Structure as a Means of Persuasion
as Seen in the Manuscript "Qiong da yi shi" 窮達以時
from Tomb One, Guodian[*]

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a) Introduction

With the excavation of Tomb Number One at Guodian, Hubei Province in 1993 (henceforth Guodian One; roughly dating to 300 BC), and the publication of its bamboo strips in 1998,[1] we are offered an immediate view of the various strategies of argument and persuasion in Warring States texts most of which have no transmitted counterpart. This offers an extraordinary opportunity to gain insights into the intellectual debate of a formative period of Chinese philosophical thinking, reading and writing.[2]

Formal structure in argumentative texts – I argue – is an important device for communicating meaning in early Chinese writings, and in many instances it contributes significantly to the philosophical message that is to be communicated.[3] In support of this view, I shall describe in detail the formal structure as part of the argumentative strategy as used in the recently excavated Guodian One-text "Qiong da yi shi" (Failure and success appear at their respective time – the title was chosen by modern editors). This text was unknown prior to the excavation of Guodian One.

Based on my analysis of the structure of the "Qiong da yi shi", I argue that the formal structure of the text is not merely a tool for transmitting meaning; the writing's formal structure reflects the logical structure of the argument and, accordingly, the thought it conveys. In this respect, the structure of this composition becomes an essential part of the message it conveys. From this results that if the structure of this text is neglected, the philosophical intentions will be lost – at least to a certain degree.

What is more, the painstaking arrangement suggests that this is a composition that had been entirely thought through. In view of this it seems reasonable to assume that the "Qiong

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[1] Hubeisheng Jingmen shi bowuguan 湖北省荊門市博物館 (ed.), *Guodian Chu mu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 (henceforth: *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1998)

[2] Studies on the Guodian manuscripts number in the thousands today. For an overview, see the regularly updated bibliography by Paul Rakita Goldin, "A Bibliography of Materials Pertaining to the Kuo-tien and Shanghai Museum Manuscripts" (www.lib.uchicago.edu/earlychina/res/bib/manuscripts_bib.html).

[3] See also Dirk Meyer, "A device for conveying meaning: the structure of the Guodian Tomb One manuscript *Zhong xin zhi dao*," *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 29 (2005), 57–78.

da yi shi" is a text[4] produced in the form of an intentional composition, as opposed to the compilation of traditional formulae.[5]

I hope to show as well that analysing the structure of an argumentative composition can also be a helpful strategy in the process of the philological reconstruction of a manuscript.[6] Some scholars, such as Ikeda Tomohisa and others, suggest that the "Qiong da yi shi" in its current form is incomplete and certain strips should be added, favourably between strips 8 and 9.[7] Other scholars, such as Chen Wei[8] and Chen Jian,[9] agree on the fact that the "Qiong da yi shi" is complete. Yet, they oppose the sequence of strips as suggested by the editors of *Guodian* and propose a largely new arrangement of strips.[10] However, as I shall demonstrate in the present paper, the "Qiong da yi shi" in its current organisation[11] is indeed complete and the sequence of strips proves largely correct.[12]

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4   Here I refer to what Kern terms "fluid text", i.e., a demarcated entity of distinct meaning that can, as such, "be recognized, respected, and transmitted"; in contrast to works of canonical status, they are not yet "closed"; "they are still open to substractions, additions, emendations," *etc.* See Martin Kern, "Ritual, Text, and the Formation of the Canon: Historical Transitions of *Wen* in Early Modern China," *T'oung Pao* 87, nos.1–3 (2001), 65.

5   Referring to Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1960, repr. 2003). Robert C. Culley reviews the distinction between written and oral composition of a text in his *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms* (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1967), 9.

6   This holds true in particular for excavated manuscripts that were previously unknown. It should, however, be noted that this strategy of testing both the reconstruction of certain graphs [see Meyer, "A device for conveying meaning," 14, 19] and the sequence of strips by way of a structure analysis mainly works as a tool to support other kinds of evidence. That is to say, with an analysis of structure we can judge whether the sequence of strips, *etc.*, is correct. It is difficult, however, to use this approach to judge whether the organisation of the strips is wrong: the text under consideration could likewise be corrupt or unfinished, certain strips could have been lost, or damaged seriously, preventing the reader from seeing through a continuous train of thought.

7   See *Kakuten sokan no shisōshi teki kenkyū* 郭店楚簡の思想史的研究, ed. Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Kakuten sokan kenkyūkai hen 東京大學郭店楚簡研究會編, 2000), 152. Several Chinese scholars accept Ikeda's assumption that the "Qiong da yi shi" is incomplete. See, for instance, Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, "'Qiong da yi shi' dijiu hao jian kaolun – jian ji Xianqin Lianghan wenxian zhong Bigan gushi de yanbian" "窮達以時"第九號簡考論 – 兼及先秦兩漢文獻中比干故事的衍變, *Guji Zhengli Yanjiu Xuekan* 2 (2002.3), 20.

8   See Chen Wei 陳偉, *Guodian zhushu bieshi* 郭店竹書別釋. Xinchu jianbo yanjiu congshu 新出簡帛研究叢書 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu, 2003).

9   See Chen Jian 陳劍, "Guodian jian 'Qiong da yi shi', 'Yu cong si' de ji Chu jianxu tiaozheng" 郭店簡 "窮達以時"、"語叢四" 版幾處簡序調整, Allan, Sarah and Xing Wen (eds.), *Xinchu jianbo yanjiu: xinchu jianbo guoji xueshu yanjiu taolunhui wenji* 新出簡帛研究：新出簡帛國際學術研討會文集, Beijing daxue zhendan Gudai Wenming Yanjiu Zhongxin xueshu congshu 北京大學震旦古代文明研究中心學術叢書 8 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2004), 316–322.

10 Chen Wei suggests the following sequence: 1–6, 8, 7, 14, 9–13, 15–end. Chen Jian, for his part, puts forward the arrangement of the strips as follows: 1–8, 14, 9–13, 15–end. The new sequence which these scholars propose poses problems concerning both structure and grammar of the text (except of the minor change proposed by Chen Wei to interchange strips 7 and 8 with each other, which I also put forward). Accordingly, Chen Jian, for example, who in his stimulating article discusses the issue of arrangement of strips in great detail, resorts to sometimes far-fetched arguments. I shall refer to these positions in my discussion, below.

11 As presented in *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 27–28.

12 Except for the minor change to interchange strips 7 and 8 with each other.

Analysing argumentative strategies in early Chinese writings is not a new issue. In the West, as early as in 1830, John F. Davis had already pointed out the importance of parallelism in Chinese composition.[13] We can expect that by 1896 – the very year in which Gustave Schlegel (1840–1903) from Leiden University published his translation of the preface of the *Da Tang xiyu ji*, in which he set out to demonstrate the importance of parallelism in Chinese prose – the notion of the existence of parallel structures in Chinese writing had already become widespread in Western scholarship.[14] However, Schlegel merely pointed out the basic rules of parallelism, such as verb corresponding syntactically with verb, adverb with adverb, and so on.[15] He did not yet acknowledge the philosophical significance of parallel patterns in Chinese texts.

The work by the Japanese scholar Yoshikawa Kōjirō (1904–1980) on parallelism in the *Laozi* deepened the study of parallel structures in early Chinese writings.[16] Nevertheless, an understanding of the philosophic significance of argumentative structures in early Chinese writing, and the analysis and description of such patterns as philosophically relevant, had to await Rudolf G. Wagner's work on "interlocking parallel style", in which he uncovered the more sophisticated forms of rhetoric and argumentation.[17] According to Wagner, the pattern of the "interlocking parallel style" is meant to exceed the limits of language in coping with philosophical categories.[18]

Equally important, I believe, but less known,[19] is Joachim Gentz' description of what he calls "double-directed parallelism" (doppelt gerichteter Parallelismus).[20] As Gentz puts it, the

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13 John F. Davis, "Poeseos sinensis comentarii: On the Poetry of the Chinese," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1830), 393–461 [repr. London, 1970]. Cf. Joachim Gentz, "Zum Parallelismus in der chinesischen Literatur," in *Parallelismus Membrorum*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, ed. Andreas Wagner (Göttingen, Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming). Gentz' article is a long overdue summarisation of western reception of parallelism in Chinese writing.

14 See Gentz, "Zum Parallelismus in der chinesischen Literatur."

15 See Gustave Schlegel, *La Loi du parallélisme en style chinois: démontrée par la preface du Si-yü ki. La Traduction de cette preface par feu Stanislav Julien défendue contre la nouvelle traduction du Père A. Gueluy* (Leiden: Brill, 1896).

16 Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, "Rōshi ni okeru taigū no kuhō ni tsuite" 老子における対偶の句法について (On parallelism in Laozi), *Nippon Chūgoku Gakkaihō* 4 (1953) [Reprint in *Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū* 吉川幸次郎全書 (the collected works of Yoshikawa Kōjirō), vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1969), 490–504].

17 Before his trilogy, *The Craft of a Chinese Commentator: Wang Bi on the* Laozi (Albany: Suny, 2000), *Language, Ontology, and Political Philosophy in China: Wang Bi's Scholarly Exploration of the Dark* (Xuanxue) (Albany: Suny, 2003), *A Chinese Reading of the* Daodejing: *Wang Bi's Commentary on the* Laozi *with Critical Text and Translation* (Albany: Suny, 2003), Rudolf G. Wagner already articulated his ideas on the "interlocking parallel style" (short IPS) in several seminal articles: See, for instance, "Interlocking Parallel Style: Laozi and Wang Bi," *Études Asiatiques* 34.1 (1980), 18–58; "The Impact on Conceptions of Rhetoric and Style upon the Formation of Early Laozi Editions: Evidence from Guodian, Mawangdui, and the Wang Bi Laozi," *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 44 (1999), 32‑56. Wagner first mentioned the IPS briefly in his dissertation, see idem, *Die Fragen Hui-yuans an Kumārajīva* (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1969), 164–167. Wagner distinguishes between "open" and "closed" IPS, both of which share the basic feature that two distinguished fields or objects, which are construed analogically, become mutually interlocking in a figure 1a1b 2a2b 3a3b 4a4b. Of the two arguments the former would run in isolated form of 1a2a3a4a, the latter 1b2b3b4b. Cf. Gentz, "Zum Parallelisms in der chinesischen Literatur."

18 Wagner, *Craft of a Chinese Commentator*, 56.

19 This might be due to the fact that, so far, only German versions of the feature discussed below are available.

"double-directed parallelism" functions to "bridge" one part of the same argument to the next. However, the question whether this pattern only functions at the stylistic level of composition[21] or whether these formal connecting elements technically mark the continuation of the argument and thus the vital thesis of the text[22] is as yet an open issue.[23]

A rather different approach to the analysis of formal patterns, namely taking into account the phonological value of the Chinese, can be seen in Wolfgang Behr's analysis of sound-correlated figures.[24] Behr describes three phonological figures, which he terms "rhyme nets", "assonance chains", and "paranomastic cadences". As Behr puts it, these structures are capable of embedding intricate arguments within a phonological texture and thus integrate them into a "persuasive aesthetic environment".[25]

b) The "Qiong da yi shi"

According to the reconstruction in *Guodian*,[26] the "Qiong da yi shi" consists of 15 bamboo strips. The strips are 26.4 cm in length each and inscribed with a total of 289 characters. Of these 15 strips, two are broken at both ends. To make up for the lost parts, we will have to add, I presume, 17 characters to the total length of the text.[27] Among the 18 units that constitute the "library" of Guodian One,[28] the "Qiong da yi shi" is of middle size in length.

The "Qiong da yi shi" is composed of two parts. These can be divided into six sections. The treatise itself discusses Heaven and Man and the intrinsic tension between them that is innate in their relationship vis-à-vis each other: It notes a major difference between Heaven on the one side, and Man on the other. The text argues that, although Man can act, he cannot decide the outcome of his action. This lies with Heaven. Accordingly, only when offered an opportunity by Heaven can Man succeed, otherwise he fails. Since Man cannot decide the

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20 Gentz describes connecting elements that technically combine different aspects of the same argument. In this pattern, it seems that the core of the arguments cuts through a technically unified figure. In a thought-provoking paper, Joachim Gentz has described this formal feature of certain early Chinese texts. See his "Zwischen den Argumenten lesen. Doppelt gerichtete Parallelismen zwischen Argumenten als zentrale Thesen in frühen chinesischen Texten," *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 29 (2005), 35–56. See also his "Zum Parallelismus in der chinesischen Literatur." Gentz has already briefly mentioned this aspect in his work on the *Gongyang zhuan*. See *Das* Gongyang zhuan. *Auslegung und Kanonisierung der* Frühlings- und Herbstannalen (Chunqiu) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 440, n. 55.

21 As assumed by Gentz in his work on the *Gongyang zhuan*.

22 As suggested by Gentz in "Zum Parallelismus in der chinesischen Literatur."

23 I have detected the feature of "double directed parallelism" in the Guodian manuscript "Wu xing", where it indeed marks the crucial part of the overall argument. Accordingly, I subscribe to Gentz' latter assumption.

24 See Wolfgang Behr, "Three sound-correlated text structuring devices in pre-Qin philosophical prose," *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 29 (2005), 16–33.

25 Ibid., 26.

26 See *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 27–28. Attached to this paper the reader finds a scan of the strips, as they appear in *Guodian*. The reconstruction added is my own.

27 See my discussion below.

28 The entire Guodian One library consists of 804 strips, 15 to 32.5 cm in length and 0.45 to 0.65 cm in width, inscribed with about 13,000 graphs.

outcome of his action anyway, the gentleman (*junzi*) does not align his action with a certain goal. Quite to the contrary, he only regards important the fact that he is a worthy. Because the gentleman exclusively considers his own worthiness important and does not direct his action towards a certain aim, he consequently emancipates himself from the threatening absoluteness of failure and success, imposed on Man by Heaven.

In the following, I shall give a detailed account of the formal structure of the "Qiong da yi shi" both at the section level (the *micro structure* of the text), and at the level of its overall organisation (the *macro structure*). So doing I wish to unfold the argumentative strategies of this treatise in order to spell out my point as stated above.

I have subdivided the depiction of the *macro structure* into a horizontal and a vertical analysis. The former type of analysis looks at the text's structure horizontally, as it proceeds from one section to the next. This describes how the treatise generates a gradually rising tension from one section to the next, as well as its developing of a linear argument. The latter type of analysis looks at the text's *macro structure* vertically, demonstrating the hierarchical structure of the argument. As we shall see, both types of analysis arrive at different conclusions concerning the relationship of Heaven and Man vis-à-vis each other – yet, at the end, both positions are rounded off in a synthesis. The apparent conflict, which is part of the text's argumentative strategy, is solved.

c) The micro structure of the "Qiong da yi shi"

Part One: Section 1: The introduction

Q1有天有人，天人有分；[29] 察天人之分，而知所行矣。	*theme*
有其人，無其Q2世； 雖賢弗行矣。 苟有其世，何難之有哉？	*development of the theme*

Q1'There is Heaven and there is Man, [yet] there are distinctions between Heaven and Man;
[Only by] investigating the distinction between Heaven and Man, [one] will know what they act upon.

There might be the right man, but not the right Q2 times;
Although he [might be] a worthy, he does not act [his worthiness] out.
However, were there indeed the right times, what difficulties could there then be?

Section One of the "Qiong da yi shi" can be understood as the introduction of this text. It consists of two parts: The "theme" and its "development".

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29 In order to keep track of the length of each strip and the graphs contained therein, in both transcription and translation of the text the reader finds superscripted the letter "*q*" to refer to the Guodian One manuscript (in this case, "*q*" stands for "Qiong da yi shi") with a certain number, for instance "1", to refer to the rank number of the strip in question. "Q1", for instance, refers to strip one of the "Qiong da yi shi". When discussing a certain character, for instance "*q*1/9", I refer to the ninth graph on strip one (this would be *cha* 察, here).

The *theme*

The first two sentences of the "Qiong da yi shi" state the self-evident truth that (1) there is Heaven and there is Man, and that (2) Heaven and Man are distinct.[30] This truism is of central importance for the subsequent development of the argument: a self-evident truth *per se* shall be investigated. Sentence 3 further draws upon this: when the truism gets investigated (sentence 3, first subset), then one will know what Heaven and Man act upon (sentence 3, second subset).

The second subset of sentence 3 (而知所行矣) has two functions: it concludes the fact named in the theme and continues the argument, which itself is concluded in the following part of the introduction (the development of the theme). For simplicity, I call this the "overlapping feature" of sentence 3:[31]

Q1有天有人，天人有分；
察天人之分，而知所行矣

> concludes
>
> continues
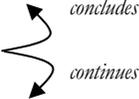
The conclusion of the theme in the second subset of sentence 3 (one will know what they act upon [when investigating the distinction of Heaven and Man]) raises an expectation. This expectation connects (or "bridges") the theme to the adjoining part of the introduction: the "development" of the theme. The "development" makes both Heaven and Man's scope of action clear, and, accordingly, elucidates their distinction.

The *development of the theme*

The "development" of the theme deepens the discussion about the differences between Heaven and Man and states the two preconditions that must coincide for Man to achieve his actions: first, he must be a worthy.[32] Second, the times must be right.

Two features should be pointed out. First, the second part of the introduction explicitly opens up the general polarity between positive *versus* negative, for which it engages the words *you* and *wu* in two strictly parallel sentences "有其人，無其世" (note that the "theme" of the introduction already points to the polarity of the two categories Man *versus* Heaven). Such a polarity (or oppositional tension) of *you versus wu*, or positive *versus* negative is the decisive thread that runs through the entire discussion of the "Qiong da yi shi". As we shall see later on, it may also be regarded as *the* crucial feature of the text's *macro structure*.

Second, the text introduces the word *shi* 世 (times) where one would expect the word *tian* (Heaven). Let me explain this: as stated above, the second subset of sentence 3 (而知所行矣) both *concludes* everything mentioned before and *continues* this conclusion into the adjoining part of the introduction. It is characteristic of such an "overlapping feature" that the information gained in the first part of the discussion gets "bridged" to its adjoining part. Moreover, as it may be gathered from this example, the second part of the introduction reiterates a statement taken from the first part (有其人), which was used before to define the distinct categories of Man

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30 Sentence 2 is a further development of sentence 1: from accepting the existence of both entities (sentence 1; *you tian/ren*) to accepting their difference (sentence 2; *you fen*).

31 Cf. this feature with that of an "overlapping structure". See Meyer, "A device for conveying meaning."

32 This passage terms him *xian ren*, "worthy".

versus Heaven. The adjoining and strictly parallel statement, however, changes *tian* 天 into *shi* 世, and thus indicates the contiguity of the two terms.[33] At this point it cannot be decided with certainty if the text equates *shi* with *tian*, or if *shi* is dependent on, and thus secondary to *tian*. What we *can* say with relative certainty, however, is that the text constructs a clear relation of the two terms. In this respect, the development of the theme deepens the notion of the polarity of the two entities Heaven (or the times 世 dependent on Heaven) and Man, and sees them in an area of potential conflict with each other. This remains a prominent theme throughout the entire "Qiong da yi shi".

Section 2: Legendary materials concerning the worthy and the crucial matter of *yu*

(1) 舜耕於歷山，
    陶拍Q3於河澨。
    立而為天子，遇堯也。[A] 34

   Shun ploughed [the fields] at the Mountain Li, and he made pottery Q3at the banks of the Yellow river. †35
   The reason he was established and became Son of Heaven, was his encounter with Yao.

(2) 邵謠衣枲蓋帽經蒙巾，
    Q4釋板築而佐天子，
    遇武丁也。[B]

   Shao Yao wore a hemp coverlet, covered [his head] with a hemp hat, and swathed himself with a [protecting] scarf. †36
   Q4The reason he became the assistant of the ruler by escaping the wooden barriers for building earthen walls was his encounter with Wu Ding.

(3) 呂望為臧棘津，戰監門Q5棘地；
    行年七十，而屠牛於朝歌。
    舉而為天子師，遇周文也。[C] †

   Lü Wang acted as a slave at the ford of Ji, trembling he Q5watched the gates of the territory of Ji; †
   Seventy years had to go by during which he slaughtered oxen at Zhaoge.
   The reason he was elevated to act as the tutor of the Son of Heaven was his encounter with [King] Wen of Zhou.

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33 This technique of introducing new terms by putting them into parallel patterns afore seen and then interchanging the previously defined term with the new one seems to be an established standard in the Warring States period. See, for instance, the "Zhong xin zhi dao" from Guodian (in Meyer, "A device for conveying meaning.").

34 The letters in brackets refer to the "Reference matter" at the end of this paper, in which the interested reader may find a philological discussion of my reconstruction of the Chinese text and its translation.

35 The crux indicates that the text on the strips (or the strip itself) is corrupt, or that a graph cannot be identified with certainty; as a result, the translation must then be partly tentative, too. This is a standard widely applied in Greek philological studies.

36 This should point to his poverty.

(4) Q6管夷吾拘囚束縛；
　　 釋械柙，而為諸侯相，
　　 遇齊桓也。[D]

Q6Guan Yiwu (Guan Zhong) was detained in prison where he was bound and tied up.
The reason he became minister for many lords, freed from [the threatening of] weapons and his prisoner's cage, was his encounter with [Duke] Huan of Qi.

(5) Q8孫叔三斥期思少司馬；
　　 出而為令尹，
　　 遇楚莊也。[E]

Q8Sunshu (Sunshu Ao) thrice declined [the position of] Vice Minister of War at Qisi.
The reason he became the senior official although he left, was his encounter with [King] Zhuang of Chu.

(6) Q7百里奚轉賣五羊，為伯牧牛。
　　 釋板[?]而為朝卿，†
　　 遇秦穆。[F]

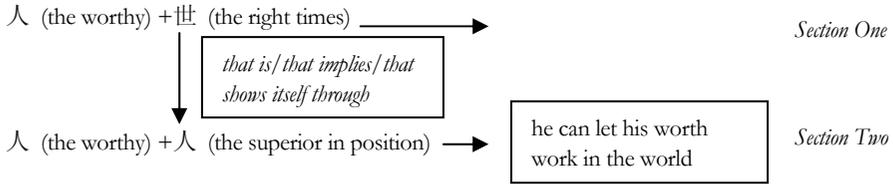Q7Baili Xi was sold on for the price of five rams and became the elder of oxherds.
The reason he became Minister at the court, freed from [?], was his encounter with [Duke] Mu of Qin. †

The "Qiong da yi shi" assembles narrative material to bring forth the crucial matter of *yu* in the world of Man. This issue henceforth becomes the central aspect of discussion. It seems that the authors of this text had two aims in mind: first, they try to create a generality of argument that they could not establish with only one or two examples. Second, the sheer number of examples reveals the difficulty the authors see in clarifying the notion of the limits of Man, and, accordingly his dependence on outside influences – more specifically, his dependence on someone in power. Both explanations are, of course, neither contradictive nor mutually exclusive.

Section Two logically builds upon Section One. Departing from the truism that Heaven and Man are different from each other, Section One has stated that the worthy only has the means to work in the world if he encounters the right times. Section Two then continues from this insight. It draws upon a pool of cases that reflect the "cultural memory" of that particular period (and a particular group)[37] and creates the argument that the worthy must encounter (*yu*) a superior man to get into a position that allows him to work in the world so that his talents become widely apparent.

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37 For reason of simplicity, I shall henceforth refer to this pool of cases with "legendary materials". It remains to be said that for the audience of the "Qiong da yi shi", these cases did *not* belong to the realm of legends. Yet, I hope that the inaccuracy of the term "legendary" will nevertheless be pardoned for the sake of ease. For the term "cultural memory" (kulturelles Gedächtnis), see Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: C.H. Beck, 1999), esp. 19–24.

We may derive the following logic the "Qiong da yi shi" puts forward:

人 (the worthy) +世 (the right times) ─────────▶   *Section One*

> *that is/that implies/that
> shows itself through*

人 (the worthy) +人 (the superior in position) ──▶ | he can let his worth
work in the world | *Section Two*

Accordingly, *tian* brings forth the right times, *shi* (or the right times are an aspect of *tian*).[38] The right times (*shi*) are in turn either characterised by the hierarchically superior who recognizes the worthy as worthy and employs him as such, or he is a manifestation of the same. Or the text sees the worthy encountering the superior man as *dependent on* the right times. This is the aspect described as *yu*.[39]

In various respects it seems that the legendary materials drawn upon in Section Two reflect a traditional pool of anecdotal knowledge, rather than accounts taken from text-based quotations. The six examples raised are structurally similar, and the issue encapsulated in the accounts is presented in a strictly parallel form. All these stories have an identical underlying pattern, and the examples are processed in the form of an A B pattern towards each other:[40]

(A) 舜耕於歷山，
　　陶拍於河濱。
　　立而為天子，**遇**堯也。

(B) 邵謠衣枲蓋帽絰蒙巾，
　　釋板築而佐天子，**遇**武丁也。

(A) 呂望為臧棘津，戰監門棘地；
　　行年七十，而屠牛於朝歌。
　　舉而為天子師，**遇**周文也。

(B) 管夷吾拘因束縛；
　　釋械柙，而為諸侯相，**遇**齊桓也。

(A) 孫叔三斥期思少司馬；
　　出而為令尹，**遇**楚莊也。

(B) 百里奚轉賣五羊，為伯牧牛。
　　釋板[?]而為朝卿，**遇**秦穆也。

This strictly parallel pattern that applies to the material presented may function to highlight the principle that underlies these stories and myths. Accordingly, the basic element that becomes evident in all these examples can feature as a medium to present a building block in the philosophical argument that is created, and which in the following will be made even more explicit.[41]

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38 See discussion of *tian* and *shi* in Section One above.

39 Cf. the statement 遇不遇時也 as it appears in the first chapter of the *Lunheng* 論衡 by Wang Chong 王充 (*Lunheng jiaoshi*, Xinbian zhuzi jicheng, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1996, 1.1. I thank Joachim Gentz for alerting me to this passage), which is very close to the statement that appears in the "Qiong da yi shi". It seems that *yu* in later philosophical discourse has the function of a *terminus technicus*, and it may well be that already in the time of the production of the Guodian manuscripts *yu* was seen as a term of highly philosophical relevance.

40 Type A: line 1: name of the worthy and certain information added (e.g. 舜耕於歷山); line 2: information concerning his deprived situation (e.g. 陶拍於河濱); line 3: resolving the situation (e.g. 立而為天子，遇堯也). Type B differs mainly in the second line, which always states that figure X was *freed* from his deprived situation by meeting person Y. Only 3A differs slightly from this pattern in terms that line 1 is longer and contains all information needed to proceed with the example.

41 This claim is further substantiated by the fact that certain stories (e.g. the example of Lü Wang) represent traditional lore rather than historical "truth". See my discussion in the Reference matter"

To make such a strong claim in the chain of argument as seen in Section Two, it is essential that the audience of the "Qiong da yi shi" shared certain assumptions on the qualities of the people named. Yet, as this was a shared cultural resource, the composers of the "Qiong da yi shi" could indeed expect that the audience would have been in accord about the qualities of the people concerned. If this presumption falls short, then the important link in the general argument that the worthy must *also* be accompanied by *yu* in order to work in the world would not have been valid.

In either way, the text puts forward the notion that the worthy himself plays a rather passive role. He is of worth, and that is it. His fate changes because he encounters the right times (here: the superior). The second part of the introduction already implies this when pointing out the missing times of this encounter, not a missing worthy.[42] This anticipates that the issue which the "Qiong da yi shi" observes is well beyond human influence.

Section 3: Deduction of a principle from the legendary material of Section Two

> Q9初韜晦，
> 後名揚， †
> 非其德加; [G]
>
> 子胥前多功，
> 後戮死，
> 非其智Q10衰也。[H]

> Q9 [Thus, the fact that] in the beginnings [these worthies] may have been of little value and in obscurity, [and yet], later their names were praised,
> is not because their charisma (*de*) has been added to;
>
> [Just like the fact that Wu] Zixu was very meritorious at first, [and yet] he later fell into disgrace and was put to death,
> is not because his wisdom Q10 had weakened.

Section Three is composed of two parts: the first is a deduction from the legendary materials provided in Section Two. It infers the basic principle that the changing fate of a worthy does not need to derive from an alteration of his essential trait (here the charisma, *de*, and wisdom, *zhi*).

The second part of Section Three names an additional historical figure, Wu Zixu. The same rule as the one introduced above is applied to his case, only that the particular example of Wu Zixu validates the basic principle deduced above into both directions, namely success *and* failure.

Accordingly, in the pattern of Section Three the features of success and failure appear in oppositional tension vis-à-vis each other. In view of this it should be noted that the second part of Section Three appears as the exact negative image of the first, as seen from the figure below:

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under [C]; See also Sarah Allan, *The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1981), 3–25.

42 有其人，無其Q2世；雖賢弗行矣。

[---]	初洺晦,	(failure)	
	後名揚,	(success)	
→	非其德加	(not because of **+**)	**＋**
[子胥]	前多功,	(success)	
	後戮死,	(failure)	
→	非其智衰也	(not because of **−**)	**—**

Obviously, Section Three does not yet formulate an argument consisting of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Such a "full argument" (henceforth "closed argument", see my discussion below) would resolve the oppositional tension of the two aspects failure *versus* success (or positive *versus* negative) and thus establish a whole new system in which both aspects could be placed meaningfully.

To sum up, Section Three derives a general rule from the legendary materials assembled in Section Two and validates the account in the directions of both failure *and* success. The reader learns that, albeit the basic trait of the worthy does not alter, his fate nevertheless may change. This is of vital importance for the entire argument of the "Qiong da yi shi". If indeed the changing fate of Man is not dependent upon his basic trait, then such a change of fate, as it obviously may appear, must be due to a higher entity. However, Section Three does not yet say *what* this decisive entity that decides upon the (changing) fate of Man *is*. In this way, the tension between success *versus* failure is not yet released by a conclusion that one might expect.

Section 4: Formulating a "closed argument"

驥厄張山，騏控於卲棘；†
非亡體壯也。
窮四海，致千Q11里，
遇造[父]故也。†
遇不遇，天也。‖

[That] the thorough-bred horse becomes distressed at the Mountain of Zhang, [and] the black-mottled grey horse halts at the thorns of Shao is not because they have lost their physical strength;[43]
[That they] cover everywhere within the four seas, reaching as far as a thousand Q11 *li* [in each direction], is on the account that they encountered the [excellent rider] Zao Fu. †
[However], to encounter or not – this lies with Heaven.

Section Four takes the discussion one step further. Like the previous section, this one also contrasts negative with positive (or failure with success). Yet, whereas Section Three kept the basic form of a three-line-statement, which formulates two contrasting statements to sum up the information provided in Section Two, Section Four culminates in a five-line summarisation of what has been stated so far and creates the first real argument in the "Qiong da yi shi".

   Section Four combines the two contrasting matters that can best be subsumed under "failure" *versus* "success" with a concluding statement and thus releases the oppositional tension

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43 Both the "thorough-bred horse" and the "black-mottled grey horse" should be understood in the sense of "fine horses" (see also [J] of the "Reference matter").

between the two positions. In this respect, Section Four breaks away from the basic form of mutually contrasting statements and articulates a "closed argument".[44]

Section Four is the climax of what has been stated so far. It lifts the previous discussion to the metaphorical level[45] and thus removes any specific address. By carrying the implication of the legendary materials of Section Two to its logical conclusion, Section Four brings the first part of this text to an end. Finally, Section Four offers a philosophical insight that is not easy to accept. Naming the decisive entity of Man's fate, namely Heaven, Section Four challenges the greatness of Man. The treatise could have ended here.

The thorough-bred and fine horse features as a metaphor for the worthy, while the Mountain of Zhang and the thorns of Shao reflect his humble situation. Just like the worthy, even the finest horse cannot overcome on its own the difficulties that it faces. It has to encounter (*yu*) the fine rider, similar to Shun (or any other worthy) who had to encounter (*yu*) a wise ruler such as Yao. Only under this precondition of *yu*, the fine horse obtains the proper means to work in accordance with its value. The same holds true not only for Shun, but likewise for all the other historical figures mentioned before, and for all men of worth in general. From this perspective it becomes clear why the "Qiong da yi shi" had to state the above said in metaphorical terms: the metaphors translate the previous discussion into a general truth, open to the gentleman. The subsequent account must hence be read through this generality, which names *Heaven* as the decisive factor settling on Man's failure or success, not *Man*.

Part Two: Section 5: Induction from the conclusion

動非為達也；
故窮而不 Q12 □□□ [怨；隱非] 為名也。†
故莫之知而不吝；

□□□□□□ [芝蘭生於幽谷] †
Q13□□□□ [Q13非以無人] 嗅而不芳 †
無茖瑾瑜寶山石，不為 □□□ (□?)([無人知其] Q14 善 †
吝己也。†[K] 46

[Thus], to move does not [necessarily mean] to success;
From this follows that [the worthy] does not Q12 {harbour resentment}[47] even if failing; †
{To hide does not} [necessarily mean] to achieve a name. †
From this follows that he is without regret even if nobody knows [him].

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44 A "closed argument" would be a self-contained unit. Although Section Three adds new information (even if the *basic trait of Man does not alter*, his fate nevertheless can change), it merely functions as a link in the chain of argument, "bridging" the legendary materials (Section Two) to the conclusion (Section Four) by deducing the contents of Section Two and adding further information. Section Three would hence function as "open argument".
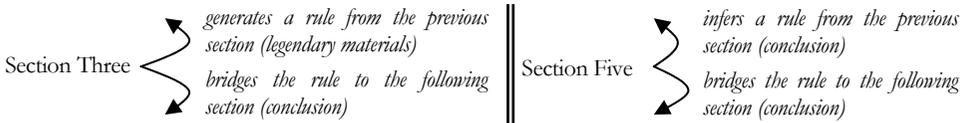
45 Section Four employs animals in its argumentation rather than (semi-) historical figures.

46 This difficult passage has yet to be confirmed. The editors of *Guodian* transcribe it as follows: 無茖堇愈土 (缶山 one character) 石不為 □□□ Q14 善吝己也 (p. 145); Li's transcription runs: 無茖堇愈寶，山石不為 □□□[開，非以其] Q14 善負己也 (Li Ling, 1999: 494); Tu and Liu read 無茖募愈 (土缶 one character)，山石不為 □□□[所用，夫為]善吝己也; the transcription of the HK database runs: 無茖瑾瑜寶山石不為 □□□ [開，非以其] Q14 善吝己也. I suggest 不為[無人知其]善吝己, because this would logically connect to the passage above and to the conclusion below.

47 I have marked the reconstructed passage with brackets {}.

{The [beautiful flower] *zhilan* grows in dark valleys}, [Q13] {and it is not, because it cannot be} smelled {by man} that it is not fragrant. †

The forgotten beautiful gem of value in a mountain of stones does not, because {no one knows} [Q14] what is good {about it}, neglect itself. [48]†

Section Five builds on the insights obtained in Part One. It refers back to the conclusion reached in Section Four, but at the same time it also prepares its further application as a concrete instruction for the gentleman, who will be finally named in Section Six. In this respect, Section Five is comparable with Section Three: it functions as an "overlapping feature" at the section level (cf. the following figure):

Section Three — generates a rule from the previous section (legendary materials) / bridges the rule to the following section (conclusion)

Section Five — infers a rule from the previous section (conclusion) / bridges the rule to the following section (conclusion)

Just like Section Three, which generates a rule from the previous section but also "bridges" the legendary materials to the conclusion in Section Four, Section Five "bridges" the insight of Part One to its application in Section Six. And just like Section Three, it also adds new information to the discussion, but does not arrive at a "closed argument", which, in both cases, is achieved in the subsequent sections (Four and Six).

Section Five infers the new information that even though action does not imply success this nevertheless is neither reason for frustration, nor for a renunciation of one's value. This opens up a more positive perspective, after the more sombre conclusion of Part One.

Section 6: Application of the argument and directive for the individual

窮達以時，
德行一也，譽毀在旁。
聽之一母，緇白[Q15] 不釐；
窮達以時，幽明不再。
故君子惇於反己。[L]

Failure and success appear at their respective time.
[Even if] the conduct according to charisma (*de*) is unified, fame and slander stand by its side.
[However, if] acuity reaches its "one mother", black and white need not be distinguished. †[49]
Failure and success appear at their respective time, [yet] dark and bright do not alternate.
It is for this reason that the gentleman esteems self-examination.

Section Six draws upon the general thought to be inferred from Section Five. The notion that failure and success depend on more than only on Man himself can already be seen as an established truth. Section Six now applies this notion explicitly onto the gentleman. It is the conclusion of Part Two of this treatise.

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48 Although it is downright impossible to know the "original" reading of this passage, since too many characters are simply absent, we can be fairly sure about an approximate reading here, due to the lines 故莫之知而不吝 "even if nobody knows [him], he is without regret"), and 嗅而不芳 ("not fragrant *since no* [X] smell [it]"). Compare the pattern of this passage I describe in the notes on [K], below.

49 The terms "one mother", and "black" and "white" will be discussed below.

The entire argument concerning the apparent arbitrariness of failure or success of Man's deeds culminates in the newly introduced word *shi* 時 (time). This word plainly illustrates Man's unenforceability of leading his action to success. What is more, just as the introduction (Section One), Section Six consists of two parts. The first of these is a preparation to the second. Lastly, like Section Four, Section Six combines two contrasting aspects (failure and success) into a "closed argument" by adding a concluding statement. Yet, as far as the structure of this individual section is concerned, this is not the entire story. As it becomes obvious from the figure inserted below, Section Six is composed of four strings of more or less parallel components, constructed on gap [see below]. Sentences B1 and C2 function as the connecting parallel bridges within this section:

```
1:   A –          B1 –        C1
2:               B1 –        C2
3:   A            –          C2
4:   gu          B2
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thus:

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1:   A   窮達以時        B1   德行一也       C1   譽毀在旁
2:                       B1   聽之一母       C2   緇白不釐；
3:   A   窮達以時                            C2   幽明不再。
4:       故               B2   君子惇於反己
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Two features of this structure must be highlighted. The gap seems irritating, yet it has a function. Contextually, the reader must silently bridge the gap by adding the missing component. That is, the component A must be added in lines 2 and 4; the missing component B1 in 3. With the gap, the structure of this section signals a change in reading; it signals something like an "if – then" reading:

1:	A	Failure and success appear at their respective time,	B1	[and even if] the conduct according to charisma is unified,	C1	fame and slander [nevertheless] stand by its side.
2:	*A*	[*Failure and success appear at their respective time*],	B1	[and yet] [even if] acuity reaches the "one mother",	C2	[then] black and white need not be distinguished [anymore]!
3:	A	Failure and success appear at their respective time,	*B1*	[*but if the conduct according to charisma is unified, and acuity reaches the "one mother"*],	C2	[then] dark and bright [accordingly] do not alternate.
4:	A	[*Failure and success appear at their respective time, and fame and slander stand by its side*]; [*but because black and white need not be distinguished, and dark and bright do not alternate when conducting unified according to charisma and when acuity reaches the "one mother"*, (*gù*) *it is for this reason that*	B2	the gentleman esteems self-examination!		

The gap in line 2 turns B1 into an "and yet" reading, of which the consequence is that "black and white need not be distinguished [anymore]" for the person whose acuity reaches the "one mother" (C2).

The next turn appears in line 3. The reader silently adds the building block B1 from above, which leads to the conclusion that "dark and bright [accordingly] do not alternate for the person who acts according to the notion added in B1.

The last gap appears in line 4. The statement starts with a *gu* (for this reason), which clearly marks the conclusion of this part. As typical for "*gu*-statements", the information that leads to *gu* is put in front of this marker. Accordingly, the informed reader bridges this last "gap" in front of *gu* by silently adding all of the information gained from the building blocks A, which is logically connected to C1, and B1, which is logically connected to C2. Adding this information to the concluding statement, which can be achieved by reading this passage through its formal structure, it thus becomes clear what "it is for this reason that the gentleman esteems self-examination" refers to.

The prominent position of B2 in line 4 clearly points to its pivotal function in this treatise. I shall again refer to this in my discussion of the *macro structure* of this treatise (see below).

Still, the passage remains problematic, and its translation is to some extent tentative. However, as we reach our limits in what concerns the palaeographic reconstruction of this passage (cf. "L" of the "Reference matter"), we can only read this conclusion through its structure. If, for the time being, we accept this approach to this difficult section, we clearly recognise the parallel position of the important term *yi*, "one" in both lines 1 and 2, from which we may infer the same referent of the two. Accordingly, the "one mother" which should be reached by the gentleman's acuity, and whose referent seems unclear, looks as if it denotes nothing else but the one principle along with which the gentleman should consistently align his behaviour.[50]

In a similar vein, we might reconstruct the referent of the difficult terms in the two components C2 in lines 2 and 3 (緇白不鳌 and 幽明不再). The referent of C2 does not explicitly appear in C1 (譽毀在旁), and yet the clear parallel structure suggests that both components C2 in lines 2 and 3 denote something similar to what is expressed in C1. As a result, black and white (C2, line 2), just like dark and bright (C2, line 3), should be read as manifestations of positive and negative, similar to slander and fame (C1, line 1), which would befall the individual at certain times who does *not* consistently align his behaviour with *de* (charisma).

Crucially, however, should Man indeed exclusively align both his focus and conduct along with *de* (charisma), manifestations such as failure and success would not appear to him in an absolute manner like the contrast between black and white or dark and bright. For the gentleman, these manifestations become irrelevant; the consciousness for his worthiness provides him a steady imperturbability.

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50 Cf. the various occurrences of the term *mu* 母 "mother" as they appear in the *Laozi*. See, for instance, the transmitted chapter 25 (可以為天下母 "it can be taken for the mother of heaven and earth"), or chapter 20 (我獨異於人而貴食母 "I alone am different from the others in that I honour this nourishing mother"), of which the former also appears in the Guodian One manuscript "Laozi" A, strip *a*21/20. Most commentators agree that the "mother", as the term appears in passages such as those cited from the *Laozi* denotes *dao* 道 "the way".

From this perspective it should become clear that, even though failure and success are aspects that may return at any time (as the word *shi* at the beginning of this section plainly showed), and that are unpredictable even for the gentleman; according to the "Qiong da yi shi" they nevertheless do no harm to him, because he is armed with a consciousness that merely concentrates on his own charisma.[51]

d) The macro structure of the "Qiong da yi shi"

1: The horizontal line of analysis:

As demonstrated, the "Qiong da yi shi" consists of two parts. These can be divided into six sections. Section One can be read as the introduction to the "Qiong da yi shi". As is characteristic of the entire composition, the introduction itself can be divided into two parts, the "theme" and its "development", both connected by a statement of the type of an "overlapping feature" that "bridges" the theme to the adjoining part.

The subsequent discussion in Section Two begins by assembling legendary materials, in order to put forward the crucial notion that even a worthy cannot let his worthiness work in the world if he does not encounter the right times. The account, which provides the legendary materials in the form of two distinctive parallel patterns, takes up the most space in the entire "Qiong da yi shi". This suggests that the composers of this treatise saw this as the critical link in the development of the argument. It is the ground on which the discussion following after it is based.

Section Three deduces a general rule from the above insight and validates this for both, success *and* failure. Both features appear in oppositional tension towards each other. This is also apparent from the structure of this section. Moreover, Section Three "bridges" the legendary materials presented in Section Two to the conclusion in Section Four, which, in turn, ends Part One of the "Qiong da yi shi". Section Four concludes that only Heaven decides about failure and success of Man's deeds and does so in the form of a "closed argument". But it also functions as "overlapping feature" at the *macro level*: It concludes Part One of the "Qiong da yi shi", while also continuing the insight gained, on which Section Five then refers to.

Section Five – the first section of Part Two – "bridges" Part One (Section Four) to the conclusion of Part Two (Section Six). Thus, it becomes clear that the conclusion of Part One (Section Four) builds the ground for the argument developed in Part Two.

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51 In a way, this approach allows him to live with a lack of success in his political career, something that must have been quite common to users of this kind of text.

According to this summary, the following figure of the linear argument can be drawn: each argumentative section is graphically represented at a higher level than the preceding one, illustrating the rising tension of the argument:
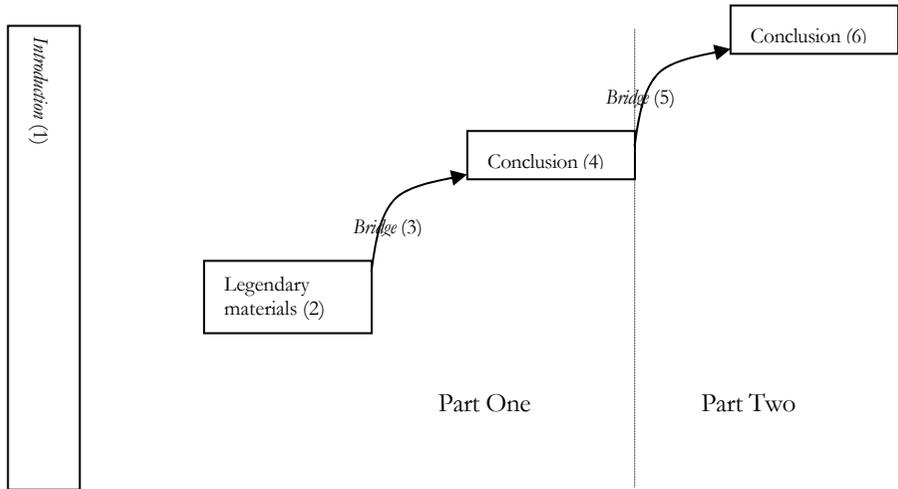
The horizontal analysis illustrates the steps by which the "Qiong da yi shi" develops a linear argument. Each section not merely draws upon the argument of the former, but moreover, continues on the previous achievement. Let me take Section Three as an example: Section Three "bridges" the legendary materials of Section Two to the conclusion of Section Four by deducing from it the notion that success and failure are not (necessarily) connected to one's charisma or knowledge. Thus, Section Three builds its contribution on the achievement of Section Two and accordingly plays on a higher level of insight. The same holds true for all the following sections. This shows that of the two conclusions, the latter (Section Six) is the crucial one, which the "Qiong da yi shi" tries to communicate, as it continues on the insights of the previous sections.

2: The vertical line of analysis:

A vertical analysis of the writing's line of argument further adds to our understanding of the thought of the "Qiong da yi shi".

As demonstrated, the "Qiong da yi shi" contains two conclusions, the former for Part One, the latter for Part Two. Both conclusions break away from the basic pattern of two statements placed in oppositional tension towards each other. Structurally, the two work alike. Both conclusions round off two oppositional statements with a concluding sentence. The "closed argument", which is thereby achieved, neutralises the oppositional position of the two statements and creates a whole new system in which both positions can be placed meaningfully. The first conclusion ends with Heaven, the second with Man. I shall take this up further below.

What is more, both conclusions are preceded by structurally identical mediating links (Sections Three/Five). Both links infer a general rule from the previous account to

which the conclusions then can refer. The first link deduces a rule from traditional ac-
counts (used in empirical fashion), the second induces such a rule from a preceding con-
clusion. In both parts of the "Qiong da yi shi", concrete examples combined with a gen-
eral rule equally precede the conclusions.

We have already seen that the characteristic of the "Qiong da yi shi" is the polarity of
two elements. The two contrasting elements now appear at the *macro level* in the form that
Part Two of the "Qiong da yi shi" is composed as the negative image of Part One (or *vice
versa*). The two are combined by Section Four as the pivotal point of this treatise (see the
figure below, which should help us to appreciate further the philosophical thinking of
this treatise).

First, as seen, the decisive feature of the *micro level* is the division of the sections into
two parts. The *macro structure* of the "Qiong da yi shi" also consists of two parts, each of
which contains its own theme: the first is the *Heaven-part*, the second the *Gentleman-part*.
Consistent with the two contrasting matters featuring in the two parts, the latter part
appears as the negative image of the former (and *vice versa*).[52]

Second, as seen in Sections Four/Six at the *micro level*, in which two contrasting parts are
rounded off by a concluding feature, the two contrasting parts of the *macro structure* are
also combined by a concluding element: Section Four here functions as an "overlapping
feature" at the *macro level*. It concludes Part One of the composition, but it also continues
the account, thus connecting Part Two with Part One. We can therefore say that the two
contrasting parts of the *macro structure* are combined by Section Four, which thus creates a
"closed argument" on the *macro level*. It thus resembles the two conclusions on the *micro
level*.

As can be seen, the section which concludes Part One of the "Qiong da yi shi" with
"Heaven" at the *micro level* is also the connecting link at the *macro level*.[53] This highlights
the dominant position of Heaven towards Man. This dominance is further emphasised
by the central position of this concluding building block of the *macro structure*: whereas
the concluding statements of Sections Four and Six of the *micro structure* were always
placed at the end of each part, it is positioned at the very center of the *macro structure*. In
this respect, the form of the *macro structure* sheds light on the thought of this composi-
tion: of the two entities discussed throughout this treatise, the greater, more powerful
and central element is Heaven. It is the centre of everything, and combines the contrast-
ing positions such as failure and success according to its own will.

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52 Cf., for instance, the discussion of Section Three at the *micro level*. In accordance with the two con-
    trasting themes that appear in oppositional position towards each other, Section Three is also made
    of two building blocks, each of which appearing as the exact negative image of the other.

53 Thus, Section Four has two functions: first, it concludes Part One of the linear argument, as seen
    from the horizontal analysis. Second, it combines Part One with Part Two of the *macro structure*, com-
    bines them into a coherent system, and thus becomes the concluding element in the hierarchical line
    of the argument, as the vertical analysis has shown.
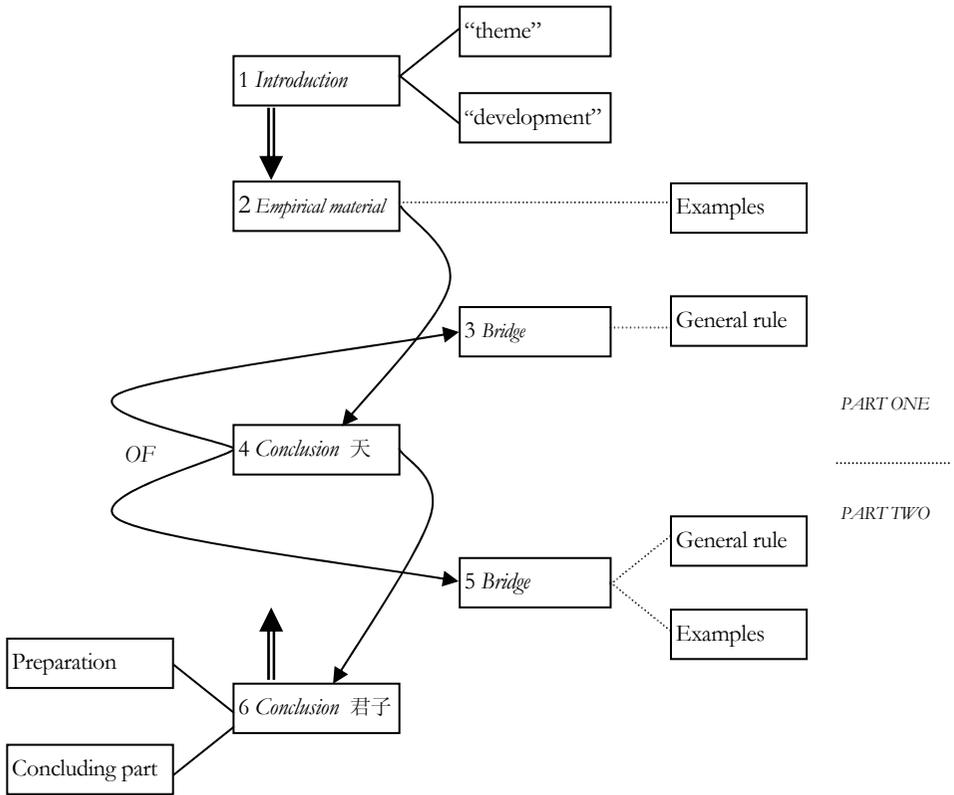
e) The "Qiong da yi shi": text and thought

Three general ideas will be put forward in view of language and structure at the *micro level*:

First, as discussed, the "Qiong da yi shi" devotes much effort to impose on the reader the impact of *yu* (encounter) for the fate of Man, for which it draws extensively upon a pool of legendary materials. Section Three then transforms the legendary materials into a general rule. The language of Section Three changes accordingly.

Eric Havelock (1903–1988), the theorist of spoken and written discourse, has stated that language applied in orality must be "rhythmic and it must be narrativized. Its syntax must always be one that describes an action or a passion, but not principles or concepts." Hence, "it will never say that honesty is the best policy, but that 'the honest man always prospers.'"[54] This remark applies well to the difference between the types of language used in Section Two and Section Three. Citing the pool of anecdotal knowledge, Section Two makes use of the

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54 See Eric Havelock, "Oral-Literature Equation: a Formula for the Modern Mind," in *Literacy and Orality* , ed. Olson, David R. and Nancy Torrance (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1991), 24.

language applied in oral discourse. Deducing a general rule, the language of Section Three changes accordingly; it translates the oral account into the language of a general rule.[55]
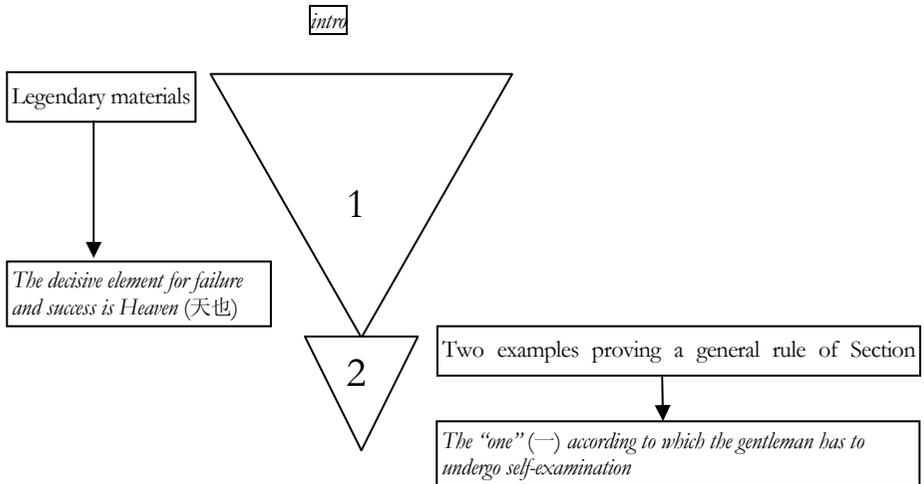
Second, in structure and content, Sections Four and Six break away from the basic pattern of this treatise. They absorb what was previously stated into their own account, and conclude by formulating a "closed argument". Thus, both sections become a turning point of the treatise in form and thought. The markedly higher tempo of Part Two compared to Part One makes clear this break point in the discussion: in Part One, an empirical account containing six examples (Section Two), and the deduction of a general rule from these had to precede the conclusion of Section Four. By contrast, merely two examples follow the induction of Section Five, before Part Two concludes with Section Six. This shows the comparative ease with which the argument evolves in Part Two after the break-through of Section Four (Part One), poignantly showing the limits of Man, an insight on which Part Two builds. (See the figure above.)

Third, the two conditional positions (e.g., failure *versus* success) in Section Three still appear oppositional tension, both in form and content. They are not yet put into one organic whole. Only in Section Four (and likewise in Section Six), the two oppositional positions are reconciled, placing them into a coherent system in which Heaven (Man) is the decisive factor. However, because both arguments (Four and Six) only discuss one of the two elementary entities, the two sections merely mention one of these: either Heaven or Man. By necessity, each entity appears at the end of each section (as opposed to conclusion of the *macro structure*, which is positioned at the centre of the composition).

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55 This holds true even for the reference to the matter of Wu Zixu in the second part of Section Three, which David Johnson has called another element of "China's secular mythology". See David Johnson, "Epic and History in Early China: The Matter of Wu Tzu-hsü," *Journal of Asian Studies* 40, 2 (1981), 256; idem, "The Wu Tzu-hsü *Pien-wen* and Its Sources," Part I: *HJAS* 40, 1 (1980), 93–156; Part II: *HJAS* 40, 2 (1980), 465–505. Just as the first part of Section Three is a summary of the legendary account of Section Two, the latter part of Section Three applies the generalising language that summarizes the "secular mythology" of the matter Wu Zixu.

In the light of the *macro structure*, the "Qiong da yi shi" appears as a three-dimensional entity. From a horizontal perspective, the line of a linear argument builds up a gradually rising tension, concluding the treatise with the gentleman. The vertical analysis of the hierarchical line of argument reveals that the "Qiong da yi shi" *in toto* doubles the logical structure of its argument. The formal structure sees two aspects, situated around Heaven. Heaven decides which of the two comes into play. As this treatise ultimately shows, the will of Heaven is not predictable.

Let me close this section by venturing the following thought: the purpose of this paper was to investigate the interplay of formal structure and thought in an early Chinese argumentative writing, and I came to end my analysis assuming that the formal structure of the text under consideration doubles the logical structure of its argument. In other words, we have an example of an early piece of writing in which substance and form correlate with each other: in the case of the "Qiong da yi shi", meaning (also) resides in form. For Zhou bronzes, it has been suggested that ritual ornament is not simply ornament, but also carries meaning (i.e., the emblematic expression of control over economical and technological resources).[56] And in the case of the *Shi Qiang pan* 史墙盤,[57] we find evidence of "authorial self-consciousness",[58] in which the maker of the inscription aims to provide the following: first, the integrity of the text and the symmetry of its display, moreover a narrative structure that matches the two columns, and lastly a literary form of the text that matches its content (rhyme and meter are followed carefully in the genealogies, but the final prayer section is left in unbound prose).[59] Here, too, substance and form correlate with each other. I do not argue that the formal structure of the "Qiong da yi shi" should be compared to ritual ornament (e.g. in bronzes). Both have entirely different functions and work on dissimilar levels. Yet I want to alert the reader to the fact that meaning can also reside in *form*, and that this does not only apply to material objects, but likewise to texts of whatever form – oral or written.

Assuming that the formal structure of a composition may indeed convey meaning, then this has serious consequences for us when reading a manuscript like this: we cannot fully understand the thought of a piece of writing if we do not also approach it *via* its structure.

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56 See Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Ornament: the Lotus and the Dragon* (London: British Museum, 1984); Martin Powers, "The Figure in the Carpet: Reflections on the Discourse of Ornament in Zhou China," *Monumenta Serica* 43 (1995): 211–33. See also Martin Kern, "*Shi Jing* Songs as Performance Texts: A Case Study of "Chu Ci" (Thorny Caltrop)," *Early China* 25 (2000), 56.

57 Translations of the "Shi Qiang pan" can be found in Edward Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991), 3–4, 183–192; Ulrich Lau, *Quellenstudien zur Landvergabe und Bodenübertragung in der westlichen Zhou Dynastie* (1045?–771) (Nettetal: Steyler, 1999), 184–204. Wolfgang Behr has reconstructed the rhyme scheme of the inscription. See "Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung," (PhD diss., J. W. Goethe Universität Frankfurt, 1996), 199–204.

58 I cite Martin Kern, "Performance of Writing in Western Zhou China" (forthcoming).

59 Ibid.

f) Conclusion

With respect to its thought-through argument construction, the "Qiong da yi shi" proves to be a well-crafted composition, which, in itself, can be called a "closed argument". It draws upon anecdotal knowledge as constituents for developing its chain of argument, but the characteristic of the "Qiong da yi shi" is that of a treatise which has prudently devised a concise train of thought with rising tension from one section to the next. Moreover, it has developed a "closed argument" at the *macro level* that also technically doubles the philosophical thought of this treatise. Seen from this perspective, we must acknowledge that the "Qiong da yi shi" reflects a fully developed notion of intentional composition and argument development. If this provides us a hint to the intricate question whether or not such concise composition also implies the physical matter of writing is yet another issue, which I shall not address here.

The central feature that runs throughout the entire "Qiong da yi shi" is the contrast between the two aspects failure *versus* success, and of the two entities Heaven *versus* Man. This contrast as regards content comes into view technically as the two aspects appear in oppositional tension vis-à-vis each other both at the *micro level* and at the *macro level* of this composition. So doing, the formal structure of the composition clearly highlights the matter discussed. Only occasionally this tension is released and the text formulates a "closed argument", by which it lifts the entire discussion onto a new level, or simply concludes the entire matter.

And yet, it seems that the vertical line of analysis of the *macro structure* poses a problem. From the horizontal analysis of the *macro structure* we know that the second of the two conclusions (Section Six) is the main thought the "Qiong da yi shi" aims to communicate.[60] The vertical analysis, however, argues that Section Four is the pivotal point that connects Part One of the composition with Part Two. It creates a "closed argument" at the *macro level* and, accordingly, must be the central aspect of the entire composition. This looks like a contradiction between the horizontal and the vertical line of argument, or is it simply a misinterpretation of the case?

The "closed argument" of the *macro structure* states that, first, the power of Heaven is indeed greater than that of Man; secondly, it has exposed Heaven's central position in deciding over Man's failure and success. And yet, Section Six concludes at the horizontal level that if the gentleman does practice self-examination according to his charisma (*de*), which should guide all his conduct, then he shows himself to be no longer concerned about failure and success, dark and bright, slander and fame. As a consequence, he does not align his conduct with a certain goal that he cannot predict to achieve anyway. Quite the contrary, the gentleman merely values the quality of his conduct, not its outcome. In this way, he frees himself from the threat that success might turn into failure, bright into dark, fame into slander and so on; hence, the gentleman emancipates himself from the seemingly absolute value of these aspects, imposed on Man by Heaven. Moreover, by making his worthiness the only matter of importance, Man not only frees himself from life's imponderables, but, in a sense, also emancipates himself from the decisive power of Heaven!

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60   We have identified Section Four as the mere preparation for Section Six: as we have seen, Section Five "bridges" the thought of Section Four (conclusion of Part One) to Section Six (conclusion of Part Two). Section Six hence does not merely conclude Part Two; by applying the insight from Section Four onto Man in Section Six, it reveals that it is the all-embracing conclusion of the entire treatise.

Thus, the vertical analysis has shown that Heaven is the stronger entity of the two, and that Heaven decides over success or failure of Man's action. The horizontal analysis has shown that Man nevertheless can overcome this threat that is posed on him. In this respect, the apparent contradiction of the two is solved.

g) Reference matter

1: Notes to the transcription

[A]: For the character *q*2/17 (here identified as *geng* 耕), compare the Guodian One ms "Cheng zhi wen zhi" 成之聞之, strip 13 [*Guodian*, l.c., p. 50].
The identity of Mount Li cannot be determined with certainty.[61] Most scholars follow Qian Mu who identifies the Mountain Li (Li shan 歷山) with Mountain Lei Shou 雷首 located near the confluence of the Fen 汾 and Yellow Rivers in modern southwest Shanxi.[62]
The character *q*3/3 appears as *qu*? (a *gu* 古 radical within a *fang* 匚) on the bamboo strips. Li Ling transcribes it with *hu* 滸 (*the bank of a river*).[63] Tu and Liu suspect the character to be a loan of *gu* 沽, which would be the name of a river, making 河沽;[64] this would perfectly correlate with 歷山. Liu Zhao 劉釗 reads it as *pu* 浦, "banks of a stream".[65] A transcription of the character with *hu* 滸 (*the bank of a river*) makes sense insofar as it correlates with the story in the *Shiji* 史記 1, "Wu di ben ji" 五帝本紀 (Basic Annals 1),[66] which notes that Shun made pottery at the banks of the Yellow river (陶河濱).

[B]: The name Shao Yao 邵謠 or Yao of Shao does not appear in transmitted texts. Accordingly, Li Ling does not combine the two characters for reading them as a personal name, but explains *q*3/13 (*yao* 謠; Old Chinese *law as *yao* 鷂 (OC *law-s),[67] which he interprets as an attribute to *yi* 衣 (clothing), thus reading it in the sense of "shabbily clothing".[68] He further assumes that *q*3/12 (邵) is either a mistaken character, or a vari-

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61 Cf. *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian* 中國歷史地名大辭典, ed. Wei Gaoshan (Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu, 1993), 145

62 See Qian Mu 錢穆, *Shiji diming kao* 史記地名考 (Hong Kong: Taiping, 1962), 42.

63 Li Ling 李零, "Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji" 郭店楚簡校讀記, *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 17 (1999), 493 [emended reprint in *Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji* 郭店楚簡校讀記 (Beijing: Beijing daxue 2002), 87].

64 See Tu Zongliu 涂宗流 and Liu Zuxin 劉祖信, *Guodian Chu jian Xianqin rujia yishu jiaoshi* 郭店楚簡先秦儒家佚書校釋 (Taibei: Wanjuan lou, 2001), 29.

65 See Liu Zhao 劉釗, *Guodian Chu jian jiao shi* 郭店楚簡校釋 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin, 2003), 170.

66 See *Shiji kaichū kōshō* 史記會注考證, ed. Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎 (1934) [repr. Taibei: Tiangong, 1989].

67 My reconstruction of Old Chinese follows the system of William H. Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), and its further development, as presented at the Leiden ELNWS Intensive Seminar on Old Chinese Phonology (hosted by the Research School CNWS and the Leiden University's Faculty of Arts, Leiden: 05.09.05–16.09.05).
    I thank Haeree Park for helpful comments on my reconstructions.

68 See Li Ling, "Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji," 493; idem, *Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji*, 87.

ant of another transmitted name. Li's interpretation of reading *yao* 謠 (OC * law) as *yao* 鷂 (OC * law-s) and thus taking only *q*3/12 as personal name is also a valid interpretation; either reading does not change the interpretation of this passage. Nevertheless, in all other examples of Section 2, where certain figures first faced destitution, and yet later became honoured personages, a predicate immediate follows the name of the person. Therefore, to me it seems more plausible to read *q*3/12–13 as a personal name, followed by the predicate *yi* 衣 (*q*3/14), "to cover oneself", "to wear". I follow Li's interpretation of reading *q*3/15 as *xi* 枲 (male nettle hemp).

Legendary materials often refer to Wu Ding (whose temple name was Gao Zong 高 宗; Wu Ding was the first of the nine historic rulers of Shang Dynasty; Robert Bagley dates the reign of Wu Ding around 1200 BC[69]) in connection with Fu Yue 傅說, whose situation is described similar to that of Shao Yao in the "Qiong da yi shi".[70]

[C]: I follow Qiu in his reading of 臧棘津 (*Guodian*, l.c., p. 146, n. 6.). Tales on Lü Wang mention the place name Jijin (棘津) in context with Lü Wang.[71] Jijin is situated in modern Henan.[72] To read *zang* 牂 (ewe; OC *ttsang) as *zang* 臧 (slave; *ttsang) further suits the context of the tale.

Lü Wang, also known as Lü Shang, was one of King Wu's advisors. He received the titles Taigong wang 太公望 (Our Ancestor's hope), and Tutor Shangfu 師尚父. Sarah Allan has compared the historical evidence of him being a minister of Kings Wen and Wu of the Zhou Dynasty with the many references to him in Zhou and Han literature, concluding that these are very contradictory. Historically, Lü Wang was a nobleman of the Jiang 姜 clan, which traditionally intermarried with the Zhou royal family. It is possible that he was the uncle of King Cheng of Zhou.[73] However, legendary materials always describes him, like in our text, as a humble man who was raised up from obscurity by King Wen to become a minister.[74]

Zhao Ge 朝歌 is the former capital of Yin 殷 located northeast of Qi 淇 County, in modern Henan. Western Zhou-period Wei 衛 established its capital there, while Zhao Ge belonged to Wei 魏 throughout the Warring States' period.

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69 See Robert Bagley, "Shang Archaeology," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), 181.

70 Cf. *Mozi* 2.10c: "Once Fu Yue lived in the District of Beihai and built the prison walls. His clothing was of coarse cloth and tied with ropes. Wu Ding discovered him and exalted him to be High Duke, handing him the government of the empire and the rule over the people." Translation after W. P. Mei, *The Ethical and Political Works of Motse (Mozi)* (London: Probsthain, 1929; cf. the electronic version in http://nacrp.cic.sfu.ca/nacrp/articles/legalmohist/mozi_mei/pinyin/momei_10py1.html#3back).

71 See Sarah Allan, "The Identities of Taigong Wang 太公望 in Zhou and Han Literature," *Monumenta Serica*, 30 (1972–1973), 74.

72 See Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, *Zhongguo lishi dituji* 中國歷史地圖集 (Taibei: Xiaoyuan, 1991), vol. 1, 24–25 (originally published in 1980, Beijing: Zhongguo ditu).

73 See Allan, "Identities of Taigong Wang," 60–72.

74 Cf. Allan, *Heir and Sage*, 21.

[D]: The character *q*6/5 appears as *yao* 猋 [instead of "缶", "言"] (OC *lu) on the strips. Qiu Xigui, however, argues that this character should be read *qiu* 囚 (prison, OC *s-lu).

The story of Guan Zhong can be found in *Shiji* 62, "Guan Yan liezhuan" 管晏列傳 (Memoir 2).

[E]: Mainly for two reasons, Chen Wei proposes to interchange strips *q*7 (story of Baili Xi, see [F], below; originally the fifth of the six examples of men who rose from destitution to fame) and *q*8 (story of Sunshu; originally the last of the sixth example).[75] First, chronological reason: Baili Xi served Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 (r. 656–621 BC), Sunshu Ao served King Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王 (r. 613–591); thus Baili Xi antecedes Shunshu Ao at least three decades. Secondly, a mark on strip *q*7: at the bottom of strip *q*7 is a black stroke of which Chen Wei argues that it should end the above list of examples [ibidem]. I follow Chen in placing *q*8 before *q*7, even though this change does not influence the argument of this section at all. If only Section Two remains intact (that is, no strips added or removed from the group of *q*2/16–8/end) and none of the six examples are distorted (that is none of the positions of strips *q*2–5 is changed), the positions of *q*6–8 do not matter content wise, because they are steady components that may be placed at any position within Section Two without changing its argument. Nevertheless, it is plausible to assume that the list of persons was finished in chronological order, since strips *q*2/16–5/end of Section Six – whose sequence is beyond doubt – clearly started to list the names of persons in chronological order: Shun served Yao (traditional r. 2366–2356); Shao Yao served King Wu Ding (r. ?–1189); Lü Wang served King Wen of Zhou (r. 1099/56–1050).[76] Second, when interchanging *q*7 with *q*8, the black stroke can figure as the ending mark of this section. Third, yet left unnoticed by Chen Wei [ibidem], strip *q*7 is the only one of the six examples, which does not end with a concluding *ye* 也; instead it carries the black mark. Lastly and also unnoticed by other scholars, but most important for my decision to change the order of the strips, is the parallel form of what I have termed "A-" and "B-element" in the account; this strongly corroborates the above suggested change of the strips. I follow Qiu who reads the graph *q*8/4 as *chi* 斥 (*Guodian*, l.c., p. 146, n. 11).

Graph *q*8/5 was originally transcribed with 互邑 (written as one graph). As Chen Wei knows to add, throughout the Guodian One manuscripts, the graph 互 is often exchanged with 亟.[77] According to Chen, 亟 and 期 are close in sound [ibidem] (OC *k(r)ək and *g(r)ə); together with *q*8/6 it would be read Qisi 期思, a place name in Chu. This accords with a record in the *Xunzi* 5.1 "Fei xiang" 非相 (Contra Physiognomy), which reads: "In Chu, Sunshu Ao, a native of the small hamlet Qisi, was bald with splotches of short hair, had a left leg that was too long, and was short enough to go under the upturning poles of a state carriage; nonetheless, he made Chu lord-protector

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75 See Chen Wei 陳偉, *Guodian zhushu bieshi* 郭店竹書別釋, Xinchu jianbo yanjiu congshu 新出簡帛研究叢書 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu, 2003), 47.

76 See Edward L. Shaughnessy, "Calendar and Chronology," in Loewe, Shaughnessy (eds.), *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 25 f.

77 See, Chen Wei, *Guodian zhushu bieshi*, 46.

over all the states."[78] Thus, even though the phonetic similarity seems to me problematic, the correlation with transmitted records suggests that his transcription is correct. Hence, I follow Chen Wei in his reading, until a better solution is found.

The title Shao Sima 少司馬 is a variant of Xiao Sima 小司馬 "Vice Minister of War".[79]

In Chu, the senior functionary was termed *lingyin* 令尹.[80] However, throughout various sources, Sunshu Ao was termed Chancellor. Cf. *Shiji* 83 "Lu Zhonglian Zou Yang liezhuan" 魯仲連鄒陽例傳 (Memoir 23).

[F]: On the interchange of the two strips *q*7 and *q*8, see above notes to [E].

According to the *Huainanzi* 19 "Xiu wu xun" 脩務訓 (Endeavour and duty), which reads "百里奚轉鬻",[81] Qiu reconstructs this part with: "百里奚轉賣五羊" (Baili Xi was sold on for the price of five rams).[82]

The story of Baili Xi can be found in *Shiji* 5, "Qin benji" 秦本紀 (Basic Annals 5).

The character *q*7/13 remains obscure. According to the context of the story, however, it seems clear that it must have to do with "ox and shepherd tending".

From highest antiquity, the term *qing* 卿 is used for eminent officials, sometimes particularised with further pre-posed qualifications. Throughout the Zhou it meant "minister", denoting the highest category of officials serving the King and Feudal Lords.[83]

[G]: Strip *q*9 is likely to be one of the most controversial passages of the "Qiong da yi shi", and neither Chen Wei nor Chen Jian connect *q*9 with *q*8 (both suggest to place *q*9 between *q*14 and *q*10). What is more, a great many of the graphs on the strip are as yet not agreed upon in terms of their identification. Let me first discuss the transcription of the graphs:

Originally, the two graphs *q*9/2–3 are transcribed with *tao* 滔, and *hai* 酉有 [one graph]. Li Ling transcribes the character *q*9/2 with *tao* 韜 (to sheathe). As he states, *tao* 韜 is derived from 舀, which, throughout early manuscripts, is commonly confused with 滔. He transcribes the graph *q*9/3 with *hui* 晦 "obscure, dark".[84] Tu and Liu follow the editors of *Guodian* and transcribe it with *tao* 洦 (overflow, a torrent, rushing water). In its borrowed meaning of *ni shui* 泥水 "muddy waters" it also carries the meaning "of little value".[85] Zhao Ping'an approaches the two characters quite differently.[86] He be-

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78 楚之孫叔敖，期思之鄙人也，突禿長左，軒較之下，而以楚霸; Translation after John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*, vol. 1 (Stanford: Stanford University 1988), 204.

79 See, Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University, 1985].

80 See Michael Loewe, "The Heritage left to the Empires," in Loewe, Shaughnessy (eds.), *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 1018.

81 *A Concordance to the Huainanzi* 淮南子逐字索引, ICS Series, edited by D. C. Lau and Chen Fong Ching (Hong Kong: Commercial, 1992): 19/203/6.

82 See *Guodian*, 146, n. 9.

83 See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 173.

84 See Li Ling, "Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji," 495–6; idem, *Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji*, 88.

85 See Tu and Liu, *Guodian Chu jian Xianqin rujia yishu jiaoshi*, 32, 33.

lieves that the two graphs should be read *tan hai* 醓醢 (boneless brine of pickle minced meat), which he reads, with reference to a modern commentary of the *Chu ci*, he reads in a borrowed meaning denoting a certain kind of torture; moreover, this torture, as Zhao presumes, refers to the historical figure Bigan 比干,[87] who often gets named together with Wu Zixu (ibid, p. 20). In order to keep his explanation of this passage sound (the name never appears on the strips), Zhao concludes that certain (?) strips should be added between *q*8 and *q*9, and that the "Qiong da yi shi" must thus be incomplete.

This, however, seems to me quite implausible. As I hope to demonstrate with the analysis of structure, the "Qiong da yi shi" is not merely complete, but it also is a highly stringent and argumentatively concise writing [see my conclusion]. Because both Chen Jian and Chen Wei do not see how *q*9 connects with *q*8 – none of them make an analysis of the structure of the text (!) – they connect strips *q*14 with *q*9. This is problematic in several aspects. Whereas strip *q*9 clearly marks a break after Section Two and introduces a new aspect (which leads to the "open argument" of Section Three), both scholars read the whole passage in a line. Besides, when looking at the structure of Section Two, we clearly see the style of two entirely parallel passages containing the sentence pattern of 3–3–4, 3–3–4 [也] (see figure two: the two aspects). This parallelism would be destroyed, if the sentences were read in a continuous line of *q*14 and *q*8 ("善鄙己也，窮達以時。德行一也，譽毀在旁，聖之弋母之白 q14 初滔[酉有],[88] 後名揚，非其德加。子胥前多功，後戮死，非其智 q9 衰也。…"[89] Compare the sentences in Chen Jian [ibidem]. This passage would have a sentence structure of 4–4–4–4–9(!)-3–4–5–3–5, which is highly problematic.

Hence, I believe it makes most sense to explain *q*9 as marking the beginning of what I call the "deduction from the legendary materials", and not to connect it with *q*14.

For the identification of character *q*9/2, I follow the interpretation of Li Ling [see above]. For phonetic reasons, I read the graph *q*9/3 with *hui* 晦 (OC *hhməj; obscure, dark) as a phonetic loan for *hai* 酉有 (written as one character OC *hmaʔ).

[H]: Cf. the similarity of this account with the story in the *Hanshi waizhuan*, chapter 7: "伍子胥前多功，後戮死，非[其]智有盛衰也，前遇闔閭，後遇夫差也。" ([The fact that] in the beginning Wu Zixu was very meritorious, [and yet], he fell into disgrace and was put to death, later, was not because his wisdom has either flourished or declined, [but only] because he had previously met Helü 闔閭,[90] first, and Fuchai 夫差,[91] later).[92] And the account in the *Shuoyuan* 說苑 17, "Za yan" 雜言 (Miscellaneous sayings), records the

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86 See his "'Qiong da yi shi' dijiu hao jian kaolun – jian ji Xianqin Lianghan wenxian zhong Bigan gushi de yanbian," 18 f.

87 Prince Bigan served under King Zhou of Yin 殷紂王, by whom he was killed. The story of Prince Bigan can be read in *Shiji* 3, "Yin benji 殷本紀" (Basic Annals 3).

88 [酉有] read as one character.

89 The transcription follows the one chosen by Chen Jian, "Guodian jian 'Qiong da yi shi', 'Yu cong si' de ji Chu jianxu tiaozheng," 317.

90 Helü (?–496 BC), also Wuzi Guang 吳子光, Gongzi Guang 公子光 (or simply Guang 光), or Helü 闔廬, ruled the state of Wu from 514–469. He was one of the Five Hegemons.

91 Fuchai 夫差 (?–473 BC) ruled the state of Wu from 495–473. He was son of Helü.

92 ICS Series, *Hanshi waizhuan*. 7.6/50/24.

case by saying: "非其智益衰也" (It is not that his wisdom has either increased nor decreased).[93] The story of Wu Zixu and his success in taking revenge for his father and brother's unjust death, and his own execution appears in many texts.[94] In short: after Wu Zixu's father and elder brother were murdered by the king of Chu Wu Zixu fled to the state of Wu. In the state of Wu he gained the favour of the king, whom he helped to defeat Chu; later, however, Wu Zixu fell into disgrace and was executed by order of the king's successor.

[J]: The editors of *Guodian* transcribe the character *q*10/4 with *di* 駒 (OC *ttek;[95] horse of good quality); Li Ling identified it as *è* 厄, (OC *ʔʔrek; in difficulty, distressed).[96] He corroborates this reading by referring to the *Shuoyuan* 17, "Zayan", in which the graph 厄 also appears in combination with *ji* 驥 "a thorough-bred horse" (驥厄罷鹽車).[97] What is more (Li, however, fails to mention this important point), this reading is confirmed by the fact that in the subsequent – and entirely parallel – sentence, the second graph also is a verb, which describes the difficulties of a "good horse" when facing a seemingly insuperable condition.

The character *q*10/5, *zhang*, can also be read as "nervous, in tension". Cf. *Liji* 21 "Za ji, xia" 雜記下 (Miscellaneous records)[98] [cf. Tu and Liu, *Rujia yishu*, p. 34]. However, referring to the pattern of the subsequent sentence ("fine horse" – verb describing difficulties – place-name), I rather tend to view *zhang* as a place-name, lao *shao*, below, which can be clearly identified with the name of a place of Spring and Autumns'-time Jin.[99] Reading *zhang* as "nervous" would consequently destroy the parallel structure of the entire passage. Nevertheless, this reading of *zhang* as a place-name has yet to be verified.

The editors of *Guodian* transcribe the character *q*10/7 with *qi* 騏 (a piebald horse; *qi* 騏 read as *qi* 騹 OC *g(r)ə); Li identified it with *jun* 駿 "a fine horse" (1999: 496). However, the combination of *ji* 驥 and *jun* 駿 is not attested in transmitted records (as opposed to the combination of 騏驥; compare *Xunzi* 23 "Xing e" 性惡 (Nature is evil)[100] and *Zhuangzi* 莊子 17, "Quishui" 秋水 (Autumn floods).[101] Later, Li corrected

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93 ICS Series, *Shuoyuan*: 17.17/144/10.

94 Cf. Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: Suny, 1990), 84. On the various accounts, see Johnson, "Epic and History in Early China," and idem, "Wu Tzu-hsü's *Pien-wen*," Part 1: 119–151; Part 2: 465–505.

95 The reconstruction of *di* is problematic and needs to be discussed in further detail; the reconstruction with OC *ttek shall be taken as tentative.

96 See Li Ling, "Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji," 496; *Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji*, 88.

97 ICS Series, *Shuoyuan*: 17.17/144/11.

98 *Liji zhushu* 禮記注疏, Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏 (repr. Taibei: Yiwen, 1997), vol. 5, 21, 751: "張而不弛文武弗能也弛而不張文武弗為也一張一弛文武之道也" (strained and yet without relaxation, Kings Wen and Wu were incapable in this; relaxed and without tension, Kings Wen and Wu would refrain from acting so. Once strained, once relaxed, that is the way of Kings Wen and Wu).

99 See [*Zuozhuan*], (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義), "Xianggong year 23", 604; Pishao yi 邳邵邑, also referred to as Pishao 邳邵, Shaoting 邵亭, or simply as Shao 邵; the Spring and Autumns' Jin 晉 place-name is located in Henan, west to modern Jiyuan shi 濟源市 (see *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian*, 926).

100 ICS Series, *Xunzi*: 23/117/14.

his transcription to *qi* 騏 "black-mottled grey horse" [*Guodian Chu jian*, l.c., 89], which should be understood in the sense of *ji* 驥 "a thorough-bred horse", both referring to "fine horses".

Qiu remarks that the story of the excellent rider Zao Fu 造父 also appears in chapter seven of the *Hanshi waizhuan* and in the *Shuoyuan* 17 "Za yan". On this basis, Qiu argues that the character *q*10/15 (壯) should be read as *zhuang* 狀, *q*10/20 (至) as *zhi* 致, and the character *q*11/3 (告) should indeed be read *zao* 造, referring to the rider Zao Fu. Accordingly, Qiu argues, one would have to add the character *fu* 父 after *q*11/3, to complete the name of the famous horse rider [see *Guodian*, l.c., p.146, fn. 13].

[K]: On the position of strip *q*14 in the "Qiong da yi shi", see my notes on [G] above.

Strip *q*12 has broken off at both ends. On top of strip *q*12 presumably three graphs are missing. Li Ling adds "怨非為".[102] The passage itself suggests the following: the main topic of this passage is action that bears no result. The pattern runs: "failure, and yet no [x] (something negative, intercepted by preceding "no")."[103]

The next sentence contains two elements,[104] each of them bolstering one another: "A-element": "hence [a]", "B-element": "[b] to achieve a name." In this case it is the following sentence that reveals the reading of the previous statement: "A-element": "although nobody knows him"; "B-element": "he is without regret".[105] Thus, even though we can by no means know the "original" reading, however, we can be fairly sure about an approximate reading of this passage. This pattern runs throughout the entire passage and reoccurs on strips *q*11 through *q*14. It always reads: [x] – something negative – and yet – [y].[106]

Li Ling argues that at the bottom of *q*12, presumably six graphs should be added. Based on the *Xunzi* 28, "Youzuo", and *Hanshi waizhuan*, chapter 7, where a similar story can be traced, he adds the graphs "芝蘭生於幽谷" [ibidem]. This would fit for various reasons: First, the top of the first of the graphs added is still visible; the "grass-radical" can be seen on the strip ; secondly, this reading can be easily brought into line with the next sentence which reads "[*not*] not fragrant because [x] smells it";[107] this fits perfectly into the pattern I have detected, above (strips *q*11–12: "A-" and "B-element"); lastly, this reading is corroborated by transmitted texts (*Xunzi* 28, "Youzuo", and *Hanshi waizhuan*, chapter 7). Again, as above, we can only approximate a reading.

Presumably four graphs are missing at the top of strip *q*13. Again, according to the pattern I have described for Section Six ("A/B-element" in which the one bolsters the other, appearing as "[x] – something negative – and yet – [y]"), we can approximate a

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101 See, *Zhuangzi zuanjian* 莊子纂箋, edited by Qian Mu (1925, repr. Hong Kong: Dongnan, 1955), 17, 131.

102 See Li Ling, "Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji," 496; idem, *Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji*, 88.

103 Consequently, the reading of *yuan* 怨, "resentment".

104 Here indicated with "A" and "B".

105 Accordingly the reading of the "A-element: "[he] hides"; "B-element": "[and yet] is without regret".

106 This is another indication that this passage is a unit and should not be disrupted, as opposed to what both Chen Wei and Chen Jian argue.

107 Compare the pattern I have described for this passage.

sound reading (and probably the best reading), by completing the pattern "[*x*] – some-
thing negative – and yet – [*y*]", based on the subsequent four characters (嗅而不芳 "[*x*]
not fragrant *since no* [X] smell [it]").[108]

At the bottom of strip *q*13 presumably four graphs are missing. Again, since the sub-
sequent line is still visible on strip *q*14 (善怀己也 "goodness, neglect itself"), it is possi-
ble to reconstruct an approximate (and probably best) reading of this passage based on
these graphs. Once more, taking the "A/B-element" of the pattern "[*x*] – something
negative – and yet – [*y*]", the approximate reading should be "無人知其 nobody knows
its goodness"; hence making "[x] does not because of *nobody knows its* goodness, neglect
itself", or the like.

[L]: The character *q*14/19 is transcribed as *yi* 弋 (a dart; to shoot with bow and arrow;
OC *lək), and it takes a lot of effort to create a sound reading by sticking to this tran-
scription.[109] Yet, the graph (*q*14/11) is rendered wrongly in the transcription of *Guodian*
(p. 145) and should be transcribed as 戈 [with 一 added to it] rather than as *yi* 弋 (OC
*lək). My suggestion is to read the graph as *yi* 一 (one; OC *ʔit), which offers a simple
and sound reading since it can be easily justified phonetically, and it nicely connects to
the explanation of one's behaviour in accordance to the "one *de*," above. The reading of
this graph as *yi* 一 (one) is well attested.[110]

Even though it seems phonetically problematic, I tentatively follow Li in reading *zhi*
之 (*a particle*; OC *tə) as *zi* 緇 (black; OC *dz(r)ə),[111] until a better solution has been
found. This reading connects best to the pairing of *you/ming*, below (*q*15/7, 8).

I follow Tu and Liu[112] to read *q*15/2 as *li* 釐 (small, minute; to regulate).

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108 Hence "非以無人" as an approximate reconstruction.

109 Cf. Tu and Liu, *Guodian Chu jian Xianqin rujia yishu jiaoshi*, 37.

110 See Martin Kern, "The *Odes* in Excavated Manuscripts," in idem, *Text and Ritual in Early China* (Seattle
and London: University of Washington, 2005), 149–193; here n. 43, 187, 188. See also He Linyi 何琳
儀, *Zhanguo guwen zidian: Zhanguo wenzi shengxi* 戰國古文字典：戰國文字聲系 (Beijing: Zhonghua,
1998), 1080.

111 See Li Ling, "Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji," 496; idem, *Guodian Chu jian jiaoduji*, 88.

112 See their *Guodian Chu jian Xianqin rujia yishu jiaoshi*, 37.

Appendix: Reproduction of the "Qiong da yi shi"

Q9	Q8	Q7	Q6	Q5	Q4	Q3	Q2	Q1
初韜晦後名揚非其德加子胥前多功後戮死非其智	孫叔三斥期思少司馬出而為令尹遇楚莊也	百里奚轉賣五羊為伯牧牛釋板[?]而為朝卿遇秦穆	管夷吾拘囚束縛釋械枷而為諸侯相遇齊桓也	棘地行年七十而屠牛於朝歌舉而為天子師遇周文也	釋板築而佐天子遇武丁也呂望為臧棘津戰監門	於河澨立而為天子遇堯也邵謠衣枲枲蓋帽經蒙巾	世雖賢弗行矣苟有其世何難之有哉舜耕於歷山陶拍	有天有人天人有分察天人之分而知所行矣有其人無其
九	八	七	六	五	四	三	二	一

Appendix: Reproduction of the "Qiong da yi shi" (continued)

Q15	Q14	Q13	Q12	Q11	Q10
不	善	□	□	里	衰
釐	怀	□	□	遇	也
窮	己	□	□	造	驥
達	也	嗅	為	故	厄
以	窮	而	名	也	張
時	達	不	也	遇	山
幽	以	芳	故	不	騹
明	時	無	莫	遇	控
不	德	茖	之	天	於
再	行	瑾	知	也	邵
故	一	瑜	而	動	棘
君	也	寶	不	非	非
子	譽	山	吝	為	亡
惇	毀	石	□	達	體
於	在	不	□	也	壯
反	旁	為	□	故	也
己	聽	□	□	窮	窮
	之	□	□	而	四
	一	□	□	不	海
	母				致
	緇				千
	白				
一五	一四	一三	一二	一一	一〇