.12. The epithet *shang* 上 appended before *Jing* could just mean "the Great" and is as redundant as the "holy" in the Christian expression "holy Bible" or it could refer to the first half of the work (Professor Li is very unsure on this point²³). Against this argument is the observation that II.12 has no extant title. Could *shang jing* be the title of II.12? It seems unlikely in that one quotes a work by its name and rarely by the division of a chapter.

Considered thus far it must be said that on graphological evidence alone II.15 should be called *Shi Da* and II *Jing*. Doubt though has been cast on the applicability of the first (*Shida*) and on proof for the second (*Jing*). Hence I have opted to keep to *Shiliu Jing* and suppose that there may be a lost sixteenth chapter. This hypothesis seems neater than those involving *Shida Jing* (10 canons) or *Shisi Jing* (14 canons) which similarly do not correspond to the number of extant chapters in the Mawangdui manuscript. Discussion of the count below (11.3 (c)) may provide further support for the reading *Shiliu Jing*.

11.3 (c) Character Count of *Shiliu Jing* 142a 36

The next element in the discussion is 142a 36. The counts given after *Jingfa*, *Cheng* and *Dao Yuan* are, so far as one can judge, accurate. The count for II should rightly be 4, 180 or so. Now the manuscript reads at least 4,006 according to WW1. TL gives 4,364²⁴. Li Xueqin gives 4,056²⁵. WW3 reads at least 4,606. If this figure is correct then over 420 characters are missing. WW3 (note 163) supposes that II. 15 is incomplete and that there was once a II. 16. As it stands II. 15 has nearly 100 characters. If one supposed it lacked 185 to bring it up to the average chapter length of 285 then II.16 would be left

22 *Huangdi Neijing Suwen* 69 *Qijiaobian Dalun* 氣交變大論 p. 955a/b: 上經曰：夫道者上知天文，下知地理，中知人事。"The *Shang Jing* says, "The Way knows Heaven's patterns above, Earth's patterns below and human affairs in between." The same text is quoted again without the initial *Shang Jing*:

Huangdi Neijing Suwen 75 *Zhuzhi Jiaolun* 著至教論 p. 983c: 而道上知天文，下知地理，中知人事。 II.12 differs slightly in that it talks of "heaven's seasons" (天時) and "earth's profit" (地利). 132a 13-24

23 Li Xueqin, *Mawangdui Boshu* "Jingfa: Da Fen" ji qita, p. 282 Li admits to not understanding the *shang* 上.

24 Tang Lan, "Huangdi Sijing" chutan, p. 48: 十大經 凡四千三(?)口(百)六口(十)四.

25 Li Xueqin, *Mawangdui Boshu* "Jingfa: Da Fen" ji qita, p. 280

with at least 244 characters. Both come close to the average for chapters in II²⁶. If one added on sufficient to bring II.15 up to the minimum of 165 then II.16 would be a manageable 364 well below the maximum of 644. WW3 supposes that a section of some 429 characters, that is about six or seven columns of text, is missing. If this were the end of the roll it would not be too surprising to find a part missing here. The copyist may have known the title of the whole work and its length so he wrote this at the end of the extant piece.

The only relic that is visible on the photostat is part of a horizontal line. WW3 concluded this was a "six". If it is a "one" and if 142b 38 was a "seven" then one would come very close to the actual number of characters in the extant II. Thus it would not be necessary to postulate either that II.15 was incomplete nor that there was a missing II.16. Indeed though II.15 is short it is not that much shorter than II.1 (100::165). Were the titles no problem one would not perhaps question the count but given the problems with the titles one is obliged to try and reconstruct the count.

If WW3 reached its reading of 142a 36 on graphological evidence alone then the weight of the argument is in favour of its hypothesis. If however 142a 36 could be read as any number then one can only say that the relic is not prohibitive of the reading. Put more positively there is no graphological evidence to disprove the thesis that at least there may have been a II.16 and that it is possible that the extant II.15 is truncated by the same loss.

Returning to the question of the titles. The examination of the count number has shown that there is no evidence against reading 142a 30-32 as one title belonging to II alone. Indeed there is certainly an argument for so doing if one can be sure that WW3 has correctly read 142a 36 as "six". Even if we cannot be sure of WW3's reliability at least one can say there is some possibility of such a reading. Hence, reluctantly, I must abandon the possibility that II should be called *Jing* and accept most editors in calling it *Shiliu Jing* "Sixteen Canons". The *Huangdi Neijing* citation may be taken as either giving the title of II.12 or as omitting the "sixteen" and calling II the Canon *tout court*²⁷.

26 立命 165; 觀 644; 五正 322; 果童 243; 正亂 488; 姓爭 319; 雌雄 291; 兵容 184; 成法 341; 三禁 149; 本法 179; II.12 324; 行守 175; 順道 260; 立.15 93 Average of first 14: 285 characters per chapter. Maximum of 644 and minimum of 165.
經 TOTAL 4177; text gives 4676 i.e. at least 429 too many.

27 Hu Xintian is too unreliable to be helpful. He treats II.1 and II.2 as one unit. He entitles II.15 *Suo Zhou* 所周 from the last line of the extant text (142a 28-29). This gives him 14 chapters in II. Now, Gao Zheng argues that the title of II is the "14 Canons" (*Shisi Jing* 十四經). Gao Zheng, *Boshu "Shisi Jing" Zhengming*, pp. 283-4. Speculative.

Sigla:

Manuscript marks in text:

- ■ Mark placed outwith the line grid to indicate the opening of a new book
- Mark placed at the head of a new chapter
- Mark placed at the head of a new aphorism in *Cheng* 稱

Editorial marks in apparatus:

- Indicates absence of any characters or lacunae
- Indicates erased character

Other signs:

- One lacuna
- [x] A series of lacunae, the supposed number is given after the "x"
- 的 Reduced characters indicate characters added later by a copyist

Abbreviations:

- CF Chang & Feng: edition by Leo S. Chang 張純 and Feng Yu 馮禹, 1993
- CGY Chen Guying 陳鼓應: Edition of 1994-5 published in Taiwan
- HXT1 Hu Xintian 胡信田 : Edition of 1984 published in Taiwan
- HXT2 Hu Xintian, 1992, Taipei: Ding Yuan Wenhua Shiye 臺北:頂淵文化事業
- LDH Lei Dunhe 雷敦和 : The present edition 1995
- TL Tang Lan 唐蘭 : Edition published in *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 1975
- WW1 Wen Wu 1 文物 1974 : Edition by Wenwu Publishing House, 1974
- WW2 Wen Wu 2 文物 1976 : Edition by Wenwu Publishing House, 1976
- WW3 Wen Wu 3 文物 1980 : Edition by Wenwu Publishing House, 1980
- YMG Yu Mingguang 余明光 both editions, YMG1, 1989 edition; YMG2, 1993 ed.

The apparatus does not list the following common variants from modern forms:

<u>Edited Form</u>	<u>Manuscript Graph</u>	<u>Edited Form</u>	<u>Manuscript Graph</u>
<i>chu</i> 處	处	<i>wei</i> 謂	胃
<i>Li Mo</i> 力墨	力黑	<i>xiao</i> 肖	宵
<i>mie</i> 滅	威	<i>xing</i> 形 and 型	刑
<i>sheng</i> 聖	耶	<i>wu</i> 無	无
<i>sheng</i> 勝	朕	<i>yang</i> 殃	央
<i>wei</i> 位	立	<i>zhan</i> 戰	單

Colometry

This list gives the number of graphs in each chapter and book, excluding chapter titles, according to the criteria stated in the technical preface. Colometric information is not provided in the edited text to save the reader from the burden of yet more numbers¹.

<i>Daofa</i>	道法 572	<i>Lun</i>	論 763
<i>Guoci</i>	國次 322	<i>Wang Lun</i>	亡論 486
<i>Junzheng</i>	君正 545	<i>Lun Yue</i>	論約 296
<i>Da Fen</i>	大分 795	<i>Ming Li</i>	名理 496
<i>Si Du</i>	四度 698		

Total: *Jingfa* 經法 4,973 (+17 for titles + 8 for chapter division marks = 4998)

MS gives the figure as 5,000

<i>Li...</i>	立 165	<i>Cheng Fa</i>	成法 341
<i>Guan</i>	觀 643	<i>San Jin</i>	三禁 149
<i>Wu Zheng</i>	五正 322	<i>Ben Fa</i>	本法 179
<i>Guo Tong</i>	果童 243	II.12	324
<i>Zheng Luan</i>	正亂 489	<i>Xing Shou</i>	行守 175
<i>Xing Zheng</i>	姓爭 319	<i>Shun Dao</i>	順道 260
<i>Cixiong</i>	雌雄 291	II.15	93+?
<i>Bing Rong</i>	兵容 184	II.16 ??	??

Total *Shiliu Jing* 經 4177; MS gives 4??6 (perhaps 46?6)²

Cheng 稱 1654, MS gives 1,6??

Dao Yuan 道原 459 (+2 (title) + 1 superfluous graph = 462) MS gives 464

Total *Huangdi Sijing* 黃帝四經 11,263 (extant graphs and lacunae)

MS count 11,070 (reading *Shiliu Jing* as 4006; *Cheng* as 1600)

MS count 11,724 (reading *Shiliu Jing* as 4606; *Cheng* as 1654)

¹ Contrast Thompson, P., *The "Shen Tzu" Fragments*, p. 220, discussing short textual units.

² For problems in the count here see discussion in the technical preface.

CONCORDANCE TO THE HUANGDI SIJING

Characters are listed in alphabetical order according to standard Chinese transliteration. Within any given syllable the order of characters is determined by the order of radicals used in the *Kangxi* dictionary. The total number of occurrences of each graph is indicated by square brackets. The numbers after this total refer to the half-column number (Arabic numerals followed by a or b). Numbers not preceded by # are from *Jingfa*, preceded by # are from *Shiliujing*, by ## from *Cheng* and by ### from *Dao Yuan*. A bracketed number indicates the number of occurrences within the one half column. Underlined references indicate uncertainty in reading or changes in sound. A character with two readings is listed only once with the variant reading in the margin. In all there are 1057 graphs listed. Some graphs are listed in compounds eg. *Tian xia* 天下; they are not then counted separately. The chapter divisions of Books I & II are as follows:

I.1 (1a-9a), 2 (9a-14b), 3 (14b-22b), 4 (22b-35b), 5 (35b-46b), 6 (46b-57b), 7 (57b-65b), 8 (65b-70a), 9 (70a-77b);

II.1 (78a-80a), 2 (80b-90a), 3 (90a-95a), 4 (95a-99a), 5 (99a-106b), 6 (106b-112a), 7 (112a-116b), 8 (116b-119b),

9 (119b-124b), 10 (124b-126b), 11 (126b-129b), 12 (129b-134a), 13 (134b-137a), 14 (137a-141a), 15 (141a-142b)

- Ai 愛[10] 16a, 17b, 22b #79a, 79b (3), 89b, 138a #154b
- An 安[12] 21b, 23b, 27b, 34a, 37b (2), 38a, 54b, 56b #138a #145b, 166b
案[2] #140a #144a
犴[1] #104b
- Ao 傲[1] #112a
- Ba 八[6] 43a, 47b, 48a, 48b, 50a (2)
拔[1] 18b
扒[1] #121a
霸[5] 28a, 34b, 35a, 53a ##146a
- Bai 敗[1] 3a
白[4] 3b #80b, 81a, 96b
百[11] 55b #97b, 123a, 130a, 142a #148a, 158a, 158b, 167a #169a, 174a
- Ban 半[1] 8b
- Bao 保[1] ##143b
包[1] ###168b
報[2] #140b #150b
抱[3] 45b #123a ##173b
暴[4] 26b, 36a (2) #128a
- Bei 倍[6] 40a (2), 64b, 67b #95a #151b
備[16] 21b, 22a (2), 54b, 57b, 58a (3) #89b, 97a, 101b, 103a, 114a (3), 114b
北[1] 49a
卑[3] #130b, 138a #155a
悖[2] 24b #102b
- Ben 本[18] 19b (2), 23b, 26a, 27b, 30b, 36a, 36b, 37b, 39b, 46a (2), 67b, 72a
#122a, 123a, 129b ##173b
- Beng 崩[1] ##155a
- Bi 嬖[1] ##148b
彼[3] 68b #113b, 123b
必[43] 10a, 10b, 17a, 17b, 18b, 28b, 39b, 40a, 45a, 45b, 50b, 57b, 60a (2), 61b, 68a, 68b, 72b, 73a (3), 74a (2), 74b (2), 77a #98b, 109a, 113a, 117a, 123b, 129a, 141a #152a (2), 153a, 157b, 159a, 159b, 160a (2), 160b, 164b

Concordance

- 敝[5] 12b, 13a, 13b #86b(2)
 比[2] 29b, 62a
 蔽[4] 29b(2), 43b, 63b
 畢[2] #91b, 107b
 避[2] 10b ##156a
 閉[1] #85a
 闢[1] ##158a
 Bian 遍[1] ###172b
 辯[3] #119b, 121b, 131a
 辨[2] #112a, 137a
 變[9] 7b, 53b, 54b #97a, 111b #144a(2), 156b #169a
 Biao 表[1] ##144a
 Bie 別[5] 12b, 13a, 13b, 16b, 18a,
 Bin 賓[2] 22b ##146a
 Bing 并[7] 19b, 36a, 38a #87b, 110b, 131a, 133b
 兵[30] 13a, 24b, 30a, 31a, 32a, 35a, 59a, 60b #87a, 92a, 94b, 104a, 106a,
 116b(4), 118a(2), 119b, 127a(3), 127b, 139b, #147b(3), 156a, 156b
 柄[3] 52b, 53b, 54b,
 秉[1] #117a
 Bo 剝[1] #104a
 博望[1] #94a
 播[1] #126a
 敦[2] #118b(2)
 薄[5] 58b, ##146b, 153a, 161a(2)
 陪[1] #101a
 Bu 不 1b, 2a(4), 2b(3), 4a, 6a, 7a(2), 9b(3), 10a, 11b(2), 12b(2), 15b, 16b(2),
 [353] 17b(2), 18a(2), 18b(3), 20b(3), 21a, 21b(2), 23b(4), 24a, 25a, 25b, 27a,
 27b, 29b(2), 30b(3), 31a(2), 31b, 32a, 33a, 34b(2), 35a, 35b, 36a(2),
 36b, 37a, 39a(2), 42a(3), 42b, 43a, 43b(3), 44a, 45a(2), 45b(2), 46a,
 46b(2), 47a(3), 47b, 48a, 48b, 49a, 49b, 51b, 52b, 53b, 54a, 55a, 55b(3),
 56b, 57a(2), 58a, 58b, 59b(3), 60a(2), 60b(2), 62a, 62b(2), 63a(2), 65a,
 66a(2), 67a, 68a(3), 69b, 70b(3), 71a(3), 72a, 73a, 74a, 75a, 76a, 77a(2)
 #79b(2), 80a(2), 84a, 84b(5), 85b(2), 86a(2), 88a, 88b(2), 89a, 89b,
 90a(3), 91a, 91b, 93b, 94a, 94b, 95b, 96a(3), 100a(2), 101a, 102b,
 106b(2), 107b, 108a(3), 109a, 110a(4), 110b, 111a, 111b, 112b, 113b,
 114a(4), 114b(2), 115a(5), 116b(6), 117b(3), 118b, 119a, 119b, 120b,
 122b, 125a(4), 125b(2), 126a, 127b(2), 128a, 128b(2), 129a(2), 129b,
 131b, 132a, 132b(3), 134b, 135a, 135b(3), 137a, 137b(2), 138a,
 138b(2), 139a(5), 139b(9), 140a(2), 140b(2), 141a, 142a(4)
 #143b, 144a(2), 144b(6), 146b(3), 147a(3), 147b(3), 148a, 148b(2),
 149b(3), 150b(2), 151a(6), 151b(4), 152a, 153b, 155b(5), 156a(2),
 157a, 157b(2), 158a(2), 158b, 159b(3), 160a(2), 160b(3), 161a(2),
 161b(3), 162b, 162a(3), 166b #168a, 168b, 169a(2), 170a(3), 171a(4),
 171b, 172a(2), 172b, 173a(3), 173b
 布[5] 12a #81a, 85a, 90b, 91b
 Cai 才[1] #97b
 材[1] 73a

Concordance

- 財[7] 11a, 12a, 20a, 34a(2) #137b #158b
 采[1] #136a
 Can 參[10] 4b, 28b, 29a(2), 37a, 38a, 69a #78a, 117a #143b
 殘[1] 23b
 Cang 倉[1] 5a
 (zang) 藏[4] 46a, 76a #127a, 142a
 Cao 操[2] #123b ##173b
 草[2] #89a #153a
 Ce 測[1] ###170a
 策[1] 69b
 Ci 慈[2] #138a #156a
 次[6] 9a, 14b #88a, 88b #161a, 161b
 此[30] 13b, 24a, 24b, 33a, 35a, 51a, 52b, 56a, 59a, 62b, 63a(2), 63b(2), 64a(2)
 #88a, 88b, 89a, 103b, 119a, 123b, 128b, 134a, 139a, 140b
 #151a, 166b #171b, 172a
 賜[1] ##158a
 辭[2] #93b #144b
 雌[10] #112a, 112b(2), 113a(2), 114a(2), 115a, 116b #166b
 Cong 從[17] 14b, 15a, 19b, 35a, 39b, 63a(2), 63b #118a(2), 130b, 140a
 #143b(2), 150b, 152a, 159b
 菴[1] ##153a
 Cui 淬[1] 72b
 Cun 存[20] 5b, 24a, 27b, 28a, 52a, 54a, 61a, 69a(2) #114a(3), 114b, 141b
 #145a, 149b(2), 160a(2), 164b
 寸[2] 5a, 42b
 Cuo 措[2] #111b, 116b
 Cha 察[16] 8b, 53a, 55a, 57a, 75a #86b(2), 122b, 141a #145a, 147b, 151a
 #170a, 171a, 172a(2)
 Chan 讒[1] #121b
 Chang 常[15] 6b, 14a, 49a, 49b, 66a, 68a
 #83a, 96a, 96b, 111b(2), 112a, 133b, 134b, 138a
 昌[8] 9b, 28a, 57b, 65b #108a, 115b, 116a, 134a
 猖[1] ##155a
 (zhang) 長[11] 7b, 42b, 44a, 45b, 73a #85a, 122a(2), 130a #156b, 165b
 Chao 巢[1] ##145a
 Chen 臣[26] 6b, 7a, 8b, 23a, 23b(2), 24a, 24b(2), 25a, 25b, 26a, 26b, 27b(4), 28a(2),
 29b, 35b, 37a, 43b, 55b, 61b(2) #87b
 #145b(4), 146a(6), 146b, 154b, 159b, 160a, 165a
 諶[2] #98a, 98b
 陳[2] 5a #142a
 辰[3] 43a, 65b ###170b
 Cheng 乘[1] #128a
 城[2] 12a ##160b
 承[2] #115b, 128a
 成[68] 3a(2), 11b, 12b, 14a, 20a, 20b, 25a, 35b, 38b(2), 39a, 40a, 44b, 53b,
 59b(2), 66a, 67a(2), 68a, 71b, 73a(2), 76b, 77a(2) #78b, 81b, 83b,
 84a(2), 87b, 88b, 89b, 91a, 94b, 97a(2), 97b, 103a, 107a, 107b, 108a,

Concordance

- 109a, 111a (2), 115a, 115b, 116b, 117a, 118a (2), 119a, 120a (2), 120b,
124a, 129a, 133a, 137a, 137b #150b, 153b (2), 157a #168b, 169a
- 稱[6] 2a, 6a, 43a, 76b##164a, 167a
誠[1] 76b
騁[2] 30b, 31b
Chi 尺[2] 5a, 42b
持[2] #124a, 136b
耻[3] 20a (2) ##150b
蚩尤[5] #94b, 95a, 104a, 104b, 106a
蚊[4] 48b #107b ##169a, 170b
飭[1] #140a
馳[2] 30b, 31b
齒[1] ##151b
Chong 充[1] #104b
蟲[2] #88a, 88b
Chou 仇[1] ##150b
Chu 儲[1] ##126b
出[8] 2b, 37a, 46b, 49a, 75b #88a, 94b, 104a
畜[4] 6b, 7a #95b, 98a
紕[3] #88a, 88b #156b
處[24] 3b, 11a, 24a (2), 25b, 26a, 27b, 37a, 43b, 44a, 45a, 47a, 47b, 50a, 69a,
70a (2), 70b, 74a #100a #145a, 152b (2), 157a
初[1] ###168a
除[2] 54b #124a
Chuan 傳[5] 58b, 64b #78a, 90a, 117b
川[1] #125a
穿[1] #99a
Chun 春[2] #85b #164b
Da (dai) 大[38] 8a, 9a, 23a, 24b, 26a, 26b (2), 27a, 28b, 35b, 41a, 42b, 60a, 61b, 67a, 71b,
74a #79a, 93a, 93b, 113b, 114b, 125a, 126a, 127b (2), 131a, 133a
#151a, 153b, 158a, 164b (2) #168b (2), 170a, 171b, 173a
大庭[2] #137a, 137b
達[10] 8b, 40a, 53a, 58b, 65a #78a, 90a, 117b, 123a #165b
Dai 代[2] 66b ##150b
待[9] #84a, 89b, 92a, 97b, 102a, 103a, 131a, 140a #144a
怠[3] #100a, 139b #162a
戴[2] ##151b #170b
殆[1] #132b
Dan 淡[1] #94a
Dang 當[39] 4b, 9b (3), 10a, 10b, 11b, 14b, 18a, 34b, 36a, 37a (2), 37b, 39a, 40a (2),
41b, 51a, 57b, 59b, 60b (2), 64b, 65a
#79a, 86a, 90a (2), 106a, 108b (2), 111b, 117b, 118b, 127b, 135a
#149a, 149b
黨[4] 12b, 13a, 13b, 62a
Dao 蕪[2] #126a (2)
盜[3] 18b ##156b (2)
道[80] 1a (2), 3a (2), 3b, 6a (2), 6b, 7b, 8a, 9a, 17a, 20b, 29a, 33a, 34a, 36b, 39b,

Concordance

- 41b (2), 42a, 45a, 45b, 50b, 51b, 52b, 53b, 55b, 65b, 66a, 67b, 68b, 69a,
70a (2), 75a, 75b, 76a, 77b
#83a, 89a, 89b, 92b, 105b (2), 108a, 109b (2), 110b, 119a, 121a, 122a,
123a, 125b, 126a, 126b, 127a (2), 129a (2), 130b, 131a, 132a, 132b, 133b,
134a (3), 141a
#143a, 143b, 144a, 152a, 159b #170a, 171b, 172b, 173b (2), 174a
- De 得[63] 1a, 14b, 15b, 16b, 21b, 22a, 28a, 34a, 37b (3), 42a, 47b (2), 48a (2), 59b,
67b, 76b, 77a #81b, 83b, 87b, 92a, 98a (2), 101a, 106a, 110a, 110b, 112b,
113a, 115a, 115b, 129a, 133a (3), 136a (2), 141a
#144b, 145b, 147b, 150a, 151a (2), 151b, 154b (2), 157b, 159b
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- 妻[2] 11a ##148b
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- 氣[7] #84a, 85a, 88a, 88b, 93a, 136b ##170b
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- Ri 日[12] 35a, 43a, 49a #79a (2), 86a, 100a, 108b, 126b, 137b #154a #170b
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- Rou 柔[17] 7a, 45a (2), 73a (3) #83b (2), 111a, 125b (2), 131a, 138a (2), 138b
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 衆[6] 30a #128a, 131a, 139b, 140a #156a
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 終[7] 8b, 66b, 71b, 75a, 75b #128b #152a
 (chong) 重[20] 6a, 33a, 33b, 34a, 39a, 43a, 46b, 47b, 59b, 64a, 73a (2), 76a, 77a
 #85a, 89a, 97b, 113a, 119a #165a
 鐘[2] 11a, 12a
 Zhou 周[2] 36b, 62a, 63b, 68a #80b, 99a, 110a, 142a #168a, 171b, 172b, 174a
 州[1] #126a
 晝[1] ##164b
 Zhu 主[40] 8b, 22b, 23a (2), 23b (2), 24a (2), 24b, 25b, 26a, 26b, 27a, 27b (3), 28a (2),
 28b, 29b (2), 30a, 45a, 46b, 55a, 55b, 61b, 63b, 67b (2)
 #87a, 128a, 130a, 138a, 138b, 139b #144b, 164a, 165a, 166a
 助[1] ##160b
 珠[1] 46a
 箸[1] #95a
 誅[6] 9b, 34b, 37a, 57a, 61b #127b
 諸[6] 62a ##148b, 150b, 158b, 166a, 166b
 逐[1] 63b
 Zhuan 專[2] #126a #144b
 轉[2] 53a, 54a
 Zhuang 撞[1] #87a

Unidentified Characters:

控	#87a 14 (WW3 reads as 窒 <i>zhi</i> ; CGY as 適 <i>shi</i> or 質 <i>zhi</i>)		
蓀	#102b 10 (identification as 悖 <i>bei</i> probable)	圉	#129a 38
憲	#112a 25 (identification as 害 <i>hai</i> possible)	紆	#141b 24
甞	#122b 24 (identification as 嘗 <i>yong</i> probable)	掾	##152b 1

Statistical Table of the Ten Most Widely Used Graphs

Order	<i>Jingfa</i>	<i>Shiliu Jing</i>	<i>Cheng</i>	<i>Dao Yuan</i>	Total
1	之 199	之 153	不 69	之 21	<i>Zhi</i> 之 412
2	不 135	不 130	而 50	不 19	<i>Bu</i> 不 353
3	而 124	以 108	其 50	而 13	<i>Er</i> 而 273
4	天 118	天 93	者 42	以 12	<i>Tian</i> 天 237
5	者 105	而 86	之 39	其 11	<i>Zhe</i> 者 225
6	有 103	者 75	也 31	也 9	<i>Qi</i> 其 209
7	則 103	有 61	有 29	天 5	<i>Yi</i> 以 205
8	其 89	其 59	天 21	者 3	<i>You</i> 有 196
9	也 87	也 51	以 19	有 3	<i>Ye</i> 也 178
10	以 66	則 33	則 18	則 1	<i>Ze</i> 則 156

黃帝四經

Huangdi Sijing

The Four Canons of the Yellow Emperor:

經法

Jingfa

The Constant Law

十六經

Shiliu Jing

Sixteen Canons

稱

Cheng

Collected Sayings

道原

Dao Yuan

The Origin of the Way

I.1 道法

I 經法 1 道法

- 1 ^{1a:1}道生法。法者引得失以繩，而明曲直者也。
²⁰故執道者，²⁵生法而弗敢犯也。
³⁰法立而弗敢廢也。
⁵口能自引以繩，然後見知天下而不惑矣。
²⁰虛無形，其皜冥冥，萬物之所從生。
- 2 ^{2a:1}生有害，曰欲，曰不知足。生必動，
¹⁰動有害曰不時，曰時而口。動有事，
²⁵事有害曰逆，曰不稱，不知所為用。
^{35 2b:1}事必有言，言有害曰不信，曰不知畏人，
¹⁵曰自誣，曰虛夸，以不足為有餘。
³⁰故同出冥冥，
- 3 ^{3a:1}或以死，或以生，或以敗，或以成。
¹⁰禍福同道，莫知其所從生。
²⁰見知之道，唯虛無有。虛無有，秋毫成之，
^{35 3b:1}必有形名。形名立，則黑白之分已。
¹⁵故執道者之觀於天下也。
²⁵無執也，無處也，無為也，無私也。

1a 6引:𠄎;16也:𠄎;17故:口:口 WW1;

1b 1也:口:○ HXT2;2口:口:[x2] WW1:故 HXT;CGY:夫 YMG2;若 CF¹;

5 as 1a 6;9後:后;22皜:皜:督 WW1,HXT:寂 WW3 alternative reading, CGY²

2a 18口:口:動 HXT:倍 CGY;

2b 20夸:夸誇 HXT

3a 27,30有:有:形 CGY;32毫:稿;

3b 21,24,30,33 as 1a 16

1 1b 2 None of these readings have any textual support.

2 1b 9 For *du* 督 as central artery in spine, see Li Cunshan 李存山 in *Guanzi Xuekan* 1987.1, p. 35; 皜 is the central seam of a coat. Both refer to the centre.

I 1 道法

- 4 是故天下有事，無不自為形名、聲號矣。
 形名已立，聲號已建，則無所逃迹、匿正矣。
 公者明，
 至明者有功。至正者靜，至靜者聖。無私者智，
 至智者為天下稽。稱以權衡，參以天當，
- 5 天下有事，必有巧驗。事如植木，多如倉粟。
 斗石已具，尺寸已陳，則無所逃其神。
 故曰度量已具，則治而制之矣。
 絕而復屬，亡而復存，孰知其神？
 死而復生，以禍為福，
- 6 孰知其極？
 反索之無形，故知禍福之所從生。
 應化之道，平衡而止。輕重不稱，是謂失道。
 天地有恆常，萬民有恆事，
 貴賤有恆位，畜臣有恆道，使民有恆度。
 天地之恆常，
- 7 四時、晦明、生殺、柔剛。
 萬民之恆事，男農、女工。
 貴賤之恆位，賢不肖不相放。

4a 31 公:公:至公 YMG2¹

4b 16,18 智:知; 23 稽:稽:稽 as 楷 CGY

5a 11 植 WW3:直²

7a 6 柔:繇; 24 肖:宵; 27 妨 WW1&3, HXT, YMG2:放:放 YMG1 傲 CF:方 CGY

1 4a 31 Reading based on following phrases: 至明, 至正, 至靜, 至智: Possible, not certain.

2 5a 11 *Huainanzi* 淮南子 15 *Binglue* 兵略訓 p. 506 兵如植木.

I.1 道法

30 7b:1 5
畜臣之恆道，任能、毋過其所長。

10 15
使民之恆度，去私而立公。

20 25
變恆過度，以奇相御。

30
正奇有位，

8a:1
8 而名號弗去。

5 10
凡事無小大，物自為舍。

15 20
逆順、死生，物自為名。

25
名形已定，物自為正。

30 8b:1 5
故唯執道者能上明於天之反，

10 15
而中達君臣之半，

20
密察於萬物之所終始，

25
而弗為主。

30 9a:1 5
9 故能至素、至精，浩彌無形，

10 15
然後可以為天下正。

《道法》

8a 2 號 LDH¹:口:○ WW1, YMG2 :形 HXT; 33 道:口²

8b 8 反:反:返 CGY; 15 半:半:畔 CGY; 16 密:富密³

9a 5 浩:楷; 10 後:后

1 8a2 *Heguanzi* 歇冠子²着希 Pt. 1p. 3a 端倚有位名號弗去 The character 端 *duan* is a taboo character for 正 *zheng* from the time of QinShi Huang 秦始皇. 倚 *yi* and 奇 *qi* are variants.

Graham, *Peerenboom Notes* I, p.4 cites this passage from *Heguanzi* and also advocates 號.

2 8a 33 *Jingfa* 經法 1 *Daofa* 道法 3b 故執道者之觀於天下也

3 8b 16 富 *fu* is a copyist's error for the subsequent 密 *mi*.

I.2 國次

經法 2 國次

- (9a) ²⁰ 國失其次，則社稷大枉。²⁵
^{9b: 1} 奪而無予，國不遂亡。⁵
 不盡天極，衰者復昌。¹⁰ ¹⁵
 誅禁不當，反受其殃。²⁰
- 10 ²⁵ 禁伐當罪當亡，必墟其國。^{10a: 1}
⁵ 兼之而勿擅，是謂天功。¹⁰
¹⁵ 天地無私，四時不息。²⁰
 天地立，聖人故載。²⁵
³⁰ 過極佚當，天將降殃。^{10b: 1}
⁵ 人強勝天，慎避勿當。¹⁰
¹⁵ 天反勝人，因與俱行。²⁰
- 11 ²⁵ 先屈後伸，必盡天極，而毋擅天功。^{11a: 1}

9a 27 枉:匡:恆 HXT:恐 CGY¹

9b 24-5 禁伐:禁伐:○ Graham²

10a 2 墟:虛:虛 HXT2; 24 立 YMGI:立:位 WW3, CGY; 31 佚 CGY:失³; 32 當:口⁴

10b 10 避:辟; 23 後:后; 24 伸:信

1 9a 28 匡 *kuang* read as 枉 *wang* as in *Liji* 禮記 10 *Liqi* 禮器 p. 132:年雖大殺,衆不匡懼

Note 匡與框通。Though there be great killing in the year, yet the masses do not fear. (Note: *kuang* is the same as *wang*). Note by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200 A.D.).

2 9b 24 Graham, *Peerenboom Notes* I, p. 5 is "tempted to cut out" these two characters for symmetry.

3 10a 31 CGY quotes instances from early literature where 失 *shi* is read as 佚 *yi* and *yi* as meaning to go beyond, synonymous with 過 *guo*. The most pertinent instance being a note by He Xiu 何休 (129-182 A.D.) on the *Gong Yang Zhuan*, *Zhuang* 莊 year 12 # 3. The text reads: 而佚晉寇 which in context means "He let the Jin invading army cross the river and so flee." He Xiu's note reads, 佚, 猶過 "yi" is to be read as "guo", cross.

See *Gong Yang Zhuan* 公羊傳, *Si Bu Bei Yao* 四部備要 ed. *juan* 16 p. 6B

4 10a 32 *Jingfa* 經法 2 *Guoci* 國次 14b 過極佚當

I.2 國次

- (11a) ⁵兼人之國，¹⁰修其國郭，
¹⁵處其廊廟，²⁰聽其鐘鼓，
²⁵利其資財，³⁰妻其子女，
^{11b:1}是謂口，⁵逆以荒，國危破亡。
¹⁰故唯聖人能盡天極，¹⁵能用天當。
²⁰天地之道不過三功。
- 12 ³⁰功成而不止，^{12a:1}身危有殃。
⁵故聖人之伐也，¹⁰兼人之國，
¹⁵墮其城郭，²⁰焚其鐘鼓，
²⁵布其資財，³⁰散其子女，
^{11b:1}裂其地土，以封賢者，
⁵是謂天功。
¹⁰功成不廢，¹⁵後不逢殃。

11a 15 廊:朗; 23 資:齎; 29 是:●是; 31 口:口:倍 HXT:重 CF, CGY¹

11b 3 荒:芒

12a 2 有:又; 9 也:毆; 14 墮:隋; 18 焚:焚; 24 as 11a 23; 30 裂:列

12b 12 後:后; 14 逢:奉

1 11a 31 HXT reads *bei ni* 倍逆 as one phrase; CF reads *chong ni* 重逆 as one phrase. Conjecture.

I.2 國次

(12b) 毋陽竊，毋陰竊，毋土敝，毋怙藝，毋黨別。

13 陽竊者，天奪其光。

陰竊者，土地荒。

土敝者，天加之以兵。

人藝者，流之四方。

黨別者，外內相攻。

陽竊者疾，

陰竊者饑，

土敝者亡地，

人藝者失民，

黨別者亂，

14 此謂五逆。五逆皆成，

口口口口，口地之網。

變故亂常，擅制更爽，

心欲是行，身危有殃，

是謂過極佚當。《國次》

12b 26 怙 YMG: 故: 固 HXT, CGY;

27 藝 LDH: 藝: 藝 WW3: 勢 YMG 執 CF, CGY¹; 30 別: 口

13a 6-9 其光陰竊²: [x4]; 13 荒: 芒; 23 as 12b 27; 31 者: 口³

13b 1 外 YMG2: 口⁴; 4 攻: 功; 12 饑: 几; 19 as 12b 27

14a 7-11 [x5]: [x5]: 絕天之維，失 HXT: 亂天之經，逆 CGY; 14 網: 剛;

30 殃: 口⁵;

14b 1 是: 口⁶; 5 佚 CGY: 失 as 10a 31

1 12b 27 *Guoyu* 國語 21 *Yueyu xia* 越語下 p. 653: 後無陰蔽，先無陽察，用人無藝。The WW3 reading is very improbable; the character 藝 is rare.

2 13a 6-9 See *Shiliu Jing* 十六經: 2 *Guan* 觀 86b-87a 陽察者奪光 and preceding phrase 13b: 陽竊者。

3 13a 31 Based on preceding phrases: 陽竊者; 土敝者 and 人藝者

4 13b 1 Contrast with following 內

5 14a 26 Based on *Jingfa* 經法 2 *Guoci* 國次 11b-12a 身危有殃 above.

6 14b 1 Based on *Jingfa* 經法 2 *Guoci* 國次 10a, 12b 是謂天功 above.

I.3 君正

經法 3 君正

- (14b) ■ 一年從其俗，
 二年用其德，
 三年而民有得；
 15 四年而發號令，
 五年而以刑正，
 六年而民畏敬，
 七年而可以征。
- 20 一年從其俗， 25 則知民則。
 30 二年用其德， 15b:1 則民有力。
 5 三年無賦斂， 10 則民有得。
 15 四年發號令， 20 則民畏敬。
 25 五年以刑正， 30 則民不倖。
- 16 16a:1 六年口口口， 5 口口口口。
 10 七年而可以征， 15 則勝強敵。

15a 2-10 五年而以刑正。六年而:[x9]¹; 19 征:正; 32-33 其德:[x2]²

15b 1-3 則民有 HXT:民則:則民 YMG, CGY; 31 倖:幸

16a 3-5 [x3]:[x3]:而可以敬 HXT:民畏敬 CF, CGY³; 6 口:口:則 HXT,

CF, CGY⁴; 7-9 [x3]:[x3]:民難國 HXT:無不聽 CF:知刑罰 CGY;

10 七:口⁵; 15 as 15a 19; 19 敵:適

1 15a 2-10 The structure of the passage justifies this insertion.

2 15a 32 As note 1.

3 16a 3-5 CF reading based on 15b 則民畏敬; no evidence given for HXT reading.

4 16a 6 CF reading based on 17b-18a 民無不聽; no evidence given for HXT reading.

5 16a 10 As note 1.

I.3 君正

- (16a) 20 俗者順民心也。²⁵
 德者愛勉之也。³⁰
 16b:1 有得者，發禁弛關市之征也。^{5 10}
 號令者，連為什伍，選練賢不肖有別也。^{15 20 25}
 17 以刑正者，罪殺不赦也。^{30 17a:1}
 口口口口，口口口口也。^{5 10}
 可以征者，民死節也。¹⁵
 若號令發，必究而上¹仇，壹道同心，^{20 25 30}
 上下不斥，民無它志，然後可以守戰矣。^{17b:1 5 10}
 號令發必行，俗也。男女勸勉，愛也。^{15 20 25}
 18 動之靜之，民無不聽，時也。^{30 18a:1}
 受賞無德，受罪無怨，當也。^{5 10}
 貴賤有別，賢不肖衰也。^{15 20}
 衣服不相逾，貴賤等也。^{25 30}

16a 25 也:毆; 31 也:口; 32 有:口²

16b 3 發:廢HXT; 5 弛:施; 9 征:正; 10, 25 as 16a25; 18 選:異; 31 殺:殺誅CGY

17a 2, 11, 19 as 16a 25; 3-10 [x8]:[x8]:以刑正者，罪殺不赦HXT:民畏

敬者，[x4]CF:畏境者，民不犯刑罰CGY³; 14 as 16b 9; 25 究

WW1, YMG:廢:句WW2&3:廢 as 聚CGY; 28 仇WW3⁴:九; 33 上:口⁵

17b 3 斥WW3:越:斥WW1⁶; 7 志:志:口WW1 9 後:后

18a 7 德:德:口WW1; 21 衰:衰⁷; 24 服:備; 27 逾WW2&3:綸:綸WW1, HXT:綸TL

1 17a 27 Chen Guying thinks that this 上 *shang* is superfluous and should be omitted.

2 16a 32 Based on 15b above: 民有得

3 17a 3-10 HXT repeats the preceding eight characters with no evidence given; CF is a conjecture based on 15a, 15b: 民畏敬.

4 17a 28 仇, 合也: See *Guanzi* 管子 30 *Junchen shang* 君臣上: 民不散而上合 (Zhao, Vol. 1 p. 398)

5 17a 33 Based on context: 上下.

6 17b 3 HXT and YMG1 read as meaning 距 *ju*, distance, (*Shuo Wen* 說文 2A 越, 距也 p. 37); HXT also and YMG2 read as meaning 牽 *qian*, to lead, (*Yu Pian* 玉篇: 越, 牽也).

7 18a 21 Meaning 差 *cha*, to be apart.

I.3 君正

- (18b) 18b:1 國無盜賊，詐偽不生，
 民無邪心，衣食足而刑罰必也。
 以有餘，守，不可拔也。以不足，攻，反自伐也。
- 19 19a:1 天有死生之時，國有死生之政。
 因天之生也以養生，謂之文；
 因天之殺也以伐死，謂之武。
- 19b:1 文武并行，則天下從矣。
 人之本在地，地之本在宜，
 宜之生在時，時之用在民，
 民之用在力，力之用在節。
 知地宜，須時而樹，
 節民力以使，則財生。
 賦斂有度，則民富。
 民富則有耻，有耻則號令成俗而刑罰不犯。
 號令成俗而刑罰不犯，則守固戰勝之道也。

18b 5 詐:詐; 18 罰:伐; 32 攻:功

19b 1 文:口¹

20a 6 須:須:順 HXT; 29, 31 耻:佻

20b 27 正:正:政 WW1

1 19b 1 Contrast of 文武 wen-wu outlined in 19a 13-34 above.

I.3 君正

- (20b) ²⁵法度者，³⁰正之至也。
- ³⁵而以法度治者，⁴⁰不可亂也。
- 21 ^{21a:1}而生法度者，不可亂也。
- ¹⁰精公無私而¹⁵賞罰信，²⁰所以治也。
- ²⁵毋苛事，³⁰節賦斂，^{21b:1}毋奪民時，治之安。
- ⁵無父之行，¹⁰不能得子之用。
- ¹⁵無母之德，²⁰不能盡民之力。
- ²⁵父母之行備，³⁰則天地之德也。
- 22 ^{22a:1}三者備則事得矣。
- ¹⁰能收天下¹⁵豪傑驃雄，²⁰則守禦之備具矣。
- ²⁵審於行³⁰文武之道，^{22b:1}則天下賓¹矣。
- ⁵號令合於民心，¹⁰則民聽令。
- ¹⁵兼愛無私，²⁰則民親上。

《君正》

20b 27 正:正:政 WW1

21a 22 毋苛 HXT, YMG:苛:苛 as 節 WW1²

22a 1 三:三:二 CGY; 13傑:桀; 14驃:票:剽 WW1:驃 or 僮 YMG1;

18 禦 HXT, WW3:御

22b 6 合:闔

1 22b 2 *Er Ya* 爾雅 1A *Shi Gu* 釋詁 上 10 賓 *bin*, 服 *fu* 也。"to be obedient"

2 21a 22 WW2,3 & YMG think there should be a character before 苛 *ke*; WW2 suggests 省 *xing*; WW3 makes no suggestion; HXT and YMG suggest 毋 *wu* as in 21a 28-9 毋奪.

I.4 大分

經法 4 大分

- (22b) 23 ■ 觀國者觀主，觀家觀父。
 能為國則能為主，能為家則能為父。
 凡觀國，有六逆：
 其子父，其臣主。雖強大不王。
 其謀臣在外位者，其國不安，其主不悟則社稷殘。
 其主失位則國無本，
 24 臣不失處則下有根，國憂而存。
 主失位則國荒，臣失處則令不行，
 口口口口，此之謂解國。
 主兩則失其明，男女爭威，國有亂兵，此謂亡國。
 嫡子父，命曰上悖，
 25 群臣離志，大臣主，命曰壅塞；
 在強國削，在中國破，在小國亡。
 謀臣在外位者，命曰逆成，國將不寧；
 在強國危，在中國削，在小國破。

23a 1 家:家:家者 CGY; 22 六:六:大 CF¹

23b 3 其:其●; 17 悟:晉:晤 TL:御 HXT;

24a 7 國:口; 16 荒:芒;

24-27 [x4]: ○: 主暴臣亂 WW1, 2 & 3: 上下無根 YMG²: ○ CGY;

31 解: 解: 頤 WW1, YMG: 頤 TL: 頤 as 泮 WW2: 頤 WW3; 威 HXT: 頤 CGY³

24b 1 其:其:口 WW1; 5 爭:掙; 15 嫡:適; 21 悖 WW3: 費:拂 WW2: 小拂 CGY;

24 離:离; 31 壅:雍

25a 16 在:口

1 23a 22 CF suggests that since there are five or seven 逆 *ni* the graph 六 *liu*, six, should be read as 大 *da*, big.

2 24a 24-27 It is supposed that there is something missing here. As can be seen there is disagreement as to what. Chen Guying inserts, after 24a 32: 住暴則生殺不當, 臣亂則賢不肖并立, 此謂危國。

3 24a 31 WW1 misidentified the graph. It seems to be related to 解 *jie*, lit. to cut off an ox's horns, resolve.

I.4 大分

- (25b) 主失位，¹⁰ 臣不失處，¹⁵ 命曰外根，²⁰ 將與禍鄰；
- 26 在強國憂，²⁵ 在中國危，^{26a:1} 在小國削。
 主失位⁵ 臣失處¹⁰，命曰無本¹⁵，上下無根²⁰，國將大損；
 在強國破²⁵，在中國亡³⁰，在小國滅^{26b:1}。
 主暴臣亂⁵，命曰大荒¹⁰。外戎內戎¹⁵，天將降殃；
 國無小大²⁰，有者滅亡²⁵。
- 27 主兩，男女分威³⁰，命曰大迷^{27a:1}，國中有師⁵；
 在強國破¹⁰，在中國亡¹⁵，在小國滅。
 凡觀國²⁰，有六順²⁵：
 主不失其位³⁰則國有本^{27b:1}。
 臣失其處⁵則下無根¹⁰，國憂而存。
 主惠臣忠者¹⁵，其國安²⁰。
- 28 主主臣臣²⁵，上下不越者³⁰，其國強^{28a:1}。
 主執度⁵，臣循理者¹⁰，其國霸昌。
 主得位¹⁵，臣輻屬者²⁰，王。
 六順六逆²⁵口存亡興壞之分也^{30 28b:1}。

25b 22 鄰:閭

26b 9 荒:芒; 22 有:又

27a 3 迷:麋:困 WW1; 24 六:大:大六 HXT

27b 1-2 有本¹: [x2]: [x2] WW1; 安寧 HXT; 3 臣²:口; 30 越:越:距 HXT

28a 12 霸:朝; 16 位³:口:口 WW1; 18 輻:福;

26 口:口:則 WW2: 為 HXT: 者 YMG2: 貴 CGY; 29 興⁴:口:口 WW1;

30 壞:口:口 WW1: 衰 HXT

1 27b 1-2 Based on 23b 27-9 國無本

2 27b 3 Based on 23b 30- 24a 2 臣不失處

3 28a 16 Based on 26a 5-7 主失位

4 28a 29 & 30 Supplied from *Jingfa* 經法 6 *Lun* 論 52a 2-5 存亡興壞

I.4 大分

- (28b) ⁵主上者執大¹分¹⁰以生殺，以賞¹⁵罰，以必伐。
²⁰天下太平，正以明德²⁵，參之於³⁰天地，
- 29 ^{29a: 1}而兼覆載而無私也，故王¹⁰天下。
¹⁵王天下者之道，有天焉、有人焉、有地焉。
³⁰參者參用之，口口而有天下矣。
¹⁰為人主，南面而立。臣肅敬¹⁵，不敢蔽其主。²⁰
²⁵下比順不敢蔽其上
- 30 ^{30 30a: 1}萬民和輯而樂為其主上用，地廣人眾兵強，¹⁰
¹⁵天下無敵。
²⁰文德究於輕細，武刃於口口，王之本也。^{30 30b: 1}
⁵然而不知王術者，不王天下。¹⁵
²⁰知王術者，驅聘馳獵而不禽荒，²⁵
- 31 ^{30 31a: 1}飲食喜樂而不湏康，玩好燬好而不惑心；¹⁰
¹⁵俱與天下用兵，費少而有功，口口口口口口口口口口³⁰

28b 15 罰 YMG1²:口:信 WW2, HXT; 18 伐:伐:罰 HXT2; 21 太:大 29 於:于
 29a 3 覆:復; 15 下³:口; 25 有:又; 33-34 [x2]:[x2]:故王 WW2: 國安 HXT: 然後 CGY;
 29b 12 立:立:莅 CGY; 18, 26 蔽:蔽
 30a 19 敵:適; 22 究:廢; 26 武:武:[x2] WW1; 27 刃:刃:刃 WW1:韌 HXT;
 29-30 [x2]:[x2]:誅禁 HXT:當罪 CGY;
 30b 10 術:述; 18 術⁴:口; 27 荒:芒; 28 飲:飲
 31a 2 湏:面; 6 燬:震:娟 TL:震 WW3; 21-2 有功:口功:多功 HXT1: 功多 HXT2;
 23-7 [x5]:[x5]:戰勝而令行 YMG2, CGY:天人地三者 HXT;
 28-31 [x4]:[x4]:俱與天下 CF:用之則民安 HXT:故福生於 CGY

1 28b 8 Li Xueqin says the character here looks more like 大 *da* than 六 *liu* though most editors read as 六 *liu* *Mawangdui Boshu "Jingfa: Da Fen" ji Qita* p. 277; at 35b 16 the copyist has definitely written 大 *da*.
 2 28b 15 賞 *shang* and 罰 *fa* are opposites (reward/punish) just as 生 *sheng* and 殺 *sha* are (give life/kill).
 3 29a 15 Based on 30b 14-15 et al. 天下
 4 30b 18 Based on 31b 15-19 不知王術者

I.4 大分

31b:1 口則國富而民口口口口口口其口。

15 不知王術者， 驅²⁰騁馳獵則禽荒，

32 飲食喜樂則酒康， 玩好¹⁰嫒好則惑心；

15 俱與天下用兵， 費多而無功， 戰勝而令不行，

30 32b:1 口口失口口口口口口口空口與天下口則國貧

33 而民荒。口聖之人弗留， 天下弗與。

5 如此而又不能重士而師有道， 則國人之國矣。

25 王天下者有玄德， 有口口獨知口口口口

10 王天下， 而天下莫知其所以。

34 王天下者， 輕縣國而重士， 故國重而身安；

5 賤財而貴有智， 故功得而財生；

31b1 口:口:安HXT:內CGY;6民:民:口WW1;

7-12[x6]:[x6]:衆[x5]CF:和輯，樂為主用。HXT:昌。聖人其留，天下CGY;14口:口:有HXT:與CGY;15不:口;18術:述;26荒:芒;27飲:飲

32a 4酒:面;8嫒:婁:娟TL:婁WW3;11惑:或;30行WW1, YMG:口;

30口:口:○WW1, YMG1:天HXT:故CGY

32b1 口:口:下HXT:福CGY;3-9[x7]:[x7]:[x8]WW1, YMG:天下者，輕國而遠士HXT:於內，財去而倉廩CGY;11口:口:無HXT:俱CF:虛CGY;

14下HXT, YMG:口:相CGY;15口:口:失HXT:逆CGY;21 as 31b 26;

22口:故HXT:賢CF:至CGY

33a 6又:有;18之:之:口WW1;20矣:已;

29-30[x2]:[x2]:玄德HXT, CGY:獨見CF

33b1 獨:獨:口WW1;3-6[x4]:[x4]:文德武功。HXT:獨口獨在CF:王

術，故而;24縣:縣:懸HXT

34a 10智:知

I.4 大分

- (34a) 賤身而貴有道，故身貴而令行。
 口口天下而天下則之。
 霸王積甲士而征不服，
 誅禁當罪而不私其利。
- 35 故令行天下而莫敢不聽。
 自此以下，兵戰力爭，危亡無日而莫知其所從來。
 夫言霸王，其口口口唯王者能兼覆載天下，
 物曲成焉。

《大分》

-
- 34a 29-30 [x2]:[x2]:令行 HXT:故王 WW2, YMG2
 34b 3 而 HXT, CF¹:口:者 CGY; 6 則:則:口 WW1; 8 霸:霸;
 9 王:王:主 WW1, YMG²; 14 征:正; 16 服:備
 35a 14 爭:掙; 28 as 34b 8; 31 口:口:王 HXT:無 CGY
 35b 1-2 [x2]:[x2]:天下 HXT:私也 CGY; 3-4 唯王:唯王:[x3] WW1;
 8 覆:復; 15 焉 WW1:口;
 16 大 WW1, CF:大:大 <六> TL, YMG1:六 WW3, HXT, YMG2³

1 34b 3 而 *er.* and, is inserted in keeping with the grammar of these phrases. Probable.

2 34b 9 The MS is in poor condition here but 王 *wang*, king, seems more probable, see 35a 28-29 霸王.

3 35b 16 WW1 & CF believe the MS has 大 *da*, great; TL and YMG1 agree but read as 六 *liu*, six. The other three editions believe the MS has 六 *da*, great.

I.5 四度

經法 5 四度

(35b)

- 36 ■ 君²⁰臣¹⁰易位謂之逆，賢²⁵不肖¹⁵并立謂之亂，
36a: 1 動靜不時謂之逆，生殺不當謂之暴。
5 逆則失本，亂則失職，逆則失天，暴則失人。
36b: 1 失本則口，失職則侵，失天則饑，失人則疾。
20 周遷動作，天為之稽。
- 37 天道不遠，人與處出與反。
37a: 1 君臣當位謂之靜，賢不肖當位謂之正，
5 動靜參於天地謂之文。誅口時當謂之武。
10 靜則安，正則治，文則明，武則強。
- 38 安則得本，治則得人，明則得天，強則威行。
38a: 1 參於天地，合於民心，文武并立，命之曰上同。
20 審知四度，可以定天下，可安一國。
38b: 1 順治其內，逆用於外，功成而傷。
5 逆治其內，順用其外，功成而亡。
- 39 內外皆逆，是謂重殃，身危為戮，國危破亡。
39a: 1 外內皆順，命曰天當。功成而不廢，後不逢殃。

36a 32 暴:口

36b 7 口:口:亡 HXT:損 CGY; 15 饑:几; 21 遷:畚

37a 6 反:反:返 CGY

37b 1 口:口:伐 HXT:禁 WW2, CF, CGY; 11, 20 則:○; 15 明:口¹

38a 8 合:闔; 15 立:立:莅 CGY

39a 5 為:為:為 as 有 CGY; 6 戮:僇; 24 後:后; 26 逢:奉

1 37b 15 Supplied from 37b 27-30 明則得天。

I.5 四度

- (39a) 28 39b:1 5 10 15
 聲華口口者用也。順者動也。正者事之根也。
 執道循理，必從本始，順為經紀，
- 40 40a:1 5 10
 禁伐當罪，必中天理。倍約則窘，達刑則傷。
 15 20 25 30
 倍逆合當，為若有事。雖無成功，亦無天殃。
 40b:1 5 10
 毋口口口口，毋御死以生，毋為虛聲。
 15 20
 聲溢於實，是謂滅名。
- 41 25 41a:1 5
 極陽以殺，極陰以生，是謂逆陰陽之命。
 10 15 20
 極陽殺於外，極陰生於內。已逆陰陽，又逆其位。
 25 30 41b:1
 大則國亡，小則身受其殃。
 5 10 15
 口口口口口口口建生。當者有口，
 20 25 30
 極而反，盛而衰，天地之道也，人之理也。
- 42 35 42a:1 5 10
 逆順同道而異理，審知逆順，是謂道紀。
 15 20 25
 以強下弱，何國不克。以貴下賤，何人不得。
 30 42b:1
 以賢下不肖，口口不口。

39a 28 聲:● 聲

39b 1-2 [x2]:[x2]:順正 HXT:實寡 WW2, YMG2, CGY:者, 滅也。當 CF;

3 者:者:口 WW1; 4 用:用:口 WW1:庸 YMG2:備 CGY;

5-6 也。順:也順:[x2] WW1

40a 7, 15 倍:倍; 10 窘:窘; 11 達:達:達 or 滑 CGY¹; 21 有:又; 23 雖:雖●;

32 口:口:逆 HXT:禁 CF:止 CGY

40b 1-3 [x3]:[x3]:生以死 HXT, CF, CGY; 14 溢:溢; 41a 21 as 40a 21

41b 3-10 [x8]:[x8]:[x5] WW1:[x7] YMG:不重士, 去師道, 無以 HXT:

故因陽伐死, 因陰 CGY; 16 口:口:極 HXT; 30 理:李

42a 16 何:以何 (以 is an extraneous insertion by the copyist)

42b 1-2 [x2]:[x2]:何事 HXT, CGY; 3 不:不:口 WW1; 4 口:口:成 HXT:治 CGY

1 WW3 reads *da* 達 as *tai* 汰, to wash away. Hence *da xing* means to disregard punishments. See also 58b, 90a, 117b.

1.5 四度

- (42b) ⁵規之內曰圓，¹⁰矩之內曰方，
¹⁵繩之中曰直，²⁰縣之下曰正，
²⁵水之上曰平，³⁰尺寸之度曰小大短長，
^{43a: 1} 43 ⁵權衡之稱曰輕重不爽，¹⁰斗石之量曰少多有數。
²⁰八度者，用之稽也。
²⁵日月星辰之期，³⁰四時之度，^{43b: 1}動靜之位，⁵外內之處，
¹⁰天之稽也。
¹⁵高下不蔽其形，²⁰美惡不匿其情，²⁵地之稽也。
44 ³⁰君臣不失其位，^{44a: 1}士不失其處，⁵任能毋過其所長，
¹⁵去私而立公，²⁰人之稽也。
²⁵美惡有名，³⁰逆順有形，³⁵情偽有實，
^{44b: 1}王公執口以為天下正。
¹⁰因天時，¹⁵伐天毀謂之武。²⁰武刃而以文隨其後，
45 ³⁰則有成功矣。³⁵用二文一武者王。^{45a: 1}

42b 9 圓:員; 10 矩:柜; 14 方:口; 15-19 繩之中曰直 WW3¹: ○:○ CGY;
 20 縣 WW3:口²; 27 上:○³

43a 14 少:小; 17 數:數:數。繩準之立曰曲直有度 CGY

43b 1 度:度:口 WW1; 2-3 動靜:[x2]:[x2] WW1; 天地 HXT; 15 下:口;
 17 蔽:敝:敝 HXT1; 21 惡:亞; 25 情:請

44a 25 as 43b 21; 32 as 43b 25

44b 1-3 王公執:王公執:[x3] WW1; 4 口:口:稽 HXT:道 or 理 CF:之CGY;
 19 刃:刃:刃 HXT; 23 隨:隋 26 後:后

1 42b 15-19 The MS only lists seven 度 *du*, measures, though it states that there are eight. Some authors refer the eight to what follows in 43a-b but the most sensible suggestion is that one is missing. The missing one can be supplied from *Mozi* 墨子 4 *Fa Yi* 法儀 p. 3: 2-3: 為方以矩、為圓以規、直以繩、正以縣。

2 42b 20 Supplied from text above, note 1.

3 42b 26 This is supplied in common with the preceding 內 *nei*, 中 *zhong* and 下 *xia* 42b 5-24

I.5 四度

- (45a) 失主道，離人理，處狂惑之位而不悟，身必有戮。
 柔弱者無罪而幾，
 不及而翟是謂柔弱
 剛正而口者口口而不究。
 名功相孚，是故長久。
 名功不相孚，名進實退，是謂失道，
 其卒必口身咎。
 黃金珠玉藏積，怨之本也。
 女樂玩好繁載，亂之基也。
 守怨之本，養亂之基，
 雖有聖人，不能為謀。
 《四度》

- 45a 2 失:其¹; 13 而:處²; 15 悟:吾; 19 戮:瘻; 26 幾:几;
 30 翟³:翟:越 WW2:翟 YMG1:戮 YMG2; 35 剛:剛:口 WW1
 45b 3 口:口:強 HXT, CGY; 5-6 [x2]:[x2]:文德 HXT:臨罪 CGY;
 9 究 YMG1:廢; 13, 22 孚:抱; 23 名:名:口 WW1;
 25-26 實退:實退:[x2] WW1; 34 口:口:蒙 HXT:有 CGY
 46a 7 藏:臧; 17 繁 WW3:燔:蕃 WW2:燒 YMG1;
 18 載 WW2 & 3:材:財 YMG1
 46b 2-3 為謀:為謀:[x2] WW1; 5 度:度:口 WW1

1 45a 2 Copyist's error.

2 45a 13 Copyist's error.

3 45a 30 翟 *di* read as 狄 *di* which is a variant form of 惕 *ti* or 懼. All mean "fear". See Chen Guying, ad loc.

I.6 論

經法 6 論

- (46b) ■人主者，天地之口也，號令之所出也，
 口口之命也。
- 47 不天天則失其神，不重地則失其根。
 不順四時之度而民疾。
 不處外內之位，不應動靜之化，
 則事窘於內而舉窘於外。
- 47b:1 八正皆失，口口口口。
 天天則得其神，重地則得其根，
 順四時之度，口口口而民不口疾。
- 48 處外內之位，應動靜之化，
 則事得於內，而舉得於外。
 八正不失，則與天地總矣。

46b 12 口:口:光 HXT:參 CF:稽 CGY; 20-21 [x2]:[x2]:生民 HXT:為民 CGY

47a 7-10 四時之度¹: [x4]:[x4] WW1; 28, 33 窘:窘; 35 外:口²

47b 1 八:口³; 5-8 [x4]:[x4]:存亡興壞 HXT:與天地離 CGY;

9-14 天天則得其神⁴: [x6]:[x4] WW1:可知。人主者 HXT;

15-6 重地⁵: [x2]:[x2] WW1; 23-25 時之度: [x3]:[x3] WW1;

26-28 [x3]:[x3]:合內外 HXT:○CGY; 31 不⁶:不:口 WW1:則 HXT;

32 口:口:無 HXT:有 CGY; 34 處⁷:口

48a 1-10 內之位，應動靜之化，則事⁸: [x10]:[x9] 事 WW1;

14 而:而得⁹

1 47a 7-10 The readings are supplied from within the section. HXT's reading of 47b 5-14, 26-28 is speculative.

2 47a 35 Supplied in contrast to 內 47a 30

3 47b 1 Supplied from 48a 20 八正.

4 47b 9-14 Supplied in contrast to 47a 26-31 天天則失其神.

5 47b 15-6 Supplied from 47a 33-34 重地.

6 47b 31 Based on contrast with 47a 5-13 不順四時之度而民疾.

7 47b 34 Supplied from 47a 15-19 處外內之位.

8 48a 1-10 Based on contrast with 47a 26-35 則事窘於內而舉窘於外.

9 48a 14 得 redundant. Copyist's error.

I.6 論

- (48a) ³⁰天執一，^{48b:1}明三定二，⁵建八正，行七法，
¹⁰然後口口口口口口口口之中無不口口矣。
- 49 ²⁵蚊行喙息，³⁰扇飛蠖動，^{49a:1}無口口口口口口口口口口口口¹⁰
¹⁵不失其常者，²⁰天之一也。²⁵天執一以明三。
³⁰日信出信入，³⁵南北有極，^{49b:1}度之稽也
⁵月信生信死，¹⁰進退有常，數之稽也。
¹⁵列星有數，²⁰而不失其行，²⁵信之稽也。
- 50 ³⁰天明三以定二，³⁵則壹晦壹明。^{50a:1}
⁵口口口口口口口口口口天定二以建八正，
²⁰則四時有度，²⁵動靜有位，³⁰而外內有處。
³⁵天建八正以行七法。^{50b:1}

48a 33 三¹:口:口 WW1

48b 1 定²:口;2-3 二，建:二建:[x3] WW1;11-17[x7]:[x7]:[x6] WW1:以
 盡天地四極HXT:[x5]四極CF:施於四極，而四極CGY;

22-3[x2]:[x2]:[x3] WW1:應順HXT:聽命CGY;25蚊:蚊;30飛:蜚;31蠖:蜚

49a 1-10[x10]:[x10]:則與天地總，無不庭順矣，HXT1:則與天地總，
 無不應順矣，HXT2:不寧其心而安其性，故而 or
 德無怨，待之死而後之生CGY³;35-7度之稽⁴: [x3]:[x3] WW1

49b 1 也⁴:口;2-5 月信生信⁵: [x4]:[x4] WW1;6死:死:口 WW1;24信:信:位CGY

50a 3-10[x8]:[x8]:地正四極以立七法HXT:壹生壹殺壹柔壹剛CF:
 壹陰壹陽，壹短壹長CGY;11天⁶:口;34-5 八正⁷: [x2]:[x2] WW1

50b 1-4 以行七法⁸: [x4]:[x3] WW1:行七法HXT

1 48a 33 Supplied from 49b 27-30 天明三。

2 48b 1 Supplied from 49b 32-33 定二。

3 49a 1-10 CGY's first proposal based on *Xinyu 1 Daoji* 道基 p. 1:為寧其心而安安其性; the second on *Huainanzi 1 Yuan Dao* 原道訓 p. 4:待而後生，莫之知德；待之後死，莫之能怨。

4 49a 35-37 & 49b 1 Supplied from contrast with following 數之稽也 and 信之稽也。

5 49b 2-5 Based on contrast with 日 *ri*, sun, and 死 *si*, death, in adjacent phrases.

6 50a 11 Supplied from 48a 29 where 天 *tian*, heaven, is also the subject of the verb 建 *jian*, to affirm.

7 50a 34-35 Supplied from 48b 3-5 建八正。

8 50b 1-4 Supplied from 48b 6-8 行七法。

I.6 論

- (50b) ⁵明以正者，¹⁰天之道也。
¹⁵適者，天度也。
²⁰信者，天之期也。
²⁵極而反者，³⁰天之性也。
- 51 ^{35 51a: 1}必者，天之命也。
⁵□□，□□□□□。
¹⁰□□者，¹⁵天之所以為物命也。²⁰
²⁵此之謂七法。
³⁰七法各當其名，謂之物。
^{35 51b: 1}物各□□□□□謂之理。⁵
¹⁰理之所在謂之□。
¹⁵物有不合於道者，²⁰謂之失理。
²⁵失理之所在，³⁰謂之逆。
- 52 ^{35 52a: 1}逆順各自命也，⁵則存亡興壞可知也。

50b 13 適:適:□ WW1; 26 反:□; 30 性:生

51a 3-11 [x9]:[x9]:地之明正適信極反必 HXT:順正者，天之稽也。有常 CGY; 37 □:有 HXT¹:合 YMG, CF, CGY;

38 □:□:其 HXT, YMG:於 WW2, CF, CGY

51b 1-2 [x2]:[x2]:本性 HXT:道者 YMG, CGY:其道 CF;

12 □:□:道 HXT, YMG:順 WW2, CF, CGY²

52a 8 也。:□:□ WW1:合 HXT³

1 51a 37 HXT's text here reads as 物各有其本性; YMG reads 物各合於其道者; CF reads 物各合於其道。

2 51b 12 WW3 (p. 54 note 70) says that from the MS it seems the character written was 順 *shun*, follow, rather than 道 *dao*, the way. See also *Guanzi 30 Junchen shang* 君臣上 p. 133a: 順理而不生之謂道。

3 52a 8 HXT places a comma after 知 *zhi* and begins a new phrase here: 合於道者則生慧

I.6 論

- (52a) ¹⁰強生威，¹⁵威生慧，²⁰慧生正，²⁵正生靜。
³⁰靜則平，³⁵平則寧，⁴⁰寧則素，⁴⁵素則精，⁵⁰精則神。
⁵⁵至神之極，⁶⁰見知不惑。
⁶⁵帝王者，⁷⁰執此道也，⁷⁵是以守天地之極，⁸⁰與天俱見，
53 ⁸⁵盡口於四極之中，⁹⁰執六柄以令天下，
⁹⁵審三名以為萬事口，¹⁰⁰察逆順以觀於霸王危亡之理，
¹⁰⁵知虛實動靜之所為，¹¹⁰達於名實相應，
¹¹⁵盡知情偽而不惑，¹²⁰然後帝王之道成。
¹²⁵六柄：一曰觀，¹³⁰二曰論，¹³⁵三曰動，
54 ¹⁴⁰四曰轉，¹⁴⁵五曰變，¹⁵⁰六曰化。
¹⁵⁵觀則知死生之國；¹⁶⁰論則知存亡興壞之所在；
¹⁶⁵動則能破強興弱；¹⁷⁰轉則不失是非之口；
¹⁷⁵變則伐死養生；¹⁸⁰化則能明德除害。
¹⁸⁵六柄備則王矣。

52a 9-12 強生威，威¹:[x4] : [x4] WW1 : 於道者則 HXT ; 14,15 慧 : 惠 ;

18 正 : 口 ; 39 極 : 極 : 口 WW1 ; 40 見² : 口

52b 23 口 : 口 : 天 HXT : 知 CF : 施 CGY ; 24 於 : 于 : 口 WW1 : 地 HXT ;

31 柄 : 枋

53a 9 口 : 口 : 法 HXT : 紀 CF : 稽 CGY ; 15 於 : 于 16 霸 : 霸 ; 34 相 : 口 : 之 TL

53b 4 情 : 請 ; 10 後 : 后 ; 17 as 52b 31 ; 26 動 : 僮 ; 29 轉 : 轉 : 專 or 端 CGY

54a 27 as 53b 29 ; 31 變 : 諱 ; 34 口 : 理 HXT : 分 CF, CGY

54b 10 明 : 明 : 口 WW1 ; 12 除 : 徐 ; 15 as 52b 31

1 52a 9-12 Supplied from *Shangjunshu* 商君書 4 *Qu Qiang* 去強 p. 1104c: 強生威，威生惠。

2 52a 40 Supplied from *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子 6 *Dao Duan* 道端 Pt. 1 p. 17a 至神之極見之不忒 (or 惑)。

I.6 論

- (54b) 20 三名：一曰正名位而安，
 55 30 55a: 1 二曰倚名廢而亂，
 10 三曰強主滅而無名。
 15 三名察則事有應矣。
 25 動靜不時，種樹失地之宜，則天地之道逆矣。
 10 臣不親其主，下不親其上，
 20 百族不親其事，則內理逆矣。
 56 30 56a: 1 逆之所在，謂之死國，死國伐之。
 10 反此之謂順，順之所在，謂之生國，生國養之。
 30 逆順有理，則情偽密矣。
 35 實者示人虛，不足者示人有餘。
 10 以其有事起之，則天下聽；
 20 以其無事安之，則天下靜。
 57 30 57a: 1 名實相應則定；名實不相應則靜。
 15 物自正也，名自命也，事自定也。
 25 三名察則盡知情偽而不惑矣。
 5 有國將昌，當罪先亡。《論》

54b 25 名：名一曰¹；26 位：立：立 WW1；安：偃²

55a 1 倚：倚：倚 as 欹 CGY；3 廢：法³；27 種：種；32-3 則天：[x2]：[x2] WW1

56a 5-6 死國：○⁴；14 順：○；31 情：請；37 示：視；38 人：口

56b as 56a 35

57a 1 相：不相⁵；11 靜：靜：爭 CGY；12 物：勿；30 情：請；33 不：口

1 54b 25 一曰 are extraneous. Copyist's error.

2 54b 28 安 and 偃 are both in rhyme group 26 元部 with initial 影. (Chen Fuhua & He Jiuying, p. 300-1)

3 55a 3 Guanzi 38 Bai Xin 白心：奇名自廢 (Wang Niansun's emmendation 王念孫) (Zhao, Vol. 2 p. 24)

4 56a 5-6 On basis of following 生國 this phrase should be repeated here. Likewise for 順 as contrasted with 逆.

5 57a 1 不 bu, not, is extraneous. Copyist's error.

I.7 亡論

經法 7 亡論

- (57b) ■ 凡犯禁絕理，天誅必至。
 一國而備六危者滅，
 58 一國而備三不辜者死，廢令者亡。
 一國之君而備三壅者，亡地更君。
 一國而備三凶者，禍反自及也。
 上溢者死，下溢者刑。
 德薄而功厚者隳；名禁而不王者死。
 59 昧利，繻傳，達刑，為亂首，為怨媒，
 此五者，禍皆反自及也。
 守國而恃其地險者削，用國而恃其強者弱。
 興兵失理，所伐不當，天降二殃。
 逆節不成，是謂得天。
 逆節果成，天將不盈其命而重其刑。

57b 24 備:服

58a 1, 18, 29 as 57b 24; 15-16 之君:之君:○ CGY; 20 壅:雍;

28-29 而備:而備:之君 CGY; 35 自:口¹

58b 1 及:及:口 WW1, TL; 4, 8 溢:洫; 12 薄:溥; 17 隳:隋; 25 昧:抹;

27 繻²:襦:渝 CGY; 28 傳:傳:轉 CGY

59a 18, 27 恃:侍

1 58a 35 Supplied from 59a 11-14: 反自及也.

2 58b 27 A form of passport or tally, considered unreliable and held in low esteem. See *Hanshu* 漢書 64B *Zhong Jun Zhuan* 終軍傳 2 p. 2819-20: 關吏予軍繻。軍問: 以此何為? 吏曰: 為復傳, 還當以合符。The guardian of the gate gave Jun a piece of silk. Jun asked, "What is this for?" The guardian said, "For your return. When you come back you can match it as a tally."

I.7 亡論

- (59b) ^{60a:1} 5
 60 羸極必靜，動舉必正。
¹⁰ 羸極而不靜，¹⁵ 是謂失口。
²⁰ 動舉而不正，²⁵ 是謂後命。
³⁰ 大殺服民，^{60b:1} 戮降人，⁵ 刑無罪，禍皆反自及也。
¹⁰ 所伐當罪其福五之。¹⁵ 所伐不當其禍什之。
²⁵ 國受兵而不知固守，
- ^{61a:1} 5 ¹⁰
 61 下邪恆以地界為私者口。
¹⁵ 救人而弗能存，²⁰ 反為禍門，是謂危根。
²⁵ 聲華實寡，³⁰ 危國亡土。^{61b:1} 夏起大土功，⁵ 命曰絕理。
¹⁰ 犯禁絕理，¹⁵ 天誅必至。
²⁰ 六危：一曰嫡子父。²⁵ 二曰大臣主。
³⁰ 三曰謀臣離其志。^{62a:1} ⁵ 四曰聽諸侯之所廢置。¹⁰
¹⁵ 五曰左右比周以壅塞。²⁰ 六曰父兄黨以拂。²⁵
³⁰ 六危不勝，³⁵ 禍及於身。
^{62b:1} ⁵ 三不辜：一曰妄殺賢。¹⁰ 二曰殺服民。¹⁵ 三曰刑無罪。
²⁰ 此三不辜。

60a 16 口：口：正 TL, HXT, YMG1：天 WW3, CGY；22 是：口；30 戮：僇

60b 2 禍：過；13 福 WW3, YMG1：禍：禍 YMG2, CF¹

61a 10 口：口：亡 HXT：滅 CF：有 CGY；23-4 危根：危根：犯禁 CGY

61b 21 嫡：適

62a 1 離 WW3²：口：反 HXT：外 CGY；20 壅：雍；28 拂：攖³；29 六：〇；36 三：口

62b 6 殺：殺殺

1 60b 13 *Shuo Yuan* 16 *Tan Cong* 談叢 #39 p. 126 line 9: 所伐而當, 其福五之; 所伐不當, 其禍十之。

2 62a 1 WW3 gives no justification for this reading.

3 62a 28 Karlgren, 1923 p. 48, lists 拂 and 費 in the same section reading the former as *pʃuat*, the latter as *pʃʷət*

I.7 亡論

- (62b) 22
三壅：
- 63 25 30 63a: 1
內位勝謂之塞，外位勝謂之拂，
5 10 15 20
外內皆勝則君孤特。以此有國，守不固，戰不克。
此謂一壅。
- 25 30 35 63b: 1
從中令外謂之惑，從外令中謂之賊，
5 10 15
外內逐爭，則危都國。此謂二壅。
- 64 20 25 64a: 1
一人擅主，命曰蔽光。從中外周，此謂重壅。
5 10
外內為一，國乃更。此謂三壅。
15
三凶：
20 25 30
一曰好凶器。二曰行逆德。三曰縱心欲。此謂三凶。
- 64b: 1 5 10
昧天下之利，受天下之患。
15 20
昧一國之利者，受一國之禍。
25
約而倍之，謂之繻傳。
- 65 30 65a: 1 5
伐當罪，見利而反，謂之達刑。
10 15
上殺父兄，下走子弟，謂之亂首。
20 25
外約不信，謂之怨媒。
30 65b: 1
有國將亡當，口口昌。《亡論》

62b 23 壅:雍

63a 2 拂:攢 as 62a 28; 10 特:直; 24 as 62b 23; 29-30 謂之:[x2]

63b 3 賊 YMG1¹:口; 6 逐:遂²; 7 爭:諍; 15 as 62b 23; 17 人:人主;

64a 2 壅:雍; 13 壅:雍●; 34-5 三凶:[x2]

64b 1 昧:口; 3 下:口; 4 之:口; 11 昧:抹; 28 繻:襦 as 58b 27

65a 3 反:反:返 CGY; 33-4 [x2]:[x2]:反之 HXT:得/德/賞先 CF⁴

1 63b 3 *Shiji* 史記 87 *Li Si Zhuan* 李斯傳 p. 2550: 從外制中謂之惑, 從下制上謂之賊。

2 63b 6 WW3 p. 56 note 90 says that 遂 *sui* is often used for 逐 *zhu* in the recently discovered Silk Zhou Yi.

3 64b 1, 3, 4 Based on 64b 11-15 昧一國之利

4 65a 33-34 *Jingfa* 經法 6 *Lun* 論:57b 有國將昌, 當罪先亡。

I.8 論約

經法 8 論約

- (65b) ■始於文而卒於武，天地之道也。
 四時有度，天地之理也。
- 66 日月星辰有數，天地之紀也。
 三時成功，一時刑殺，天地之道也。
 四時而定，不爽不忒，常有法式，口口口。
 一立一廢，一生一殺，四時代正，終而復始。
 人事之理也，逆順是守。
- 67 功溢於天，故有死形。
 功不及天，退而無名；
 功合於天，名乃大成。人事之理也。
 順則生，理則成，逆則死，失則無名。
 倍天之道，國乃無主。無主之國，逆順相攻。
 伐本隳功，亂生國亡。
- 68 為若得天，亡地更君，不循天常，不節民力，
 周遷而無功。養死伐生，命曰逆成。
 不有人戮，必有天刑。

65b 23 理:李; 28 辰:晨

66a 22 時:時時; 28 忒:代; 33-4[x2]:[x2]:盛極 HXT:天地之 CGY

66b 1 口 WW3:口:[x2] WW1:而衰 HXT:理也 CGY; 14 終:冬; 18 人¹:口; 28 溢:漚

67a 2 形 LDH:刑; 34 則 HXT, CF, CGY²:口; 35 無 HXT, CF, CGY³:口

67b 2 倍:杯:背 HXT, CGY; 17 功:攻; 20 隳:隋:口 WW1; 28 得:得:失 CGY

68a 25 戮:僇

1 66b 18 Supplied from 67a 19-23:人事之理也. Mansvelt Beck reads as 天 *tian*, heaven.

2 67a 34 Based on structure of preceding phrases: 順則生, 理則成, 逆則死.

3 67a 35 Based on 67a 7-10 退而無名.

I.8 論約

- (68a) ³⁰逆節始生，^{35 68b:1}慎毋先征，⁵彼且自底其刑。
¹⁰故執道者之觀於天下也，
²⁰必審觀事之所始起，²⁵審其形名。³⁰
- 形名已定，
- 69 ^{69a:1}逆順有位，⁵死生有分，¹⁰存亡興壞有處。
¹⁵然後參之於²⁰天地之恆道，
²⁵乃定禍福、³⁰死生、^{35 69b:1}存亡、興壞之所在。
⁵是故，萬舉不失理，¹⁰論天下而無遺策。¹⁵
²⁰故，能立天子，置三公，
²⁵而天下化之，³⁰之謂有道。^{70a:1}

《論約》

68b 1 先 WW3¹:口:伐 HXT:讓 CGY; 2 征 LDH²:正 3 彼:皮;

6 底 YMG:氏:氏 WW1:抵 TL, WW2, WW3, CGY³

69a 16 後:后

69b 16 策:筴; 19 立:立:立 or 位 CGY

1 68b 1 *Guanzi* 管子 42 *Shi* 勢:逆節萌生,天地未形,先為之政(征)(Zhao 趙 Vol.2 p. 76).

2 68b 2 As note one above where 政 is to be read as 征. See also *Guoyu* 國語 21 *Yueyu xia* 越語下 p.650:逆節萌生。天地未形，而先為之征。其事是以不成，雜受天刑。

3 68b 6 *Er Ya* 爾雅 2 *Shi Yan* 釋言 11 底(底), 致也; *Shuo Wen* 說文 12A p. 251 抵, 擠也。

1.9 名理

經法 9 名理

- (70a) ⁵ ■道者，¹⁰ 神明之原也。
 神明者，¹⁵ 處於度之內而²⁰ 見於度之外者²⁵ 也。
 處於度之內者，³⁰ 不言而^{70b:1} 信。⁵
 見於度之外者，¹⁰ 言而不可¹⁵ 易也。
 處於度之內者，²⁰ 靜而不可²⁵ 移也。
 71 見於度之外者，³⁰ 動而不可^{71a:1} 化也。⁵ ¹⁰
 靜而不移，¹⁵ 動而不化，²⁰ 故曰神。
 神明者，²⁵ 見知之稽也。
 有物始口，³⁰ 建於地而^{71b:1} 溢於天，⁵ 莫見其形；¹⁰
 大盈終天地之間而¹⁵ 莫知其名。²⁰
 莫能見知，²⁵ 故有³⁰ 逆成，
 72 ^{72a:1} 物乃不生，⁵ 故有¹⁰ 逆形，禍及其身。
 養其所以死，¹⁵ 伐其所以²⁰ 生，
 伐其本而離其親，²⁵
 伐其與而口口口，³⁰ ^{72b:1}
 後必亂而卒於無名。⁵ ¹⁰

70a 31 內¹:口

71a 6 而:而²; 11 靜:動而靜³; 33 口:口:生 HXT, CGY

71b 5 溢:漚; 14 終:冬

72a 3 不LDH⁴:下:倍CGY; 8形LDH⁵:刑; 18, 23 伐:伐:罰; 34口:口:養HXT:敗CGY

72b 1-2 [x2]:[x2]:其死 HXT:其根 CGY; 3 後:后

1 70a 31 Based on 70b 18-23 處於度之內者

2 71a 6 Erased character is a partly formed 可 *ke*.

3 71a 11 動而 Copyist's error.

4 72a 3 下 *xia*, below, makes no sense here. 不 *bu*, not, fits in with the negative language of the adjacent phrases.

5 72a 8 逆形 *ni xing*, contraflow is formed, fits in with 逆成, *ni cheng*, countraflow comes to be.

I.9 名理

- (72b) 如燔如淬，事¹⁵之反也。
 如由²⁰如矯²⁵，生之反也。
- 73 凡萬物群材^{30 73a: 1}，佻⁵長非恆者，其死¹⁰必應之。
 三者皆動於度之外而欲成功者也¹，
 功必不成³⁰，禍必反口口口^{73b: 1}。
 以剛⁵為柔者¹⁰栝，以柔為剛者伐。
 重柔者吉¹⁵，重剛者滅²⁰。
- 74 諾者²⁵，言之符也^{30 74a: 1}。已者，言之絕也。
 已諾不信⁵，則智大惑矣¹⁰。
 已諾必信¹⁵，則處於度之內也²⁰。
 天下有事²⁵，必審其名³⁰。
 名口口循名究理之所之^{35 74b: 1}，
 是必為福¹⁰，非必為災¹⁵。
 是非有分²⁰，以法斷之。
 虛靜謹聽²⁵，以法為符³⁰。

72b 14 淬²WW3: 卒: 悴 WW2; 15 事: 事: 死³YMG2; 20 由: 繇: 繇 WW2:

遙 HXT 繇 as 喜 YMG1; 22 矯 WW3: 驕: 槁 WW2: 驕 HXT, YMG

73a 1 材: 財; 2 佻: 姚: 超 CGY; 33 口: 口: 及 HXT: 自 WW2, YMG, CGY

73b 1-2 [x2]: [x2]: 其身 HXT: 及也 WW2, YMG, CGY⁴;

8 栝 YMG alternative: 栝: 活 WW2 & 3⁵; 23 諾: 若

74a 6, 15 as 73b 23; 10 智: 知; 34-5 [x2]: [x2]: 正而 HXT: 理者 CGY

74b 3 究: 廋; 15 災: 材

1 73a 25 也^{ye}. CGY says this character should be omitted and replaced by a comma.

2 72b 14 淬^{cui}, to put hot metal into water.

3 72b 15 YMG supposes 事^{shi} to be a copyist's error for 死^{si}.

4 73b 1-2 Here and above (73a 33) YMG's suggestion is based on 72a 9-12 禍及其身.

5 73b 8 *Kuo* 栝 is the process of straightening bent wood by fire or steam. Reading quoted by YMG but not adopted by him.

I.9 名理

- 75 ^{75a:1} 審察名理終始，是謂究理。
⁵ 唯公無私，¹⁵ 見知不惑，²⁰ 乃知奮起。
²⁵ 故執道者之觀於天下也，³⁰ ^{75b:1}
⁵ 見正道循理，¹⁰ 能舉曲直，¹⁵ 能舉終始。²⁰ 故能循名究理。
- 76 ²⁵ 形名出聲，³⁰ 聲實調合，^{76a:1} 禍福廢立，
⁵ 如影之隨形，¹⁰ 如響之隨聲，¹⁵ 如衡之不藏重與輕。
²⁰ 故唯執道者能虛靜公正，²⁵ 乃見口口，³⁰ 乃得名理之誠。^{76b:1}
¹⁰ 亂積於內而稱失於外者伐。¹⁵
²⁰ 亡形成於內而舉失於外者滅。³⁰
- 77 ^{77a:1} 逆則上溢而不知止者亡。⁵
¹⁰ 舉國襲虛，¹⁵ 其事若不成，²⁰ 是謂得天；
²⁵ 其事若果成，³⁰ 身必無名。
^{77b:1} 重逆口口，⁵ 守道是行，¹⁰ 國危有殃。
¹⁵ 兩逆相攻，²⁰ 交相為殃，²⁵ 國皆危亡。

《名理》

²⁵ 《經法》凡五千

75a 4 理：理名；5 終：冬；9 究：厥

75b 1 也 HXT, YMG¹：口；8, 12 舉：與；13 as 75a 5；19 as 75a 9；30 福：材²

76a 3 影：景；5, 10 隨：隋；8 響：向；16 藏：臧；32 口：口：福 HXT：曲 CF：正 CGY

76b 1 口：口：災 HXT：直 CF：道 CGY；18 伐：伐：罰 HXT³；20 形 WW3：刑

77a 2 溢：洫；9-10 舉國：國舉⁴

77b 1-2 [x2]：[x2]：失本 HXT：以荒 CF, CGY；14 攻：功

1 75b 1 The flow of the sentence makes 也, *ye* very plausible.

2 75b 30 材 *cai* as an error for 福 *fu*, blessing. As also 74b 15

3 76b 18 WW1, TL & YMG punctuate after 亡 *wang* (67b 19); WW3, HXT & CGY after 伐 *fa*.

4 77a 9-10 WW3 also reads 舉 *ju* as a noun, *plan, policy*, in which case the order 國舉, State plan, may be retained.

II.1 立口

II 十六經 1 立口

- 78 ^{78a:1} 昔者黃宗質始好信，
¹⁰ 作自為像，¹⁵ 方四面，²⁰ 傳一心，四達自中，
²⁵ 前參後參，³⁰ 左參右參，踐位履參，
^{78b:1} 是以能為天下宗。
¹⁰ 吾受命於天，¹⁵ 定位於地，²⁰ 成名於人。
²⁵ 唯余一人，³⁰ 口乃配天，乃立王三公。
- 79 ^{79a:1} 立國置君三卿。數日、¹⁰ 歷月、計歲，以當日月之行，
²⁰ 吾允地廣裕，²⁵ 吾類天大明。吾畏天愛地親民，
^{79b:1} 口無命，⁵ 執虛信。吾¹⁰畏天愛地親民，¹⁵ 立有命，
²⁰ 執虛信，吾愛民而民不亡，²⁵ 吾愛地而地不曠。
- 80 ^{80a:1} 吾受民口口口口口口口口死，吾位不口，
²⁰ 吾苟能親親而興賢，²⁵ 吾不遺亦至矣。

《立口》

- 78a 6 質:質:實 WW2 & 3²; 9 信:信:訊 WW3; 13 像 WW2 & 3 :象:相 HXT;
 16 傳:傳:輔 WW2; 33 履:履:禮 CGY
- 78b 25 口:口:德 WW2, CGY :而 HXT; 27 配:肥
- 79a 9 歷:曆:曆 HXT, CF; 19 吾:○; 24 吾:吾:○ CGY; 25 類:類:類 HXT;
 35 民:口³; 36 口:口:立 HXT, CGY :廢 CF
- 79b 1 無:無:有 CGY; 10 地:口⁴; 21 民:民; 28 地:地; 32 曠⁵:兄:荒 WW2
- 80a 2 受:受:愛 CGY; 4-11 [x8]:[x8]:命於天愛民而民不 HXT :而民
 不死 CGY; 16 口:口:亡 HXT :失 CGY; 18 苟:句; 32 口:口:命 WW1⁶

1 79b 6-18 CGY believes this passage is a copyist's error and should be excluded.

2 78a 5 *Guoyu* 國語 18 *Chuyu xia* 楚語下 # 1 note 16 Wei Zhao 韋昭 writes 質, 誠也 (p. 561)

3 79a 35 民 supplied from 79b 12.

4 79b 10 地 supplied from 79a 32.

5 79b 32 曠:Chen Fuhua & He Jiuying, *Guyin Tongxiao*: 陽部 pp. 279-80 for both 曠 and 兄, which rhyme.

6 80a 32 This reading is based on 79b 13-15 立有命. HXT does not recognize 78a-80a as a separate chapter but considers it part of *Guan*. He joins this line to the opening of *Guan* with 奉天位立而為. . . .

II.2 觀

十六經 2 觀

^{80b:1} ■黃帝令力墨⁵潛行伏匿¹⁰，周流四國，

¹⁵ 以觀無恆²⁰善之法。²

81 則力墨示像²⁵，見黑則黑³⁰，見白則白。^{81a:1}

地□□□□□□□□□□則惡¹⁵，人則示鏡¹⁵：

人靜則靜²⁰，人作則作²⁵。

力墨已布制建極³⁰，

□□□□□□曰：天地已成而民生⁵，

逆順無紀¹⁵，德虐無型¹⁵，

靜作無時²⁰，先後無名²⁵。

82 今吾欲得逆順之紀³⁰，^{82a:1}

□□□□⁵，□□□□¹⁰

以為天下正¹⁵。

靜作之時²⁰，因而勒之²⁵，為之若何？

80b 1-2 [x3]:[x3]: ■黃帝:黃帝HXT;6潛:浸;11流:留;24示:視;25像 WW3:象

81a 3-11 [x9]:[x9]:生之, 德畜之, 勢成之, 親HXT;則視口見美則
美見惡CF:之所德則善, 天之所刑CGY;12則 WW2&3:□:民HXT;
13惡:亞;15-6則示:則視:示則HXT;17鏡 WW2&3:堯:兢 WW1, YMG1;
33-5 [x3]:[x3]:命於天HXT:而正之CGY

81b 1-2 [x2]:[x2]:位於地HXT:力墨CGY;16虐:瘡;

23-25先後無:先後無:[x3] WW1 26名:命名

82a 3 紀³:□:□ WW1, TL;4-7 [x4]:[x4]:德虐之刑 WW2, YMG, CGY:人靜則
靜HXT;8-11 [x4]:[x4]:人作則作 HXT:靜作之時 WW2, YMG, CGY:先
後之名CF, CGY⁴;15下:下;17-20靜作之時:靜作之時:○ CGY³

1 80b 17-18 CGY puts a comma here and reads 善 *shan* as a verb, hence "to decree rules for the people".

2 80b 20-21 WW3 punctuation adopted. All other editions read 法則. .

3 82a 3 Based on 81b 11-14 逆順無紀

4 82a 4-20 CGY reorders thus, 德虐之刑, 靜作之時, 先後之名, 以為天下正.

II.2 觀

- (82a) ³⁰黃帝曰：群群□□□□□□為一圈，
¹⁰無晦無明，¹⁵未有陰陽。陰陽未定，²⁰吾未有以名。
- 83 ²⁵今始判為兩，³⁰分為陰陽，^{83a:1}離為四時
⁵□□□□□□□□□□□□□□因以為常，
²⁵其明者以為法而微道是行，³⁰行法循□□□□牝牡，
⁵牝牡相求，¹⁰會剛與柔。柔剛相成，¹⁵牝牡若形，²⁰
- 84 ²⁵下會於地，³⁰上會於天。得天之微，^{84a:1}時若□□
⁵□□□□□□□□□□待地氣之發也，
²⁰乃萌者萌而孳者孳，²⁵天因而成之，
³⁰弗因則不成，^{84b:1}弗養則不生。⁵
¹⁰夫民之生也，¹⁵規規¹生食與繼。
²⁰不會不繼，無與守地；
²⁵不食不人，³⁰無與守天。

82a 32-33 群群:群群:群□WW1:混混CGY; 34-5 [x2]:[x2]:天之HXT:沌沌CGY

82b 1-4 [x4]:[x4]:道宜盡闕HXT:窈窈冥冥CGY; 7 圈:困:困 YMG, CF;

27 判:判:□WW1

83a 2-3 四時:時四□:信四時HXT; 4-16 [x13]:[x13]:有晦有明，已有陰陽，道紀。HXT:[x7]德虐之行 YMG:剛柔相成，萬物乃生，德虐之行 CGY²; 35 □:□:○ TL, YMG:之 HXT:道 CGY

83b 1-2 [x2]:[x2]:於○ HXT:是為CGY; 8 未:未:□WW1; 9 會:會:會 WW3:

33-4 時若:時若:若時 CGY

84a 1-10 [x10]:[x10]:天道闕而不闕:物出不遂 HXT:者時而恆者恆,地因而養之 CGY; 11 待:寺:恃 CGY; 18, 20 萌:夢; 22, 24 孳 WW3:滋:滋; 23 者:者:

84b 1 弗³:□

1 84b 10-12 HXT places comma after the second 規 *gui* rather than after 也 *ye*.

2 83a 15-16 The two last characters might be 日月 as in *Guoyu* 國語 21 *Yueyu xia* 越語下 p. 653:日月以為常。

3 84b 1 Based on 84a 30 弗

II.2 觀

- (84b) ^{85a: 1} 5 ¹⁰ ¹⁵
85 是口口羸陰布德，口口口口民功者，所以食之也。
²⁰ ²⁵ ³⁰ ^{85b: 1}
 宿陽修刑，重陰長夜¹，氣閉地孕者，所以繼之也。
⁵ ¹⁰ ¹⁵
 不麤不纒，而正之以刑與德。
²⁰
 春夏為德，秋冬為刑。
²⁵ ³⁰
 先德後刑以養生。
- ^{86a: 1} ⁵ ¹⁰
86 姓生已定，而敵者生爭，不戡不定。
¹⁵ ²⁰
 凡戡之極，在刑與德。
²⁵
 刑德皇皇，日月相望，
³⁰ ^{35 86b: 1}
 以明其當，而盈口無匡。
⁵ ¹⁰ ¹⁵ ²⁰
 夫是故使民毋人藝；舉事毋陽察，利地毋陰蔽。
- ²⁵ ^{87a: 1} ⁵
87 陰蔽者土荒，陽察者奪光，人藝者撞兵。
¹⁰ ¹⁵
 是故為人主者，時揜三樂，
²⁰
 毋亂民功，毋逆天時。
²⁵ ³⁰ ^{87b: 1}
 然則五穀稔熟，民乃蕃滋，
⁵ ¹⁰ ¹⁵
 君臣上下，交得其志。天因而成之。

85a 1-2 [x2]:[x2]:地氣HXT:故口CF:故CGY; 7-10 [x4] WW3:[x4]:[x5] WW1,

TL, YMG物出以時於HXT:并時以養CF:重陽長，晝氣開CGY;

23重:童; 25長:夂長:而長HXT; 30孕:繩; 32所:口;

85b 6麤CGY:靡; 8纒CGY:黑; 31姓:姓:生WW1, CGY

86a 5敵:適; 10戡:讎; 11不:不; 14戡:讎; 35口:口:刑HXT:虛CF:絀CGY

86b 10藝LDH²:勢HXT:執CGY; 16利LDH(phonetic loan):力25荒:芒

87a 3 as 86b 10; 5撞:縱WW2, YMG1; 7交:交³; 14揜:揜:室WW3, YMG:

適or質CGY; 29稔:溜⁴:餽HXT:秀CGY; 32乃⁵:口; **87b** 2滋:茲

1 85a 23-24 All editions punctuate after 長. This disturbs the length of the phrases and forms a strange term: "night qi."

2 86b 10 & 87a 3 see p.275 note 1 of this edition: *Guo Ci* 國次 12b 27.

3 87a 7 Read 交 as 俱 as in *Guoyu* 21 *Yueyu xia* 越語下 p. 646: 君臣上下交得其志. Wei Zhao: 交, 俱也.

4 87a 29 *Guoyu* 21 *Yueyu xia* 越語下: 五穀陸孰 (p. 646); *Shuo Wen* 說文 7A: 稔, 疾孰也 (p. 144).

5 87a 32 Based on 88a 28 乃

II.2 觀

- (87b) 夫并時以養民功，先德後刑，順於天。
- 88 其時羸而事紕，陰節復次，地氣復收。
 正名修刑，蟄蟲不出，雪霜復清，孟穀乃肅，
 此災口生。
 如此者舉事將不成。
- 其時紕而事羸，陽節復次，地氣不收。
- 89 正名弛刑，蟄蟲發聲，草苴復榮。
 已陽而又陽，重時而無光。
 如此者舉事將不行。
 天道已既，地物乃備。
 散流相成，聖人之事。
 聖人不巧，時反是守。
 優惠愛民，與天同道，
- 90 聖人正以待天，靜以須人。
 不達天刑，不繻傳。
 當天時，與之皆斷。
 當斷不斷，反受其亂。《觀》

88a 2 羸:羸:盈 WW2¹; 5 紕:紕:詘 WW2 alt.; 8 復:復:復 CGY; 11 氣:尤;
 13 收:收; 18 蟄:執; 19 蟲:虫; 25 清:清; 29 肅:蕭; 31 災:材:口 WW1;
 32 口:口:復 HXT:乃 CGY

88b 12 as 88a 5; 15 as 88a 2; 21 as 88a 11; 26 弛:施; 28 as 88a 18; 29 as 88a 19

89a 10 又:有; 89b 19 惠 WW3, YMG:未:為 HXT:昧 CGY; 30 待:侍

90a 11 繻 LDH²:繻:渝 CGY; 12 傳 LDH:不傳³:不轉 CGY

1 88a 2 & 88b 15 Both 羸 *yíng* and 盈 *yíng* have the sense of being full or expanding. The reading 盈 WW2 alt. is also found in the preceding 85a 3, p. 305 of this edition though not indicated in the apparatus.

2 90a 11 See 58b 27 note

3 90a 12 II.8 兵容 117b 11-13 (p. 50) reads 不繻傳. This is used to amend the present text.

II.3 五正

十六經 3 五正

^{90b: 1} ■ 黃帝問闞冉曰：⁵

吾欲布施¹⁰五正，焉止焉始¹⁵？

對曰：始在於身。中有正度，後及外人。^{20 25 30}

91 ^{91a: 1} 外內交接，乃正於事之所成。⁵

黃帝曰：吾既正既靜，吾國家愈不定，若何？^{10 15 20}

對曰：后中實而外正，何患不定？^{25 30 91b: 1}

左執規，右執矩，何患天下？^{5 10}

男女畢同，何患於國？^{15 20}

五正既布，以司五明¹。²⁵

92 ^{30 92a: 1} 左右執規，以待逆兵。

黃帝曰：吾身未自知，若何？^{5 10}

對曰：后身未自知，乃深伏於淵，以求內型。^{15 20 25 30}

內型已得，后口自知屈后身。^{35 92b: 1 5}

黃帝曰：吾欲屈吾身，屈吾身若何？^{10 15}

90b 12 正:正:政 WW2, YMG1²; 15-16 焉始:焉始; 27 後:后

91a 1 接:接; 3 正:正:止 CGY; 20 愈:裔:裔 HXT;

33-34 何患³:何口:民乃 WW1 :[x2] TL: 外內 HXT

91b 1 不:不:必 HXT; 8 矩:矩; 16 同:通; 22 正:政 WW2, YMG1

92a 2 待:寺; 30, 32 型 WW3 :刑:形 HXT; 36 口:口:乃 HXT, CF, CGY

1 91b 27-8 CGY quotes a note of Lu Dian 陸佃 (1040-1102 A.D.) saying these are 五名, five officials.

See *Heguanzi* 8 *Du Wan* 度萬 Pt. II p. 5: 故布五正以司五明。

2 90b 12 The five 正 are in the five directions, thus all-encompassing. See Li Xueqin 李學勤: *Heguanzi yu*

Liang zhong Boshu 《鶡冠子》與兩種帛書 p. 342

3 91a 34 Reading based on evidence in the text and on following questions 何患天下; 何患於國.

II.3 五正

- (92b) 對曰：道同者其事同，道異者其事異。
- 93 今天下大爭，時至矣，后能慎勿爭乎？
 黃帝曰：勿爭若何？
 對曰：怒者血氣也，爭者外脂膚也。
 怒若不發，浸廩是為癰疽。
 后能去四者，枯骨何能爭矣？
- 94 黃帝於是辭其國大夫，上於博望之山，
 淡卧三年以自求也。
 戰哉！闞冉乃上起黃帝曰：
 可矣。夫作爭者凶，不爭者亦無成功，何不可矣？
 黃帝於是出其斨鉞，奮其戎兵，身提鼓枹，
 以遇蚩尤，因而擒之。
 帝箸之盟。
 盟曰：反義逆時，其刑視蚩尤。
 反義倍宗，其法死亡以窮。

30
 《五正》

93a 30 外:外:○ CGY; 93b 26 辭:辭¹

94a 7 淡:談:恬 or 澹 CGY²; 16 哉:才; 21 起:起:啟 CGY

94b 1 者³:口:口 WW1; 16 斨:鏘⁴; 18 奮 LDH⁵:奪; 25 枹:鞞⁶; 27 遇:禺;
 28 蚩:之⁷

95a 3 擒:禽; 8, 9 盟:明; 18 蚩:之; 22 倍:怀; 31 正:正:政 YMG1

1 93b 26 辭 is a known graphic variant of 辭.

2 94a 7 This text quoted in *Hanyu Da Zidian* 漢語大字典 Vol. 6 p. 3992 under the rubric 恬淡, 平淡.

3 94b 1 Insertion based on 93a 28-29 爭者. TL's contribution.

4 94b 16 The graph 鏘 is here borrowed for the graph 斨, a type of axe *Shuo Wen* 說文 14A.p. 299.

5 94b 18 Emendation suggested by Graham, *Peerenboom Notes* II p. 4 based on II.5 104a 18-21 奮其戎兵.

6 94b 25 This is a drumstick. *Hanyu Da Cidian* 漢語大詞典 Vol. 4 p. 931.

7 94b 28 蚩尤 Chi You is well known as an opponent of the Yellow Emperor, see my chapter 7 appendix for texts.

II.4 果童

十六經 4 果童

- (95a) ³² ■ 黃帝問四輔曰：
⁵ 唯余一人，兼有天下。¹⁰
¹⁵ 今余欲畜而正之，均而平之，為之若何？²⁰ ²⁵
- 96 果童對曰：³⁰ 不險則不可平，不戡則不可正。⁵ ¹⁰
¹⁵ 觀天於上，視地於下，而稽之男女。²⁰
²⁵ 夫天有恆幹，地有恆常。³⁰
³⁴ 合口口常，是以有晦有明，有陰有陽。⁵ ¹⁰
¹⁵ 夫地有山有澤，有黑有白，有美有惡。²⁰ ²⁵
- 97 ^{97a: 1} 地育德以靜，而天正名以作。⁵
¹⁰ 靜作相養，德虐相成。¹⁵
²⁰ 兩者有名，相與則成。
²⁵ 陰陽備物，化變乃生，³⁰
^{97b: 1} 有任一口重，任百則輕。⁵
¹⁰ 人有其才，物有其形，因之若成。¹⁵ ²⁰

95a 34 問：口 (Based on 90b 1-6 黃帝問闕冉曰)

95b 1 四²:口:口 WW1, TL:七 HXT

96a 1 險:險:嚴 CGY; 7 戡:謀:審 CGY; 28 恆:○; 29 幹:榦;

35 口:口:於 HXT:此 CGY

96b 1 口:口:幹 HXT, CGY; 26 惡:亞; 28 育 CGY:俗:欲 YMG; 97a 14 虐:瘡

97b 1-3 任一:口:[x3]:天地為 HXT:任一則 WW2, YMG, CGY:任一而 CF³;

12 才:才:中 WW1, TL, HXT YMG⁴; 14 有:又

1 97a 27 A mark on the MS after 備 suggests to WW3 that the line should be punctuated here.

2 95b 1 The silk MS *Er, San Zi Wen* 二三子問 says 黃帝四輔, 堯立三卿 "The Yellow Emperor had four assistants; Yao established three ministers". See Chen Guying, *Daojia Wenhua* Vol. 3, p. 428 line 35

3 97b 1-3 CF copies directly from *Huainanzi*; YMG1 amends the same passage in line with the following clause above (97b 5-8). The text in question is *Huainanzi* 淮南子 9 *Zhushu* 主術訓: 人有其才, 物有其形, 有任一而太重. (p. 292 column 13) HXT reading is groundless.

4 97b 12 The copyist has omitted the lower stroke of 才 (艹) thus misleading the editors. See note 3 above.

II.4 果童

- (97b) 98 黃帝曰：夫民²⁵仰天而生，待³⁰地而食。^{98a: 1}
 以天⁵為父，以地¹⁰為母。
 今余欲畜¹⁵而正之均而平²⁰之，
 誰適²⁵由始？
- 對曰：險³⁰若得平，諶^{98b: 1}若得正，
 貴⁵賤必諶，貧富有等。
¹⁰前世法之，¹⁵後世既損，
²⁰由果童始。
- 99 果童於是衣²⁵褐而穿^{99a: 1}負瓶而攀⁵。
 瑩¹⁰行乞食，周流¹⁵四國，以示貧賤之極。
²⁰《果童》

97b 26 仰：仰；30 待：侍：恃 CGY

98a 23 適：敵；24 由：繇；28 險：險：嚴 CGY；32 諶 YMG1：諶：戡 WW3, CF
 :審 CGY；33-4 若得 HXT, YMG1 :[x2]

98b 1 正 HXT, YMG1:口；2 貴¹:口；5 as 98a 32；8 有：又

17 損 WW3：員；緣 YMG：損 alternative WW3：隕 CGY；18 由：繇

99a 3 瓶：并；5 攀 WW2, YMG1²:攀：攀 WW3：攀 HXT, CF：攀 CGY；

6 瑩 YMG1：營：繞 WW3；8 乞：氣；15 示：視

1 98b 2 貴 *gui*, noble, supplied in contrast to 賤 *jian*, mean.

2 99a 5 *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 54 *Yang Biao Zhuan* 楊彪傳 p. 1789: 遂稱腳攀不復行。

II.5 正亂

十六經 5 正亂

(99a) ■力墨問²⁵□□□□□□□□□□³⁰ 99b: 1⁵ 驕□陰謀，
 陰謀¹⁰□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□¹⁵ 高陽為之若何？²⁰ ²⁵

³⁰
 太山之稽曰：

100 子勿患也。夫天行正信，
 日月不處，啟然不怠，以臨天下。
 民生有極，以欲淫溢，淫溢口失。
 豐而為口，口而為既，予之為害，
 致而為費，緩而為口；
 憂恫而窘之，收而為之咎。

101 累而高之，踣而弗救也。
 將令之死而不得悔。子勿患也。

力墨曰；戰數盈六十而高陽未失。溢口早□□曰：
 天佑，天佑而弗戒，天地一也。為之若何？

99a 25-31 [x7]:[x7]:一者，道之本也，HXT:於太山之稽曰：蚩CGY;
 99b 1-4 [x4]:[x4]:胡為而無長？HXT:尤[x3]CGY; 6 □:□:漚HXT:溢CGY;
 11-20 [x10]:[x10]:不和，氣滯終沮，新曰天僅。HXT; 23 為:□:□WW3:失HXT
 100a 16 怠:台; 27 淫 WW3:涅; 28, 30 溢:漚:□WW1, TL:儒HXT; 29 淫 WW3:
 涅:泗WW1; 31 □:□:未HXT; 35 為¹:□:36 □:□:極HXT:殺(shai) CGY
 100b 1 □:□:枉HXT:加CGY; 16 □:□:和HXT:○YMG²:衰CGY; 18 恫:桐;
 20 窘:窘; 27 累:纒
 101a 2 踣:部; 22 戰:單:單 WW1, HXT; 31 失:夫:夫 WW3:勝 YMG:夫as洽CGY;
 32 淫:涅:涅HXT:滅YMG1; 33 □:□:漚as溢 WW3:將HXT:尚 YMG1;
 34 早:蚤; 35 □:□:失HXT, CF:服CGY; 36 □:□:斯HXT:名CGY
 101b 1 曰:曰:天HXT; 3, 5 佑:仗:僅HXT; 9 天:天●

1 100a 35 Based on 100b 9-12 致而為費

2 100b 16 YMG thinks no character is missing here and punctuates after 憂 you (100b 17).

II.5 正亂

- (101b) 太山之稽曰：子勿言佑，交為之備，
 102 吾將因其事，盈其庠，韜其力，
 而投之懸，子勿言也。
 上人正一，下人靜之；正以待天，靜以須人。
 天地立名，口口自生，以隨天行。
 天行不悖，逆順有類；勿驚口械，其逆事乃始。
 103 吾將遂寔其逆而戮其身，更置六相而合以信。
 事成勿發，謂備自生。
 我將觀其往事之卒而動焉，
 待其來事之遂形而和焉，
 壹動壹和，此天地之奇也。
 104 以其民作而自戲也，吾或使之自靡也。
 戰盈哉！太山之稽曰：可矣。

101b 17 太：口；25 佑：佹：僅 HXT；30 吾：口：口 WW1

102a 5 庠 YMG：寺：志 WW3，CGY：寺 HXT；6 韜¹：忒；12 代：代：懸 YMG：伐 HXT；
 20 一：一：之 CGY；27 待：侍；37-38 [x2]：[x2]：天刑 HXT：萬物 CGY

102b 4 隨：隋；6, 8 行：刑；10 悖：擗²：擗 WW1 擗 HXT：拜 YMG：債 as 覆敗 CGY；
 17 口：口：弗 HXT：勿 CGY；18 械 CGY：戒；23 始：始：治 CGY；27 寔：是；31 戮：僇

103a 5 六：六：大 WW1，TL；6 相：直³；15 謂⁴：胥；16 備：備：斃 CGY；28 動：朵：木
 WW1：東 HXT：和 as 私 YMG⁵；30 待：寺；33 事：口；

103b 5 和：私⁶；8 as 103a 28；10 和：禾 16-17 也以：[x2]：[x2] WW1：口以 TL；

23 戲：戲：戲 WW3：隄 CGY；26 或：或：又 WW3

104a 3 盈：盈：贏 WW1，YMG；4 哉：才；5 太：大

1 102a 6 *Huainanzi* 13 *Fan Lun* 汜論 note by Gao You: 韜，擠也 (p. 459 col. 4) to *push aside or get hold of*.

2 102b 10 This character is also found in the *Yinqueshan Yin-yang* text 銀雀山陰陽書 (Yates p. 110 # 4099)

3 103a 6 Copyist's error.

4 103a 15 *Huainanzi* 8 *Benjing* 本經：比周朋黨，設詐謂，note by Gao You: 謂，謀也. (p. 250 col. 9)

5 103a 28 YMG misreads the MS. 朵 *duo*, flower, and 禾 *he*, corn, are not written the same way.

6 103b 5 Copyist's error.

II.5 正亂

- (104a) 於是出其¹⁵斨²⁰鉞，奮其戎兵，
 黃帝身²⁵遇³⁰蚩尤，因而擒之、
 剝其^{104b:1}膚⁵革以為¹⁰犴侯，使人射之；多中者賞。
 劓其¹⁵髮²⁰而建²⁵之天，名曰蚩尤之旌。
 105 充其^{105a:1}胃⁵以為¹⁰鞠，使人踢之，多中者賞。
 腐其¹⁵骨肉，投之²⁰苦酒，使天下²⁵啜之。
 上帝²⁵以³⁰禁。帝曰：
 毋³⁰止^{105b:1}吾⁵禁，毋留¹⁰吾酒，毋亂¹⁰吾民，毋絕¹⁰吾道。
 止¹⁵禁、留²⁰酒、亂²⁵民、絕²⁵道、反²⁵義逆²⁵時，
 106 非²⁹而行之，過^{106a:1}極⁵佚¹⁰當，擅¹⁰制¹⁰更¹⁰爽，心欲¹⁰得¹⁰行。
 其¹⁵上帝²⁰未²⁵先而擅²⁵興²⁵兵，視²⁵蚩尤、共²⁵工。
 屈³⁰其脊，使^{106b:1}鉗⁵其⁵竅；不⁵死⁵不⁵生，怒⁵為⁵地⁵程，
 帝曰¹⁰：謹¹⁵守¹⁵吾¹⁵正¹⁵名，毋²⁰失²⁰吾²⁰恆²⁰刑，以²⁵示²⁵後²⁵人。《正亂》

104a 16 斨 WW1, YMG: 鏘 25 遇: 禺; 26 蚩: 之; 30 擒¹: 禽; 32 剝: 勃;

34 膚 YMG1: 口: 皮 HXT, CGY

104b 4 犴 YMG1: 干; 14 劓: 劓: 劓 WW1: 剪 WW2, CGY: 翦 WW3: 睿 HXT;

16 髮 髮: 發 as 筋 HXT; 21 名 WW3: 口: 門 HXT²; 23 蚩: 之; 26 旌: 簪

105a 3 鞠: 鞠; 6 踢: 執³; 19 酒 YMG2⁴: 醕: 醕 WW1 & 3, YMG1; 23 啜: 雉;

28 禁: 禁: 祭 YMG1; 32 止 WW1, HXT, YMG: 止: 乏 as 犯 WW3, CF

105b 3, 16 留 YMG2: 留: 流 WW3, CGY; 5, 17 as 105a 19; 14 as 105a 32

106a 2 佚 CGY: 失; 7 爽: 爽: 口 WW1; 16 先: 先: 口 WW1: 光 YMG1⁵;

22 蚩: 之; 30 鉗: 甘: 甘 WW1; 32 竅: 箭: 俞 YMG1

106b 5 怒: 怒; 8 程: 程: 丞 WW2: 楹 WW3: 程 HXT2; 30 示: 視

1 104a 30 But *Sumbin Bingfa* 孫臏兵法 296 食. Zhang Zhenze 張震澤 reads as 食 *tan*. (p. 174 note 13)

2 104b 21 WW1 & HXT punctuate after this character.

3 105a 6 執 is in rhyme group 19 (緝部); 踢 in rhyme group 20 (葉部). Chen Fuhua & He Jiuying, p. 253, 255

4 105a 19 YMG2 revises all previous readings and translates the said liquid as what is now called 老酒 *lao jiu*.

5 106a 16 YMG believes the copyist to have made a mistake.

II.6 姓爭

十六經 6 姓爭

(106b)

107 ■ 高陽問力墨曰：

天地已成，¹⁰黔首乃生。

莫循天德，²⁰謀相覆傾。

吾甚患之，²⁵為之若何？

³⁰力墨對曰：

^{107b:1}勿憂勿患，⁵天制固然。

天地已定，¹⁰蚘蟻畢爭。

作爭者凶，²⁰不爭亦無以成功。

108

²⁹順天者昌；^{108a:1}逆天者亡。

毋逆天道，¹⁰則不失所守。

天地已成，¹⁵黔首乃生。

姓生已定，²⁵敵者生爭。

不戡不定。

107a 8 已¹:口:口 WW1, TL; 20 覆:復; 21 傾:頃

107b 13 蚘:規; 14 蟻:僥; 16 爭:掙; 24 無 WW3:毋

108a 12 失:失; 23 姓:姓生 WW1; 28 者:者 ●; 32 戡 YMG, CGY:戡

1 107a 8 已 supplied from 108a 15-18:天地已成.

II.6 姓爭

- 108b:1 5
凡戡之極，在刑與德。
- 10 15 20
刑德皇皇，日月相望，以明其當。
- 25
望失其當，環視其殃，
- 29 109a:1 5
109 天德皇皇，非刑不行，
- 10
穆穆天刑，非德必傾。
- 15 20
刑德相養，逆順若成。
- 25 30 35 109b:1
刑晦而德明，刑陰而德陽，刑微而德彰。
- 5 10
其明者以為法，而微道是行。
- 15 20
明明至微，時反以為機。
- 25 110a:1
110 天道還於人，反為之客。
- 5
靜作得時，天地與之。
- 10 15 20
爭不衰，時靜不靜，國家不定。
- 25 30
可作不作，天稽環周，人反為之客。
- 110b:1 5
靜作得時，天地與之。
- 10 15
靜作失時，天地奪之。

108b 2 戡 YMG, CGY : 誡

109a 7,8 穆¹: 繆; 14 傾: 頃; 18 養: 養

109b 1 彰 YMG: 章; 18, 27 反: 反: 返 WW2; 21 機: 幾;

24 還 WW1 & 3 : 環: 環周 TL, YMG, CGY

110a 2 靜: 爭; 10 爭: 爭: 靜作 HXT1 : 靜 HXT2; 33 客: □²

110b 1-8 靜作得時，天地與之: 靜作得時，天地與之: ○ CGY

1 109a 7-8 *Hanyu Da Cidian* 漢語大詞典, Vol. 9 p. 1012 繆 *miu* is to be read as 穆 *mu*, majestic, in *Huainanzi* 淮南子 3 *Tianwen* 天文訓.

2 110a 33 Supplied from 110a 1 above.

II.6 姓爭

- (110b) 夫天地之道，寒熱燥濕，不能并立。
- 111 ^{111a:1} 剛柔、陰陽，固不兩行；
¹⁰ 兩相養，時相成。
¹⁵ 居則有法，²⁰ 動作循名，²⁵ 其事若易成。
³⁰ 若失人事則無常。^{111b:1}
⁵ 過極佚當，變故易常。
¹⁰ 德則無有，¹⁵ 措刑不當。
²⁰ 居則無法，²⁵ 動作爽名。¹
- 112 ^{112a:1} 是以戮受其刑。

《姓爭》

110b 23 熱:涅²

111a 5 固:固:故 HXT; 18 法:法; 20 作:作:則 CGY

111b 4 佚 CGY:失; 14 措:昔; 28 戮:繆

1 111b 25 YMG inserts 其事乃不成, based on the preceding 111a 23-27 and the testimony of *Guanzi* 管子 *Shi* 42 勢 p. 150c: 其事乃不成, 繆受其刑。

Graham, *Peerenboom Notes* II, p. 6 is "not persuaded" by YMG's suggestion.

2 110b 23 涅 is classed in rhyme group 17 (質部); 熱 in rhyme group 16 (月部). Chen Fuhua & He Jiuying, *Guyun Tongxiao*, p.242, 236 respectively

II.7 雌雄節

十六經 7 雌雄節

- (112a) ⁵ 皇后洞歷吉凶之常，
¹⁵ 以辨雌雄之節，²⁰ 乃分禍福之向。
²⁵ 害傲驕倨，³⁰ 是謂雄節；
^{112b:1} 口口恭儉，⁵ 是謂雌節。
¹⁰ 夫雄節者，¹⁵ 盈之徒也；
²⁰ 雌節者，謙之徒也。
- 113 ²⁵ 夫雄節以得，^{113a:1} 乃不為福；
⁵ 雌節以亡，¹⁰ 必將有賞。
¹⁵ 夫雄節而數得，²⁰ 是謂積殃；²⁵ 凶憂重至，幾於死亡；
³⁰ 雌節而數亡，^{113b:1} 是謂積德；⁵ 慎戒毋廢，¹⁰ 大祿將極。
¹⁵ 凡彼禍難也，²⁰ 先者恆凶，後者恆吉。
- 114 ²⁵ 先而不凶者，³⁰ 是恆備雌節存也；
¹⁰ 後而不吉者，¹⁵ 是恆備雄節存也。
²⁰ 先亦不凶，²⁵ 後亦不凶，³⁰ 是恆備雌節存也；
³⁴ 先亦不吉，^{114b:1} 後亦不吉，⁵ 是恆備雄節存也。

112a 7 洞:屯¹; 8 歷:曆:曆 CF; 12 常:常:祥 CGY; 14 辨:辯; 24 向:鄉:響 CF; 25 害²:

憲:悍 WW3; 顯 YMG; 26 傲:敖; 28 倨:居; 33 口:口:溫 HXT:冕 CF³:宛 CGY

112b 1 口:口:良 HXT:濕 CF:變 CGY³; 2 恭:共; 3 儉:驗; 12 盈 WW1, YMG1:涅:

郢 WW1⁴; 19 謙 WW1, YMG1:兼:歉 WW1

113a 7 必 TL:必 ●:必得 WW1; 12 雄:雄; 20 殃:英

113b 7 廢:法; 9 祿:祿:口 WW1; 11 極:極:及 CF; 15 難:難:福 CGY

114a 7-11 而不吉者，是:[x5]

1 112a 7 Lun Heng 論衡 39 Chao Qi 超奇: p. 137 上同下達故曰洞歷。

2 112a 25 The meaning must be something disastrous and the character looks close to 害 hai, to harm.

3 112a 29; 112b 1 CF & CGY reading borrowed from Shun Dao 順道 138a 冕濕恭儉 Very probable.

4 112b 12 & 19 Zhou Yi 周易 15 p. 11: 人道惡盈而好謙. 涅 read as 盈 ying by Wang Niansun 王念孫 in Guanzi 管子: Zhou He 宙合 (Zhao 趙 Vol. 1 p.142 n. 1)

II.7 雌雄節

(114b) 凡人¹⁵好用雄節，是謂²⁰妨生；
 大人²⁵則毀，小人³⁰則亡；
 115 以守^{115a:1}不寧，以作事⁵不成，
 以求¹⁰不得，以戰不克。
 厥身¹⁵不壽，子孫²⁰不殖。
 是謂²⁵凶¹節；是謂散德。
 30 凡人³⁵好用雌節，是謂承^{115b:1}祿；
 富者⁵則昌，貧者¹⁰則穀；
 以守¹⁵則寧，以作事²⁰則成，
 以求²⁵則得，以戰則克。
 116 116a:1 厥身⁵則壽，子孫¹⁰則殖，
 是謂¹⁵口節，是謂降德。
 故德²⁰積者昌，
 殃²⁵積者亡。
 觀³⁰其所積，乃知禍福^{116b:1}之向。
 5
 《雌雄節》

114b 21 妨:方

115a 4-12 不成，以求不得，以戰不:[x9]; 34-5 雌節:[x2]

116a 3-10 則壽，子孫則殖，是謂WW2&3, YMG1:[x8]:不壽，子孫不

殖，是謂HXT; 11 口:口:吉WW2&3, YMG1:凶HXT:雌Thompson²;

15 降TL, YMG:絳:紆WW1:侷WW2&3, CF:污CGY:絳Wang Tao王濤³;

22 殃⁴:口; 32-3 禍福:[x2]

116b 2 向:鄉:嚮CF

1 115a 24 Thompson suggests this might be an error for 雄. (Thompson's and Wang's suggestions were made in private.)

2 116a 11 If 115a 24 is 雄 *xiong*, cock, then this should be 雌 *ci*, hen; if 凶 *xiong*, unlucky, then this should be 吉 *ji*, lucky.

3 116a 15 TL's reading is based more truly on the MS. WW1 & 3 misidentify the graph. 降 is in contrast to 散 in 115a 28.

4 116a 22 Supplied from 113a 20

II.8 兵容

十六經 8 兵容

- (116b) ■ 兵不刑天，兵不可動；
 不法地，兵不可措；
 刑法不人，兵不可成。
- 117 參□□□□□□□□□□之，
 天地形之，聖人因而成之。
 聖人之功，時為之庸，
 因時秉□，是必有成功。
 聖人不達刑，不繻傳；
 因天時，與之皆斷。
 當斷不斷，反受其亂。
- 118 天固有奪有予，
 有祥□□□□□□弗受，反隨以殃。

116b 8 刑:刑:法 TL,HXT; 14 不:不:兵不 HXT; 20 措:昔:用 CGY;

21 刑:刑:○ CGY; 22-3 法不:法不:不法 CGY

117a 1 參:參 ●; 2-10 [x9]:[x9]:之天地，正之雌雄，聖人則 HXT:
 [x7]人生 CGY; 29 庸:庸:□ WW1; 33 □:□:天 HXT:宜 CGY

117b 1 是 WW2 & 3¹:是:地 HXT:□ YMG:兵 CGY; 12 繻:繻:渝 CGY;
 13 傳:傳:轉 CGY

118a 7-11 [x5]:[x5]:故德積者昌 HXT:有災天子而 CF:
 福至者也而 CGY; 15 隨:隋

1 117b 1 WW2 & 3 reading as 是 *shi* based on checking the original MS.

II.8 兵容

- (118a) ²⁰三隧絕從，²⁵兵無成功。
³⁰三隧絕從，兵有成功，
^{118b:1}口不饗其功，⁵還受其殃。
¹⁰國家有幸，¹⁵當者受殃；
²⁰國家無幸，有延其命。
119 ²⁵敦敦陽陽，²⁹ 119a:1 因民之力，
⁵逆天之極，¹⁰又重有功，
¹⁵其國家以危，社稷以匡，
²⁰事無成功，²⁵廢且不饗其功。
³⁰此天之道也。
^{119b:1}
《兵容》

118a 19, 27 隧 CGY:遂¹; 28 絕 WW1 & 3, HXT:絕:務 TL, YMG, CF, CGY²;

33 功:口; 34 口:口:而 HXT, CF:若 CGY

118b 2 饗:鄉; 5 還:環; 25-26 敦敦:鼎鼎:沸沸 WW2⁴;

27-28 陽陽:陽陽:湯湯 WW2

119a 7 又:有; 27 饗:鄉

1 118a 19, 27 Based on *Huainanzi* 淮南子 15 *Binglue* 兵略訓 p. 514: 所謂三隧者，上知天道，下習地形，中察人情。"The so-called three conditions are, above, to know the Way of Heaven, below to be acquainted with the shape of Earth, in the centre, to inspect the situation of Man."

2 118a 28 This character is not as clear as the preceding 絕 *jue* (118a 20). TL amended the WW1 reading to 務 *wu* both on the basis of the graph and on the meaning of the phrase, which seems to call for a verb opposite in meaning to the 絕 of 118a 20. TL thought the scribe had written 務 *wu* without the 力 *li* radical. This graph means "to apply one's force" and, though rarer than 務, it does share a common sound and similar sense (Karlgren, 1923 p. 364). The character 務 is listed in the *Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu Zhujuan* 馬王堆漢墓帛書竹簡 p. 34 under the radical 力. There is no doubt that the context seems to suggest 務 as a probable reading but the graphological evidence is in favour of 絕. CGY accepts TL's reading.

3 118a 33 Based on 118a 22-25 兵無成功

4 118b 25-28 *Huainanzi* 淮南子 5 *Shi Ze* 時則訓 p. 189: 敦敦陽陽 Both 崇 *bo* and 佛 *fo* are in rhyme group 18 物部 with initial 并 (Chen Fuhua & He Jiuying, p. 246). WW2 reading based on *Shanhaijing* 山海經 2 *Xishan Jing* 西山經 p. 1344b: 其源沸沸湯湯。

II.9 成法

十六經 9 成法

- (119b) ■ 黃帝問力墨：唯余一人兼有天下，
 猾民將生，佞辯用智，不可廢沮，
 120 吾恐或用之以亂天下。
 請問天下有成法可以正民者？
- 力墨曰：然。昔天地既成，
 正若有名，合若有形，口以守一名。
 上擒之天，下施之四海。
 吾聞天下成法，故曰不多，一言而止。
 121 循名復一；民無亂紀。
- 黃帝曰：請問天下猶有一乎？
 力墨曰：然。昔者皇天使鳳下道一言而止。
 五帝用之以扒天地，以揆四海，
 以懷下民，以正一世之士。
 夫是故讒民皆退，賢人咸起，
 五邪乃逃，佞辯乃止。
 122 循名復一，民無亂紀。

119b 16 猾：滑；20 佞：年；23 智：知；26 廢 YMG：法；27 沮 YMG：組

120a 36 口：口：○ HXT：乃 CGY

120b 6 擒 YMG1：拴：拴 as 洽 WW2：拴 as 纜 WW3：淦 as 淫 CGY¹

121a 9 猶：猷；12 乎：虜；22 鳳：馮²；34 扒 WW3：扒：八 YMG1；37 以³：口

121b 1 揆：榘；5 懷：壞；17 讒：彘；23 咸：減；29 佞：年

1 120b 6 The problem with this graph is the number of strokes in the right half. There seems to be one too many for 拴, one too few for 金. However, the *Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu Zhujian* p. 220 gives four examples of the character 金, the last of which is written 全 exactly as the right-hand part of the character here. This is decisive in favouring the reading 拴 as 擒. YMG explains 拴 as the same graph as 擒 jin 繫 and 拴, to fasten, that is to hold on to.

2 121a 22 Explained by Li Xueqin "Guanzi: Xinshu" p. 13. See also Zhao Cheng, *Jiaguwen Jianming Cidian*, p. 1 Tian

3 121a 37 Based on 121a 33, 121b 4, 8 以

II.9 成法

- (122a) ¹⁰黃帝曰：一者一而已乎？其亦有長乎？
²⁵力墨曰：一者，道其本也，³⁰胡為而無長？³⁵
- ^{122b:1}口口所失，⁵莫能守一。
 一之解，¹⁰察於天地。¹⁵一之理，²⁰施於四海。
 何以知邕之至，²⁵遠近之稽？³⁰
- 123 ^{123a:1}夫唯一不失，⁵一以趨化，少以知多。
¹⁰夫達望四海，¹⁵困極上下，
²⁰四向相抱，²⁵各以其道。
³⁰夫百言有本，³⁵千言有要，^{123b:1}萬言有總。
⁵萬物之多，¹⁰皆闕一空。
¹⁵夫非正人也，孰能治此？
²⁰彼必正人也，²⁵乃能操正以正奇，³⁰
- 124 ^{124a:1}握一以知多，⁵除民之所害，¹⁰
¹⁵而持民之所宜。
²⁰總凡守一，²⁵與天地同極，
³⁰乃可以知天地之禍福。³⁴

^{124b:1}
 《成法》

122a 37-38 [x2] : [x2] : 民有 HXT : 若有 CF : 凡有 CGY

122b 24 邕¹ : 邕 : 邕 WW1 : 訓 WW3, CF : 口 TL, YMG : 一 CGY

123a 4 趨 WW3 : 騶 : 騶 TL; 促 WW2, YMG; 20 向 : 鄉 : 嚮 CF; 22 抱 : 抱; 37 言² : 口

123b 2 總 : 總; 20 彼 : 罷;

124a 12 持 : 寺; 17 總 : 總 : 保 as 保 or 採 WW2 : 抱 YMG³;

18 凡 : 凡 : 凡 口 WW1, TL, YMG1 : 凡 持 HXT

1 122b 24 邕 *yong* is to be understood as 雍 *yong*, to block up, thus it refers to the limits the water can reach; WW3 reads as a silken thread. The graph is unattested elsewhere.

2 123a 37 Based on 123a 28-9, 32-3 百言, 千言

3 124a 17 *Huainanzi* 8 *Ben Jing* 本經訓 p. 257: 德之所總要. Gao You 高誘 notes: 總, 凡也, all in common.

II.10 三禁

十六經 10 三禁

- (124b) ■ 行非恆者，天禁之；
 爽事，地禁之；
 失令者，君禁之。
 三者既修，國家幾矣。
- 125 地之禁，不墮高，不增下。
 毋防川，毋逆土¹，毋逆土功，毋壅民明。
 進不氏，立不讓，徑遂凌節，是謂大凶。
- 125b:1 人道剛柔，剛不足以，柔不足恃。
 剛強而虎質者丘，康沈而流湏者亡。
- 126 憲古章物不實者死，專利及削谷以大居者虛。
 天道燾燾，播于下土，施于九州。
 是故王公慎令，民知所由。
 天有恆日，民自則之，爽則損命，還自服之，
 天之道也
 《三禁》

125a 2 墮²:口:增 HXT; 5 增:曾; 8 防:服:服 HXT³; 20 明:明:盟 HXT;

23 氏:氏:底 WW2, CGY; 27 徑:徑; 29 凌 YMG:凌:陵 CGY⁴

125b 12 恃:寺; 19 丘:丘:拒 CGY; 24 湏:面

126a 10 谷:浴:浴 HXT; 15 虛:虛:墟 CGY

18-19 燾燾 YMG⁵:壽壽:悠悠 WW2 & 3:淑 CGY; 20 播:番

126b 3 由:繇; 16 還:環

1 125a 10-12 WW1-3 reckon these characters to be redundant; YMG and CGY disagree.

2 125a 2 Contrast to 125a 5-6 增下

3 125a 8 *Guoyu 3 Zhouyu xia* 周語下 p. 101: 古之長民者，不墮山，不崇藪，不防川，不寶澤。

4 125a 29 *Guanzi* 管子 23 *Ba Yan* 霸言 p. 126c: 重而凌節者復輕。

5 126a 18-19 *Shiji* 史記 31 *Wutaibo Shijia* 吳太伯世家 p. 1453: 如天之無不燾，如地之無不載。

II.11 本伐

十六經 11 本伐

- (126b) 26 127a: 1 5
 127 ■ 儲庫藏兵之國，皆有兵道。
 10 15 20
 世兵道三：有為利者，有為義者，有行忿者。
 25 29 127b: 1 5 10
 所謂為利者，見口口口饑，國家不暇，上下不當，
 15 20 25
 舉兵而誅之，雖無大利，亦無大害焉。
 128a: 1 5 10 15
 128 所謂為義者，伐亂禁暴，起賢廢不肖，所謂義也。
 20
 義者，眾之所死也。
 25 30 128b: 1 5
 是故以一國攻天下，萬乘之主口口希不自此始，
 10 15 20
 鮮能終之，非心之恆也，窮而返矣。
 25 30 129a: 1 5
 129 所謂行忿者，心雖忿，不能徒怒，怒必有為也。
 10 15 20
 成功而無以求也，即兼始逆矣。非道也。
 25 30 35
 道之行也，由不得已。由不得已，則無窮。
 40 129b: 1 5 10
 故圍者，拓者也；禁者，使者也；是以旁行不流。

《本伐》

126b 26 儲 WW3: 諸: 儲 or 諸 CGY

127a 1 藏: 臧

127b 1-3 [x3]: [x3]: 民饑已 HXT: 其人民 CF: 生民有 CGY; 4 饑: 飢; 8 暇: 假;

16 誅 WW3: 戕: 救 WW1: 戕 as 裁 WW2, YMG: 伐 HXT; 18 雖: 唯 (also 128b27)

128a 1 義: 為義; 11 肖: 宵; 16 義¹: 口; 28 攻: 戎; 33 之: 口

128b 1-2 [x2]: [x2]: 兼併 HXT: 并兼 CGY; 3 希: 希: 稀 HXT; 10 終: 冬; 19 返: 反;

129a 26, 30 由: 繇; 38 圍: 圍: 忿 HXT: 圍 WW3: 口 YMG: 芥 as 丐 CGY²;

40 拓: 超; 42 也: 口

129b 8 旁 YMG1: 方橫 WW1: 方 as 暢 CGY³; 11 流 YMG2: 留

1 128a 16, 33, 42 Suppositions based on contexts.

2 129a 38 The character is clear but unidentified. Li Xueqin suggests (in private) that 𠄎 might be related to 邑 yi, a town.

Could the graph be a combination of 國邑 encircle a town, an expression known from *Guliangzhuan: Yin 隱* 5.9?

3 129b 8 & 11 YMG See *Huainanzi 9 Zhu Shu 主術* p. 310: 旁流四達 flowing outward to the four directions.

WW1 on note in *Guoyu 6 Qiyu 齊語* p. 232: 方行天下 note by Wei Zhao 韋昭: 方猶橫也.

II.12 口口

十六經 12 口口

(129b) ■ 聖人與事也，合於天地，順於民，祥於鬼神，

130a:1 使民同利，萬夫賴之，所謂義也。

身載於前，主上用之，

長利國家社稷，世利萬夫百姓。

天下名軒執口士於是虛。

壹言而利之者，士也。

壹言而利國者，國士也。

131 是故君子卑身以從道，智以辯之，強以行之，

責道以并世，柔身以待之時。

王公若知之，國家之幸也。國大人衆，強國也。

口身載於後，口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口

口口口而不口口口口口口口口幸也。

132 故王者不以幸治國，治國固有前道：

上知天時，下知地利，中知人事。

129b 15 人:口; 19 合:闔; 26 祥:羊

130a 26 世:世:大 WW2; 31 姓:生; 35 軒:軒:主 HXT; 37 口:口:國 HXT, CGY

130b 31 智:知:知 HXT; 32 以:以:之 HXT (also 131a 9)

131a 7 責:責:貴 HXT; 13 身:身; 15 待:寺; 16 之:之:○ CGY;

20-21 若知:若 知; 35 口:口:若 CGY¹

131b 1-18 [x18]:[x18]:凡事不疆則枉，不敬不正，枉者滅廢，敬者萬世。HXT:主上不用之，則不利國家社稷、萬夫百姓。王公 CGY;

21-27 [x7]:[x7]:以其道得之，不亡 HXT:知之，乃國家之不 CGY

132a 4 幸:幸:倖 HXT; 12 道:道:導 YMG

1 131a 32-5 HXT reads as 強之於始。

II.12 □□

- (132a) ²⁵善陰陽□□□□□□□□□□³⁰
³⁵□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□^{132b: 1}
⁵□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□¹⁰
¹⁵名正者治，名奇者亂。
²⁰正名不奇，²⁵奇名不立。
133 ³⁰正道不殆，^{133a: 1}可後可始。
⁵乃可小夫，¹⁰乃可國家。
¹⁵小夫得之以成，²⁰國家得之以寧。
²⁵小國得之，³⁰以守其野。
³⁵大國得之，^{133b: 1}以并兼天下。
⁵道有原而無端，¹⁰用者實，¹⁵弗用者款。
²⁰合之而渥於美，²⁵循之而有常。
134 ²⁹古之賢者，^{134a: 1}道是之行。⁵
¹⁰知此道，¹⁵地且天，鬼且人。
²⁰以居軍口，²⁵以居國其國昌。
³⁰古之賢者，道是之行。
³⁵《□□》

132a 28-37 [x10]:[x10]:之為用，帝有勝負之圖，六 HXT

132b 1-11 [x11]:[x11]:甲陰陽之道，藏於會稽之山下 HXT; 12 名:□;

16 名:名:○ WW1:□ TL; 17, 23, 24 奇:奇:倚 WW3; 31 殆:台

133a 35-37 得之，以:[x3]

133b 17 款 CGY: 蕞:桓 WW3: 蕞 YMG2¹: 鶴 (as 觀) HXT; 21 渥:渥²

134a 11, 14 且:且:宜 CGY; 19 □:回:朕 (as 勝) HXT, CF³:強 CGY; 22 國:國;

34-5 [x2]:[x2]:前道 WW2 & 3, HXT, YMG, CF⁴

1 133b 17 *Huainanzi* 淮南子 1 *Yuan Dao* 原道訓 p. 17: 款者主浮 note of Gao You 高誘: 款，空也。

2 133b 21 Meaning 變化, transformation, change. See *Fang Yan* 方言第 3: 渥, 化也 (p. 102).

3 134a 19 This suggestion does not seem to match the remains on the MS.

4 134a 34-35 The title is supplied from 132a 11-12 above.

II.14 順道

十六經 14 順道

(137a) ²⁰ ■ 黃帝問力墨曰：
²⁵ 大庭氏之有天下也，
^{137b:1} 不辨陰陽，⁵ 不數日月，¹⁰ 不識四時，
¹⁵ 而天開以時，地成以財。
²⁰ 其為之若何？

²⁵ 力墨曰：

138 ³⁰ 大庭之有天下也，^{138a:1}
⁵ 安徐正靜，¹⁰ 柔節先定。
¹⁵ 宛濕恭儉，²⁰ 卑約主柔，常後而不先。
²⁵ 體正信以仁，³⁰ 慈惠以愛人，
³⁴ ^{138b:1} 端正象，⁵ 弗敢以先人。
¹⁰ 中情不綵，執一毋求。

137a 24 曰：曰；26 庭：堇

137b 8 識 WW3：志；29 as 137a 26

138a 11 宛：晁：昂 TL, YMG：良 HXT：暅 as 宛 WW3¹；12 濕：濕：濫 HXT：變 CGY；

13 恭：共；14 儉：僉；23 先：失²；24 體：體；

25-8 正信以仁：正信以仁：以正信 CGY；29 慈：茲：○ CGY³

138b 1 象 YMG1⁴：勇：養 CGY；8 情：請：靜 CGY；10 綵：刺：as 貪 HXT：留 CGY

1 138a 11 The graph written is unattested elsewhere. WW3 supposes it to be a variant of 暅 *wan* the setting sun used here for 宛 *wan*, compliant. YMG2 explains 昂 as 留止, to hold back, stop.

2 138a 23 This is thought to be an error for 先 *xian*, before. However WW3 reads as 常後而不失體。

3 138a 25-29 CGY notes that 仁慈 occur nowhere else in the manuscript and supposes this to be a later interpolation.

4 138b 1 *Guanzi* 管子 42 *Shi* 勢 p. 150c 端政象不敢以先人。中靜不留裕德無求。形於女色其所處者柔、安、靜、樂，行德而不爭。CGY explains 象 *xiang*, symbol, as 養 *yang*, to cultivate, foster.

II.14 順道

- (138b) ¹⁵刑於女節，²⁰所主乃柔。
²⁵故安靜正德，³⁰好德不爭，
 139 ^{139a:1}立於不敢，⁵行於不能。
¹⁰戰示不敢，¹⁵明設不能。
¹⁵守弱節而堅之，²⁰胥雄節之窮而因之。
³⁰若此者，其民勞不³⁵僂、^{139b:1}饑不⁵怠、死不怨。
¹⁰不曠其衆，¹⁵不為兵主，²⁰不為亂首，不為怨媒。
²⁵不陰謀，不擅斷疑；
 140 ³⁰不謀削人之野，^{140a:1}不謀⁵却人之宇。
¹⁰慎安其衆，¹⁵以隨天地之從。
²⁰不擅作事，²⁵以待逆節所窮。
³⁰見地奪力，³⁵天逆其時，
⁴⁰因而飭之，^{140b:1}事還克之。
⁵若此者，¹⁰戰勝不報，¹⁵取地不反。
²⁰戰勝於外，²⁵福生於內。³⁰用力甚少，名聲章明。
^{141a:1}141 順之至也。 《順道》

138b 20 主 CGY:生 23-25 故安靜 CGY:[x3]:是謂之 HXT¹

139a 8 示:視; 12 設 WW3:執:勢 HXT:執 CGY; 36 僂 CGY:口:怠 HXT²

139b 1 饑:几; 3 怠:飴; 6, 21 怨:宛; 8 曠:廣; 13 兵:兵:邪 HXT1;

14 主:邾:誅 HXT; 22 媒:謀

140a 6 人:人; 10 安 YMG:案:按 CGY; 14 隨:隋; 18 從:從:縱 WW3;

24 待:寺; 29 見:見:峴 CGY; 37 因:因; 39 飭:飾

140b 2 還:環:環 HXT2; 29 聲:聲

1 138b 20, 23-25 See note to 138b 1 on preceding page. CGY's reconstruction is based on *Guanzi*.

2 139a36 *Xunzi* 6 *Fei Shi'er Zi* 非十二子 17/6/50:彼君子則不然。佚而不惰。勞而不僂。

十六經 15

- (141a) ⁵ 欲知得失，請必審名察形。¹⁰
¹⁵ 形恆自定，是我愈靜。²⁰
²⁵ 事恆自施，是我無為。³⁰
^{141b: 1} 靜也不動，來自至，去自往。⁵
¹⁰ 能一乎？能止乎？
¹⁵ 能毋有己，能自釋而尊理乎？²⁰
²⁵ 紆也，屯也；其如莫存。³⁰
142 ^{142a: 1} 萬物群至，我無不能應。⁵
¹⁰ 我不藏故，不挾陳；向者已去，至者乃新。¹⁵
²⁰ 新故不謬，我有所周。²⁵
³⁰ 《十六經》凡四千口百口六³⁵ ^{142b: 1}

141a 9 請:請:情 WW3¹; 21 愈:愈; 23 事:●事; 26 施:施;

32 也 WW2, YMG: 翳:翳 WW3: 壹 CGY

141b 19 釋 CF, CGY: 擇:釋 CF, CGY; 21 尊:莫;

24 紆:紆²:紆 WW1, HXT: 葆 CGY; 26 屯 CGY: 毛³

142a 5 能:能:○ HXT2; 9 藏:臧; 11 不:不:亦不 HXT2; 13 陳:陳:新 CGY;

14 向:鄉:嚮 WW1, CF; 25 謬:謬:謬 HXT;

31 六:大:大 WW1 & 2, TL⁴: 四 Gao Zheng 高正⁵;

36-142b 1 口百口六 WW3: [x3] 六:三百六十四 TL: 五十六 LXQ⁶

1 141a 9 The phrase 請必 *qingbi* is known from other sources. There is no need to emend to 情 *qing*. See *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 25.1 *Si Shun* 似順 p. 1636 請必戰，戰請必敗，敗請必死。"There cannot but be war; war will bring defeat, defeat death." 請 *qing* simply reinforces the inevitability of 必 *bi*, "cannot but be".

2 141b 24 The character has not been identified. WW3 proposes 裡 *li*, inside, or 孽 *zi*, increase; HXT glosses 紆 *shu* as 解 *jie*, to free from; WW2 proposes 保 *bao*, and YMG proposes 襁 *bao*, both meaning "swaddling clothes".

3 141b 26 Dubious. May be a copyist's error here. WW3 proposes 表 *biao*, outside, or 耗 *hao*, decrease, decline.

4 142a 31 There is disagreement as to how to read the title of this section and of the whole book. See the technical preface.

Li Xueqin reads the title of II.15 as 十大 *Shi Da*; Chen Guying as 名刑 *Ming Xing*; HXT as 所周 *Suo Zhou*.

5 142a 31 Gao Zheng 高正 in *Boshu* "Shisi Jing" *zhengming* 帛書"十四經" 正名 pp. 283-4.

6 142a 36 WW3 thinks that the MS writes 六 *liu*, six. The photographs are too poor to confirm this. It may be correct. Tang Lan's suggestion is found in his "Huangdi Sijing" *chutan*, p. 48. Li Xueqin's is that 五 *wu*, five, and 十 *shi*, ten, are written together as one. See his *Mawangdui Boshu* "Jingfa: Da Fen" *ji qita*, p. 281.

III 稱

III 稱

- 143 ① ^{143a:1} 道無始而有應。⁵
 其未來也，¹⁰ 無之；其已來，¹⁵ 如之。
 有物將來，²⁰ 其形先之。²⁵
 建以其形，³⁰ 名以其名。³⁵ 其言謂何。
 ② ^{143b:1} ●環私傷威。弛欲傷法。無隨傷道。⁵
 數舉參者，¹⁵ 有身弗能保，²⁰ 何國能守？
 144 ③ ●奇從奇，正從正，奇與正，恆不同廷。²⁵
 ④ ●凡變之道，非益而損，非進而退。首變者凶。³⁰
 ⑤ ●有儀而儀則不過，¹⁰
 待表而望則不惑，¹⁵
 案法而治則不亂。³⁵ 144b:1
 ⑥ ●聖人不為始，不專己，不豫謀，⁵
 不為得，不辭福，因天之則。¹⁰
 ⑦ ●先其天者死，²⁵
 欺其主者死，³⁰
 耀其上者危。³⁵ 145a:1

143a 29 形:刑; 38環:環:環 as 營 CGY

143b 1 私 WW3:口:刑 TL, YMG, CGY; 4弛:弛; 9隨 YMG1:隋:墮 WW3¹;

20保:葆; 25 ●奇:口奇; 29-30從正:從正; 38環:環:還 HXT1

144a 1 同:不同; 20, 22儀:義; 26待:侍:恃 WW3, CGY

144b 10專:駟; 19辭:辭; 35耀 LDH:翟:遶 WW2:敵 WW3:戳 HXT:狄 YMG1:

易 YMG2:桃 CGY²

1 143b 9 *Shuo Wen* 說文 p. 56 墮, 相毀也。

2 144b 35 耀 is read as in 夫物之相類者，世主之所亂惑也，嫌疑肖象者，衆人之所眩耀也。
 (*Huainanzi* 13 *Fanlun* 反論 p. 451) "The similarities between things result in a worldly lord being led astray; making distinctions between things is what blinds the masses."

III 稱

- (145a) ① ●心之所欲則志歸之，志之所欲則力歸之。
5 10 15 20
 故巢居者察風，穴處者知雨，憂存故也。
25 30 35
 145b:1 憂之則口，安之則久。弗能令者弗得有。
5 10 15
- ② ●帝者臣，名臣，其實師也。
20
 王者臣，名臣，其實友也。
25 30
- 146 ③ ●霸者臣，名臣也，其實賓也。
146a:1 5 10
 危者臣，名臣也，其實庸也。
15 20
 亡者臣，名臣也，其實虜也。
25 30
- ④ ●自廣者人絕之；
35
 146b:1 口口人者其生危，其死辱也。
5
 居不犯凶，困不擇時。
10 15

145a 14 之:之志之

145b 4 口:口:取 YMG:存 CF; 11 令:令:領 CGY

146a 1 霸:朝; 9-10 賓也:[x2]:僕也 HXT; 11-12 危者:[x2]:諸侯 HXT¹

32 廣:光:光 YMG, CF; 37-38 [x2]:[x2]:絕之 HXT:驕溢 CGY²

146b 8 辱:辱, :辱。 WW1; 9 也 WW3:翳:翳 as 殪 HXT1;

16 擇:擇:釋 CGY

1 146a9-12 *Shuo Yuan* 說苑 1 君道 # 20, p. 5/16-8

郭隗曰：帝者之臣，其名臣也，其實師也；王者之臣，其名臣也，其實友也；霸者之臣，其名臣也，其實賓也；危國之臣，其名臣也，其實虜也。

Guo Wei said, "An emperor's minister is called "minister", in fact he is a teacher; a King's minister is called "minister", in fact he is a friend; a Hegemon's minister is called "minister", in fact he is a guest; the minister of a State in peril is called "minister", in fact he is a prisoner of war."

2 146a 37-8 CGY's proposal based on *Xunzi* 3 *Bugou* 不苟 6/3/9: 小人能則倨傲僻違以驕溢人。

The petty man, when he has ability, is proud, tends to evil and is overbearing towards others.

III 稱

- (146b) ④ ●不受²⁰祿者，天子弗²⁵臣也。
 祿³⁰薄者，弗與犯難。
- 147 147a:1 故以人之自為，□□□□□□□□¹⁰
 不¹⁵仕於盛盈²⁰之國，
 不嫁子於盛盈²⁵之家，
 不友□□□□³⁰易之人。³⁵
- ④ ●□□不^{147b:1}執⁵偃兵，不¹⁰執¹⁵用兵²，兵者不得已而行。
- 148 ④ ●知天之所始²⁰，察地之理²⁵，聖人彌³⁰綸天地之紀，
 廣乎獨見□□獨□□□□□□□□獨在。³⁴ 148a:1
- ④ ●天子之地方千里¹⁵，請侯百里²⁰，所以朕合之也。²⁵
 故立天子者，不使諸侯擬焉。³⁰ 148b:1
 立正嫡者，不使庶孽擬焉。¹⁰ 15
 立正妻者，不使嬖妾擬焉。²⁰ 25
 擬則相傷，雜則相方。³⁰ 149a:1
- 149

146b 28 薄:泊

147a 7-14 [x8]:[x8]:敬勝怠者生,古之人HXT:也,不以人之為我也CGY;

16仕:士;32-34[x3]:[x3]:盛盈輕HXT:驕倨慢CGY;37人:□³;

38●□:□□:●聖HXT,CGY

147b 1□:□:人HXT,CGY;3,7執:執:執 WW1 & 3:藝 WW2, YMG1:勢HXT:

執CF,CGY;20所:所:○CGY;28彌:廩;29綸:論:淪CGY

148a 1, 5, 13獨:蜀;3-12[x2]獨[x7]:[x2]蜀[x7]:晝陰月夜,夜陰晝日,止乎HXT

:口乎獨知口乎獨口口乎CF⁴;28朕:朕:勝 WW1;36者⁵:口;37不:口

148b 4, 14, 24, 26擬:疑:擬 YMG1;8嫡:敵;10不:●不;22嬖:婢

1 147a 15 WW3 opens a new paragraph here, inserting a ● in front of 不.

2 147b 2-11 WW1 punctuates: 不執, 偃兵不執. 用兵.

3 147a 37 *Guanzi* 管子 38 *Baixin* 白心 p. 146: 驕居傲暴之人不可與交.

4 148a 3-12 CGY is unsure of this passage but largely follows CF thus: 桌乎獨知, 口乎獨口, 口乎

5 148a 36, 37 Based on grammar of following sentences 148b 6-25

III 稱

- (149a) ⑤ ●時⁵若可行，亟應¹⁰勿言，
時若未可，塗¹⁵其門，毋見²⁰其端。
- ⑥ ●天制²⁵寒暑，地制³⁰高下，人制取予。
取予當，立為口王。取予不當，流之死亡。¹⁰
天有還刑，反受其殃。¹⁵
- ⑦ ●世恆不可，釋法²⁰而用我。²⁵
用我不可，是以生禍。³⁰
- 150 ⑧ ●有國存，天下弗能亡也。⁵
有國將亡，天下弗能存也。¹⁰
- ⑨ ●時極未至，而隱於德。既得其極，遠其德。³⁰
踐致以力，既成其功，還復其從，人莫能代。¹⁰
- ⑩ ●諸侯不報仇，不修耻，唯口所在。¹⁵
- 151 ⑪ ●隱忌妒妹賊捷如此者，下其等而遠其身。⁵
不下其等，不遠其身，禍乃將起。¹⁰
- ⑫ ●內事不和，不得言外。細事不察，不得言大。³⁵
- ⑬ ●利不兼，賞不倍。戴角者無上齒。¹⁰
- ⑭ ●提正名以伐，得所欲而止。¹⁵

149a 8-10 應勿言：應勿言：[x3] WW1：口勿言 TL；11 時¹：口

149b 1 口：口：帝 HXT：聖 CGY；13 還：環：環 CGY；23 釋：擇

150a 35 踐 LDH, CGY：●淺：潛 HXT：殘 CF；36 致 CGY²：口：德 HXT

150b 7 還：環；10 從：從：德 HXT²：踪 CGY；14 代：代：殆 CGY；17 不：不；

21 修：修：滌 WW3；22 耻：俱；24 口：口：德 HXT：義 CGY；32 捷 CGY：妾

151a 13 其：其德；34 察：察；35 不：不；38 大³：口；

1 149a 11 Based on 149a 3-6 時若可行

2 150a 36 Supplied from *Guanzi* 42 *Shi* 勢 p. 150c: 未得天極，則隱於德；已得天極，則致其力。

3 151a 38 大 *da*, great, opposite of 細 *xi*, small, just as 151a 23 外 *wai*, outside, is of 151a 30 內 *nei*, inside

III 稱

- (151b) 152 ⑤⑥●實²⁵穀不華，至言不飾³⁰，至樂不笑^{152a:1}。
 華⁵之屬必有核¹⁰，核中必有蕙。
 ⑥⑦●天地之道，有左有右，有牝有牡。^{15 20 25}
 皓皓作事，毋從我終始。^{30 35}
 雷以為車^{152b:1}，豐隆以為馬。⁵
 行而行¹⁰，處而處¹⁵。因地以為齋²⁰，因民以為師。²⁵
 弗因無裛也。²⁵
- 153 ⑥⑦●宮室過度，上帝所惡。為者弗居，雖居必路。^{30 153a:1 5 10}
 ⑥⑧●減衣衾，薄棺槨，禁也；疾疫可。^{15 20 1}
 發澤，禁也；草蕞可。^{25 30}
 淺林，禁也；聚口可。^{35 153b:1}
 墮高增下，禁也；大水至而可也。^{5 10}

152a 4 華:華:花 HXT; 6/7 CGY inserts 必有實實中²; 9, 10 核:覈; 14 蕙:意;

27-28 皓皓 WW3 誥誥; 34 終:冬; 36 雷:靄; 37 以 YMG1 :口:電 HXT

152b 3-4 豐隆³:隆隆:輪隆 WW3 :隆 CGY; 18 齋:齋:資 WW3, YMG;

27 裛:裛:裛 as 由 WW3 :神 CGY (裛 *hapax legomenon*, meaning unclear)

153a 5 惡:亞; 10 雖:唯; 12 必:必:草 HXT2; 17 薄:泊; 23 疫:役:役 YMG;

24, 31 可:可:夥 CGY; 30 蕞:蕞:叢 CGY; 32 淺:淺:殘 WW3;

37 口:口:宮 HXT, CGY

153b 1 可 CF:口:室 HXT, CGY; 2 墮:隳:隳 YMG2

1 153a 14-153b 13 Punctuation adopted is that suggested by CF. All other editions punctuate thus:

減衣衾，薄棺槨，禁也。

疾疫可發澤，禁也。

草蕞可淺林，禁也。

聚口口，墮高增下，禁也。

大水至而可也。

2 152a 6/7 CGY makes this insertion and YMG2 supposes it in his translation.

3 152b 3-4 *Chu Ci: Li Sao* 離騷, p. 23: 吾令豐隆乘雲兮。"So I made Feng Long ride away on a cloud."

III 稱

- (153b) ¹⁵ ⑤②●毋先天成，²⁰ 毋非時而榮。
- 154 ²⁵ 先天成則毀，³⁰ 非時而榮則不果。^{154a:1}
- ⑤④●⁵ 日為明，¹⁰ 月為晦。昏而休，明而起。
- ¹⁵ 毋佚天極，²⁰ 究數而止。
- ⑤④①●²⁵ 強則令，³⁰ 弱則聽，敵則循繩而爭。
- ⑤④③●³⁵ 行憎而索愛，^{154b:1} 父弗得子。⁵
- ¹⁰ 行侮而索敬，君弗得臣。
- ⑤④③●¹⁵ 有宗將興，²⁰ 如伐於口。
- ²⁵ 有宗將壞，³⁰ 如伐於山。
- 155 ^{155a:1} 貞良而亡，⁵ 先人餘殃。
- ¹⁰ 猖獗而活，¹⁵ 先人之烈。
- ⑤④③●²⁰ 卑而正者增，²⁵ 高而倚者崩。
- ⑤④③●³⁰ 山有木，其實屯屯。
- ³⁵ 虎狼為猛可楯，^{155b:1} 昆弟相居，⁵ 不能相順。
- ¹⁰ 同則不肯，¹⁵ 離則不能。²⁰ 傷國之神。
- 156 ²⁵ 口¹口不來，³⁰ 胡不來相教順弟兄慈，^{156a:1}
- ⁵ 昆弟之親，尚可易哉。

154a 15 佚 CGY:失; 16 天:天; 18 究:廐; 33 爭:爭:靜 CGY; 35 憎:曾

154b 7 侮:母; 22 口:口:民 HXT:川 CGY

155a 8 猖:商; 9 獗:闕; 11 活:栝; 15 烈:連; 16 卑:埤; 25 崩:備;

28 木:木:口 WW1, TL; 35 為:為:惟 CGY; 36 猛:孟

155b 1 楯:楯:as 順 hence 馴; 19 國:國:域 WW3, CGY; 22-23 [x2]:[x2]:

神則 HXT:神胡 CGY; 24 不 HXT, YMG, CGY:口; 31 順:順:訓 CGY

156a 1 慈:茲:哉 WW1, YMG, CGY:茲 TL; 9 哉:戔

1 155b 22 WW1, TL, YMG1 & 2 all begin a new paragraph here, adding ● before 155b 22.

III 稱

- (156a) ¹⁰ ③④⑤ ● 天下有參死：¹⁵ 忿不量力死；
²⁰ 嗜欲無窮死；
²⁵ 寡不避眾死。
- ³⁰ ③④⑥ ● 毋籍賊兵，^{156b:1} 毋賚盜糧，
⁵ 籍賊兵，¹⁰ 賚盜糧，¹⁵ 短者長，弱者強，
²⁰ 贏絀變化，²⁵ 後將反施。
- 157 ③④⑦ ● 弗同而同，^{157a:1} 舉而為同。
⁵ 弗異而異，¹⁰ 舉而為異。
¹⁵ 弗為而自成，²⁰ 因而建事。
- ²⁰ ③④⑧ ● 陽親而陰惡。
²⁵ 謂處其膚而內其矇。³⁰ 不有內亂，^{157b:1} 必有外客。⁵
¹⁰ 膚既為膚，¹⁵ 矇既為矇。²⁰ 內亂不至，外客乃却。
- 158 ③④ ● 得焉者不受其賜，^{158a:1} 亡者不怨大口。⁵

156a 20 嗜: 耆; 27 避: 辟; 31 籍 CF: 籍: 藉 WW1, 2, 3: 借 TL, HXT, YMG1;

32 賊: 賊

156b 1, 7 賚: 裹: 裏 WW1: 裹 TL, YMG1 & 2: 裏 as 賚 WW2: 裏 as 理 WW3:

衆 CF¹; 3, 9 糧: 量; 4 as 156a 31; 11 者: 者; 24 施: 施

157a 16 因: 因: 因口 WW1; 24 惡: 亞; 32,

157b 12, 15 矇 WW3: 矇: 矇 WW1: 矇 TL, YMG, CF, CGY

158a 3 亡: 亡: 亡焉 CGY; 7 大: 大: 上 HXT: 其 CGY; 8 口: 口: 日 HXT: 非 CGY

1 156b 1, 7 The meaning of the character is *collect and give*. WW1 裏 identification is a misreading. The proverb is found in *Shiji* 史記 79 *Fan Sui Cha Ze Liezhuan* 範睢察澤列傳 p. 2409:

此所謂《借賊兵而齊盜糧》者也。

and in *Zhan Guo Ce* 5 *Qin Ce* 秦策 3 p. 171: 此所謂《藉賊兵而賚盜食》者也。

III 稱

- (158a) ¹⁰ 天有明而不憂民之晦也。
²⁰ 百姓闢其戶牖而各取昭焉。³⁰ 天無事焉。
³⁴ 158b:1 ⁵ 地有財而不憂民之貧也。
¹⁰ 百姓斬木刈薪而各取富焉。²⁰ 地亦無事焉。
- 159 ²⁵ 諸侯有亂，^{159a:1} 正亂者失其理，⁵ 亂國反行焉。
¹⁰ 其時未能也，¹⁵ 至其子孫²⁰ 必行焉。
²⁵ 故曰：制人而失其理，³⁰ 反制焉。
- ³⁵ 159b:1 ⁵ 生人有居，¹⁰ 死人有墓。令不得與死者從事。
- ¹⁵ 惑而亟返，口道不遠。
- 160 ²⁰ 臣有兩位者，²⁵ 其國必危；³⁰ 國若不危，^{160a:1} 君與存也。⁵
¹⁰ 失君必危；¹⁵ 失君不危者，臣故佐也。
²⁰ 子有兩位者，²⁵ 家必亂；³⁰ 家若不亂，親與存也。
³⁵ 160b:1 ⁵ 失親必危；¹⁰ 失親不亂，子故佐也。
- ¹⁵ 不用輔佐之助，²⁰ 不聽聖慧之慮，
161 ²⁵ 而恃其城郭之固，³⁰ 怙其勇力之禦；^{161a:1} 是謂身薄。⁵
¹⁰ 身薄則忒；¹⁵ 以守不固，以戰不克。

158a 9 ● 天:口天:月天 HXT:夫天 CGY; 19 百:口; 21 闢:辟

158b 1 財:口¹; 13 刈 WW3²:刳:艾 WW1 & 2, HXT:刈 TL:刈 YMG1; 14 薪:新

159a 37 死³:口;

159b 14 亟:極; 15 返 WW2 & 3:反; 16 口:口:於 HXT:失 CGY

160a 3, 32 與:與:曳 HXT:猶 CGY; 17 佐 TL, YMG1:駮:差 WW3; 35-6 失親:[x2]

160b 1 必:口; 9 as 160a 17; 24 恃:侍; 30 怙:古;

161a 2 禦:御; 6, 8 薄:薄:迫 WW3; 10 忒⁴:貸:怠 WW3:殆 CGY

1 158b 1 *Shen Dao* 慎到 Fragment 1, p. 228: 天有明，不憂人之暗也；地有財，不憂人之貧也。

2 158b 13 Though unattested elsewhere the WW3 reading makes good sense and corresponds well to the graph.

3 159a 37 Supplied by contrast with 159a 33 生.

4 160b 10 The use of 貸 *dai* for 忒 *te* is attested in *Hanyu Da Zidian* 漢語大字典 Vol. 6 p. 3634.

III 稱

- (161a) 20 25
 兩虎相爭，驚犬制其餘。
- 30 35
 善為國者，太上無刑，其次口口；
- 161b: 1 5 10 15
 其下鬪果訟果，太下不鬪不訟又不果。
- 20 25 30
 口太上爭於口，其次爭於明，其下救患禍。
- 162a: 1 5
 162 寒時而獨暑。暑時而獨寒。
- 10 15
 其生危，以其逆也。
- 20 25 30
 敬勝怠，敢勝疑。亡國之禍口口口口口口口口口口
- 35 162b: 1 5 10 15
 口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口
- 20 25 30
 口口口口口口口口口口不信其口
- 163a: 1 5 10 15
 163 而不信其可也。不可矣，而不信其口口口口口口
- 20 25 30 35
 口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口
- 163b: 1 5 10 15 20
 口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口口
- 25 30
 口口口口口觀前口以知反，故口口
- 164a: 1 5 10
 164 觀今之曲直，審其名以稱斷之。
- 15 20 25
 積者積而居，胥時而用²，觀主樹以知與治³，
- 30 35 164b: 1 5
 合積貨以知時。口口口正貴口存亡。

161a 23 驚:奴; 25 制:制:利 CGY; 32 太:大;

37-39 次 [x2]:[x3]:次親而譽之 HXT:次正法 CGY

161b 1 其:口; 7, 17 太:大; 13 又:有; 16 口:口:○ HXT:夫 CGY; 21 口:口:朝 HXT:

化 CGY; 26 明:明:盟 HXT; 29 救:救; 30 患:患:禍 HXT2; 31 禍:禍:福 HXT

163b 21-5 [x5]:[x5]:觀治以知亂 CGY; 26 觀:賣:賣 TL:價 HXT; 28 口:口:● CGY

164a 1, 22, as 163b 26; 31 貨:化; 35-7 [x3]:[x3]:制人陽 HXT:以明奇 CGY;

164b 3 口:口:之 HXT:賤 CGY

1 162a ff. The MS is badly damaged at this point. HXT's reconstruction is too speculative to warrant attention.

CGY believes that the damaged part is all one unit and is about the disasters of a State.

2 164a 21 YMG punctuates here; WW3 after following 觀.

3 164a 28 WW1 & 3 have no punctuation here; YMG punctuates after the preceding 與; HXT after 合.

III 稱

(164b)

●¹ 凡論必以陰陽明大義。

天陽地陰；春陽秋陰；夏陽冬陰；晝陽夜陰；

165 大國陽，小國陰；重國陽，輕國陰；

有事陽而無事陰；伸陽而屈者陰；

主陽臣陰；上陽下陰；男陽女陰；父陽子陰；

兄陽弟陰；長陽少陰；貴陽賤陰；達陽窮陰；

166 娶婦生子陽，有喪陰；制人者陽，制於人者陰；

客陽主人陰；師陽役陰；言陽默陰；予陽受陰；

諸陽者法天，天貴正，過正曰：詭口口口口祭乃反。

諸陰者法地，地之德安徐正靜，柔節先定，

167 善予不爭。此地之度而雌之節也。

《稱》千六百

164b 12 明 WW2, YMG1²:口:之 CGY

165a 18 伸:信; 19 陽:陰; 20 而:者; 34-35 女陰:[x2]; 36 父³:口

165b 2 子:口; 11 陰⁴:口; 13 陽:口; 20 娶:取; 21 婦:婦; 22 生:姓;

31 陽:陽 制

166a 1 制:人者制; 17 默:黑; 34 詭 WW2:詭:口 WW1, TL:陰 HXT;

35-36 [x2]:[x2]:陰極 HXT

166b 1-2 [x2]:[x2]:失當 HXT:口上 CGY; 3 祭:祭:際 CGY; 12 之⁵:口

1 164b 6 Clearly a new section begins here. I have not numbered it since it is not clear how many sections there were after no. 50 on line 162a. This one here could be 50+. It is easier to call it the last section.

2 164b 12 Probable

3 165a 36, 165b 2 Probable given following 兄弟 *xiong di*, older and younger brothers.

4 165b 11, 13 Supplied by repetitive context.

5 166b 12 Supplied by grammatical context.

IV 道原

IV 道原

- 168 ^{168a:1} 恆先之初，⁵ 洞同太虛。
¹⁰ 虛同為一，¹⁵ 恆一而止。
²⁰ 濕濕蒙蒙，未有明晦。
²⁵ 神微周盈，³⁰ 精靜不熙。
³⁵ 故未有以，⁴⁰ 萬物莫以。
^{168b:1} 故無有形，⁵ 大洞無名。
¹⁰ 天弗能覆，地弗能載。
¹⁵ 小以成小，²⁰ 大以成大。
²⁵ 盈四海之內，³⁰ 又包其外。
- 169 ³⁵ 在陰不腐，^{169a:1} 在陽不焦。
⁵ 一度不變，¹⁰ 能適蛟螭。
¹⁵ 鳥得而飛，²⁰ 魚得而游，³⁵ 獸得而走。
²⁵ 萬物得之以生，³⁰ 百事得之以成。
^{169b:1} 人皆以之，⁵ 莫知其名。
¹⁰ 人皆用之，莫見其形。
¹⁵ 一者其號也，²⁰ 虛其舍也，
²⁵ 無為其素也，³⁰ 和其用也。

168a 5 洞:迴:通 YMG¹; 7 太:大; 19,20 蒙:夢²; 32 熙:熙; 33,41 故:古

168b 1-2 有形:有刑:[x2] WW1; 4 as 168a 5; 10 覆:復

169a 10 蛟:規; 11 螭:饒; 15 飛:蜚; 19 游:流; 33 之:之:口 WW1

1 168a 5 *Huainanzi* 14 *Shuan Yan* 詮言 p.463: 洞同天地, 渾沌為樸, 未造而成物, 謂之太一。

Huainanzi 1 *Yuan Dao* 原道 p. 4: 遂兮洞兮, 不虛動兮。

Gao You 高誘 notes 洞, 達也。(*dong*, to penetrate, means *da*, to reach to)

2 12 168a 19 *Shuo Wen* 說文 7A p. 142: 夢, 不明也。(*meng*, dream, means "not bright")

IV 道原

- (169b) 170 ^{170a:1} 是故上道高而不可察也，⁵ 深而不可測也。¹⁰
¹⁵ 顯明弗能為名，²⁰ 廣大弗能為形，²⁵
³⁰ 獨立不偶，³⁵ 萬物莫之能令。
^{170b:1} 天地陰陽，⁵ 四時日月，星辰雲氣，
¹⁰ 岐行蟻動，¹⁵ 戴根之徒，
²⁰ 皆取生，道弗為益少；²⁵
171 ³⁰ 皆反焉，道弗為益多。^{171a:1}
⁵ 堅強而不折，¹⁰ 柔弱而不可化。
¹⁵ 精微之所不能至，²⁰ 稽極之所不能過。²⁵
³⁰ 故唯聖人能察無形，³⁵ 能聽無聲。
^{171b:1} 知虛之實，⁵ 後能大虛；¹⁰ 乃通天地之精，
¹⁵ 通同而無間，²⁰ 周襲而不盈。
²⁵ 服此道者，³⁰ 是謂能精。
172 ^{172a:1} 明者固能察極，⁵ 知人之所不能知，¹⁰
¹⁵ 服人之所不能得，
²⁰ 是謂察稽知極。²⁵

170a 1 上:上;夫 CGY; 13 測:則; 36 令:令;離 CGY

170b 2 四:口; 10 岐:規; 12 蟻:僂; 13 動:重; 20 生:生:焉 CGY

171a 6 折:攢;攢 as 攢 WW1:潰 HXT²; 39 聲:口

171b 5 後:后; 15 通:通:通 CGY

172a 13 服:人服; 24 知:知 ●

1 171b 21 *Huainanzi* 3 *Tian Wen* 天文 p. 80: 天地之襲精為陰陽。 Note of Gao You 高誘: 襲, 合也。 xi is he, to unite.

2 171a 6 *Huainanzi* 1 *Yuan Dao* 原道 p. 32: 堅強而不攢。 Note of Gao You: 攢, 折也。 means zhe, to bend.

Wenzi 文子 1 *Dao Yuan* 道原 p. 831b: 堅強而不置。 Firm and not bending

3 171a 39 *Huainanzi* 17 *Shuo Lin* 說林 p. 557: 視於無形, 則得其所見矣; 聽於無聲, 則得其所聞矣。 "Peering into the formless and acquiring what he sees; listening to the soundless and acquiring what he hears."

IV 道原

- (172a) 聖王用此，³⁰天下服，³⁵無好無惡。
^{172b:1}上用口口而民不迷惑。
¹⁰上虛下靜而道得其正。
²⁰信能無欲，可為民命。
²⁵上信無事，則萬物周遍。
173 ^{173a:1}分之以其分，而萬民不爭。
¹⁰授之以其名，而萬物自定。
²⁰不為治勸，不為亂懈。
³⁰廣大弗務，及也；³⁵深微弗索，得也。²
^{173b:1}夫為一而不化。
¹⁰得道之本，握少以知多；
²⁰得事之要，操正以正奇。
²⁵前知太古，後口精明。
174 ³⁴抱道執度，^{174a:1}天下可一也。
¹⁰觀之太古，周其所以。
¹⁵索之未無，²⁰得之所以。

《道原》 四百六十四

172a 36 惡:亞

172b 1-2 [x2]:[x2]:其極 HXT:察極 CGY; 6 迷:糜; 33 遍:扁

173a 27 懈:解

173b 1 夫:夫:口 WW1, TL; 23 正:政; 24 奇:畸; 27 太:大; 29 後:后;

30 口:口:知 HXT:能 CGY³

174a 9 as 173b 27; 20 之:之:其 CGY

1 172b 17 YMG3 adds 上 before 信 in line with the following line 172b 25-33.

2 173a 28-39 The punctuation adopted is that of YMG; WW3 reads 廣大，弗務及。深微，弗索得也。

3 173b 30 The suggestion of 知 does not seem to accord with the remains of the graph on the MS. 能 possibly does so.

Bibliography

- A. Abbreviations
- B. Editions of the *Huangdi Sijing*
- C. Bibliography of Primary Sources
- D. Bibliography of Secondary Sources in Chinese
- E. Bibliography of Works in non-Chinese languages

List A gives all abbreviations used in the bibliography in alphabetical order. List B gives all previous editions and all known translations of the *Huangdi Sijing* in chronological order. List C gives the editions of primary sources cited. List D gives a full bibliography of works in Chinese cited or used as reference. Articles in small circulation reviews are also given in the Renmin copying review. Please note that page numbers in Chinese reviews are not necessarily in the expected order. List E is devoted to non-Chinese works. Works earlier than 1911 are given by title; those later than that date, by author or title when there is no one author. All Chinese names are transliterated into standard mainland Chinese *pinyin*.

A. ABBREVIATIONS

EC	<i>Early China</i>
ES	<i>Eastern Studies</i> 東方學 Tōhō Gaku
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HYISIS	<i>Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series</i>
KGXB	<i>Kaogu Xuebao</i> 考古學報
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
JCP	<i>Journal of Chinese Philosophy</i>
JHLT	<i>Jiang-Han Luntan</i> 江漢論壇
QLXK	<i>Qi-Lu Xuekan</i> 齊魯學刊
SHGJ	<i>Shanghai Guji Chuban-she</i> 上海古籍出版社
TP	<i>T'oung Pao</i> 通報
WSZ	<i>Wen-Shi-Zhe</i> 文史哲
ZGZXS	<i>Zhongguo Zhexueshi</i> 中國哲學史(人民 Renmin B5)
ZXYJ	<i>Zhexue Yanjiu</i> 哲學研究 學

B. EDITIONS OF THE HUANGDI SIJING

"Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu" Zhengli Xiaozu 《馬王堆漢墓帛書》整理小組
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Wenwu, 1974

Contains photofacsimiles and editions of both *Laozi A* and *B* codices.

Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu Zhengli Xiaozu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組, (ed.)
Changsha Mawangdui hanmu Chutu "Laozi" Yiben. Juanqian Guyishu Shiwen
長沙馬王堆漢墓出土《老子》乙本卷前古佚書釋文,
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Corrigenda

p. 7	line 12	in so <i>far</i> as	p. 162	line 7	individual
p. 12		essays	p. 164	line 12	<i>Shiliu Jing</i> : the
p. 13	note 8	Bibliography			considering
p. 15	line 2	bias		note 3	Rewrite ref. to
	note 21	tradition			Chen Qiyou
p. 17	note 26	Stanford	p. 166	note 11	passage
p. 24	line 21	disaster	p. 172		be
p. 27	line 22	passages	p. 180	line 19	water
p. 32		dark; conquers	p. 185	line 1	thieves
p. 40		introduce	p. 186	line 5	chapters
p. 41	note 7	resentful;		note 1	think
		appropriate	p. 194	note 49	Being dishonoured
p. 46		passage	p. 204		gauge
p. 63		Occurrences	p. 207	line 6	human
p. 64	line 18	obedience	p. 209		discrediting
p. 65	line 5	interest	p. 210	line 17	doctrines, the;
p. 69	line 1	glosses			polemical
	line 4	niceties	p. 212		generalisation
p. 72	line 4	mentioned			based on...
p. 73	line 2	meaning	p. 214	line 9	resemblances;
p. 87		remaining,			<i>delete</i> : obscure
		commanders,	p. 215		tenable
		conscripts	p. 217	line 27	rigorously;
		correlated			manuscripts
p. 96		too	p. 218		initial
p. 100	(1)	<i>receive</i>		note 1	p. 235
p. 106	note 1	usurpation	p. 220		HXT2; propaganda
p. 109	(6)	adding	p. 227	line 27	indicating
p. 110	line 2	one acts as if	p. 228		strokes
p. 112	note 32	nature; artifice;	p. 232	note 21	<i>continue</i>
p. 113		recur			
p. 115		nature, artifice			
p. 116	line 1	<i>where</i>			
p. 127	line 13	conquering			
p. 128		explanation			
p. 131	note 126	Accumulating			
p. 132		The ordering of so			
		and not-so...			
p. 138	line 12	content			
p. 141	note 18	vocabulary			
p. 143		philosophy			
p. 145		contentious			
	note 35	p. 121 note 91			
p. 154	note 74	conquer			
	note 75	They arise			

