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"GUIGUZI": A TEXTUAL STUDY AND TRANSLATION

*University of Washington*                                    PH.D.   1985

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*Guiguzi:* A Textual Study and Translation

by

Michael Robert Broschat


A dissertation presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of


Doctor of Philosophy


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Abstract

*Guiguzi*: A Textual Study and Translation

by Michael Robert Broschat

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The rather obscure early Chinese text *Guiguzi* is used
in this study as a focus for the explication of an overall
method of reading a Classical Chinese text.  First, the
study gives a textual history of this text, tracing its
origins as far back as possible and attempting to distin-
guish between myth and reality.  Second, the study subjects
the text to textual analysis, specifically through the use
of new microcomputer programs for this purpose developed by
Vinton A. Dearing.  Third, the study offers an analysis of
the reading process its author calls "constituent analy-
sis," whereby structural principles that both inform the
text and influence its meaning are outlined in general and
with specific examples.  In the fourth chapter this study
presents a translation of the text in accordance with the
principles from chapter three and using a text (Appendix A)
arrived at in keeping with the findings of chapter two.

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is jointly dedicated to my wife, Shira Lynn, and my parents, Mildred and Roland Broschat, whose combined love has kept this long effort going.

I respectfully join that dedication with one to the memory of Noboru Hiraga, friend and teacher, who would have been so happy to see this step completed.

I. Introduction

A. Background

Guiguzi 鬼谷子 (GGZ) is an early Chinese text, sometimes belletristic, sometimes philosophical, that can be traced back confidently to at least the fourth century A. D. (see chapter one for details). It derives its name from a person called Guigu xiansheng, who is recorded in the Shi ji as having been the teacher of two famous Warring States period persuaders, Su Qin 蘇秦 and Zhang Yi 張儀 (69.2241, 70.2279). Guigu xiansheng or Guiguzi is mentioned occasionally in literature from the Han dynasty through the post Han period, usually as a mysterious hermit-like character.[1] Commentaries to the Shi ji begin to pass on information about GGZ, both the book and the person, from the earliest extant commentary (Pei Yin's 裴駰 [372-451] Shi ji jijie 史記集解 ) through those of the Tang.[2] Thus much of the information accepted by later critics about GGZ the man was based on statements made first, as far as we know, about one thousand years after his supposed lifetime.

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1. He is mentioned in Chen Chong's 陳崇 (fl. A.D. 3) memorial on Wang Mang (HSh 99a.4056), Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 B.C.-18 A.D.) Fayan 法言 ("淵騫," 11.34), Guo Pu's 郭璞 (276-324) "You xian shi 遊仙詩 " (WX 21.24a), a story in Taiping guangji 4.25, the "Lu yi ji" 錄異記 section of the Daozang (327.1.1a), and in a poem by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101), Ji ti Qingxi si 寄題清溪寺 , Su Shi shi ji 1.47, among other places.
2. See Shi ji 69.2241-42, and 130.3293.

## B. Rhetoric As Its Subject Matter

The book is written in a difficult, semi-poetic style (discussed in chapter three of this dissertation) that is similar in its difficulties to the *Laozi*. While the material is difficult to comprehend in detail, the overall concerns are clearly with the subject of persuasion: how to make someone do what you want them to do while they presume they are acting on their own behalf. It is directed sometimes specifically to rulers, but is mostly non-specific, and the translation reflects that tone of general address. The work is unusual in that it does not make its arguments through stories or anecdotes. Proper names occur in only one allusion, and that is "generic," giving no focus to the work the way stories and anecdotes are worked into more "classic" books like *Mengzi*, *Xunzi*, *Mozi*, and the like.[3] As with the *Laozi*, GGZ makes its points with a combination of short direct statements and obscure expansions of those statements that I argue in chapter three is achieved through the use of "poetic" structures, calculated to have an effect on an emotional level not a logical one.

The term "rhetoric" can have different connotations, but as I understand it here, it refers to persuasive oratory, transformed into literature. The subject of how

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3. See GGZ VI.40-45. Allusions to objects are somewhat more common, as in reference to the Teng snake (II.67 and XIII.92).

literature can be made effectively persuasive, how much it

depends upon an oratorical tradition, and the mechanisms by

which it works are beyond the scope of this dissertation,

for they are subjects to be dealt with after the text has

been established and made readable.  But rhetoric is clear-

ly the subject matter of GGZ.  In the *Gorgias* Socrates

calls rhetoric a disgrace and a hindrance to the search for

truth.  In speaking of rhetoric, which he has managed to

have equated with flattery, he says

> . . . flattery . . . insinuating herself into each
> of those branches, pretends to be that into which
> she has crept, and cares nothing for what is the
> best, but dangles what is most pleasant for the
> moment as a bait for folly, and deceives it into
> thinking that she is of the highest value (quoted
> in Benson, *Readings*, p. 20).

The reference to dangling bait might have been written by

GGZ.  GGZ VIII.14-18 reads:

> For those of old who were good at probing, it was
> like hanging on to the end of a hook and standing
> over a deep pool.  Just by baiting it and throwing
> it in, they were sure to get fish.

Socrates' argument is that there is no inherent good

done through rhetoric, that it is merely a means of persua-

sion, without regard for the truth or falsity of the course

being argued.  The passage from GGZ refers to probing, by

which it means simply the idea of "stimulating," of pro-

voking.  In many other parts of the text, too, GGZ stresses

operating without preconceptions, without standards.  Make

up what you need as you need it, and allow the situation to

determine what is needed. He says that standards only get
in the way, although they are helpful when possessed by the
"target" of one's persuasion because then you know some-
thing about him.

If one wishes to take an extreme view and say that at
an early stage of cultural development the West and China
took different paths one would have the following observa-
tion by K. C. Hsiao with which to begin.

> The intent underlying Western thought and learning
> was to extend knowledge. Chinese thought and
> learning were based on the idea of practical ap-
> plication. The one whose purpose is to extend
> knowledge seeks truth, and no matter whether his
> methodology is inductive or is deductive, is that
> of analysis or that of synthesis, his argumenta-
> tion must be free of contradiction and it must
> take form in a system. . . The one whose purpose
> lies in practical applications has implementation
> as his objective. . . When something worthwhile
> comes to mind, it is set forth in words; it need
> not find its proof in argumentation. . . (A Histo-
> ry of Chinese Political Thought, pp. 7-8, note
> 13).

The recognition of the value of rhetoric can be found
in early Chinese works like the Zuo zhuan (perhaps 4th
century B. C.), the Lun yu (perhaps 5th century B. C.), and
other later works. In many senses it is seldom absent from
any reflective work, for if Hsiao is right, the Chinese
chose the path of rhetoric over that of a search for truth
at an early stage of their intellectual and cultural devel-
opment. But GGZ is not a manual of rhetoric. It does not
provide, except in the most abstract terms, methods of

persuasion. Ten people reading it as a guide to persuasion would probably come away with ten different methods. What they would share would be their attitude toward the act of persuasion. That, too, is not unique to GGZ. In a book on pre-Qin psychology, Yan Guocai quotes from *Sun zi bingfa* (?third century B. C.) 知彼知己者，百戰不殆 . "Know the other person, and know yourself: in one hundred battles you will not lose" (*Xian Qin xinli sixiang yanjiu*, p. 194). GGZ constantly stresses the importance of learning the "lay of the land," finding out everything about your opponent and situation before you begin. What is unique about GGZ is that it is a work devoted exclusively to the topic of persuasion, or, perhaps more accurately, to persuasion psychology. Although it does not quote from any known earlier work, the terminology and general ideas are common to many pre-Han and Han works. It appears to be, then, a belletristic reflection of thought about the general topic of rhetoric and persuasion in particular.

C. Problems with the Text and Earlier Research

But there are many problems with this text that must be answered before knowledge of it can shed light on the more general literary and cultural milieu in early China. Who wrote it, why, and when? Is it in fact the text mentioned as early as about 400 A. D.? Is it even earlier than that, as many Chinese scholars have claimed? What

does it say?  It is to these questions that this dissertation is devoted.  Apart from that, I will try to establish a method for answering such questions about any text where questions of authenticity and intent arise.

Chapter one of this study examines the textual history of GGZ.  There are two major modern studies on GGZ: Yu Yan's 俞樾 Guiguzi xin zhu 新注 , and Zhao Tiehan's 趙鐵寒 "Guiguzi kaobian 考辨 ."  In addition, there are of course many smaller scale and more limited studies. Works actually used in this study are listed in the bibliography.

Yu Yan's 1937 study was an ambitious attempt to restore the text of GGZ to its alleged original form.  Yu bases his claims on the sense of lines, and to some extent on what he understands to be collateral evidence.  It is an approach that is completely unfounded without evidence that the text has in fact become jumbled over the years.  But Yu Yan's contribution is the collection of a great number of parallel passages in pre-Qin and Han works that he presumes to be roughly contemporaneous with GGZ.  While the connection Yu sees between GGZ and many of the passages he quotes is not always apparent to this reader, the overall impression from his comprehensive study is that most of the general ideas in GGZ share some kinship with those in other "classical" texts.  True borrowing can only be allowed,

however, when the language is so similar that coincidence
is not likely. Unfortunately, these instances are very
rare. Yu reprints the texts of scholarly notes appended to
some of the editions of GGZ that have been important to the
current study, thus rendering intelligible comments that
would have otherwise been unreadable.

Zhao Tiehan was an historian who died on Taiwan in
1976. He evidently did not know of Yu Yan's work since his
own 1957 study does not mention it. Like Yu, Zhao presumes
that GGZ is a pre-Han text and sets about to prove this in
a totally unconvincing way. In making his arguments, how-
ever, Zhao mentions a very great deal of secondary scholar-
ship, for which the current work is indebted.

There is as yet no systematic guide to the study of
textual history for Chinese works. A recent Chinese over-
view of the subject is Lai Xinxia 來新夏 , *Gudian
muluxue qianshuo* 古典目錄學淺說 , but what is
needed is a clear exposition of the steps to be taken, the
theoretical underpinnings of those steps, and of possible
pitfalls to avoid, as well as a guide to working with all
the significant literature in all relevant languages. Al-
though chapter one represents study of all available liter-
ature concerning the textual history of GGZ (not all use-
ful, of course), it would be a deceptive example for
dealing with a better known text. P. van der Loon's 1952

study of *Guanzi*, "On the Transmission of *Kuan-tzu*," pro-
vides an important example of a part of this procedure when
dealing with a text that has a richer accompanying scholar-
ship.

D. Textual Analysis

As with most early Chinese texts, we are faced with
several different versions of the text, and the relation of
one to another is generally not clear. To read a text for
which we have several different readings at several criti-
cal points, we must decide what reading is most likely to
be the reading of the original text. Traditionally, this
has been done on a case by case basis. That is, when
confronted with different readings the scholar judges which
among them is the best, but without great regard for the
sources of these readings. Most of the time we rely on the
reputation of the editor, or the ease of access (availabil-
ity, use of punctuation, etc.). This method, for all its
practical convenience, is bound to be insufficient for a
critical study of a particular text.

The discipline of textual analysis has as its function
the determination of the relations of various extant edi-
tions of a text to one another and to that original version
of the text called the archetype. From that determination,
one can then make a reasonable attempt to reconstruct the
archetype, and thus have a version of the text that is as

close to the original text as it is logically possible to establish. Chapter two examines theories of textual analysis and adopts one for use in this study. In particular it is that of Vincent Dearing, as presented in his *Principles and Practices of Textual Analysis*. This 1974 book represents Dearing's latest published theory of textual analysis, but it should be noted that an earlier work, *A Manual of Textual Analysis*, was used by Paul Thompson for his reconstruction of the *Shen tzu* 慎子 fragments ("The Shen Tzu Fragments," PhD. diss., University of Washington, 1970; pub. as *The Shen Tzu Fragments* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979]). Certain differences in approach are discussed in chapter two.

The results of textual analysis can, in ideal circumstance, provide bases for the choice between variant readings. For example, if a particular edition can be shown to be far from the archetype, and it provides a reading that is attractive but unique to this edition, then that reading can only be correct by accident, which is not logically allowable, or by conflation, that is, by having a source for that reading that is closer to the archetype than any other known edition. Since this is extremely unlikely, the proposed reading can be safely ignored.

## E. Reading the Text

The reading of a text, and especially an unpunctuated text in classical Chinese, involves the sometimes conscious, sometimes subconscious division of that text into meaningful units. These are, on the lowest level, clauses, phrases, and sentences. To make sense of the broader extent of the piece as a whole, either of a chapter or subsection, or of the entire work, we must combine those lower units into meaningful larger units. Ten contiguous sentences, perfectly grammatical and complete within themselves but having no perceptible relation to one another do not form a natural meaningful unit. But ten contiguous sentences might be obviously divisible into two separate units with clear relations between the parts of each unit, and some or none between the two units. Chapter three examines some of the ways in which meaningful units are constructed, and these principles are then applied to GGZ.

## F. Translating the Text

The remainder of the dissertation is a translation of GGZ, making use of the principles derived in the first three chapters. It is at this stage-- one might call it a "reading with commitment," since the reader must commit himself at many places that in the "normal" reading process are left as unanswered or ignored questions-- that it becomes appropriate to take advantage of supplementary mater-

ial developed to aid in the reading of classical texts in general. The creators of these supplementary materials are likely to have been unaware of the principles described above, and although these materials have often been influential in their discovery, it is important to establish the text before using these materials. What the preceding chapters have attempted to do is to provide a text with enough integrity that certain kinds of questions do not have to be dealt with in the translation process, questions that might be a part of the traditional methods espoused in the supplementary materials.

## G. Theoretical and Methodological Foundations

Of the supplementary materials that have most influenced the reading of GGZ in this dissertation, foremost are the theoretical works of Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽 and Zhou Zumo 周祖謨. Zhang has reinterpreted the conclusions about reading works of doubtful authenticity reached by the Ming scholar, Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551-1602). Zhang's restatement of these principles may be summarized as follows.

> 1. Look for mention of the work in the earliest catalogues.
>
> 2. Trace the work through the historical bibliographies.

3. In works contemporaneous with it, look for
any mention of, or quotation from, the work.

4. Look for any further development of ideas,
etc., in later historical or other works.

5. Is its style consistent with its author's
time?

6. From content, are facts consistent with the
times?

7. Has the author been "chosen from the past?"

8. Find out who first came up with this book,
who first "found" it. (see Zhang, p. 288 ff)

Steps one and two apply to chapter one of this study.
Step three has been done by several scholars over the
centuries since GGZ first appeared. That information is
available in several of the editions of GGZ used in this
study. The best collection of collateral evidence is in-
cluded in Yu Yan's work mentioned above.

Steps four and five are beyond the scope of the pres-
ent work. Step five especially is not an easy evaluation
to make, and would not be acceptable according to the
principles adopted here unless a subjective opinion could
be "proven" with specific evidence. Step six is an impor-
tant point that can ultimately determine the earliest date
a text or portion of a text could have been composed. The
most striking examples of that in GGZ are the two refer-

ences to magnetism, which are discussed in notes to their
translation. Point seven would appear to have an unquali-
fied "yes" for an answer. Point eight might be relevant,
but is not obviously so. First mention of the text might
indeed provide a good clue to the general time of the
book's origin, but on the other hand, there has never been
any claim to the exclusive discovery of GGZ. At least one
chapter can be shown to have its origins from before the
Han dynasty (see chapter 12 of the text).

The present study presumes a difference between tex-
tual analysis and textual criticism. The former operates
on a level different from the reading level, while the
latter deals with the problems specific to reading. By
textual analysis I intend any means by which something
significant can be said about a text before one reads it in
a connected way. Dearing's method of textual analysis, for
example, presumes a reading sufficient to determine var-
iants and variations. At the same time, however, one is
not reading for content. If a particular sentence seems to
have nothing to do with what precedes or follows it that is
irrelevant to textual analysis, but might be important to
textual criticism when one is reading a text critically,
which means with regard to its content. The method des-
cribed in this study called constituent analysis certainly
depends upon the sense of words and phrases to reach con-

clusions about the structure of a text, but it does so without immediate regard for what is being said. With both Dearing's methods of textual analysis and constituent analysis, the text could almost be nonsense and still be material for those methods. The analyst is looking for patterns, truths about the text, not necessarily for the ideas expressed, which will be important to the reader or translator.

Traditionally, textual criticism in the field of Classical Chinese has meant such things as comparisons of word usage in related or allegedly related texts, determination of the "best" readings in a variation by presenting evidence of one of the variants, or by simply stating at some point that such-and-such a reading is preferable. All of these approaches and more have their place. For example, if one has three legitimate readings in a particular instance, and textual analysis can offer no significant help in resolving the conflict, then what I am understanding as "textual criticism" begins to be applicable. Traditionally, this has included finding instances in other texts (or in other parts of the text in question) that are clearer in intent and which can be used to shed light on this instance. Or, collateral evidence from another text might quote or paraphrase the phrase in question, providing a different reading that is easier to understand. This is no

guarantee of applicability to the instance in question, but

is one of many types of scholarship that can be applied to

the reading process. At this stage, too, evidence from

phonology might be brought to bear on the problem.

The traditional understanding of textual criticism has

included what I have called textual analysis.[4] My separa-

tion of these two terms into two distinct concepts stems

largely from my desire to include as much objectivity in

the process of reading a text as is possible. If the

methods by which one reads can be first identified and then

codified, it can be seen that some of that process can be

described in terms of consistent rules. If those rules are

then applied to the text in a rigorous manner, it is possi-

ble that some of the errors common to the difficult activi-

ty of reading a Classical Chinese text can be avoided. To

take a theoretical example, if a passage in a text can be

analyzed confidently as consisting of three parallel

phrases, then a reading of the passage that disrupts that

pattern, that reads part of one phrase with another, can be

---

4. In a review article in HJAS 44.1 (1984): 185-224,
William Boltz discusses textual criticism and some relevant
studies in the field of ancient Chinese literature. The
only difference the present study has with the approach
taken by Boltz is in the attempt to make the results of
textual analysis affect the text before traditional textual
criticism begins. The intent is to apply textual critical
procedures only to those areas that remain problems. If
the controversial areas addressed by Boltz in his review
were determined to be moot by the process of textual analy-
sis, then their resolution would be unnecessary.

presumed incorrect. If patterns are discovered before any
"final" attempt to read the text, then the reading or
translation is more likely to expend the intellectual ef-
fort of understanding in a more effective manner. In fact,
the mind can perceive relation where there may be none
intended. If relations can be established before the
reading process is final, then the perception of relations
that we call reading and understanding is more likely to be
accurate.

1. *Xungu xue*

Collections of studies of individual instances,
grouped together by the text to which they refer, and
published under the name of the particular scholar have
come to serve as models for what is generally called *xungu
xue* 訓 詁 學 ("critical interpretation of ancient
texts"). They fall mostly within the field of textual
criticism as I have defined it. The tradition most rele-
vant to study of GGZ is the one that concentrates on the
works of the "philosophers," and might be best represented
by works of the Qing scholars Wang Niansun
(1744-1813), Yu Yue 俞 樾 (1821-1907), Sun Yirang
孫 詒 讓 (1848-1908), and most recently by Gao Heng 高
亨.5 It is from this tradition, but certainly not exclu-

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5. In the preface to his book, *Zhuzi xinjian* 諸 子 新
箋., Gao Heng notes the tradition to which he considers his
own work a continuation. The Qing works are *Dushu zazhi*

sively, that Zhou Zumo recently summarized the following

principles.

    1.  Look for "internal" evidence of errors; i.e.,

contradictions and the like.

    2.  Make use of the commentaries for evidence,

especially when they repeat a word or phrase

before explaining it.

    3.  Compare the general sense of a passage to a

seemingly inappropriate word.

    4.  Check any rhymes that might structure portions

of the work.

    5.  Look for quotations from other texts.

    6.  Compare the very similar lines in other texts,

i.e., "unattributed" quotations, either one from

the other.  ["Guji jiaokan shuli," pp. 124-126]

    Item one is not especially relevant to GGZ, except in

a general way.  A work that does not argue a point logical-

ly, as GGZ does not, cannot easily contradict itself.

Sometimes GGZ makes use of striking statements, but they

are instances of _qi_ 奇 , the "unusual," of which GGZ is so

fond.  Item two is less applicable to GGZ than to many

other texts because there is only one commentary, and it is

probably of Tang origin.  It is not philological in style,

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讀書雜志 , _Zhuzi pingyi_ 諸子平議 and _Zha yi_ 札迻 ,
respectively.

but tends to paraphrase or expand with its own interpreta-
tion. Nonetheless, it has been useful on occasion for the
very reasons Zhou indicates. With content as abstruse as
that of GGZ it is often difficult to get a sense of the
"inappropriate," but the principle of item three has been
kept in mind. As can be seen from chapter three, much
attention has been paid to rhyme, in accordance with item
four. Item five applies to the earlier discussion of Zhang
Shunhui's guidelines, and this applies as well to item six.

When possible, all references in the text and notes
are minimal and are intended to refer to fuller citations
in the bibliography. As a further step toward minimizing
physical production of the manuscript, book titles are
commonly abbreviated, after introduction of the full title.
Since the Pinyin romanization system is used throughout,
those abbreviations are based upon it, but with one varia-
tion from normal practice. The words *zeng* and *zheng* are
distinguished in abbreviations by preserving the retroflex
designation. Thus, *zeng* becomes Z and *zheng* becomes Zh.

## II. The Textual Transmission of *Guiguzi*

## A. <u>Evidence</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>Text</u> <u>Before</u> <u>the</u> <u>Tang</u>

The first appearance of *Guiguzi* in an extant bibliography is in the *Sui shu* "Jing ji zhi" 隋書經籍志,
in the *Zongheng* 縱橫 subsection of what, for want of a
better word, we could call the "philosophers" chapter [some
have used "masters" to avoid an exclusively intellectual
sense]. In this relatively large collection of book titles
*Guiguzi* has the distinction of being the only *single* entry
in a subsection, i.e., there is only one book listed in the
*Zongheng jia* subsection, although it has two "editions."[1]
No author is specifically named, but Guiguzi is described
as someone who during the Zhou period (ca. 1100-771 B.C.)
secreted himself away in "Ghost Valley."

The *Sui shu* was compiled during the early 7th cen-
tury,[2] but it is not clear upon what materials the compi-
lers relied. In other words, did they themselves see the
two editions of GGZ, or did they base their lists upon

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1. *Sui shu*, 34.1005. A different commentator is attri-
buted to each of these two editions, both having three
*juan*. Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 lived during the third
century (ca A.D. 215-282) and nothing is known of Yue Yi
樂毅.
2. See K.H.J. Gardiner, "Standard Histories, Han to Sui,"
in *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History*, pp. 42-52.

materials that seemed to represent what was available
during the historical period in question? Before looking
at the bibliographic lists and catalogues made at times
earlier than the Tang dynasty, there is less formal infor-
mation available to us in the form of commentaries to
references to GGZ (the person) found in the *Shi ji* and *Han
shu*.

The name "Guigu" appeared at least as long ago as the
*Shi ji* (compiled before about 90 B.C.) where in the biogra-
phies of Su Qin and Zhang Yi it is said that both of these
"heroes" of the *Zhanguoce* studied under a Guigu *xian-
sheng*.[3] In Zhang's biography it is claimed that the two
studied together under Guigu, and that Zhang Yi was the

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3. *Shi ji*, 69.2241-2 and 70.2279. The *Zhanguo ce* did not
exist as such at the time of the writing of the *Shi ji*, but
the materials from which it was formed certainly did. Some
of these constitute part of the textual materials found at
Mawangdui. See Michael Loewe, "Manuscripts Found Recently
in China," and the more recent *Mawangdui Han mu*
馬 王 堆 漢 墓 , by He Jiejun and Zhang Weiming.
Although commonly accepted as historical fact even
today, problems with the *Zhanguo ce* and its cast of charac-
ters have been noted by scholars, both Chinese and foreign,
for a long time. See Crump, *Intrigues*, for a summary of
the scholarship on Su Qin, et al, up to the time of the
writing of *Intrigues*. Even more recent scholarship, re-
flecting work on the Mawangdui manuscripts that reveals
some of the *Zhanguo ce* materials before they became the
ZhGC, fights with the multitude of internal contradictions
in an attempt to make historical materials out of what were
undoubtedly largely fiction. For an example of mainland
scholarship see Tang Lan's article, "Sima Qian suo meiyou
jianguo de zhengui shiliao." For a Taiwan study of the
same material and with a similar perspective, see Zheng
Liangshu.

acknowledged better of the two. What is of interest is the fact that in the earliest extant commentary to these *Shi ji* passages Pei Yin (A.D. 372-451), in his *Shi ji jijie*, notes that "*Guiguzi* has the chapter(s) Chuai 揣 (and) Mo 摩" (69.2242). This is the earliest clear indication that there existed a book with the title *Guiguzi*. Our modern text has two chapters, *Chuai* and *Mo*, and Pei Yin might be referring to two as well. In another commentary to the passage in question, Sima Zhen, in his *Suo yin* 索隱 , quotes Wang Shao 王邵 as saying that the two terms in question are in fact two different chapters in the book *Guiguzi*.[4]

There is more evidence that a text known as *Guiguzi* was in circulation some centuries before the Tang. A catalogue, no longer extant, compiled by Ruan Xiaoxu 阮 孝緒 (479-536), called *Qi lu* 七錄 (begun in 523) probably listed *Guiguzi*, as it was clearly used in compiling the *Sui shu* chapter and happens to share the same number of entries [two] in the *Zongheng* section.[5] Yu

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4. The Wang Shao to whom Sima refers is probably the Wang Shao of the Sui dynasty, who wrote a great deal and who has a biography in the *Sui shu* (69.1601-10). He died before 618.

5. *Qi lu* is an important work in the history of Chinese bibliography, although no more than its preface and a list of sections of its contents remain. See Lai Xinxia, pp. 90 ff. *Zi chao* was perhaps the first in a series of textual extracts credited with being the inspiration and, unfortunately, probably the source as well for several later collections that are still extant. What is unfortunate is

Zhongrong 庾仲容 (476-549) copied passages from various "philosophers" and created his book, Zi chao 子鈔 . Ma Zong's 馬總 later Yi lin 意林 is either based upon it or contains selections from it, and GGZ is part of that. We have no list of contents, however, for Zi chao. The list in the SBBY edition of Zi lue that purports to give the contents of Zi chao simply duplicates the works cited in Yi lin.

There have been efforts for hundreds of years to prove that GGZ existed before the Han dynasty. The more naive simply assume that since Guigu Xiansheng is said to have been the teacher of Su Qin and Zhang Yi (of the Warring States period, approximately mid fifth century B.C. to late third century B.C.) the book of said teacher ought to have been written before his death. If so, and if we have it today, why was it not listed in the Han shu "Yi wen zhi"? The assumption is usually that it was so listed but either under another name or as part of another work. Logically speaking, if someone claims that an extant book is actually one not known to be still extant, then it cannot be "proved" that this statement is either true or false. All

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that the "authors" of these collections may not have taken their quotations directly from extant editions of the texts in question, but might have simply copied previous quotations, never having seen an actual edition of, for example, Guiguzi. See Yao Zhenzong,"Sui shu" 'Jingjizhi' kaozheng pp. 484-85 for quoted acknowledgements by later extractors of the role of Zi chao (written both        and        ).

we can do is present relevant evidence and draw a conclu-
sion with which the reader may or may not agree.

One proposition is that GGZ is actually *Gui rong qu*
鬼 容 區 , and an interesting case can be made for the
possibility. In the first place the two first characters
are identical. Secondly, the second characters have a
graphic similarity and copying errors have arisen through
less similarity than that which is between these two
graphs. But the case is strengthened somewhat by the
original *Han shu* note, which explains that this person was
a minister of Huang Di, and the book has been attributed to
him (30.1760). There is no Gui *Rong* 容 Qu associated with
Huang Di, but there is a Gui *Yu* 臾 Qu.[6] The specific
graphic difference is not mentioned in the Liu Xiang/Ban Gu
note, the latter having "written" the two earlier refer-
ences to Gui Yu Qu, so technically neither was explicitly
saying that *rong=qu* but the conclusion seems perfectly
justified.

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6. Gui Yu Qu figures in a story about Huang Di that first
appears in *Shi ji* (28.1393) and is then repeated in a
similar chapter of *Han shu* (25a.1228). The connection is
made by commentators Li Qi 李 奇 [unidentified] and Yan
Shigu 顏 師 古 (581-645). Since Li's comments appear
due to preservation by Yan, we may presume Li Qi made the
first explicit connection. To further confuse matters, it
is interesting to note that the *Zheng yi* refers to *Gui Rong
Qu bing fa* as the title of the book in question, which
appears in the received *Han shu* in the *Yinyang* section
(30.1759-60).

The next question has to do with phonology.  Is the
identification a reasonable one?  This inquiry involves two
stages: first, *Gui yu qu* (as the earliest form of the
projected indentification) to *Gui rong qu* (the book title
listed in *Han shu*), and *Gui rong qu* to *Gui gu zi*.

Yu 與 may be reconstructed as *gwjug (of the *hou* 侯
rhyme group) and *rong* may be reconstructed as *gwjung (of
the *dong* 東 rhyme group).  These are virtually identical,
save for the nasal final.  As Li points out [1] (p. 278),
*dong* is the nasal counterpart of the *hou* rhyme group.
There is a close affinity between them.

Qu 區 may be reconstructed as *khug or as *khjug,
whereas *zi* 子 can be reconstructed as *tsəg.  *Qu* is of the
*hou* rhyme group and *zi* is of the *zhi* 之 group.  By the Han
dynasty, the *hou* group had merged with the *yu* 魚 group.[7]
One interesting passage from *Lao zi* rhymes *zhi*, *hou*, and
*yu*.

7. Karlgren [1] was perhaps the first to point out the
phenomena of inter-rhyme group rhyming of non-*Shi jing*
texts.  See particularly p. 21 for evidence of *hou/zhi*
rhyming.  My own studies of the Mawangdui *Lao zi* manu-
scripts show much evidence that rhyming is probably not as
simple a matter in "old" texts as determining whether or
not the rhyme words in question occur in the same *Shi jing*
rhyme group.

[Traditional chapter #80, text a la Mawangdui][8]

1. 使民復結繩而用之     R1
2. 甘其食     R1
3. 美其服     R1
4. 樂其俗     R21
5. 安其居     R14

This is evidence that by the beginning of the Han, at least, the three categories could sometimes rhyme. Even if that gives us sufficient basis for positing similar finals, there is the problem of the initials. *Tsəg has an affricate initial, but the *xiesheng* series understood by Xu Shen in *Shuo wen* to share *zi* 子 as phonetic, has contacts with certain velars: 李 (*gl-) and 疑 (*ng-). The series of which *kh(j)ug is a member has all velars and laryngeals. The evidence is scanty, and if the correspondence could ever be proved valid would probably be found to involve other factors than pure phonological ones (like taking the first two characters as a surname, and adding the "master" suffix to that).

Other evidence that would lend some support to the contention concerns the fact that the *Han shu* listing of *Guirong qu* gives its size as "three *pian*," which is the size of *Guiguzi* in its first appearance in an extant bib-

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8. See the page 226, the appendix that is the text of *Guiguzi*, for an explanation of the rhyming categories.

liography (the *Sui shu*). Also, while the extant *Han shu*
lists *Guirong qu* in the *Yinyang* section, it is referred to
(apparently) by a Tang commentator as being the *Guirong qu
bingfa*.[9] As we saw in the quotation from *Sun zi bingfa* in
the introduction, the content of *Guiguzi* is sometimes like
that of the so-called military texts. A look at chapter
one, "Bai he" 捭闔 , shows immediately that it could also
fit neatly into the category of *yinyang* literature as well.

On the other hand, there can be no way to prove that
these facts are any more than coincidences. That proof
would need strong indications that first, the extant *Guigu
zi* could be of Han or earlier date, and secondly, that
there is some demonstrable connection between these two
genuine historical texts.

By far the most common argument is that GGZ is a
blending of the two works *Su zi* and *Zhang zi* that are
listed in the *Han shu* bibliography. The connections are
obvious but there is no evidence to support the claim.
Fragments of a *Su zi* have been collected by Ma Guohan 馬
國翰 in his *Zonghengjia yishu jiben qi zhong*, but not
only do they bear no resemblance to GGZ as we know it, but
Jiang Boqian has claimed that this *Su zi* is a work of the
post-Han period anyway. See his *Zhuzi tongkao*, pp. 516-20.

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9. See *Zheng yi* commentary to passages discussed above,
*Shi ji* 1.8, note 14.

## B. Evidence from the Tang to the Song

According to the *Sui shu* "Jingjizhi" listing and description, at least by the Sui GGZ consisted of three *juan*. Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) devoted an entire essay to a refutation of the book ("Bian *Guiguzi*" 辯 ) and in so doing provided a first hand account of the text.[10] He specifically mentions what we now know as the third *juan* ("Benjing yinfu qishu" 本經陰符七術 ), describing it as having "appeared later," by which he surely meant that either the style or content or both were strikingly different from what preceded that section. While more moral than bibliographic, his essay makes it clear enough that he is referring to a text that bears strong resemblance to our current version.

The next official bibliography to list an edition of GGZ was the bibliographic section of the *Song shi* 宋史 , the official history of the Northern Song dynasty, where it is listed simply as being in three *juan*. No author or commentary is mentioned. But the *Song shi* was compiled around the year 1346, after the fall of the Song, and there is earlier evidence for the existence of GGZ during the period after Liu Zongyuan.

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10. *Liu Hedong ji* 4.70. See also Zhang Shizhao, 207-213 and 1405-1407.

Ma Zong's *Yilin*, compiled around the beginning of the ninth century, preserves a few lines from GGZ, as well as part of an introduction. The introduction is from a commentary not extant today, and might be from an edition Ma Zong was using, or, in the worst case, from an edition that was quoted by Yu Zhongrong [see above]. In other words, Ma, who was admittedly basing his own book upon the *Zi chao* of Yu, might have simply copied Yu Zhongrong's extracts, rather than make his own.[11] Gao Sisun, in his later [12 C.] *Zi lue* 子略 , quotes the same line from the "introduction" as does Ma Zong. He also shares with *Yilin* a line that does not appear in the extant GGZ. However, Gao Sisun, though preserving much less of GGZ than does Ma Zong, also has text attributed to the "Qi shu" chapter that Ma Zong does not quote.

By the Song period Chinese cultural influence had given rise to at least one bibliographic enterprise in Japan of which we have record and which has some bearing on the issue at hand. Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世 (ob. 898) compiled a catalogue of books extant in Japan during his lifetime. This work, *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku*, listed a GGZ in three *juan* with Huangfu Mi as

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11. For a discussion of the relations among the series of works that extracted gems from the philosophers, see the entry on *Yilin* in *SKQShZMTY* pp. 2579-80.

commentator.[12]

Although the question of commentators is a difficult
one, and the case of Huangfu Mi is particularly trouble-
some, this would seem to be adequate evidence that there
was at least one "edition" of GGZ existing in China, and
later Japan, with commentary attributed to Huangfu Mi. The
problem is that, coincidentally or not, Huangfu Mi and Tao
Hongjing (ca. 455-536, both Qi and Liang dynasties) had
quite established reputations as delvers into the exotic
and were excellent choices as the pseudo-authors/commenta-
tors of any works that were both exotic and otherwise
unattributed, or that were authored by persons of whom no
particular notice would be taken. With that distinct pos-
sibility in mind we cannot say that just because the name
of Huangfu Mi is linked with GGZ in both the *Sui shu* cata-
logue and the Fujiwara catalogue, that therefore GGZ goes
back at least to the mid-3rd century when Huangfu lived.
Nevertheless, because the Huangfu Mi "edition" disappeared
so quickly from the scene, it is quite likely that the
Japanese version was the same as the version seen by the
editors of the *Sui shu*, or more likely by the compilers of
whatever bibliographic materials those Tang time people
used for the Sui bibliography chapter.

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12. For information on this source see van der Loon, 369.

Although the bibliographic section of the *Jiu Tang shu*
was not compiled until about 945, van der Loon maintains
that it probably made use of a work that had been done in
721 (p. 368).  In it three versions are cited: one in two
*juan* with "Su Qin" as author, one in three *juan* with Yue Yi
樂壹 as commentator, and one in three *juan* with Yin
Zhizhang 尹知章 as commentator (fl. ca. 700; see van
der Loon, 370 ff.).  That Yin was a genuine commentator of
this work appears likely.  GGZ and *Guanzi* share a chapter
called "Fu yan" 符言 in GGZ and "Jiu shou" 九守 in
*Guanzi*.[13] To Yin Zhizhang is attributed one of the stan-
dard extant commentaries on *Guanzi*, and since the two
books share a chapter, it is presumed that the commentaries
to each would reflect the fact that they were written by
one and the same person.  That is not the case, and the
most common explanation has been that Yin Zhizhang could
not therefore have written the commentary to GGZ.  The
choice of his commentary on GZ over that of the commentary
to GGZ appears to be based solely on the more important
position of the text of GZ in the Chinese philosophical
corpus.  But van der Loon has argued convincingly that this
is probably not the case, that Yin Zhizhang is not at all
likely to be the author of the GZ commentary (p. 370 ff).

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13. See the first note to the translation of this chapter
(chapter twelve).

There is, then, greater likelihood that Yin wrote the GGZ
commentary than if Yin could have been reasonably attri-
buted with the GZ commentary.

The *Xin* ("New") *Tang shu* was done about one hundred
years after the "old" version, but its bibliographic
sources are more obscure than those of its predecessor.
The entry for GGZ is the same as for the earlier history,
except that the name of Yin Zhizhang no longer appears as
commentator. But according to a note appended to the
entry, the text is that of Yin Zhizhang, but without his
name. The compilers of the later history evidently felt
that since they knew of two commented-upon versions of GGZ
and one had the name of Yue Yi, then the other, otherwise
nameless, would have to have been that of Yin Zhizhang. If
this is true, and if Yin Zhizhang is more likely the author
of the extant commentary than Tao Hongjing, as I will later
contend, then the general absence already by mid-Song of
Yin's name on his commentary might well be the reason his
name became less and less connected with GGZ, and that of
Tao Hongjing, far better known for arcane pursuits, became
more and more associated with it.

An official bibliographic project of the Song dynasty
resulted in the *Chongwen zongmu*, completed around 1040.
Fragments of this otherwise lost work were collected in the
Qing dynasty, and one tells us that GGZ was available in

three *juan*.[14]

Another bibliographic work of the Song was the well
known *Junzhai dushuzhi*, by Chao Gongwu (preface dated
1151). Chao lists GGZ as having thirteen *zhang* 章
("chapters") in all that talk of the techniques of "bai he"
(title of chapter one), and three *pian* listed as "Ben
jing," "Chi shu," and "Zhong jing," which describes very
accurately the structure of the text as we know it today.
One difference is that there are twelve "chapters" in the
first two *juan*, with the titles of two others given at the
end as having been lost. It is the twelfth chapter that is
shared with *Guanzi*, and the thirteenth is known to have
been identical with a chapter of *Zhuangzi*.[15] Since re-
ports from about this time on vary as to a count of twelve
or thirteen, we might assume that this chapter was either
still a part of GGZ when the count was thirteen, or that it
was counted on the basis of title and reputation rather
than because it was physically there. Chao gives Tao
Hongjing of the Liang as commentator, a period correct for
Tao. If we allow *Junzhai* to stand before *Zi lue* (below),
then this is the first mention of Tao Hongjing as commenta-

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14. For the place of this work in the history of Chinese
bibliography see Lai Xinxia, *Gudian muluxue qianshuo*, 118
ff.
15. See the discussion of the *Zhuangzi* chapter in the
modern commentary to the end of the second *juan* in the 1805
edition of GGZ.

tor of the GGZ.  If true, Tao's edition would have to have
been discovered after several hundred years absence, a
likelihood I am hesitant to accept.  Chao Gongwu himself
notes that it is not clear just who wrote GGZ and who was
a/the commentator to it.

In his *Zi lue*, Gao Sisun continued the tradition
mentioned earlier of extracting from the writings of early
philosophers, although in the case of GGZ he is more inter-
ested in moral judgement and quotes little from the text.
He does specifically mention sections from the curious last
*juan* (see chart below).  His quotations, as noted above,
are very similar to those of the *Yilin* (see SKQSHZMTY op.
cit.) and might in fact be identical with them, if, as
*Zongmu tiyao* points out, our extant *Yilin* is not the
complete *Yilin*.  We know from collateral evidence, how-
ever, that GGZ was certainly available in Gao's time,
whether or not he actually saw a copy.

Perhaps a little over a hundred years after Gao Sisun,
Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223-1296), one of the great
names in scholarship of the later Song, was very active and
had much to report about GGZ.  Wang wrote three major works
that touch in some way or another on the field of biblio-
graphy.  The first we mention is the *Han shu "Yi wen zhi"*
*kao zheng*, a comprehensive study of the Han time bibliogra-
phy, where Wang argues that the *Suzi* listed in that origi-

nal work was really what we know as GGZ.  Wang then quotes
Chao Gongwu's *Junzhai* comments about GGZ, adding (both here
and in his *Kunxue*, below) the name of Yin Zhizhang as
author of the "preface" from which a passage is quoted.  In
the extant *Junzhai* this passage is unattributed.  A note,
probably by Wang, to this *Junzhai* quotation points out that
one edition reads "twelve" for "thirteen," and that the
titles of the third *juan* given by Chao, which we discuss
above, are replaced by the titles of the two "missing"
chapters. Another note of commentary quotes a line from
*Shuo yuan* 說苑 that is shared by GGZ, which would put
the date of GGZ back toward the Han more comfortably than
is now possible, but that quotation is not present in the
extant *Shuo yuan*.

Another well known work by Wang Yinglin is his *Kunxue
jiwen* 困學紀聞.  In it he quotes a line from chapter
six of GGZ, which happens to be identical with a TPYL
quotation that in turn differs significantly from the pas-
sage in any other edition or source.  The conclusion,
especially since TPYL had been done before A.D. 1000, is
that Wang was quoting GGZ via TPYL.  Either that or the
edition he used was very similar to that used by the compi-
lers of TPYL and which subsequently disappeared.  A good
case could be made for the possibility that either TPYL or
Wang or both were using an edition not available to us

today when one notices that the commentary appended to the TPYL quotations is not that of the extant version.[16]  Since a Japanese edition of GGZ still extant lists only Yin Zhizhang as commentator but has the identical text as the current "Tao Hongjing" text, and, since it is my contention that Yin Zhizhang is more likely to have been the commentator of the currently extant edition of GGZ, then "the other" edition of GGZ in circulation during parts of the Song is likely to have been that of Yue Yi.  The commentary preserved in TPYL is thus likely to be the remnants of the Yue Yi edition of GGZ first mentioned in the *Sui shu* bibliography.

It is in his *Yu hai* 玉海 that Wang gives us the fullest description of the editions of GGZ available to him.  Wang appears to have seen two three-*juan* editions of GGZ, and in addition mentions the *Tang shu* citation of a two-*juan* edition "written by Su Qin."  He tells us more about Yue Yi than we know from other sources (that he was from Lu commandary and had the style name "Zheng" 正 ), but we wish he had included mention of his own sources.  He

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16. The TPYL and the value of its contents have been subjects of much study; see for example J.W. Haeger. It is clear from those items noted in it as being "from GGZ" that the attribution is not always accurate.  But enough can be verified to warrant serious attention for what it does attribute to GZZ, and more work should be done to identify the sources, real or probable, for those passages that are not part of our extant GGZ.

mentions specifically certain chapters (see table below),
but of great interest to our current search for evidence
regarding the condition of the text, he compares the two
three-*juan* editions. There he notices that one edition is
said to have the commentary of Tao Hongjing from beginning
to end, which I take to mean that each *juan* included Tao's
name, much in the fashion of standard Song and later
printings. The second edition has no attribution for its
commentary. Although that commentary is identical in the
second and third *juan* with that of the edition marked as
being from Tao Hongjing, the commentary of the first *juan*
is completely different. We must conclude then that al-
ready by the Song the manuscripts (there is no evidence of
printing GGZ until the Ming) had not been transmitted
intact and that there was confusion as to who had authored
a particular commentary.

Another well known bibliographic work of the Song,
Chen Zhensun's *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 ,
probably done around 1200, is in poor condition and for our
purposes only notes that the "current edition lists Tao
Hongjing as commentator." His statement is less than ex-
plicit, saying something like "purports to be," so it is
possible that he either did not actually see a copy, that
he doubted the attribution, or that someone *said* that Tao
wrote the commentary.

Ma Duanlin's *Wenxian tongkao*, written actually only
after the fall of the Song, provides only quotations from
the works discussed above, which add nothing to our search.

In summary, table 1 provides a listing of the evidence
for the existence of GGZ through the Song dynasty. There
is ample evidence for the existence of the text from about
the fifth century when Pei Yin first refers to it. If we
accept the identification of Huangfu Mi as commentator,
then the earliest date for the text could be pushed back to
the second or third century, depending upon whether or not
Huangfu wrote GGZ himself, a possibility about which the
wisest Chinese scholars have cautioned.[17] I am personally
suspicious enough of the connection of Huangfu with this
text to doubt that his connection proves anything positive,
but I still reserve the possibility that the text is indeed
older than the fifth century.

Although far from complete, the evidence points to the
relative stability of the text of GGZ from the time of its
first mention to today. Points that detract from this
conclusion include the fact that there are quotations al-
legedly from GGZ that are no longer in the current text, as
well as the fact that at least one and perhaps more chap-
ters are or were identical with those of other works.

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17. See Zhang Shunhui's restatement of Hu Yinglin's pre-
cepts for determining the authenticity of ancient texts (p.
288) and the introduction to this dissertation.

Regarding the first point, several of the GGZ quotations do seem reasonable, that is, "GGZ-like." But others are clearly referring to the figure of the legendary GGZ or to that of Su Qin, that is, are third person narratives about him. This is totally out of character with the text as we know it. Once we claim that some quotations are hardly likely, then it seems more prudent not to admit any others, unless claims for their inclusion can be justified. One possible source of justification would be a measure of adherence to the internal structure revealed by a process similar to that I call "constituent analysis" in the next chapter.

As for the second point, that chapters are shared with other texts, it is not reasonable to allow that as a qualification. Very few texts extant today from the classical period can be shown conclusively to have been the sole effort of one author or to have been written during a particular narrow time period (the lifetime of an alleged author). Early "books" were often collections of pieces that had circulated separately, either with explicit claims to be the work of a certain author or with content that seemed to some editor to be like that a certain author would have produced. Therefore, we cannot assume that even an "authentic" GGZ was written by the teacher of Su Qin sometime before 300 B. C. Ideally, we want to know the

time or times at which the pieces came together, if that is
the "book's" origin, and of course the time and conditions
under which the pieces were composed.  Few of these facts
will ever be known, despite sometimes exciting archeologi-
cal finds, but their discovery remains the goal of the
bibliographic "arm" of textual studies.

## C. From the Ming Through the Qing

Although contemporary accounts from the Ming period
give one the impression that GGZ was enjoying a kind of
revival, probably mostly because of its curious nature, the
text was not handled very carefully.  Whatever the true
identity of the commentator: Tao Hongjing, Yin Zhizhang, or
whoever, it would appear to have been the only commentary
to exist at the beginning of the Ming, but that in itself
was so rare that no Ming printing of GGZ included commen-
tary, and the juan count in bibliographies, including the
huge Siku quanshu project, was reduced to one.  Although
frequently anthologized, great liberties were taken with
the text, both with text included and with text excluded.
Sometimes chapter divisions were still respected, even
though chapter content might be heavily altered, and some-
times lines were offered in isolation.

There is little doubt that the impression one gets of

| Source | Date | Chapters | Commentators | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PEI YIN | 450 | CHUAI, MO | | NAME COULD BE JUST ONE CHAPTER |
| QI LU | 525 | | | (NO PARTICULARS) |
| ZI CHAO | 525 | | | (NO PARTICULARS) |
| WANG SHAO | 600 | CHUAI QING, MO YI | | QUOTED IN SUO YIN |
| SUI SHU | 625 | | HUANGFU MI, YUE YI | ONE 2-JUAN<br>TWO 3-JUAN WITH COMMENTARY |
| LIU ZONGYUAN | 810 | QI SHU | | |
| YI LIN | 820 | PAI HE, NEI JIAN, WU HE, MO PIAN, QUAN PIAN, MOU PIAN | | EVIDENCE BY QUOTATION; LISTED BEING FIVE JUAN |
| NIHONKOKU... KOKUROKU | | | HUANGFU MI | THREE JUAN |
| J. TANG SHU | 945 | | YUE YI, YIN ZHIZHANG | TWO JUAN<br>TWO 3-JUAN |
| CHONGWEN ZONGMU | 1040 | | | THREE JUAN |
| X. TANG SHU | 1060 | | YUE YI, (YIN ZHIZHANG) | TWO JUAN<br>TWO 3-JUAN |
| JUNZHAI | 1150 | BEN JING, CHI SHU, ZHONG JING | TAO HONGJING | MENTIONS PREVIOUS ATTRIBUTIONS TO YIN ZHIZHANG AS COMMENTATOR |
| ZI LUE | 1185 | SHENG SHEN, YANG ZHI | YUE YI, TAO HONGJING, YIN ZHIZHANG, HUANGFU MI | QUOTES FROM WU HE; COUNTS 13 PIAN IN ALL |
| WANG YINGLIN | 1290 | ZHUAN YUAN, BEN JING, CHI SHU, ZHONG JING, PAI HE, NEI JIAN, DI XI, FEI QIAN, CHUAI MO | YIN ZHIZHANG, YUE YI, TAO HONGJING | IN QUOTING JUNZHAI SAYS 12 IN ALL<br><br>FEI QIAN AND CHUAI MO ARE MENTIONED IN THE COMMENTARY |

Table II-1: Summary of Evidence, pre-Ming

more interest in GGZ during the Ming than during the Song
is based largely on the fact that so much more survives
from the later period. Many of the Ming works that pre-
serve portions of the text are valueless in any but a
historical sense, and similar works are not likely to have
survived the Song dynasty. Looking at the worthiest of
notices it received during the Ming period, one should
first mention Song Lian's 宋廉 (1310-1381) *Zhuzi bian*,
which discusses the moral worth of what GGZ had to say,
especially in the context of the other philosophers of
Chinese history.[18]

Much later in the dynasty came a work very influential
in creating the kind of scholarship that was to charac-
terize the later Qing dynasty, the *Sibu zhenge* 四部正
譌 by Hu Yinglin (1551-1602), to which I refer in the
introduction. In the section on GGZ Hu tells us that
interest still persists in GGZ, even in his time. He
mentions Yang Shen's 楊慎 (1488-1559) contention that
GGZ is really the *Han shu's Gui Rong qu*, a point of view

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18. Song Lian quotes a passage of GGZ that is not in our
extant edition, although its last part is very close to the
beginning of chapter 7, "Chuai pian." Our interest in the
possibility that Song was looking at a text that did not
last long past his own life is frustrated by the fact that
the other passages he quotes are also quoted in the encylo-
pedias. This raises the possibility, not a new one, that
the author of a comment on the text was not writing of
first hand knowledge of the text but of the text in a
quoted form.

taken at least as early as Yan Shigu, but which Yang based upon phonological grounds. Hu is known to have admired Yang Shen, but Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590), a noted Ming figure, and Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1654), an early Qing scholar, are quite critical of Yang's scholarly abilities. Hu did not, however, think much of the *zi* 子 equals *qu* 區 argument. In general, Hu felt that GGZ was of a later date than the Warring States period that would be warranted by an attribution to an "authentic" Guiguzi. He suggests that it might be a combination, somehow, of the *Zhangzi* and *Suzi* listed in the *Han shu* bibliography.

Since his Shugu tang 述古堂 library figures so prominently among the Qing evidence for the textual transmission of GGZ, mention should be made of Qian Zeng's notes on the subject. Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1629-after 1699) compiled various catalogues of his voluminous holdings and in addition wrote a work he called *Dushu minqiuji* 讀書敏求記 in which he collected his observations on various texts. It is important to notice that Qian's listing of GGZ is in three-*juan* with commentary by Tao Hongjing, that is, essentially the same structure as that we have today. In fact notes to the Zhang Yu edition of *Minqiuji* claim that the three-*juan* edition Qian describes is none other than the three-*juan* edition later owned by Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博, owner of the *Zhibuzu zhai* 知不足齋 in

Hangzhou, about which more later. But accurate or not,
these notes (specifically by Lao Quan, see below) have no
means of verification and were just hearsay passed on from
the Qianlong era scholars to the later generations. Zhang
Yu, collector and publisher of fragments, copies, etc. of
Qian Zeng's *Minqiuji* manuscript, says that Qian Zeng's
Shugu tang catalogue lists a six-*juan* manuscript with com-
mentary. Unfortunately, the uniqueness of this statement
and lack of verification do not allow us to make much of
the information.

Assuming that the *Minqiuji* entry is an accurate
reproduction of the original work of Qian Zeng, and not a
"backward cast" based on later information, then we can see
that Qian had a work that appears to have been generally
unavailable during the preceding dynasty and that submerged
quickly enough after his death that the *Siku quanshu*
project could come up with only a one-*juan* edition when it
called for a collection of all the books of the empire. I
am definitely not implying that the three-*juan* edition with
commentary that we have today is later than Qian Zeng.
Sometimes the more information we have about editions, the
more we want to know, and the more questions that are
raised.

Mention of the *Siku quanshu* project brings us to the
focus of the next stage of the investigation. We go from

speculation based upon accounts, published or not, of bib-
liophiles (who in their zeal or general disinterest might
be either saying more about a book than they have justifi-
cation to or might be saying far less than they have a
right to) to a chain of events that have a greater sense of
immediacy for us. The reason is simple: the notes of the
various scholars who worked on the editions and manuscripts
we will next discuss are preserved largely because they are
written or printed on the various manuscripts and printed
editions that we can hold in our hands today (although, at
a "photograph's length").

Although the SKQSh project does not figure directly in
our investigations its influence is unmistakable. There
are certain facts to consider: the *Siku* project was begun
in 1773 and continued in some way or another for about ten
years after that, although the early years saw the real
effect of the new interest in book collecting; the family
of Bao Tingbo, along with three other families, was
rewarded by the emperor for having submitted more than five
hundred books to the project; the *Siku* project only collec-
ted a one-*juan* edition of GGZ, without commentary and
without the material that appears as our modern third *juan*
[what the *Siku* catalogues describe is identical with the
most complete Ming printings I have seen]. The situation
before the period we are about to explore was one in which

GGZ had nearly disappeared. Although it had been printed by this time, the only Ming printings known contained no commentary, and perhaps none had what we now know of as the third *juan*.

One of the reasons I believe that *Siku* had much to do with the "discovery" of what I am quite certain is a more complete version of GGZ than was commonly available in the Ming is that the apparent first figure in the interrelated series of events described below was none other than Bao Tingbo. Now we have seen that Bao was responsible for an enormous number of submissions to the *Siku* project. Whether any version of GGZ was among them we do not know. However, we have a collation note from one Zhou Guangye 周廣業 (1730-1798) of Haining (in modern Guangdong Province) in which he tells us that Bao Tingbo had [recently?] obtained a copy of GGZ that from appearances might be Tang or earlier.[19] He goes on to discuss the question of who wrote the commentary, attributed to Tao Hongjing on that (presumably manuscript) copy but with enough inaccuracies to make Zhou argue eloquently against the likelihood of such an attribution.

The manuscript to which Zhou refers is clearly the manuscript that later scholars would refer to as the Shugu-

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19. Zhou's note, along with notes by Lu Wenchao and Ruan Yuan, is appended to Qin Enfu's 1805 edition.

tang manuscript. It would be difficult to imagine that Bao Tingbo held this back from the *Siku* project since there has never been any reason to believe that GGZ was afforded any particular value by the many who went on to edit the various manuscripts and editions. Surely, Bao donated (for copying) works of greater intrinsic value than this one. Therefore, I believe that the manuscript "became available" sometime after his well publicized contributions to the *Siku* project. Very likely, it was offered to him when its owner realized that there was a market for sufficiently rare "books". The history of Chinese libraries[20] reads like a old proverb I heard many times while living in Taiwan. The sense is something like: what fortune one generation can amass will certainly be gone by the end of the third. Libraries were both a result of fortunes and one of the first victims of their decline. It seems quite likely that the previous owner of the GGZ manuscript, whether the original acquirer of the manuscript in his

20. Nancy Swann's article, "Seven Intimate Library Owners," gives one a close look at a very small but important group of collectors, who must have been typical of what was going on in private libraries throughout "civilized" China, although the area in which they lived-- Hangzhou--was clearly special in regard to this kind of activity. Putting together the pieces in ECCP can also provide a very interesting picture on a somewhat broader scale. There has been a good deal of work on the subject in China recently, as well. See Li Ximi, et al, *Zhongguo gudai cangshu yu jindai tushuguan shi liao*; Liu Guojun, et al, *Zhongguo shushi jianbian*; Lai Xinxia, *Gudian muluxue qianshuo*; Chen Yuanhui, *Zhongguo gudai de shuyuan zhidu*.

family or not, sought out Bao when circumstances made that
necessary, and that Bao bought GGZ, perhaps even as part of
a much larger deal, *after* he had made his notable and major
contributions to the *Siku* project.  It is interesting to
note that he apparently never offered it to the project,
even though the project continued on after 1781, the date
of Zhou Guangye's note.  More interestingly, Bao never
printed it in his famous *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* series in
which he reprinted many of the best or rarest works that
came his way as a collector of fine books.[21]

The value of the GGZ manuscript to Bao Tingbo will
never be known unless his words to that effect are found
some day.  What we do know is that the existence of another
GGZ "edition," clearly different and by description alone
potentially more valuable than the copy accepted by the
*Siku* project, was not known by Qin Enfu 秦恩復 (1760-
1843) and Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753-1818) when their
collaborative effort produced the first printing of the
text of GGZ with commentary (outside of the Daozang, de-
tails of which follow) in 1789.

The story of this first printing of GGZ is told in

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21. That series was continued long past his death by
family members, but according to the tables of contents I
have seen, GGZ was never included.  However, there is a
curious note in the pre-WWII catalogue of the Jiangsu
provincial library that claims to have a Zhibuzu zhai
printing of Bao Tingbo's collation of a Qin Enfu printing
of GGZ.  I have found no other evidence of this.

Qin's preface to that 1789 edition (preserved today in the
SBBY, which is a reproduction of that edition).  Put
simply, Sun Xingyan copied the version of GGZ that had been
printed in the *Zhengtong Daozang*.[22]  He did this at a
Daoist temple in Huayin 華陰 [between Xi'an and Loyang],
probably on his way to Kaifeng with the noted scholar/offi-
cial Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730-1797), for whom Sun appears to
have served as a kind of secretary.

While Sun Xingyan was a native of present day Wujin
[between Yangzhou and Suzhou] his friend, Qin Enfu was from
modern Yangzhou [referred to as Jiangdu during the Qing].
They might have been classmates or "testmates."  We know
that they were together in Beijing from 1787, when Sun
became a *jinshi* and Qin was working as a compiler in the
Hanlin Academy.  Qin did the actual publishing in 1789 upon
returning to Beijing from a home visit.  Their contribution
to the DZ text was collation against quotations from GGZ in
other works and in collecting testimony to the existence of
the text.  Although the DZ version commentary is unattri-

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22. General knowledge of the *Daozang* as a source of non-
Daoist texts probably became commonly known during the *Siku*
project, where various texts connected with the *Daozang*
were examined by the committees and published in, for
example, the main catalogue.  See article by Steve Durrant.
In the case of Sun Xingyan, there would seem to be other
possible reasons for looking into the *Daozang* in the first
place.  His wife was very much interested in Daoism and he
was apparently quite influenced by her.  Sun himself had
studied at a Buddhist monastery.

buted, Sun argued that it was Tao Hongjing on the basis of a remark in the commentary that, unknown to Sun, had been the basis for an argument *against* authorship by Tao Hong-jing by Zhou Guangye a few years before. Qin concurred on the basis of bibliographic information and the edition was actually entitled *Tao Hongjing zhu Guiguzi*.

It is difficult to know to what extent the scholarly world was excited about the "find" of Qin Enfu and Sun Xingyan. Certainly, the effect of that first printing has been influential on later GGZ studies. When the two great 20th century compendia of ancient works, SBBY and SBCK, chose their versions of GGZ they both chose the 1789 Qin printing. Not only is it inferior to that of the 1805 printing, but four or five years after its printing in Yangzhou, a young (evidently rich) scholar by the name of Yan Yuanzhao 嚴元照 (1773-1817) *of the same city* had not yet seen it. While one might argue that he might not have had any interest in looking for it, in fact, in 1792 Yan bought an apparent Ming manuscript from a family near Suzhou, who claimed that it had originally been the prop-erty of Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559), a famous calligrapher/artist of Suzhou. The manuscript has a 1545 date on it, but with an addendum of 1571. It is attributed to Zhu Yunming 祝允明 (1461-1527), a famous calligra-pher and friend of the Wen family. The importance of the

manuscript is that it was a "complete" GGZ, all known
chapters and commentary intact. The actual date of this
manuscript, happily preserved for us even to today (in
Taiwan's National Palace Museum, published by Shijie), is
of course impossible to determine since anyone could have
written any date he wanted and there is no mention of study
of the seals upon it. But that it is at least a copy of a
copy[ies] of a Ming manuscript seems unarguable. One of
the calligrapher producers of the manuscript notes that he
made the copy in the first place because all other versions
available [in the Ming] were missing much and had no com-
mentary. The results of its collation against the 1805
edition are given in the second chapter of this disserta-
tion.

In 1794, when Yan found he had no access to the
printed edition [this seems incredible] he sent his newly
acquired manuscript to the well known scholar Lu Wenchao
盧文弨 (1717-1796), a native of Hangzhou (south of
Suzhou, and thus of Yangzhou) who was in residence at the
Longcheng Academy in Changzhou (between Yangzhou and Su-
zhou, near Wujin) at this time.[23] Lu collated it against
the Qin 1789 edition. The Ming manuscript was found to

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23. The movements of (to us, at least) famous scholars
among the various academies of the time and the signifi-
cance of these academies on the history of Chinese educa-
tion is the subject of Chen Yuanhui's *Zhongguo gudai de
shuyuan zhidu.*

have about ten characters that were omitted from the 1789
printing.

In the summer of 1794, after Lu Wenchao had finished
his look at the manuscript and 1789 edition, Yan went to
visit Bao Tingbo at his Zhibuzu zhai in Hangzhou.  Whether
he went there because word had finally gotten out that Bao
had yet another manuscript of GGZ, or whether Yan just
happened to be visiting and mentioned his current inter-
ests, is not noted, but Yan left the Zhibuzu zhai with what
Bao Tingbo claimed was a manuscript from the very famous
Shugu tang studio of the early Qing scholar, Qian Zeng.
This is the manuscript that, apparently unknown to the
various scholars who had been collating or printing GGZ for
some years in virtually the same area, Zhou Guangye had
worked on and commented upon some ten years before.  Yan
notes that he was suspicious of the Shugu tang claim but
became a believer[24], at least in the quality of the manu-
script, upon collating it against both the printed edition
and his own Ming manuscript.  He reflects upon the vagaries
of circumstance, and notes that the "Shugu tang" manuscript

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24. Yan's suspicions are to be congratulated.  Despite
being completely won over to the quality of the text, he
never actually declares a belief that it was once itself
physically resident at the Shugu tang, or more importantly,
that even if it had been (only about a hundred years ear-
lier, anyway) that it was then necessarily a Song manu-
script.  For others working after him, the manuscript be-
came unquestionably "Shugu tang" and for some even "Song."

was quite unimposing in appearance. If he (and others) had not actually compared it closely against other existing versions, its true worth would never have been known and it might soon have been lost. One might argue that in fact it is that disposition to "compare closely" that characterizes "Qing scholarship" as we use the term today. It is this simple change in attitude that we most respect in the good scholars of the era, and which we try to carry on in our work today.

Yan took the "Shugu tang" manuscript back to Yangzhou with him, where Lu Wenchao soon visited and took it away. The difficulties of collation, an incredibly simple task of comparing one thing to another to see if is the same, can be sensed in Yan's lament upon seeing Lu Wenchao's effort at exactly the same task he himself had just performed:

> I had already obtained the "valued" edition and
> collated it once, leaving still some errors, when in
> September/October [1794] Lu Wenchao came here and took
> [the manuscripts] away for collation. He pointed out
> more areas that should be corrected. Alas. I am only
> 22, unrefined and careless, as far apart from Lu
> Wenchao as Heaven from Earth.

Yan would have been consoled when, a few years later, Lao Quan 勞權 [d. ?1870] looked at all the work that had been done to that point and found Lu Wenchao's work lacking as well.

In 1795 one Xu Kun 徐鯤 (? after 1800), later to work under Ruan Yuan 阮元 and with Yan Yuanzhao on the

*Jingji zuangu* 經籍纂誌 dictionary, also collated the various manuscripts. It is, in fact, his work that Lao Quan praises over that of Lu Wenchao.

Ruan Yuan, who came to the Yangzhou area in 1795, created the *Jingji zuanggu* project that employed, and perhaps drew together, several scholars of the region. He has a note included in both the 1789 and 1805 editions of GGZ printed by Qin Enfu, and perhaps spoke of the GGZ activity going on in Yangzhou to Qin Enfu, with whom he appears to have been connected even before his [Ruan Yuan] fame had spread. For whatever reasons, Qin Enfu did reprint GGZ, this time using the "Shugu tang" manuscript as the base edition and Lu Wenchao's comments for editorial material.[25]

The Lao brothers, Ge and Quan 勞格 ,權 , whose father appears to have been a close friend of Yan Yuanzhao, were perhaps the next owners of the Ming manuscript, since Quan added his comments to that manuscript in 1857 [Ge, the only one for whom we have dates, lived from 1820 to 1864]. Lao felt that "certain phrases could be better read with a careful look at this [the Ming] copy," but his judgment might have been colored by his ownership of the Ming manu-

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25. The East Asia Library of the University of Washington has a copy of the original 1805 printing. It is beautifully done, on paper that gives little trace of its 175 years. The "frontspiece" title is signed by one *Dongshan* 東山 , probably Jin Menzhao 金門詔 , an otherwise almost unknown scholar of Yangzhou who might have been a generation older than Qin Enfu.

script rather than of the "Shugu tang" manuscript.

The whereabouts of the "Shugu tang" manuscript have been unnoted since testimony to its possession by Bao Tingbo. The Bao family library was unusually longlived, selections from it being printed into the 1880s and such a complete disappearance is especially unfortunate, having gotten so far.

A note by Miao Quansun 繆荃孫 (1844-1919) tells more of the transmission of the GGZ texts:[26]

> In 1912 Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘 (1872-1950) ?lent me the Ming manuscript to look at... In 1796 Xu Kun ?made a copy, which is now with Kuang Zhouyi 況周頤 (1859-1926) [from Guilin, a classical scholar]...

Miao was the chief agent in the transfer of the library of Ding Bing 丁丙 (1832-1899) of Hangzhou to what became the Jiangsu Provincial Library of the 20th century. Although quite likely to have included some of the contents of the Bao family library, no note on the "Shugu tang" manuscript is found among records of the Jiangsu library

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26. Miao's note is part of an appendix that appears in the Guangwen (Taibei) photographic reprint of a block for block reprint of Qin Enfu's 1805 edition. The person responsible for the reprint is not clear. In Yu Yen's *Guiguzi xin zhu* he reprints the Miao Quansun collation note as being from an edition by Chen Naiqian 陳乃乾 , a prolific modern scholar. No such name appears in the photographic reprint, the place for it being simply blank. However, Chen Naiqian was a mainland scholar. i.e., he remained on the Chinese mainland after the 1949 revolution. It is possible that his name was removed from the Taiwan reprint of what was in fact his reprinting of the Qin Enfu plates.

[for the catalogue of which, see Teng & Biggerstaff].
There is much information about libraries and their hold-
ings, especially those of the Hangzhou area, that this
dissertation has not attempted to use. Those interested
should consult ECCP and the modern works from China on the
subject.

In the final analysis the extant editions of GGZ that
can be said to have some antiquity to them are three: the
*Daozang* version, printed in the *Zhengtong Daozang*,[27] the
Ming manuscript, reprinted by Shijie shuju of Taiwan [and
earlier, while still on the mainland], and the 1805 edi-
tion, which admittedly is only *based* upon the "Shugu tang"
manuscript. The extent to which it deviates from that
manuscript can of course never be known unless "Shugu tang"
reappears some day.

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27. Compilation of this Ming dynasty printing of the
*Daozang* was begun in 1406 and printing had been completed
by 1445. Unfortunately, it cannot be determined whether
the GGZ included in that *Zhengtong Daozang* appeared as well
in earlier collections.

III. Textual Analysis and Textual Criticism

## A. The Tradition of Textual Analysis

Now that the historical background for the text has been described, the next step to be taken is that of textual analysis, more commonly referred to as textual criticism. In this dissertation I use "textual analysis" to refer to a process of analysis that deals with the text before it is read. Although the text must be "read" to provide the material for the analysis, no attention is paid to correct readings until after the process has been completed. Then, armed with the results of the textual analysis, textual criticism is applied to the text.

What is meant by the more general sense of textual criticism? The following excerpt from the current edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* explains well.

> Textual criticism is the technique of restoring texts as nearly as possible to their original form. . . Textual criticism, properly speaking, is an ancillary academic discipline designed to lay the foundations for the so-called higher criticism, which deals with questions of authenticity and attribution, of interpretation, and of literary and historical evaluation. . . In practice the operations of textual and "higher" criticism cannot be rigidly differentiated. . . The methods of textual criticism, insofar as they are not codified common sense, are the methods of historical inquiry. Texts have been transmitted in an almost limitless variety of ways, and the criteria employed by the textual critic. . . are valid only if applied in awareness of the particular set of historical circumstances governing each case (p. 189).

This view of the truly ancient practice of textual
criticism makes at least two important points:  that we are
intending to find the "true" version of the text with which
we are concerned, and that we must be aware of the history
of the process by which that original text, the one pro-
duced by the author(s), became the one or many texts we
have today that purport to be that original text.  This
seems common sense when we read it, but in fact, as the
author goes on to say

> Most men are apt to take texts on trust, even to
> prefer a familiar version, however debased or
> unauthentic, to the true one (p. 189).

Those of us who are interested in the writings of ancient
China have seen an excellent example of this tendency in
an outcry against the text of *Laozi*, occurring in two
states, that was found at Mawangdui, and which is in fact
several hundred years earlier than the otherwise earliest
extant text of the *Laozi*.  Some scholars have chosen the
familiarity of the received texts over the often divergent
text of the silk manuscripts.[1]

In fact, if all scholars felt they had to do a criti-
cal textual study of the text in which they were interes-

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1.  In reports on and reproduction of the Mawangdui finds,
the Heluo Publishing Company of Taiwan and Yan Lingfeng
made clear their reservations about the value of the "new"
texts.  See *Bo shu Lao Zi*, Taibei: Heluo, 1975 and Yan
Lingfeng, *Mawangdui bo shu Lao Zi shitan*, Taibei: Heluo,
1976, page one in both.

ted, very little would have been said about ancient Chinese writings over the last several hundred years. Then again, to the extent that what any scholar has said about a text is dependent upon a part of the text that is of question- able authenticity, what he has said is of lessened value. It may, in fact, be more than harmless if it gives an unsuspecting reader no cause to believe that what he reads is suspect, and therefore originates or perpetuates an idea that simply has no defensible foundation. Our job is to discover what can be truly known about something, and what must be conjectured, and if the latter, the extent of the conjecture. Then, whenever a later scholar doubts our conclusions, he can easily follow the reasoning that led to those conclusions and be thereby convinced of our correct- ness or determine where we went wrong.

Textual criticism is one way of removing doubt from conclusions or observations that are based upon the read- ings of texts, and this is effectively to include virtually all traditional scholarship in studies of ancient China. This particular study of the ancient text *Guiguzi* is intended to discover as much as possible about that text in order that we may know the degree of certainty for anything we have to say about it. I have chosen to handle the necessary first step, that of textual analysis, from the particular approach of Vinton Dearing, specifically as

represented in his 1974 book, *Principles and Practice of Textual Analysis*, and must first place Dearing's work in the field of textual criticism as a whole.

The author of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* article tells us more about textual criticism: "The premise of the textual critic's work is that whenever a text is transmitted, variation occurs" (p. 189). It is the fact of these variations that determines how a textual critic deals with his problems. He understands, perhaps implicitly, that "a text is not a concrete artifact. . . but an abstract concept or idea" (p. 189). Therefore, he can choose to regard the actual concrete reality of particular texts in one of two general ways. The traditional way has been called the "genealogical" or "stemmatic" approach. This attempts to determine the relations of various actual manifestations of the text, what we will later call 'records,' by observing certain features in each and making judgments about the necessary origins of each record so that the observed phenomena can be true. For example, if one record differs from certain others by inclusion of a fact we know to be anachronistic, then any other texts sharing that anachronism must be more intimately related to each other than to texts not having that feature. If one can then date at least some of the records, a diagram might result that would show the general influences of the various records on

one another, and more importantly, would show when certain

readings are in fact not possibly correct.  If, in that

group of anachronistic texts, there is one with a reading

that differs from all "non-anachronistic" texts, and does

not agree with all anachronistic texts, then the only

possibility that the original text had that reading is if

all other texts descend from this one anachronistic text,

in other words, that this one text was the last text to

have the true reading.  If it can be shown that this is

either impossible or highly unlikely, then that reading, no

matter how attractive, cannot be true.

In actual practice, some scholars have found the

stemmatic approach to be unsatisfactory.  Theoretically,

it depends upon the "vertical" descent of texts, that is,

that each text has only one direct predecessor or source.

If, as we know actually happens, a text is copied from two

or more texts,  the logical relations upon which stemmatic

reasoning is premised are upset, and the results are

inaccurate.

## B. The Approach of Vinton A. Dearing

It was dissatisfaction with the stemmatic approach

that led critics such as Dearing to try to reason along

more abstract lines.  This approach has been called by the

author of the *Britannica* article, the "textual" or

"distributional" approach.

> In the alternative method, the text and the
> textual vehicle are dissociated; the emphasis is
> on the analysis of the variants themselves and
> their distribution rather than on the character of
> the text as presented by individual witnesses. . .
> Two theoretical advantages are suggested for this
> approach.  First, objectivity: no judgments of
> value are entailed, whereas the genealogical
> method calls for decisions as to the correctness
> of readings or textual states.  Secondly, the
> possibility of mechanization: long and elaborate
> calculations involving thousands of variants may
> be performed by a computer (p. 191).

As will soon be seen, Dearing's approach is clearly in the

"textual" camp.  Our *Britannica* author makes it clear

that this approach does not solve all problems.

> In practice, however, these advantages are to a
> large extent illusory. . . The critic cannot
> abrogate his critical function, which implies
> discrimination, at the very beginning of the
> critical process.

This author writes without knowledge of Dearing's latest

application of computer methods to the act of "textual

analysis" (as Dearing calls it), but on the basis of my

experience with the GGZ text I can attest to the degree of

critical activity that is still necessary in the prepara-

tions for this otherwise "automatic" method of textual

analysis.

Vinton Dearing seems to be best known to textual

critics by his 1959 book, *A Manual of Textual Analysis.*[2]

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2. As I have noted, the *Manual* is cited in the *Britannica*
article.  It is used as a theoretical base by Harold Roth
in his article "Filiation Analysis and the Textual Criti-
cism of the *Huai Nan Tzu*," p. 74, even though Roth earlier
cites *Principles and Practice* (p. 64).  Looking for a

The methods in this book heavily influenced the work of Paul Thompson in his reconstruction of the lost *Shenzi*. More recently, Harold Roth has applied the methods of textual criticism to a study of *Huainanzi*, and has also used Dearing's *Manual*.[3]   In *Principles and Practice* Dearing proposes the distinction between textual analysis [TA] and bibliography that I follow here.   Dearing's view of TA is that it ". . . determines the genealogical relationships between different forms of the same message. . . but not the relationships between the transmitters of the different forms [i.e., the particular manuscripts or editions]" (p. 1). For him, then, 'textual' is a somewhat abstract term and does not have the bibliographic sense of text as a particular phenomenon.   Of course, one must look at a particular text in order to say anything about it, but Dearing's point is that the bibliographer looks at his subject as a physical object, and is concerned about how the text came to be the way it is.

To the textual analyst, as Dearing sees it, the causes for a text to be in its current condition are not important to the study of textual analysis in the narrow sense.   The

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review of *Principles and Practices*, I could find only one: R. L. Widmann, *Computers and the Humanities* 9.197-8 (1975), which is concerned only with the computer aspect of the book, not the theory behind it.

3. Roth's article cited above is derived from his Ph.D. dissertation, "The Textual History of the *Huai-nan Tzu*, University of Toronto, 1981.

textual analyst works with the text as given and procedes
to discover what he can about it by taking it as the whole
it actually is at the moment, by noting differences with
other states, and then by subjecting those states to logi-
cal principles that will tell as much about relations
between the various states as can be known with certainty.
"In this form, textual analysis determines the genealogy of
the variant states of a text. . . but not the genealogy of
their records" (p. 1).  This seems to be simply a refine-
ment of earlier views of the intent of textual analysis,
for in all cases it has truly been the "text" without the
accidents of its existence that researchers have sought.
Dearing has observed that when the proper distinction
between TA and bibliography is not maintained the realities
of bibliographic problems obstruct the more logical search
for the "true" text.  But of course the goal will need
another step *past* TA to present a reasonable facsimile of
the earliest recoverable state of the text in question.
That last step is emendation.

> Emendation of texts is not a part of textual
> analysis itself; rather it operates upon the
> results of textual analysis to produce textual
> states that are in all respects the closest we can
> approach to the author's original intentions.  But
> the same kind of reasoning sometimes allows us to
> tell with the same relative certainty when one
> state of a text is descended from another, and
> such conclusions are important to textual
> analysis (p. 3).

Textual analysis did not of course begin with Dearing.  The

traditional approach to textual analysis Dearing calls the "eclectic" approach, one that compares states of texts and decides, when variations are encountered, upon a "correct reading." Dearing maintains that ". . . in most places where states of a text differ, no state is on the face of it preferable" (p. 4). The well known Qing dynasty textual critics, Wang Niansun and his son, Wang Yinzhi, estimated that of the work they had seen during their own endeavors probably half of the proposed corrections were errors themselves.[4]

The usual criteria one employs in making decisions about the validity of a given reading may be given as: 1) the relative antiquity of the records 2) the number of states in agreement 3) the correctness of the states in places where their correctness is immediately determinable 4) their conformity to the style of that part which is the same in all states 5) their aesthetic or other appeal at individual places or in general. Dearing goes on to say that

> Textual critics of the eclectic school do not
> attempt to justify each of the many decisions of
> this kind which they may make. . . Some eclectics
> then resort to counting the noses of other
> eclectics. . . Textual analysis never has to
> depend upon nose counting, but it may sometimes
> have to avail itself of the better kinds of
> reasoning used in the eclectic method (p. 5).

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4. Noted in Zhang Shunhui, *Gudai shiji*, p. 172.

Dearing traces the development of textual analysis past the eclectic method to Karl Lachmann's great advance in developing *rules* for textual genealogy. In Dearing's restatement, the most important principles may be stated thus:

> . .. . states of a text having a common error have a common ancestor from which they have derived the error; that when there are no common errors, states agreeing in a striking way have a common ancestor from which they have derived their striking agreement; and that when there are no striking agreements, states often agreeing have a common ancestor from which they have derived these agreements (p. 5).

This was the development in textual analysis that produced critical texts, wherein all variants from a (more or less arbitrarily chosen) "copy text" are listed below the relevant section. Instead, then, of simply altering a text when one feels it is in error, in this first stage, the stage of pure analysis, one lists all variants in all the states of the text that one has chosen to compare. In this way, the choice of the copy text is not as important as it might appear. One does not have to decide at the outset that one text *looks* better than the rest. That determination will be made most accurately *after* the process of analysis has been completed.

The result of analysis conducted in the manner described above, together with logical rules of relation, produce a "tree" diagram which then purports to show the

relation of the various texts both to one another and to
certain necessarily postulated intermediaries ("inferential
intermediaries"). To take an example: if it were determined
that there existed four states of a text A, B, C, and D
such that A and B shared an ancestor and C and D shared
another, that relationship could be diagrammed like so:

```
              .
            / \
          /     \
        /  \   /  \
        A   B  C   D
```
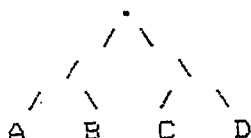
If A and C, for example, were to agree on a reading, then
the archetype must have had that reading,  since that
reading could only have come from a time when A, B, C, and
D did not exist.  In the same situation, if either one of
the four states has a reading not shared by any other, the
archetype could not have had that reading since the other
three share no common ancestor.

But advance though it was, the Lachmann rule has not
been the last word in TA theory.

> Besides failing to locate the archetype
> satisfactorily, the loose phrasing of the
> Lachmannian rule allows the textual critic to
> choose among the variations from which to reason
> about his trees. . . Whenever a textual critic
> parcels out the states of his text into groups and
> without further ado assigns to each group an
> inferential ancestor and an archetype as the
> ancestor of the groups' ancestors, he is a
> Lachmannian (p. 8).

The thread Dearing seems to see running through the
development of TA has been the application of logical

rules in an increasingly strict manner in an attempt to
remove as much of the unnecessary subjectivity to which
textual analysis is prone. (I say 'unnecessary' because, as
Dearing himself says above, there is always a need for
judgment at critical stages of the process.) The next stage
appeals to the rules of formal logic itself, and was a step
taken by Walter Greg in his work *Calculus of Variants*. His
greatest achievement was in regard to "simple" variants,
i.e., two variants, in which situation he postulated two
possibilities:

>    1. one state stands alone against a "true" group

of others

>    2. there are two "true" groups.

The groups established in this first step of analysis are
always terminal, and must all be taken into account.
'Terminal' means a state of the text that is unique.

>        In short, the terminality established by a simple
>        variation is not with respect to the archetype but
>        with respect to the other group in the variation.
>        Greg thus demonstrated that textual analysis is a
>        two-stage process. First one establishes the
>        terminality of the groups and then one locates the
>        archetype. . . [As with Lachmann, Greg] was aware
>        of the effect of directional variations, as they
>        are called, in which one variant can be recognized
>        as certainly descended from another. Only states
>        agreeing in variants certainly descended from
>        other variants, that is, only states sharing what
>        are called later, worse, or less authoritative
>        readings, need have ancestors of their own which
>        are not the archetype. Then, by holding the
>        number of ancestors to a minimum (applying the
>        principle of parsimony [i.e., only allowing the

least possible number of ancestors]), we locate
the archetype (p. 10-11).

Dearing had himself contributed to the theory of TA in

earlier work. One principle he calls "exclusion" which

> . . . determine[s] not only when groups in
> complex variations [more than two] are terminal
> but also when groups not actually appearing in any
> variation are terminal. If the lines of descent
> for each variant in a variation must be entirely
> separate, as we have said, then the members of a
> group in any variation exclude all the other
> extant states and any unrecorded states
> intermediary between them from being intermediary
> between any members of the group. As the term
> 'intermediary' is used [by Dearing]. . . an
> ancestor is intermediary between its immediate
> descendents (p. 13).

In the reality of the process there are naturally

complications. One needs only to imagine the conditions

and process by which manuscripts and editions come into

being to envision some of those complexities. In one case,

for example, a state (or record, too) might have been

copied from two or more states. The genealogies would

require rings to be depicted accurately, if that in fact

were possible. A ring is a diagram like this:

```
          A -- B
        /        \
      C            D
        \   E    /
```
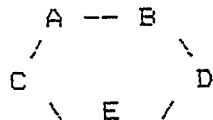
where the different states are connected by more than one

path. The problem this poses in the search for origins is

that

> ". . . no method can be devised to determine the
> genealogy of the records or states of a text is

some of them may have more than one immediate
ancestor and all ancestries are to be accounted
for" (p. 16).

The method of textual analysis used in this disserta-
tion is the method Dearing has developed specifically for
computer use, and based upon what he calls the axiom system
of textual analysis.  These axioms are derived from the
understanding of TA discussed above and may be stated quite
simply.

1.    A state A that has a reading w which another
state B also has must be connected to B by a line
uninterrupted by any state that has no such reading, or
that has a reading that A lacks.

      1a.   States must not be connected in a ring.

      1b.   States are to be inferred with readings as
necessary to provide the connections.

      1c.   In instances where it is impossible to avoid
a ring by inferring states, the weakest
connection making up the ring is to be set aside.[5]

2.    When a reading w can be recognized as having
given rise to a reading x some state having w must stand

_____

5. By 'weakest' is meant the fewest number of connections.
In the process of evaluating variations the analyst (or
computer) keeps track of the number of times a given rela-
tion occurs.  If A shares a reading with B 1000 times and
shares a reading with C 10 times, then, if the three are
found to be connected in a ring, the connection between A
and C is disregarded for the purposes of breaking the ring.

above all states having x in the textual tree.

2a.   If necessary a state having the reading w is to be inferred.

2b.   The archetype must not have a reading x when a state having a reading w must stand above all states having x.

Perhaps the truly revolutionary aspect of Dearing's axiom method is that by reducing the principles to rules of symbolic logic a procedure can be developed such that by entering certain information into a computer program one can learn the genealogical relations of the texts treated without having to perform the often involved calculations oneself.   Dearing has provided these programs to the public domain, and they have been used in this study.

Dearing proposes that a textual problem approached from the view of textual analysis has seven steps to its solution.   I will deal with the first two here, after which the text of GGZ itself can serve as illustration of the remaining steps.   It is these first two steps that one must take in order to find the information necessary to the computer programs.   We must first decide on the states we will work with, and then on the variations.   Neither step is wholly simple and a discussion of each is necessary to justify the conclusions.

1. Determining the States.

In determining the states with which to work we need
to know what records are available. In addition, we must
try to examine every extant text, if that is possible, and
if it is not possible, we must be aware that our results
might have been different if more of the available texts
had been considered. For the purposes of this study I have
allowed the resources readily available to me to limit the
number of states examined. As has been seen in the biblio-
graphic study that precedes this textual study, there are
more editions of the *Guiguzi* extant in the world than I
have been able to use here. Nevertheless, it is unlikely
that any study of any text will be able to say unequivo-
cably that it has considered all extant texts. We must
hope that our decision to limit the states considered does
not give a misleading picture. Dearing notes that with the
advent of the computer there will be fewer excuses for not
considering all extant texts, but those texts must still be
entered into the computer's storage facilities, and in the
case of Chinese texts, that possibility is clearly not yet
at hand.

a. States of the Text of *Guuiguzi* Used in This Study

Following is a list and brief description of the
states considered in this study. It specifies the state
designation by which the variants are noted in the critical

edition of the text given as appendix A.

**1805 = A**

Qin Enfu's 1805 printing of GGZ will act as copy
text. This is the most complete text known as it includes
more text than any other state.  It is therefore the
easiest to use as a copy text.  One complication for the
process of TA is that the text as printed has been edited.
Although many, and even perhaps most, of the emendations
have been noted in the textual notes, we cannot be sure
that all have been so noted.  Therefore, in accordance with
my understanding of Dearing's principles, the text shall
simply be taken as is.

**MK = B**

Minagawa Ken's 皆川愿   edition is important for two
reasons. It is the first known *printing* of the GGZ with
commentary, having been printed in 1774, several years
before Qin Enfu's 1789 printing (see chapter one for a
discussion of the two Qin printings).  Secondly, it could
possibly represent an otherwise lost tradition preserved in
Japan, as has been true for some important Chinese
classical works.

**SB = C**

The *Sibu beiyao* (SBBY) edition was set from Qin's 1789
printing, the first Chinese printing of the full text.  As
a state it is considered as SBBY, not as the 1789 edition.

**MAN = D**

The "manuscript" is a manuscript upon which several famous scholars have commented, and whose notes on the manuscript itself help make clearer the bibliographic history of the Ching dynasty activites regarding the editing and publication of GGZ. This manuscript was *not* the source of the first Chinese printing nor that of the 1805 printing. In some cases the collation notes have not been clearly distinguished from the actual text (especially concerning manuscript "ommissions"). Where there is physical evidence of alterations (obvious additions, etc.), those alterations have been ignored. A photographic reprint is included in *Guiguzi deng jiuzhong*.

**DZ = E**

Another important text is that from the *Dao zang* 道 藏, or Taoist Canon. Bibliographic evidence suggests that it was the basis for the 1789 printing (and perhaps the Japanese 1774 printing as well), so its variations with those texts are interesting to see.

The Ming texts have been the most difficult to deal with. Although no Ming printing preserves the entire text with commentary it is nevertheless possible that one or more Ming records could preserve a state independently transmitted from either a time at which the commentary was intentionally removed from the complete text, *or*, and more

importantly, it could preserve a state extant *before* the current commentary was written. More simply, it might represent a tradition or traditions parallel to the one [if only one] to which the commentary state(s) bear witness. I have checked all Ming printings available to me, but have not been able to justify inclusion of all of them in this textual study. I have chosen the most complete among them, and although confident that the others do not represent valuable unconsidered information, realize nonetheless that I am violating one of the principles outlined above.

HH = F

This version of GGZ appears in the *Zhuzi huihan* 諸子彙函. See Thompson, pp. 188-189. Neither F nor G includes any of the material past the eleventh chapter. Also stops at chapter eleven.

ShJZ = G

This refers to the edition of GGZ in *Ershijiu zi pinhui shiping* 二十九子品彙釋評 , printed in 1612.

YL = H

*Yilin* includes several quotations from GGZ. See Thompson, pp. 79-84.

TPYL = I

*Taiping yulan* also includes GGZ quotations. See Thompson, pp. 92-96.

ZL = J

> *Zi lue* has a few quotations from GGZ.

YWLJ = K

> *Yiwen leiju* also has a few quotations from GGZ. See
Thompson, p. 207.

A well known Ming collection called the *Shuo fu* has
not been considered here due to serious doubts raised
concerning the likelihood that the original contents of the
collection (compiled mid-14th century) are the contents of
the extant version(s).[6]

## 2. Determining the Variations.

The problem of determining variations is probably the
most difficult task in Dearing's method. The results of
one's efforts will directly determine the outcome, that is,
the portrayal of relations between states. Accordingly,
his examples and principles for determining variations are
thorough and complex. In the Western languages with which
he has dealt, there are many possibilities that depend
simply upon the grammar of the language. If one state
reads an "idea" in a different tense or case, then it might
have fewer or more words than the rendering in another
state, those added or missing words being grammatical
words. The absolute value of the idea is the same in both

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6. See Thompson, p. 186, n. 26, and Chen Xianxing, "*Shuo
fu zai kaozheng*," ZhHWShLC 1982.3, 257-65.

readings, but due to grammatical considerations one reading has a different number of separate words. Those separate words might take on an existence of their own, through later confusion about their function. A grammatical word, existing only because of its reflection of time, number, or gender, might be taken for an independent word, and so begin its own chain of variations. In deciding what constitutes a variation, one has to pay close attention to the scope of a variation. Just because one reading has three words where another has one does not mean that there are three variations, but that there is probably only one. Complications from the example above might be very difficult to follow, but the textual critic is obliged to make his analysis of the conditions of the variations as clear as possible, under the assumption that his resulting relational diagram will be formed on the basis of that analysis.

Fortunately, Chinese texts do not present the extremes of difficulty in their variations. Grammatical features seldom complicate the situation as often happens with Indo-European languages. I have found in my work with GGZ that the underlying principle for determining a variation must be that the variant is not likely to be assumed to be such. If, for example, a scribe has written a character in a certain manner that is distinct from all other states, that

character should only be considered a variant if it is
likely that anyone copying his text could not recognize his
character as a legitimate allography. There are many var-
iations in calligraphy, and many ways of abbreviating char-
acters. But unless it is not likely that these variations
can be seen to be simple allographs, then what appears in,
for example, the apparatus to the text of GGZ as presented
in appendix A as a variant is not necessarily considered in
compiling data for Dearing's method of textual analysis.
Appendix B contains all data used in the determination of
the relations of the states of GGZ. One advantage to the
use of computers in processing these data is that reproces-
sing, to reflect a different understanding of the varia-
tions, for example, is essentially a trivial matter.

The first output of Dearing's method is what he calls
a preliminary diagram. This indicates the necessary rela-
tions among the various states, but posits none as supreme.
In other words, there is no archetype indicated at this
stage. In order to produce that archetype, and more impor-
tantly the hierarchical order that results from estab-
lishing one branch of a tree structure as the trunk, the
critic needs to determine directional variants. A direc-
tional variant is one that indicates a necessary direction
in the relation. If reading $w$ had to have come after
reading $v$ for some reason, then that indication of direc-

tion might be enough to affect relations that are not explicitly indicated in the directional variant. By first establishing necessary relations, and then adding some measure of direction to at least one or some of those relations, one can produce a diagram that orders the various states in a hierarchy. The necessary determination of direction in a variant is an extremely difficult step, and one in which subjective considerations can harm the results. But here, too, the availability of the computer allows us to try any number of possibilities. As long as we clearly state the assumptions that underly the calculations, the observer can decide for himself whether or not the critic is justified in his conclusions.

## C. Textual Analysis by Computer

Analysis by computer consists of several distinct steps. The first is to gather all variations that the researcher considers significant. These have been provided in an appendix for reference. They must then be entered into the first program, STOR, which makes certain the variations are in a form readable by the computer, and which then processes the correctly entered variations into the "stripped" form used by the remaining programs.

There are several practical problems that can and have arisen in this study. The two Ming texts are incomplete. One (HH) does not reproduce several chapters, and neither

has material past chapter ten. The computer programs,
however, must consider all states with which the study
began. This means that when text F or G is not present,
each variation ocurring in their absence must include the
information that one or both is missing. This forces the
computer to consider what is actually a simple variation
(text A differs from all the others, which all agree) into
a complex variation (A differs from B, et al, which ?differ
from unknown F,G). It is essential to include the informa-
tion from the Ming texts whenever present, so I have com-
promised by considering the seven texts A,B,C,D,E,F,G
through the "natural" division of chapters one through
twelve (*juan* one and two). Then, having obtained the
relative positions of F and G, I eliminated their presence
in the same variations already processed, and extended that
data by including variations through the remainder of the
book. This produced a diagram for A,B,C,D, and E that
reflected their relative positions when the book is consi-
dered as a whole, but without considering the Ming editions
at the same time. As expected, the computer had trouble
determining the diagram when it had to deal with so many
effective lacunae. When considering the five texts alone,
however, it quickly and easily produced a clear result. It
is obvious that this process could be made smoother, and
probably more accurate, if the analytical process could be

made to deal with the texts that are present at any one
time as a unit.  Then, other units representing fragmentary
material could be processed separately and the results
could be combined.

The computer prints out its result in a somewhat
cryptic form.  For example, the results of the
A,B,C,D,E,F,G states on material through chapter twelve
produced this result:

```
-0001 -0001 -0002 -0002 -0003 -0003 -0004 -0004 -0005 -0005 -0005
  !     !     !     !     !     !     !     !     !     !     !
  B     E     F     G     A    -0002 -0001 D    -0003 -0004 C
```

This is to say, that to include the seven states in a
preliminary tree diagram, one must assume the presence of
five hypothetical intermediaries, numbered as above.  The
drawing of the actual diagram is up to the researcher.  At
this stage it may be drawn in any manner that does not
violate or alter the relations determined by the program.
For the sake of illustration, I have included one version
below.
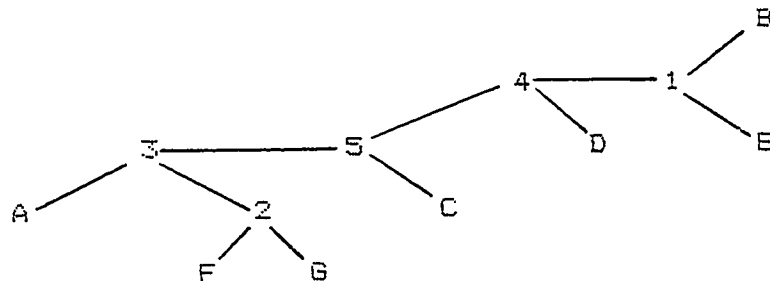


At this stage, nothing more is implied than the relations
of one state to another.  None is precedent over another.

The result of running the entire set of variations
through without the information from F and G produced the
following preliminary diagram:

```
-0001  -0001  -0002  -0002  -0003  -0003  -0003
  :      :      :      :      :      :      :
  A      C      B      E    -0001  -0002  D
```

One representation of that information might be:
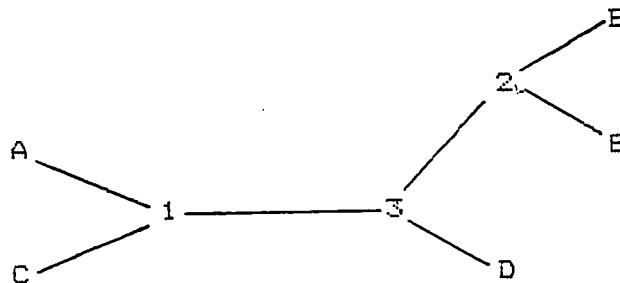


The next step is to try to determine the archetype
from the information already produced.  For this, one can
run Dearing's ARCHETYP program after suitable rearrangement
of the necessary data, or, as in this study, apply the
manual procedure outlined in *Principles and Practice*.

The most important task before the researcher at this
point is to determine which variations indicate direction.
That is to say, which variations show a definite "cause"
and "effect."  This is extremely difficult.  My impression,
expressed above, that Chinese is easier than Western lan-
guages in the determination of variations process turns
completely around.  Although Dearing makes it clear that
this is a difficult process in any case, his examples give
some reason to believe that direction can be found in works

in Western languages. Few of the examples he gives appear
to be applicable to Chinese texts. It is in this area that
more work needs to be done: when can we confidently say
that such-and-such a variant probably derived from such-
and-such a reading.

The only criteria I have felt it possible to consider
in this study are the criteria of "add-omission" and trans-
position. It is important to remember that their adoption
makes a certain presumption about the way the texts evol-
ved: the extra material included only in the 1805 text,
judged to be in keeping with structural and contextual
principles with the rest of the text, indicates that omis-
sion of that material is a reduction of the original mater-
ial. Therefore, the direction of the variation can be
taken as A > the others. Furthermore, since all texts
agree against B in many instances of transposition, the
evidence in B of transposition indicates B < the others.

Applying this directionality in accordance with
Dearing's instructions (pp. 78-79), and bringing in the
more sophisticated preliminary diagram (that included all
seven states)[7], we can obtain the following tree, which

------------------------

7. The diagram based upon only five states but including
the entire text of GGZ provides essentially the same set of
relations as did the first, less textually comprehensive
diagram. In order to find the proper place for F and G, I
compared the two diagrams and combined their information.
The result indicated more intermediaries than did the
second attempt, certainly because of the necessity to

provides the clearest picture of the descent of the extant

texts of GGZ possible considering information that is

available to us.

```
                        Archetype
                       /|\
                      / | \
                     /  |  \
              1805  HH  ShJZ \
                              \
                             SBBY
                               |\
                               | \
                             Man \
                                | \
                                |  \
                               MK   \
                                     \
                                    DZ
```
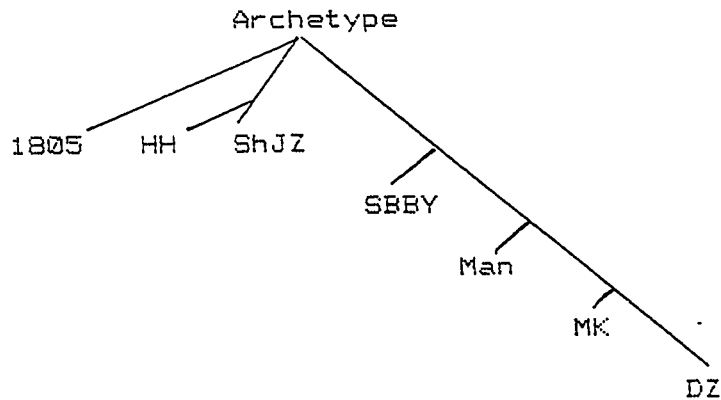
It should not be assumed from this diagram that we can

therefore say that the 1805 edition descended directly from

the archetype. What it shows is that, given the extant

texts and the variations thereof, the preceding diagram is

all that is necessary to indicate the relative relations

among those extant texts. If bibliographic evidence

indicates, as it does, that there was certainly a text

between the 1805 state and the archetype (i.e., the so-

called Song manuscript), then we can see where it would

belong if evidence of its textual existence were found:

somewhere on the line between the 1805 state and the

archetype, but on the 1805 side of anything that produced

HH and ShJZ.

With the end of this analysis of the descent of the

---------------------

consider significantly more relations.

extant states of GGZ we can say that we now know something
of the relations between those states. The position of
1805, achieved largely because of the interpretation of
directionality discussed above, indicates that its use as a
copy text in the study that follows is the best situation
we can hope for. This does not rule out emendation if the
best practice of traditional textual criticism suggests it,
especially since the 1805 state is not the archetype.

A curious feature of the diagram is the apparent
impossibility of the descent of SBBY, the manuscript, and
the Minagawa text directly from the *Daozang*. One explana-
tion might be that if in fact these texts depended upon the
*Daozang* for their source (and the line of descent puts them
all together in this respect) they might not have done so
directly. That is, the diagram could then be interpreted
to mean that each was derived from (at least) one copy of
the text taken from the *Daozang* exemplar. It might even be
a mistake to consider the *Daozang* as an exemplar, since
there could have been variations from one "edition" of the
*Zhengtong daozang* to another.[**]

1. The Future of Computer-assisted Textual Analysis

Computer-assisted textual analysis is in its relative
infancy. With publication by University Microfilms, the
present study will become the first known published compu-
ter-assisted study of a Chinese language text. There are

others currently working to apply these methods, at present

only through the approach of Vinton Dearing, and in fact

one researcher in Canada has prepared a long study of

editions of the poetry of the Tang poet Meng Haoran.[8]

Paul Thompson, working in England, and Harold Roth, working

chiefly in Canada, are also known to be carrying out compu-

ter-assisted research on Chinese texts.  Much can be done

at this stage before the Chinese language has been ade-

quately incorporated into the languages of computers simply

by taking a step of abstraction before entering the data

into the computer, much as this study has done to use

Dearing's method.  But the best results will not come until

texts can be entered into computer memory in their "origi-

nal" form, just as English language texts are handled

today.  When that is common studies can then be made on

aspects of the text not possible when those texts must be

first "digested" by the researcher.  It will be then that

the integrity of Classical Chinese texts is on a par with

texts in Western languages, and then when definitive edi-

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8. Although I became aware of it too late for inclusion
among the materials used in writing this chapter, mention
should be made of the excellent article, yet unpublished,
by Daniel Bryant of the University of Victoria, Canada,
"Computer-assisted Establishment of Textual Genealogy in
Chinese Literature."  Bryant studies the texts of the poems
of Meng Haoran using the first series of computer programs
produced by Dearing during the 1970s.  Bryant has recently
begun work using the newer microcomputer programs used in
this study.

tions of classical language texts can be available without

the dangers of variation inherent in any means of reproduc-

tion.

** After looking at the results of the application of
Dearing's programs to the states of the text of *Guiguzi* and
seeing what appeared to be a contradiction with the results
of her own studies, Judith Boltz, author of *A Survey of
Taoist Literature, 10th--17th Centuries* (Berkeley: Insti-
tute of East Asian Studies, forthcoming) has reexamined
materials relating to the textual history of the *Zhengtong
Daozang*. There is evidence that the edition of this cur-
rently available represents a state of the *Daozang* text
later than the one that Sun Xingyan would have seen when he
made the first copy of GGZ at the Huayin temple. This
could mean that the text of the *Zhengtong Daozang* underwent
alteration in a way previously unsuspected by scholars of
Daoist texts.

## IV. Constituent Analysis

## A. Introduction

While I will argue shortly that some form of punctuation was used in Chinese texts as early as bone script, there is no doubt that what is used as punctuation in modern printings of Classical Chinese is a modern addition. In fact, it is largely an addition with a strong Western influence. Other written languages of the world share this characteristic at similar stages of their development. Since punctuation has been added later than the time of creation, and obviously by someone other than the author, how is it that it has come to be used in the ancient texts as it has? How do we know where an ancient author would have put a certain kind of punctuation if he or she had known of its possibilities?

Punctuation is a means by which to indicate significant parts of a larger structure, usually the sentence. Punctuation like commas and semicolons, and other graphic conventions like capitalization and quotation marks, serve to relate the parts of a text they demarcate to other parts. Paragraphing, too, is a form of punctuation, be it by indentation or line spacing. The only requirement is that is be recognized as such.

Sentences and paragraphs are elements of textual structure. There are others, usually more subtle. For

example, in the sentence "I have a book, a pen, two coins, and a fountain pen," we recognize subconsciously that this is a short form for the more complex series of ideas that might be expressed "I have a book," "I have a pen," "I have two coins," etc. The former sentence draws those items together and lets them share the same subject and verb (in time, as well as in logic).

In reading Classical Chinese, a language no longer native to anyone, the abbreviated condensed sentence structures (and higher levels, too) must sometimes be carefully expanded, since the "abbreviations" can render them unintelligible to us "foreign" speakers. The reading process requires that we make many decisions regarding sentence and paragraph structure. This is probably more important in translation than in individual reading, since even in our native language we usually take only a vague impression along with us of the structure of the piece we are reading as we read. When translating we are forced to look more closely at structures and to make clear the relations we discern between elements of those structures.

Deciding how a structure is constituted is prerequisite to determining how to present that structure in translation. I call the process by which I analyze the structure of a text "constituent analysis." By this I mean an analytic process in which significant constituent parts are

identified, their relations to other parts are identified
and specified, and the general effect of these constituents
and their structural inter-relations on the meaning of the
whole text is considered.

B. Early Chinese Punctuation

Punctuation of sorts appears already in the Chinese
oracle bone inscriptions, but only minimally.  There is a
simple sign to indicate when a graph is to be understood as
having been written twice (a custom carried on long after
bones ceased to be fashionable writing materials).  There
is also spacing, perhaps the simplest form of punctuation.
Units of meaning (individual events, or a particular day's
activities), will often be separated from each other by
using blank space.  In contrast, when one looks at the
often striking symmetry of inscriptions on bronze ceremo-
nial objects one does not see any evidence of either spa-
cing as punctuation or other symbols of punctuation.  In
anticipation of arguments yet to come, I suggest that in
fact the very construction of such inscriptions might have
depended upon the form they were to take, rather than the
sentiment they expressed.[1]

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1. I have studied bronze inscriptions only casually but
recall one instance when the number of a very few "missing"
graphs (chiefly grammatical "particles") corresponded ex-
actly with the number of graphs that would have had to be
removed to allow for a perfect matrix.  If a written state-
ment is to occupy a space ten graphs in width and/or
height, then to form a matrix there must be a full row or

There have been many significant discoveries of so-called "soft texts" in China during this century that have given us a good look at the kind of documents that came into being after bones and bronzes had lost their primary positions. We see texts that we can be quite sure are representative of everyday functional writing. There are, too, the religious or otherwise ceremonial writings. Both the common everyday documents of business and the possibly religious *Lao zi* texts buried with an aristocrat at Mawangdui in the second century B.C. show much evidence of the use of punctuation, both in spacing and in overt markings.[2]   This use of punctuation is all the more startling in contrast to the virtual absence of it after the advent of printing (in practice on a great scale by the Song dynasty [960-1279]). But often, when one gets the chance to see a printed text that had been actually used by

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column of graphs to complement the row or column that is considered as the base. If, for example, there are ten columns and ten rows, then there will be a total of one hundred graphs. If what is to be said uses 102 or 98, was there a tendency to reform the matrix to better accommodate that total number, or, in the same vein, did the author remove graphs or pad the text to fit a matrix? My observations have suggested that there was such a tendency, and a more rigorous study would complement the arguments of this chapter.

2. A fairly recent account of the Mawangdui find is He Jiajun, et al, *Mawangdui Han mu*, done in 1982. Among the many photographs of articles found in the tombs are some of the silk manuscripts, on which one can see some punctuation. Of course, the finest reproduction of these documents is found in the series *Mawangdui Han mu boshu* begun in 1980.

some ancient scholar, it is not uncommon to see punctuation
added to it with a brush.[3]

While the Mawangdui manuscripts, with their versions
of the *Lao zi* and sections of what we know as the *Zhanguo
ce*, are very interesting for their content, the more recent
finds of bamboo strips dating from the Qin dynasty show us
a far more varied range of punctuation, including squares
and circles evidently representing various levels of inde-
pendence or subordination. To the best of my knowledge no
studies have been published dealing with this aspect of
these documents.[4]    While the subject of punctuation has
interested some modern scholars, the most thorough study of

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3. One of the requirements for an advanced degree in
Chinese literature from National Taiwan University is the
hand punctuation of the entire set of the thirteen clas-
sics.  The intention of this requirement is evidently to
prove one's familiarity with the texts.

4. The extremely important finds at Mawangdui, Yunmeng,
and elsewhere during the 1970s were accompanied by a wealth
of publications concerning those finds.  Unfortunately, the
finds were first considered politically [thus, histori-
cally] important by the government then in the wake of the
Cultural Revolution, and only secondarily academically so.
The authors of many of the articles dealing with these
finds read the contents of the documents more with an eye
toward historical correctness than with attention to actual
linguistic content.  As China has turned its attention to
other more practical matters the scholarship on these dis-
coveries that was beginning to surface has had to take a
secondary position, and indications are that publication of
their research will be much slower coming than in the past.
There is every reason to believe, though, that it will be
generally superior in quality.  For a bibliography of works
concerning the Qin bamboo strips, see *Yunmeng Qin jian
yanjiu* (1981), pp. 358-363.  The strips themselves were
photographically reproduced by Wenwu Press, *Yunmeng Shui-
hudi Qin mu zhujian*, 1977.

punctuation appearing on "soft texts" is that of Chen

Mengjia as part of the publication of Han time documents

discovered in the 1950s under the title *Wu Wei Han jian*.[5]

The purpose of punctuation is to provide a guide to

the reader. The reader uses that guide to help him inter-

pret first the meanings of words then the significance of

the clauses in which the words occur, and finally the

relations of the clauses to whatever greater unit those

clauses are seen to constitute. In strict prose writing,

where we write in sentences that we pattern largely upon

our speech, it is convenient to speak of sentences as basic

units of meaning. A sentence minimally expresses the rela-

tion of some object to some action. But in much early

Chinese prose, elements that are flatly poetic make it

difficult to speak of a strict prose style. A structure

such as "As for the rites, let them ring throughout the

valleys, thunder throughout the heavens, resound throughout

the meeting halls,. . ." could go on forever. If thought

of only in terms of the sentence that they technically

constitute, the truly important elements, the clauses that

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5. For other approaches to the subject of punctuation, see
Lü Simian, *Zhangju lun*; and Yang Shuda, *Gu shu judu shili*.
Lü Simian writes about the concept of *zhangju*          ,
which is usually thought of as "punctuation." He feels
that although it began as a word for what we have been
considering here as punctuation, it became by Han times an
extension of that, in fact, linked to commentary and philo-
sophical speculation (p. 2-3).

we would call "poetic," would not receive the attention due their actual effect on the reader. Therefore, while sometimes the concept of a sentence will work quite well as a basic unit of meaning, I will often treat clauses with equal respect.

It is a contention of this chapter that punctuation is an overt act performed on a physical text, the underlying function of which may be substituted for by a mental operation performed while reading or reciting. Although punctuation seems to have effectively disappeared from Chinese texts by the Han dynasty, there remained mechanisms by which the effect of punctuation was obtained without overt markings.

## C. Structure and Meaning

To put it as simply as possible, meaning is the perception of relation. When someone is a stranger to you he has no connection with you. When at last you establish a relationship with someone that person now has "meaning" for you, and the more complicated the relationship becomes the more meaningful that person is to you, be it valued or distasteful.

The process of perception works similarly. Something that is strange to you has no relation to you. When something becomes known it becomes related to the other things that you already know.

Structure provides relations. If there is a structure to anything, then something within that structure is on the top, something on the bottom. The very ideas of top and bottom have no meaning without structure. The clearest exposition of a subject relates not just the beginning to the end but begins that process of relating at the beginning and carries it through to the end. Each piece has its place.

In the field of ancient Chinese literature it is not difficult to find prose essays that are well formed, that have as their basic structure the exposition of an idea, a train of thought. One thinks of some of the chapters of *Mo zi*, which if often tedious are nonetheless clear in intent. Much of *Xunzi* and *Mengzi* are similarly well formed. The latter two even use interesting examples to illustrate their points. Some works, like *Zhuangzi*, seem to sacrifice the points for the illustrations, but that might be because they are collections of pieces by many authors. Certainly, the *Laozi* has been characterized that way, and the text in question, the *Guiguzi*, is far from being a prose exposition the likes of *Xunzi*.

What is it that gives one impressions like those I have just mentioned? Probably, it is the perception (or lack of perception) of structure due to logical progression: a point is made, it is related to another point,

which is in turn related to another point, all of which
makes the final point related to the first, although the
strength of this relation might vary considerably.  Let us
look at an example.  The combination consisting of the
sentences "Sally likes cookies" and "Dick sleeps all day"
has no unitary meaning.  There is no connection between the
two sentences apart from random connections one might imag-
ine if forced by a context to treat these as a meaningful
unit.  On the other hand, the unit composed of "Sally likes
cookies" and "She bakes them every day" does have meaning
as a unit: in this case two pronouns in the second sentence
depend upon the first sentence for identification.  One
could even tie the first unit together by adding a third
sentence to it: "Sally likes cookies.  Dick sleeps all day.
Therefore, Sally eats cookies during the day alone."

A unit of separable parts has meaning when it has a
structure, because that structure provides a way for the
listener or reader to perceive relations.  In the kind of
structure most common in prose, as illustrated in the Sally
and Dick unit, a clause or sentence [themselves of course
the results of grammatical relations] being perceived
is given meaning by relating to some previous clause or
sentence that is still in memory.  In turn, the clause or
sentence that is still in memory gains a measure of
relation to that which is being perceived.

When reading, punctuation helps us to understand the place of phrases or clauses within larger structures. It therefore increases the perception of meaning.

Classical Chinese prose can have all the features we normally connect with prose structure, as illustrated in the Dick and Sally example. We might think of this as "linear" structure, based on the notion that ideas lead to or refer back to one another. Of course, in the sense that all perceptions must appear in the mind sequentially and thus linearly in time, all structures could be called linear. But with written materials we encounter a new dimension. A reader can glance back or ahead, up or down, as he is so stimulated. He may pause and reflect on something, then read it again, this time with a different awareness of the relations involved. Literary style plays with these relations, making them sometimes explicit, sometimes obscure. Structures might even work to affect human consciousness on a level other than that of immediate perception. Poetry often uses its structures to affect emotions, frequently in a way that cannot be either described with language nor clearly understood.

It is this difficulty with clearly understanding poetic texts that has suggested the need to pay greater attention to the structure of Classical Chinese texts. Texts in Classical Chinese can often consist of reasonably clear

individual words or phrases. Yet in many places, and especially in certain kinds of texts, the meaning of the sentences, and then the units composed of those sentences, is frustratingly difficult to comprehend. It seems possible that closer attention to existing structures in Classical Chinese texts will favorably affect their comprehension.

## D. Determining Structures

Prose texts of any language are usually considered devoid of structure except on the level of overall organization-- stating topics, perhaps illustrating them, saying something about them, etc. But the structure with which I am concerned here is on the more immediate level of the clause, the sentence, and what we will call the "paragraph."[6] As we have said above, the reason this "lower" level becomes important for some texts is that we find it difficult to understand the sense of a piece when we try to read it with ordinary "prose consciousness."

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6. While the sentence has been well studied in most languages as the basic unit of the expression of meaning, to the best of my knowledge, the concept I label here "paragraph" has been less so. The difficulties are obvious: in our own writing how many of us are conscious of *why* we end a paragraph at one point and begin at another. In general there seems to be a feeling that we have finished writing of one point and want to continue to another. That other may in fact be quite closely connected to the preceding paragraph or remotely so. In both extremes one can find the use of *gu*  , often translated as "therefore," in Classical Chinese "prose." Other aspects of the "extra-sentence" level of "prose" construction will be dealt with below.

Individual clauses and sentences seem perfectly understand-
able, even poetic, but the sense of the whole is obscure.
We must always allow for the possibility that a particular
work is poorly written, that it intends to be a "straight-
forward" prose piece and simply fails.  But if we also get
a sense of a poetic quality to the piece with which we are
having difficulty, it is worthwhile to consider the fol-
lowing possibilities.

1. Rhythm

The underlying foundation of structure is rhythm.
Rhythm refers to a perceptible repetition.  It is the
pattern of repeated identical time units and can occur
anywhere in life-- a reel-type lawnmower, a "measured" pace
while walking or running, the beating of the heart.  We are
used to the idea of rhythm in music, and in poetry, where
it is known as meter.

> The impulse toward the metrical organization of
> assertions seems to partake of the more inclusive
> human impulse toward order.  Meter is what results
> when the natural rhythmic movements of colloquial
> speech are heightened, organized, and regulated so
> that pattern-- which means repetition-- emerges
> from the relative phonetic haphazard of ordinary
> utterance. . .  The other poetic techniques of
> order-- rhyme, line division, stanzaic form, and
> over-all structure-- are all projections and mag-
> nifications of the kind of formalizing repetition
> which meter embodies.  They are meter writ large
> (Paul Fussel, pp. 4-5).

As Fussel notes, it is rhythm that produces pattern, and it
is pattern that provides the kind of relation I proposed

above as the basis for meaning.    As Benjamin Hrushovski

points out in talking about free-verse poetry

> If, in reading a poem, we try to listen to its
> rhythm, we cannot fail to see the participation of
> the ...rhythmic role in the creation of meaning
> (p. 180).

I would contend that much of Classical Chinese prose

corresponds to our modern idea of free-verse poetry.

Indeed, the meter is often none too free.

Let us look at an example from GGZ.

I.16 是故聖人一守司其門户

I.17 審寨其所先後

I.18 度權　量能

I.19 校　其伎巧短長

*Shi gu*, like the isolated *gu* mentioned earlier, serves to

connect the following line or lines to what precedes it.

Often the connection is not easily demonstrated.    We take

it as a rule that no totally independent clause or sentence

(like the opening line of a chapter) may start with *gu* or

*shi gu*.    The structure of the remainder of the clause is

Subject Verb Object.    Lines 17-19 take that subject as

their own and provide a new verb and object structure for

it.    We might translate the passage as:

> For this reason the Sage unvaryingly watches over
>
> the passageways, carefully examines that by which
>
> things precede or lag behind, takes measure of

quantity and abilities, and evaluates cleverness

and strengths and shortcomings.

As a complete sentence, each of these lines would have

meaning and would be totally self-sufficient, but we cannot

help but notice the rhythm that has been set up by the

threefold repetition of the verb/object construction.  The

structure that results gives an identity to its members

that renders them distinct in some way from what has pre-

ceded and what follows.  We can even go so far as to say

that one cannot look at any four consecutive lines that

repeat their individual structuring without presuming that

the intent or meaning of the passage as a whole is being

defined as much by the unit as by the individual lines.

This is very important to the reading of a text.  If

we can say that there is meaning in a structural unit that

is apart from the individual elements of that unit, then it

must be admitted that the meaning of the individual line or

element has been altered.  Strictly speaking, one cannot

then extract one line from an identifiable unit and claim

that the meaning of the line, its value to the text as a

whole, is the same as the meaning of an identical line

occurring outside of the unit.  The importance of a clause

or sentence tends to diminish as the repetition increases,

because the more frequently a pattern is reinforced the

more anticipated the pattern becomes. The more anticipated

the pattern becomes the more attention is given the

structure. But the stronger the perception of the pattern,

the more weight is given to the unit as a whole, and the

less value each element in it has.

In its repetition rhythm has given rise to a pattern,

but just as much music, especially modern music, uses

rhythm without actually fitting itself into the actual

lines marking that rhythm (the strict beat), so the pattern

of lines 16-19 is less than a perfect match line for line.

It is not necessary to explicate the many possible rela-

tions formed within lines I.16-19 to make the point here

about the relation of structure to meaning but there are

important general aspects of structure reflected in these

lines that must be discussed.

## 2. Parallelism

While by parallelism I mean essentially the patterning

discussed above, it can be more specifically described.

After all, if, in patterning, something is repeated and

that something cannot be the words used (or the lines would

simply be identical) then what is it that is repeated? The

answer of course is the syntactic structure. Parallelism

is often thought of as the word-for-word repetition that

characterizes the *Shi jing*, for example.[7]   But it seems

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7. George Kennedy made a strong point of reconciling the
apparent exceptions to strict metrical parallelism in *Shi
jing*.  In his view most, if not all, exceptions to (usual-

more realistic to think of what I term "unit parallelism,"
in which what is repeated is a more abstract notion than a
word-for-word implementation. In line I.16 a two character
verb phrase precedes qi 其 ["their," "its"] and then a two
character object phrase. Already in line I.17 that strict
pattern is interrupted with an additional element, the suo
所. But the basic parallelism is still clear. In line
I.19 the pattern is further altered, having now a **double**
object phrase. Line I.18 does not even have the qi. But
it does have an example of the practical effect of parallel
structuring: we must choose to interpret the syntax of this
line either in terms of the pattern as we perceive it or in
contradiction to it. The four characters of this line are
an example of ambiguity. Syntactically speaking, one could
read this line as "evaluate authority, estimate ability" or
as "evaluate capability," that is, as verb/object
verb/object or as verb/verb object/object. The pattern
would tend to encourage the latter, which is how I have
translated it. In this case the author could very well
have intended the ambiguity, playing then upon the exis-
tence of the pattern, or foundation for parallelism. As
Paul Fussel said, ". . . meter can `mean' . . . by varying

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ly) four character parallel structure can be explained by
the diminished value of certain words (usually words of
negation). See his "Metrical Irregularity in the *Shih-
ching*."

from itself" (p. 12). What is important is the recognition of the pattern, not the strict implementation of it.

Parallelism is an important interruption in the prose style. It essentially backs up on the normal logical progressive flow to diminish the value of its specific statements in favor of the effect of a unit made up of the repeating elements. The listing or cataloging so common in "prose" forms like *fu* can be seen as a kind of parallelism. Again, Paul Fussel:

> As Theodore Roethke observes, the technique of enumeration or catalog has been standard in free verse since early Hebrew practice. . . (pp. 77-78).

> . . . free-verse lines, deprived of pattern in one dimension, the metrical, tend to compensate by employing another kind of pattern, conspicuous repetition of phrases or syntactical forms (p. 79).

Where we have seen a tendency to be loose about strict adherence to an implied metric or rhythmic structure, the specific idea of (in our example lines) verb object phrasing is strictly adhered to, and even in the completely different examples of it in lines 16-19 the basic verb object pattern is strengthened.

3. Rhyme

a. The Function of Rhyme

Rhyme is a very common phenomenon in the oral and written cultures of probably all the world's civilizations. It has been much studied in poetry and song (in its written

form often indistinguishable from poetry) but seldom in prose. And for good reason, since the notion of rhyme is intricately bound with our notion of poetry. For many people, detection of rhyme in prose would be enough to move the piece in question to the realm of poetry. Before I presume to make that claim let us look more closely at the function of rhyme in general.

> One function of [rhyme]. . . is to fix or cement the meaning in a more unified and aesthetically satisfactory way than could occur by mere juxtaposition. But in its lexical function, rhyme, like metaphor or epithet, limits meaning by asking us to consider suddenly the connection of two things whose sound shapes happen to be resemblant (Seymour Chatman, p. 153).

So rhyme can be seen to be another form of providing relations, of constituting structure. To use first a fairly clear example from classical Chinese literature, here is a passage from the *Laozi*, a book whose status as prose or poetry is controversial. The following lines would be from chapter 41 of the traditional text, but the reading here is taken from the Mawangdui manuscripts.

1. 是以建言有之曰
2. 明道如費
3. 進道如退
4. 夷道如類
5. 上德如谷
6. 大白如辱
7. 廣德如不足
8. 建德如輸
9. 質真如渝
10. 大方無隅

Line 1 may be considered as an introductory clause.with the
remainder of the text as the unit introduced. We can
easily see the almost perfectly parallel construction of
lines 2 through 10.[8]  If we then look closely at the
phonetic makeup of the last characters in each line we see
that in lines 2 through 4 are words from the same Old
Chinese rhyme group [微 *-ɡd] and that in lines 5-10 are
words from group 侯 [*-ug].  Appropriating the notion of
Chatman's passage above, we can see how, to the speaker
whose language made those distinctions, 2-4 would form a
unit that despite an identically parallel structure with

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8. This chapter, or part of it, has examples of many of
the more intricate structures to be found in the *Laozi*. It
is my feeling that line 10 performs an interesting transi-
tion to the next section, lines 11-14 and possibly
including 15.  It does this by keeping the rhyme of 5-10
but by changing its line structure to that of the less
cohesive 11-14.

the 5-10 unit to follow, would remain somehow distinct.[9]

The quotation from Chatman contains the germ of

another point that should be brought out here as a prin-

ciple that ought to be constantly kept in mind when one is

analyzing the effects of structure on meaning. He says

that rhyme "limits meaning by asking us to consider sud-

denly the connection of two things whose sound shapes

happen to be resemblant." My interpretation of this is

that because the sound of a word becomes suddenly impor-

tant, the meaning of the word becomes less so. It is the

same principal proposed earlier, that the more often a

pattern is repeated the more important the pattern becomes

and the less important becomes the individual instance of

that pattern. One of the most compelling reasons for

analyzing the structure of a piece of writing, be it

through what I am calling constituent analysis or some

other approach, is that the meaning of an instance of

writing is a function of the sum of its parts, *when it has

parts.* If we consider "ideal" prose style to be essenti-

ally linear in development we might say that it has no

parts. But when a piece departs from linear structure, as

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9. This section of chapter 41 has been chosen to provide
uncontroversial examples of rhyming. The real situation,
both throughout the rest of *Laozi* and classical Chinese
prose as a whole, is far more complex [see the following
discussion], and there are times when we might argue for
the *identity* of these two rhyme groups.

I would argue much of classical Chinese prose does, it
approaches the poetic, where the meaning of a piece depends
more and more on the effects generated by its structures.
Only when those structures, and thus their effects, are as
clear as possible, can the reader presume to have a good
understanding of the author's intentions.  If too much
value is afforded the literal meaning of a clause, line,
sentence, whatever, when in fact its meaning is meant to be
influenced by structure, then the intent of said element
will be misunderstood.  This is exactly what we mean by
"taking something out of context," although in the case of
much classical Chinese writing, that context takes work to
discover.

Suggestions for dealing with rhyme in the analysis of
pseudo-prose works or passages follow in the discussion of
the actual practice of constituent analysis.  Before that
can begin, however, some attempt must be made to clarify
the situation regarding the attribution of rhyming status
to any group of characters.

b. What rhymes?

There is usually only one answer to that question
given in studies of the problem:

> . . . the regular appearance of the same final
> sound in the last syllable of a number of
> rhythmically construed lines. . . according to a
> definite sequence and pattern (Serruys, p. 11).

In practice the determination of the final sounds for

characters has to do with the reconstructed phonology of
the language as it mig   have been spoken at the time a
given document was written.  For Old Chinese, used in this
dissertation as a conven. 't reference point, not a state-
ment that SGZ or *Laozi*   written in "Old Chinese," the
reconstruction process begins by determining the groups of
final sounds as distinguished in the *Shi jing*, the oldest
Chinese literary work known, and generally acknowledged to
have been collected or perhaps "unified" in some way around
600 B.C.  The procedure since the Qing dynasty has been to
group the characters together that rhyme together in the
*Shi jing*.  Then, by applying the principle of *xie sheng* 諧
聲 [which presumes that all characters with the same
phonetic element were at some time pronounced similarly and
belonged to the same ShJ rhyme group] the vast majority of
Chinese characters can be grouped according to final
sounds.

     A problem from the beginning has been that even within
the *Shi jing*, characters can be grouped differently.[10]
Another question, as Serruys asks in his *Fang Yen*, is just
what characters are we dealing with anyway?  If we grant
that the *Shi jing* does in fact represent the speech of, for
example, the fifth century B.C., how can we be sure that

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     10. Wang Li's 1980 *Shi jing yundu* puts his interpretation
into an easy to read and study form with some theoretical
background as well (Shanghai: Guji).

the characters used to write the *Shi jing* in the version we

use accurately represent that speech?  In other words,

since the principle of *xie sheng* is so important, if the

characters that we use to form the nucleus of *xie sheng*

contacts do not correctly represent the groupings as of the

time of the "compilation" of the text, but instead repre-

sent the sounds of the language at the time the version we

see was written down, then the information we glean about

the sound system of the language of the *Shi jing* has been

heavily influenced by that later language.  One could go so

far as to suggest that strictly speaking a reconstruction

of Old Chinese, based as it must be on *Shi jing* rhymes as

transmitted through the Mao tradition, represents a stage

of the Chinese language much later than the sixth century

B.C.[11]  Han and later Chinese will have a more discoverable

phonology, since the characters upon which reconstruction

is based are more likely to be the ones actually written at

the time of the creation of a given document.  But the

_____

11. It is likely that continued discoveries of old written
materials will, upon their publication, have a great in-
fluence on the reconstruction of older stages of Chinese.
One fairly late example, a late Han mirror inscription
described and transcribed in *Wen wu* 1980.6, p. 80, pre-
serves a *Shi jing* poem we know as #57 in the Mao tradition.
Several of the characters differ from the extant Mao tradi-
tion version we know today.  Serruys has told me he be-
lieves it to be an example of an illiterate carver, but it
seems at least as likely that the version used for the
inscription was simply not the one we know as the Mao
tradition.  It is also believed that other archeologically
derived *Shi jing* fragments have not been published.

number of rhyming documents is much greater, and questions
of authenticity, dialect, etc., must always qualify the
results.

All of the above is in anticipation of an acknowledg-
ment of the fact that all that one might claim to rhyme
within a certain classical Chinese document cannot always
be justified on the basis of its reconstruction. Happily,
even Jiang Yougao 江有誥 (d. 1851) found rhymes in
many classical works, including GGZ, that do not fit stan-
dard *Shi jing* rhyme groupings, and published his findings
in *Yinxue shishu* 音學十書 . A more modern effort by
Bernard Karlgren, "The Poetical Parts of Lao Tsï' (1932),
looks at the problem more specifically, and attempts to
find some phonological common ground among words that seem
to rhyme in several pre-Han texts. He concludes that there
is a loose sense of rhyming in many prose texts, that in
other words characters do not have to have exactly the same
final sounds to be considered rhymes. By including texts
other than poetry as rhyming materials Karlgren made a
contribution that has not always been appreciated. The
reason for this would seem to be a practical one: if you do
not give a set of rules that cover all rhyming situations
there is no consistent principle to follow when determining
rhyme. Therefore, most scholars would seem to have simply
avoided the problem and claimed rhyme only when proposed

rhyme words correspond to rhyme groups of identical final

sounds as defined for particular historical periods.[12]

This caution is commendable, for as we have noted, one is

otherwise working without usable principles. But I would

suggest another way. If in the process of determining

structures one feels that certain characters are being used

as rhymes, those characters should be noted as possible

rhymes and records should be kept against the time when all

proposed rhymes in all classical texts can be compared.

Perhaps something concrete will be determined and rhyming

in prose texts could become an aid toward determining the

time of composition.

The actual determination of rhyming status is probably

impossible in any absolute sense. An important corollary of

the principles described above helps to render that less

important than might otherwise be so. If we say that an

author has rhymed two or more lines, then we are saying

that he consciously manipulated the rhyming words of at

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12. The major works describing the phonology of particular
historical periods of which I am aware and which have been
consulted in the writing of this dissertation are, for the
Old or Archaic period B. Karlgren's *Grammata Serica Recensa*
and Li Fanggui's "Studies on Archaic Chinese" (the latter
used as a basis for all reconstructions); for the Han
period, Luo Changpei and Zhou Zumo, *Han Wei Jin* . . .; for
the Wei-Jin period, Ding Bangxin, *Chinese Phonology*. . .
and Zhou Zumo, "Wei Jin yin yu Qi Liang yin"; for the
crucial period of the *Qie yun* (ca. A.D. 600), Karlgren's
reconstructions are generally accepted although many,
including Li, make minor adjustments.

least one line (or all but one, depending on the number of
rhyming lines and excluding the first word, which can be
totally arbitrary). If he rhymes "closely" he is still
manipulating the close-rhyming words (the words used are
not arbitrary, but must sound "like" the lead word). The
key here is manipulation. When a word is used to express
something for reasons other than or in addition to its
meaning, then the meaning of the word is of less importance
than when the word is used without concern for its sound
(or other quality). Once again, we see that when structure
affects the choice of words an author uses, that structure
must be taken into account when seeking the meaning of the
piece as a whole.

## E. Constituent Analysis

We have seen that the structure of a prose work like
that of GGZ can have an effect on its meaning, indeed may
be said to be responsible for its meaning. To make that
structure known we need to have a consistent approach to
determining its make-up, so that our analysis of its effect
on meaning, that is, how we in fact read the piece, can be
justified in so far as structure plays a role above the
level of the clause or sentence. As an example of one
approach to this process I append the text of GGZ divided
into "lines" as a first step in this process.

By "lines" I mean divisions in an otherwise uninter-

rupted text such that certain features are made explicit. Ideally, we might say that each line is a sentence, but as I have already mentioned, the prose style to which GGZ, *Laozi*, parts of *Xunzi*, *Hanfeizi*, and many others belong often complicates the sentence until it becomes just too large a unit to be always helpful. Of course, there will be times when a line will equal a sentence, but often the line will represent a clause of a sentence, or even two or more clauses. The absolute value of the line is not important. It is important to provide the means by which to examine the structure of a certain section of a piece. If that section can be analyzed clearly when each line is a sentence then they shall be. When something less than a sentence is significant and convenient to use, then that will be the contents of a line. When rhyme is involved, the line serves most often as a vehicle to isolate the rhyme word at the end of it. But in many cases, especially in the *Laozi*, there is significant internal rhyme as well, like

    I see the fox and grapes,

        lox and crepes,. . . (not a line from LZ).

In GGZ I.1 and I.2, I have used two lines for the convenience of transcription. With the final *ye* one could easily see these two lines as one sentence: "When we look into the past, the way the Sage is between Heaven and Earth

is that he is foremost among living things" (to be lit-
eral). But in I.3 through I.7 we see a very clear pat-
terning: verb, object phrase containing *zhi*. The under-
stood subject must be *sheng ren* to make sense, but that is
less than clear grammatically because *sheng ren* is "bound"
to the first line with *zhi*. When the lines have been
written as they have here one tends to look for the
strongest affinities first. That comes in the unit that is
formed from I.3 through I.7 (with I.8 as a change in pat-
tern but bound to what precedes by the particle *er* and the
need for a subject). Still on the subject of lines, the
material in these "lines" does not form individual sen-
tences, but rather forms clauses in a sentence that gram-
matically must be seen to extend from I.1 through I.8.

With the tight and clear unit of I.3-7 as a kind of
nucleus, I would draw an inclusive bracket at the side to
indicate that this is a unit. Another bracket would
indicate the inclusion of I.8 but with a different degree
of tightness, since it does not share in the same parallel
patterning as 3-7. The result would look something like:

```
------    I.1  粤若稽古聖人之在天地間也
  |       I.2          為眾生之先
  |     |- I.3  觀陰陽之開闔以名命物
  |     |  I.4  知存亡之門户
  |     |  I.5  籌策萬類之終始
  |     |  I.6  達人心之理
  |   |-|  I.7  見變化之朕焉
  |_ |__   I.8      而守司其門户
```

Grammatical functions often serve to connect units even when the "sense" is somewhat weak. Line 9 begins with gu, which I have already said may not appear without the possibility of referring to something before it. However, the sense of "therefore" with which it most often associated is simply inappropriate when in the Chinese it merely indicates the beginning of the "next" section. In the case of line 9 the "therefore" is warranted as long as the argument "his Way has been one (whole, etc.) from the old days until the present" is seen to be a conclusion of the unit I.1-8.

It is generally convenient to indicate levels of subordination with indentation. The actual degree of indentation is not important. One is often restricted by room with which to work, and, too, it is most convenient to indicate parallel grammatical structures by displaying the lines with the most significant elements aligned. Some-

times a true "therefore" will seem best placed further

indented from the conditions of the argument, which precede

it.  However, space often becomes a limiting factor and the

indentation can then be *reversed*, the line going to the

left-- anything to show that it is structured differently

from the lines that precede it.

The possible rhyme relations in just this one section

are intriguing and complex, but no less so than those of

many other sections.  Lines 1 and 2 end (effectively) in

nasal "final sounds," specifically the 元 (*-an) and

文 (*-ən) rhyme groups respectively.  While one may not

want to acknowledge a rhyme here, the sounds contrast

completely with the non-nasal final sounds in lines 3-9.

Similar *wen/yuan* groupings occur in *Laozi* 5, 15, 65.[13]

In line 3 the occurrence of the last four characters

is striking because it seems unnecessary and certainly

extraneous to the pattern of this unit.  However, it is

_____

13. If we check the results of studies of rhyming for
periods between the Old and Middle Chinese stages we find
some help for some situations.  These two rhymes are within
the *yuan* group, for example, in Ding Bangxin's study of Wei
and Jin rhyming (in *Chinese Phonology of the Wei-Chin
Period*).  If one could be sure that "prose" and poetry were
playing by the same rules it would be worth the effort to
check all possible rhymes against the various categories
set up for each period.  Ding's chart, pp. 238-247, of the
development of linguistic rhyme categories from Old through
Middle (Ancient) periods gives the most help in aiding the
non-linguist look for the makeup of rhyme categories in
those periods if one has first determined the Middle
Chinese rhyme category from *Qie yun*.  It is, however, far
from convenient for our purposes.

interesting to note the *ru sheng* ending of both the word

that would be the final sound of the line (according to the

pattern) and the word that is the final sound.[14]  Even if

it could be proven that this phrase was added by a later

hand, the similarity of the sounds gives it some measure of

connection with the "pattern" part of the line.

The section beginning with line 11 has no connection

with what precedes *until* line 16 when mention of *sheng ren*

implies that 11-15 refer to the reasons why the Sage

watches over his portals, and the essential repetition of

line 8 increases the effect.  Lines 12-15 form a clearly

seen unit on the basis of their parallel structure.  End

rhyme in three of the lines aids in the unity of the sec-

tion, which is a comment upon or expansion of the topic

sentence of line 11.  The section is drawn to a close with

another *shi gu*, this time with the three line strengthening

of the predicate clause of line 16 that we saw as an

earlier example.

Although there is no reason to want to force a rhyme

in line 14 (the only non-陽 rhyme in the 12-15 unit) it

is a good point at which to mention that experience has

---

14. The rhyme groups are not the same: 葉 (*-ap) and 微
(*-ɣt) respectively, but my observations of possible
rhyming in LZ have suggested that often *ru sheng* status
alone is sufficient for a "rhyme."  This seems, too, to be
the point of Serruys' reference to Chang Cheng-ming's work
on rhyme sometimes depending on consonance (p. 11 and note
2, p. 250).

shown that coupling of opposites has higher priority than rhyming as a unifying technique in both *Laozi* and GGZ. Where structural processes are at work, and where, as we have contended, one can expect words to be used in compliance with that structural processing, authors tend to choose an antonym over a rhyme for opposing lines if the resultant pair is "common." Words like 'in/out,' 'up/down,' etc., will usually take precedence over rhyme.

This unit of lines 11-19, itself with internal relations to be noted, could be connected to the previous unit of lines 1-10. On the basis of the relations between these larger units (one could call them 'paragraphs' if determining the exact definition of a paragraph is not allowed to deter one) one might then judge the relation of a unit to the section or work as a whole when that unit has no clear connection to anything else. This might be the basis, for example. of providing a subject that is otherwise not clear. Lines 20-36 form a unit that can be interrelated in the same way we handled the previous lines, but the subject, the doer of the action or he to whom the description is applied, must be supplied from outside the unit. While that subject might sometimes be clear or clear enough without this kind of close analysis, more often than not this process of constituent analysis will allow justifiable conclusions regarding matters like that, or will

show better the degree of ambiguity that exists.

The following observations on the possible contribu-
tions of constituent analysis are presented in reference to
examples from the text of GGZ.

I.21 　乃可捭乃可闔

I.22 　乃可進乃可退

I.23 　乃可賤乃可貴

　　　　　"By that can you cleave, by that can you join,

　　　　　　in that way promote, in that way demote,

　　　　　　thereby demean, and thereby ennoble."

An example of perfect parallelism.  22 and 23 even
rhyme.  21 might have as well, but *bai* and *he* are an
important pair of "opposites."

I.31 　或開而示之

I.32 　或闔而閉之

I.33 　　開而示之者同其情也

I.34 　　闔而閉之者異其誠也

　　　　　"Sometimes open up and and be revealing with them,

　　　　　sometimes close up and be guarded with them.

　　　　　Being open and expansive with them is to share

　　　　　　　the same sentiments.

　　　　　To be close and guarded with them is to differ

　　　　　　from their intentions."

Shows what we might call "commentary" subordination,
where the unit is a clear example or commentary to the

unit's topic sentence.  As a unit subordinated to 31-32,
33-34 uses the grammatical particle *zhe* 者 , the
nominalizing word, to make 31-32 explicit topics for the
contributions of 33-34.

I.35　可 與 不 可

I.36　審 明 其 計 謀 以 原 其 同 異

　　　　　　"As for what may and may not be done,

　　　　be thoroughly clear about their plans and schemes

　　　　　　so that you can find the basis of your

　　　　　　similarities and differences."

　　　This is an independent unit, as viewed from that
immediately preceding.  But the use of 同　and 異　shows it
clearly as connected with what precedes.

I.38　　即 欲 捭 之 貴 周

I.39　　即 欲 闔 之 貴 密

I.40　　周 密 之 貴 微 而 與 道 相 追

I.41　　捭 之 者 料 其 情 也

I.42　　闔 之 者 結 其 誠 也

　　　　　　"If you want to cleave them, give value to

　　　　　　openness.

　　　　If you want to join them up, give value to

　　　　　　secrecy.

　　　Openness and secrecy value being subtle and

　　　　　　proceeding in tune with the Dao.

To cleave someone is to measure his feelings, and

to join him up is to bind his affections."

This unit also shows different levels of subordina-

tion. While not always using *zhe*, the effect of 40-42 is a

nominalizing of parts of 38-39. 38-39 do not need 40-42.

Strictly speaking, 40-42 do not need 38-39. But once they

have been joined, the role of 40-42 as a unit *subordinate*

to 38-39 is clear and the meaning of the larger unit

changes the value of the smaller unit.

I.47 故 捭 者 或 捭 而 出 之

"So it is that in cleaving open you sometimes

cleave and release things. . ."

A good example of        as non-conclusive. The lines

it begins are not necessary conclusions of what precedes.

Nevertheless, it serves a connecting function.

I.89 可 以 説 人

I.90 可 以 説 家

I.91 可 以 説 國

I.92 可 以 説 天 下

"You can persuade people,

you can persuade families,

you can persuade states,

and you can persuade the world."

When a pattern is established, on no matter what

grounds, it cannot be broken or interrupted except

conspicuously. The effect of this can be used, as in these lines, to emphasize the interruption. The pattern is the first three words, not the grammatical function of those words (as is most often the case). Since the actual words are being repeated, when the expected word, the last character in the line, is different the effect is to emphasize that word.

I.101  陽還終陰

I.102  陰極反陽

> "Yang returns, which brings an end to yin;
>
> yin reaches its peak, and there is return to
>
> yang."

Although we have seen in chapter one that textual analysis can give us distinct guidelines by which we can judge the possibility of the contributions a given version of a text can make toward reconstruction of an archetype, in cases where such evidence is lacking or inconclusive, CA will sometimes provide a guideline. The 1805 text reads 陰 where all others read 終 . Looking at the patterns established in this unit, one might choose the 1805 reading on the basis of better correspondence with that pattern.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| VIII.34 | 其 | 摩 | 者 |
| VIII.35 | 有 | 以 | 平 |
| VIII.36 | 有 | 以 | 正 |
| VIII.37 | 有 | 以 | 喜 |
| VIII.38 | 有 | 以 | 怒 |
| VIII.39 | 有 | 以 | 名 |
| VIII.40 | 有 | 以 | 行 |
| VIII.41 | 有 | 以 | 廉 |
| VIII.42 | 有 | 以 | 信 |
| VIII.43 | 有 | 以 | 利 |
| VIII.44 | 有 | 以 | 卑 |

"As for the ways of probing, there are pacifying, rectifying, making happy, making angry, naming, taking action, being honest, being trusting, benefitting, and assuming inferiority.

This list of actions is typical of "listing" passages (whether of individual words or whole clauses) in much of ancient Chinese literature in that it "appears" to have a strict structure-- sets of coupled words, apparently rhymed-- that cannot be satisfactorily analyzed. Lines 37-38 and 43-44 are clearly opposing terms, linked to each other but separated from the rest by that opposition. Neither pair rhymes (in the strict sense), but as we said in the previous chapter, accepted groupings (usually coupled opposites) have precedence over the necessity of

rhyming. With these four lines giving strong evidence of
the pattern one looks to the other lines for confirmation,
but it is not clearly there. A principle of constituent
analysis is that a contextual pattern may be interrupted
through the needs of rhyming. Therefore, if we can find
evidence of rhyming, the breakup of a strict contextual
pattern can be understood without the need to abandon the
idea of a structuring principle informing a particular
section.

Lines 35-36 rhyme, lines 37-38 are 之 and 魚 rhyme
groups respectively, lines 39-40 are 耕 and 陽 , 41-42 are
淡 and 真 , and lines 43-44 are 脂 and 佳 . What is
immediately obvious is that although few of these pairings
can be called "rhymed" in the strict sense, the sound of
each "rhyme" word in the pair is much closer to its
counterpart than to any other "rhyme" word in its vicinity.
If the prosodic function of rhyme is to associate "nearby"
words through a perception of their similar sounds, then
the function of rhyme is served nearly as well by "close"
rhyme as by perfect rhyme, as long as that close rhyme is
sufficiently unlike other sounds around it. If this pas-
sage is then considered "rhymed," the fact that its paired
words are not exact opposites (if that is the prevailing
pattern) or "ideally" paired (if some quality other than
opposition is in effect) can be understood by that need to

rhyme. Therefore, any word appearing in a "rhymed" posi-
tion has to be considered in terms of that positioning as
well as by its individual meaning.

IX.1 説 者 説 之 也

IX.2 説 之 者 資 之 也

IX.3 飾 言 者 假 之 也

IX.4 假 之 者 益 損 也

IX.5 應 對 者 利 辭 也

IX.6 利 辭 者 輕 論 也

IX.7 成 義 者 明 之 也

IX.8 明 之 者 符 驗 也

"Persuasion is the persuasion of someone.

To persuade someone provide him with something.

To embellish speech is to make use of it.

You use it to [present] advantage and
    disadvantage.

Reaction and response should use facile
    words.

Facile words lighten discussion.

When you have reached a consensus clarify it.

To clarify it verify it."

If the pattern established in this unit is a valid
one, then the reading of MK, Man, and DZ for the first line
[ 説 之 者 for 説 者 ] is probably incorrect.

The preceding examples show something of the effect constituent analysis can have on determining the structures that are defining relations for the elements within a text. While the basic premise is to look first at the value of the structure to avoid being incorrectly influenced by the value of a word (which can change in different contexts), in practice one finds oneself evaluating both of these aspects in difficult circumstances. When a pattern is not strong enough to determine on its own the "punctuation" of a sentence or larger unit, we must rely solely on the linear structure, that is, a normal prose reading. There will still be parts of a text that will remain ambiguous, whether because of insufficient knowledge on the part of the reader, poor transmission of the original text, ambiguity inherent within the language, or by design of the author.

We began this chapter with a discussion of punctuation and have proceeded to outline possible ways in which the function of punctuation can be taken over by making more explicit the structure principles inherent in the natural language. We must recognize those principles as best we can if we are to feel we have correctly understood a given text. The principles underlying constituent analysis have been largely developed in work on *Laozi*, where suggested readings can be easily compared to existing readings,

whether via translations or modern punctuation.  It is that experience that provides more confidence in this way of looking at the reading process than would the same approach were it based solely on work with GGZ.[15]

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15. My review of  Ch'en Ch'i-yün's *Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China* in *Early China* 7 (1981-82), pp. 71-74 largely consists of differences between Professor Ch'en's "traditional" reading of *Shen jian* and my own based upon constituent analysis.

## V. A Translation of the Text of *Guiguzi*

## A. Introduction

GGZ is a difficult text to read and even more so to translate. When reading we can often let difficulties slip by, especially since we are able to keep ambiguities in our minds until they gradually disappear as they are either resolved or replaced by new ones. The translator must make very definite decisions about the reading of a passage. He or she must determine how much a given passage relates to the rest of the text. To this end there are the aids discussed in the previous chapter, as well as the more general contribution of experience. In the translation that follows, the rendering is perhaps only one of several possible.

The overall guideline to making this translation has been adherence to the principles of structure in so far as the translator has been able to determine them. In its traditional form the text is punctuated only to the degree that the "pseudo-Tao Hongjing" commentary breaks up sections. The effect of this minimal structuring can be quite influential. One naturally breaks at the points of its inclusion, and it is reasonable to assume that pseudo-Tao was not breaking in mid-sentence, although this is not true

of the later editions that add more philological or textual information.

The pseudo-Tao commentary is important in that it is the only pre-Qing commentary known for this text. Unlike some other Tang commentaries, presuming that pseudo-Tao is more likely to be Yin Zhizhang (see chapter one), this one is essentially not philological. It rarely glosses a character. Instead it offers a paraphrase of the passage in question. This certainly gives one person's view of how to read the text. But pseudo-Tao is not without his critics. Sun Yirang is critical (*Za yi* 6.8b), Yu Yue is often critical (*Zhuzi pingyi bulu* 13.102-115, and Zhao Quanbi often ignores the Tao reading (*Guigu zi zhushi*).

This study has looked at the Tao readings but has been influenced more by its attempt to look at the text on its own terms, to analyze its structure and look at its language in light of other examples in texts roughly contemporaneous with it (third or fourth century A. D. or before). Remarks by GGZ scholars from pseudo-Tao to Zhao Quanbi have often been helpful, but, as will frequently be the case with texts so difficult, they have often been contradictory as well. At these points and others, the translator has chosen his own, perhaps unique, path.

## B. First *juan*: Cleaving and Joining

I.1     If we investigate the past, we find that the position of the Sage between Heaven and Earth has been foremost among all living things.[1]     Observing the opening and closing of *yin* and *yang*, he has ordained things with names.[2]     He knows the passageways of preservation and

---

1. The first four characters are a phrase also found in the first line of the "Yao dian" 堯典 chapter of the *Shang shu*. In the arrangement we have today, that is therefore the first line in the *Shang shu*. Although the extant edition of ShSh reads 曰 for the 寁 in GGZ, there is much evidence to indicate that the same word is intended. ShW says 寁 [*grjat] is or means 于 [*gwjag]. Various commentaries on ShW and ShSh point out interchangeable usage with 曰 [*grjat] and 越 [*grjat], the current ShSh reading. *Yue* and *ruo* 若 [*ngrjag/k] may well constitute a phrase, of which there are several examples in ShSh. At one point, Qu Wanli equates *ruo* with 越 (p. 176), which we have seen already as interchangeable with *yue*. Since archaisms like this are rare in GGZ (perhaps unique in this example) it seems most likely that the phrase has been borrowed from an exalted ancient work to provide some "class" for the opening of GGZ.
      Pseudo-Tao ends the first sentence at the end of the first line. I take line 1 as the topic of the sentence that ends with line 2.
      The term *sheng ren* 聖人 does not appear in the ShSh, but occurs twice in *Shi jing* [Mao 198,257]. In the ShJ usages and in the many subsequent appearances in texts of all persuasions it has the definite sense of a person with greater than normal perception, someone able to see or sense things that normal people cannot. I use "Sage" here not to align GGZ with any particular school, although certain "Confucian" principles are singled out for "use" in persuasion (see III.64-66 for one example), but simply as a convenience for consistent usage.
2. I do not translate *yin* and *yang*. The text makes it clear how these fundamental principles are intended. The reader will note heavy dependence on this concept throughout this chapter, but also its virtual disappearance afterward. This chapter seems to accept *yin yang* as an under

destruction,[3]  has calculated the cycles of all things,

and has understood the rationale of men's hearts.  He has

seen the indications of transformation in all these things,

and has kept guard over their passageways.  So it is that

from ancient times until today, the Way of Sages in the

world has been one.

I.11        Although transformation is endless, each thing

has that to which it returns.[4]    Sometimes things are yin,

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stood principle that explains well the concept of "cleave"
and "close up" that forms the topic for the chapter.
Gerald Swanson (see below) says the same thing about yin
yang in the Yijing commentaries, calling it "an assumed
presupposition (p. 64)."
    See Creel, Shen Pu-hai, p. 351, for this understanding
of "ordain."
    1805 is alone in reading ming ming wu 名名物 , the
others reading ming wu 名物 .  Ming wu 名物 by itself
is a common phrase in early texts, meaning apparently "to
distinguish individuals from a group" [Zhouli 1,天官家宰
(Zhouli jinzhu jinyi, p. 36)] and "to transform name and
reality" [Guanzi 32, 小稱 (Guanzi zhuyi, p. 307)].  The
double ming is unusual (but without wu not unknown: Moroha-
shi 3297.290).
    3. 門戶 , translated here as passageways, are more
literally two ways of referring to doors and/or gates, or
as one commentator has it, doors and shutters.  It is used
here, as in other texts, as a metaphor for mechanisms for
control.  In Guanzi 13, 入觀 , for example, 宮墻毀
懷,門戶不閉 ,...則....(p. 114) "If palace walls
crumble and crack, if doors and shutters are not barred,..
then, ....," where the subject is how to keep people in
the places they belong.
    This concept of doors as mechanisms for control or for
obstruction will be important for understanding bai 捭 and
he 闔 , which discussion see below.
    4. The concept of "transformation," is intimately con-
nected with the Yijing, or more correctly, with its com-
mentary.  A simple explanation is given by Gao Heng (Zhou
yi da zhuan jin zhu, p. 55) who explains it as changes in
the state of a natural phenomenon, such as the seasons, the
day, wind and rain, light and dark, temperature, etc.  The

sometimes they are yang; at times they are weak, at times

strong; sometimes they open, sometimes they close; at times

they are slack, and at others are tense.  For this reason

the Sage unvaryingly watches over the passageways, care-

fully examines that by which things precede or lag behind,

takes measure of quantity and abilities, and evaluates

cleverness and strengths and shortcomings.

I.20      There are differences in humaneness and rightness

between the worthy and the unworthy, the intelligent and

the stupid, the brave and the cowardly. By that can you

cleave, by that can you join,[5]  in that way promote, in

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philosophical principle for which that natural phenomena
serves as basis would seem not far removed from its
origins.
     Gerald Swanson devotes part of a chapter of his dis-
sertation, "The Great Treatise: Commentatory Tradition to
the *Book of Changes*," (University of Washington, 1974) to a
discussion of *bian hua* 變 化  (pp. 63-75).  Swanson notes
that in the "Xi ci" 繫 辭  commentary to the *Yijing* [=the
Great Treatise], the term *bian hua* is understood in some of
its occurrences as two different concepts, alternation 變
and transformation 化 .  There is no question but that some
commentators have considered this to be so.  While some
might argue that seeing the two words as two separate ideas
is reading more of what Swanson has called "polarity" into
the text than is deserved, in the context of the *Yi jing*
commentaries and their own close in time Han commentaries,
Swanson makes a persuasive argument.  Outside of that con-
text, as in GGZ, I will use the simpler idea of "transfor-
mation" for the two words considered as one term.
     5. *Bai* 捭 and *he* 闔 , origins of the chapter title, refer
to "cleaving" and "joining" or "closing up," respectively,
and are usually explained as "open" and "close," which
terms are used throughout this chapter in relation to *bai*
and *he*.  But something more is intended, or just "open" and
"close" would have been used.
     In his cognate dictionary, *Tongyuan zidian*, Wang Li
maintains that *bai* is cognate with 擘 and 掰 , and these

that way demote, thereby demean, and thereby ennoble.

————————————————

in turn are related to 擘 and 闢 (p. 117). *Bai* may be reconstructed as *prig, 擘 as *prik, but 扮手, with a modern pronunciation of *bai*, is evidently a very recent character. I have found it no earlier than the *Gwoyeu tsyrdean* (1947), although examples in that dictionary indicate that *bai* was an established word in certain phrases. 闢 may be reconstructed as *bik and 擘 as *bik, as well.

Evidence that Wang has accumulated concerning the usage of these terms indicates that the probable basic meaning of the root has to do with separating or splitting something, especially forcibly, with one's hands, or perhaps (as in the modern sense given in *Chinese-English* for *bai* 扮手) with one's fingers. ShW defines 拚 as "to strike with two hands," but the word for "to strike" 擊 (*kik) is very common in ShW definitions of words having the hand radical, and I suspect that its real sense is that of "forceful motion," something like the *da* 打 in modern Chinese.

There are a few examples of the use of *bai he* in Tang and later texts which are clearly intended as expressions for "to open and close." See PWYF, p. 4168, the section on *he* 闔, especially under all the relevant possible cognates of *bai*. But there are two earlier examples of the use of *bai* 拚 in WX (compiled around A.D. 526; see Knechtges, p. 10) that are not so clear and bear closer scrutiny.

The two uses of *bai* in WX are by authors of a similar time, Zuo Si 左思 [A.D. 250-305] ("吳都賦 " WX 5.19b) and Zhang Xie 張協 [fl. 300] ("七命 " WX 35.9a), and have one remarkable feature in common: they share not only the word *bai* but three others as well. In both passages, the words 拉 , 挫 , and 摧 appear also. While a complete analysis of the relations of each character to the other would be too lengthy for this too long note, the conclusion is that all can be linked by the definition, as 摧 or 折 "to split, to cleave,to break."

*Bai* 拚 as in "to open (a door or gate)" could be understood as the (momentary) separation of either one or two panels, the ShW definition of *hu* 戶 and *men* 門 , respectively. As a metaphor, *bai* would then be important when considered in light of the many references to "pushing into crevices (=opportunities) in GGZ. *He* 闔 could be seen as "closing up (opportunities)" to others.

*Bai he* could also be an allusion to the "Xi ci zhuan" ( 上 ) commentary to the *Yijing*, which defines change ( 變 ) as "once closing up, once cleaving" (Gao Heng, pp. 536-37), where "cleaving" is written as 辟 .

I.24    Watch over them by non-initiation.[6]    Carefully

ascertain what is and what is not, together with their

substance or lack of it.    Go along with their tastes and

desires in order to see their intentions.    Subtlely give

back what they have said, while reversing it out of context

in order to see what they really mean.    Value the gain of

what they indicate should be joined, while cleaving it open

to thereby profit from it.

I.31    Sometimes open up and and be revealing with them,

sometimes close up and be guarded with them.    Being open

and expansive with them is to share the same sentiments. To

be close and guarded with them is to differ from their

intentions.[7]    As for what may and may not be done, be

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It is likely that the choice of *bai he* as a technical
term in GGZ was due to even more than the possibilities
discussed above, but center on both the meanings of the
roots and previous usage.

6. *Wu wei* 無 為 is a difficult phrase to understand, and
has been translated variously by Western scholars. Probably
the greatest obstacles to understanding its sense and place
in the history of Chinese thought have been the problems
associated with the texts in which it is used: when were
they written, by whom, and for what purposes.  H.G. Creel's
essay "On the Origin of *wu-wei*" (*Taoism*, 48-78) is an
interesting discussion of the background of the problem.
If clearly datable texts can make the contribution they
must, then our best hopes for understanding the ideas in
*Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Guanzi*, and the many others, that have
come to represent the basis for distinctions like
"Legalism" and "Daoism" lie with accurate analysis of texts
recovered archeologically.  This work remains largely
undone.

7. I take this line (I.34) to mean that as long as you do
not tell anyone what you feel you can safely hold different
opinions.  The lack of clarity in this line, and perhaps
even its reason for existing, have to do with the

thoroughly clear about their plans and schemes so that you can find the basis of your similarities and differences.

I.37    Reserve your disaffection and accord, and first comply with their intentions. If you want to cleave them, give value to openness. If you want to join them up, give value to secrecy. Openness and secrecy value being subtle and proceeding in tune with the Dao. To cleave someone is to measure his feelings, and to join him up is to bind his affections.

I.43    When all have shown their relative weights by balance, then is it that you measure the quantities. The Sage considers according to this. When the balance and measurements have not been accurate, then is it that the Sage considers his own part.

I.47    So it is that in cleaving open you sometimes cleave and release things, sometimes cleave and capture things. When closing up, you sometimes close up and obtain things, sometimes close up and dispel them.

I.51    Cleaving and closing up are the Way of Heaven and Earth. Cleaving and closing up stimulate by change, just as yin and yang and the four seasons transform all things by opening and closing, everywhere producing again and again, toppling again and again, to obstruct over and

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constraints of the parallel structure and rhyme scheme. Here is a good example of parallelism emphasized by opposites and further strengthened by strong rhyme (I.27-34).

over again.[8]    It must be this way.

I.56    Cleaving open and closing up are the great transformations of the Dao, as well as the permutations of persuasion.  One must prepare and examine carefully these transformations and permutations, for fortune, calamity, and fate are connected to them.

I.60    The mouth is the passageway of the heart.  The heart is the master of the spirit.  Intentions, ideas, pleasure, desires, thoughts, cares, wisdom, and schemes all pass in and out through this passageway.  Therefore, restrict it using cleaving and closing up, and control it by means of what passes in and out.

I.66    Cleaving things has to do with opening, with speaking, with yang.  Closing things up has to do with concealing, with silence, with yin.  When Yin and yang are in harmony, the cycle of things is proper. Therefore, to speak of long life, happiness, prosperity, respect, reputation, love, wealth, satisfaction, and expectations is act as yang and is called `beginning.'  And so, to speak of death, misfortune, poverty, discredit, rejection, financial

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8. I read yin yang as the first part of line 53, but this reading is not certain.  Some scholars read it at the end of 52.  One would then read dong 動 as transitive acting on yin and yang: ". . . to stimulate yin and yang."  It seems unlikely that anything could stimulate the two natural forces of yin and yang.  Also, some read zong heng 縱橫 as part of line 54.  This is also difficult to decide.  Having less trouble with the reading as given, I have chosen it over this latter possibility.

loss, disappointment, personal harm, corporal punishment,
and official censure is to act as *yin* and is called
'ending.'

I.76     All references modeled upon *yang* are called
'beginning,' for to speak of good is to begin an action.
All references modeled upon *yin* are called 'ending,'
because to speak of the bad is to bring an end to a plan.

I.80     That a way is cleaving or closing up may be
tested by its [nature as] *yin* or *yang*. Therefore, when one
is speaking in reference to *yang* rely upon the lofty and
high. When speaking in reference to *yin* do so in accord-
ance with the lowly and small.

I.83     Seek the small below and the large above. If you
speak in this way there is nothing that will not come
forth, nothing that will not take hold, nor anything that
cannot be done. You can persuade people, you can persuade
families, you can persuade states, and you can persuade the
world. In acting small, let nothing be smaller; in acting
large, let there be nothing bigger.

I.95     Advantage and disadvantage, rejecting and accep-
ting, and denying then changing,[9]     all have their actions

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9. These three phrases are further examples of the altera-
tion of states concept integral to this chapter. The
structure of the first two, in the clear opposition of
their elements, help us understand the third, which is not
at first obvious. The more common sense is "to revolt" or
perhaps "be contentious" [LShChQ 9.11a] but that does not
have the alteration of states concept. Therefore, I have

controlled by *yin* and *yang*. *Yang* stirs and there is move-
ment; *yin* stops and there is storing away; *yang* moves and
there is production; *yin* obscures and there is retention;
*yang* returns, which brings an end to *yin*; *yin* reaches its
peak, and there is return to *yang*.[10]

I.103    When things are moved by *yang* virtue is produced
along with it. When things are made quiet by *yin* form is
constituted along with it. To seek *yin* with *yang* is to
encompass with virtue. To connect *yang* with *yin* is to act
with force. *Yin* and *yang* may be sought together with
cleaving and closing up. This is the way of *yin* and *yang*
in Heaven and Earth and the method by which to persuade
people.

I.110    As that which is foremost among all things it is
called passageways both round and square.

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chosen to see it as "first, turn one's back on, then, come
back into the fold," with *fan* having the sense of "re-
turning" rather that that of "going against." Compare line
102.

10. This idea of the cyclic movements of *yin* and *yang* is
perhaps closest to that reflected in the Han work *Taixuan
jing* 太玄經 by Yang Xiong (53 B.C.-18 A.D.), where the
entire piece [described by Knechtges, p. 35, as an "ab-
struse philosophical treatise"] is structured upon the
movements of *yin* and *yang* each rising to its peak as its
counterpart reaches its lowest point. *Taixuan jing* has
been recently translated into English. See Derek Walters,
*The T'ai Hsüan Ching* (Willingborough, Northamptonshire: The
Aquarian Press, 1983). An earlier Japanese translation is
by Suzuki Yoshijiro 鈴木申次郎 , *Taigenkyo* 太玄
經 (Tokyo: 明德 , 1972). An attempt at the history of
*yinyang* (and *wu xing* 五行 ) is Li Hansan's *Xian Qin liang
Han jy yinyang wuxing xueshuo.*

## C. Second *juan*: Turn Back for Response

II.1      The great transformations of old came about together with formlessness.[11]   One turns back in order to observe the past, turns forward in order to verify the future, turns back to know antiquity, turns forward to know the present, turns back to know the other, and turns forward to know the self.

II.5      When the inner principles of movement and quiescence, emptiness and substance do not accord with the present, turn back to the past and seek them.  It is the intention of the Sage that an affair for which one has looked back will result in going forward, and this must be pursued.

II.10      The words of others are movement.  Your own silence is quiescence.  Follow what they say, listen to their words.  When the words do not come together, seek them in reflection.  There is certain to be a response.

II.15      A word has its manifestation.  An event has its

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11. Da hua 大化 occurs in other texts.  In the "Tian lun" 天論 chapter of *Xunzi* (*j.* 11,*pian* 17.206) there is the line 四時代御，陰陽大化 "The four seasons take turns at controlling, *yin* and *yang* make the great transformations."  In the nominative, and with subjectless verbs following, one is tempted to translate this as "the great transformers," but it would be forced.  The *fan* and *fu* 反覆 of the next sentences are probably examples of this "taking of turns."

counterpart.[12]   By their having manifestations and

counterparts may we observe their progression.   Manifesta-

tions mirror their events, and counterparts parallel their

words.[13]

II.19     Seek sound by means of formlessness.   When "an-

gling words" accord with an affair, one may know the real

nature of someone.   It is like setting out nets to capture

animals.   Set out as many opportunities as possible and

watch over them.   When this path combines with their busi-

ness the target will himself come out with it.   This is the

net with which to "angle" for people.   Regularly maintain

this net and drive [people toward] it.   If they do not

speak there is no counterpart,[14]   so make them change

course.   Stimulate them with [your words] so they will

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12.  This terminology appears to be unique to GGZ and is
difficult to express clearly in this semi-poetic environ-
ment.  *Xiang* 象, as the manifestation of a word is the
"real" expression of that word, which itself is prior to
the expression and is always "unreal" or mental.  Actions,
too, are real manifestations of an abstract sense of
"events."   The word used for the manifestation of an event
or *shi* 事 is *bi* 比 , which is probably being used in an
extended sense of its meaning as "counterpart."  Counter-
part is the real world equivalent of the idea of an event
in whatever, probably mental, world "events" exist.
     It is possible that the author also has the "Xi ci"
chapters of the *Yi jing* commentary in mind, since *xiang*
is an important concept therein.  *Shi* is used as well,
although neither term appears to be used similarly in the
two texts.
13.  Lines 15 and 16, 17 and 18 rhyme in Old Chinese, and
it is possible that the difficulty of the terminology here
is related to that decision to rhyme.
14.  That is, no manifestation of their inner thoughts by
which to know those inner thoughts and desires.

announce what is in their hearts.

II.30    When you have seen their feelings, follow along
and nurture them.  When you cast back to the past they will
turn forward to the future.[15]   When words have manifesta-
tions and counterparts, follow them and establish your
base.  Build upon it, attach to it, turn it around, then
turn it back again.  In a myriad events your words will
never fail you, and there will be no doubts about all af-
fairs where the Sage induces both the stupid and the wise.

II.39    Thus, those who are good at reflecting upon what
they have heard could even stimulate ghosts and spirits,[16]
and learn their feelings.  When their stimulus is to the
point their control is thorough.  When control has not been
thorough, there is an unclear idea of the feelings invol-
ved, and when that happens the base established is not
complete.

II.44    When you vary manifestations and counterparts
there are certain to be words in reaction.  Listen to them
as they return to you.  If you wish to hear a sound, be

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15.  That is, they will give indications of what their
plans or desires are.

16. *Fan ting* 反聽 , a use of *fan* in the sense of "re-
flection," occurs also in a passage in the *Shi ji* biography
of Lord Shang 商君  (68.2233): 反聽之謂聰 ,
內視之謂明, 自勝之謂彊  "To reflect upon what
is heard is called `astute;' to see within is called `per-
sipicacious;' to take control of oneself is called
`strong.'"

quiet in contrast.[17]   If you wish tension, be composed in contrast.   If you wish height, prepare with shortness.   If you wish to obtain, begin with giving.

II.49     Those who would open up feelings, make them manifest and give them counterparts in order to nurture the relevant words.   Similar sounds call out to each other. Substance and principle come together.   Sometimes they follow this one, at other times that one, sometimes serving the noble, sometimes controlling the lesser.   This is all to hear the true and the false, to know what is similar and what is different, and to understand true feeling and falsity.   One's movements and actions, speech and silence, alternate according to this principle, and joy and anger in this way reveal their patterns.   They all make their rules and principles through prior stipulation.   By turning back seek a turning forward, and one may observe that on which [true feelings] rest.

II.59     Therefore, those who would use these principles pacify and calm their own desires in order to hear what is said, to examine activities, to discuss all things, and to distinguish male from female.[18]   Although these things are

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17. Another use of *fan* here that is difficult to translate.   The sense is "reaction," "counter with," but the intent is to do it *before*, or in other words to promote reaction.

18. These last two clauses should probably not be taken too literally, but should be understood as "making conversation" or the like.   While the structure of lines 59-62 is

not the matter at hand, by seeing the subtle you shall know

the greater significance.

II.64     If in probing other people you can reach within

them, evaluate their abilities, determine their intentions,

then confirmation will not be lost.   Just like the way the

Teng snake points,[19]  and the way Yi aims his arrows.[20]

II.70     Therefore, to know things, begin with oneself.

Know yourself first, then know about others.   This two-part

understanding is like the paired-eyes fish.[21]   The

appearance it takes on is like light with shadows.   And in

the scrutiny of what is said, nothing is missed.   It is

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not prose-like, rhyming would be difficult to justify.
Nevertheless, the phrases should be understood as rhetori-
cal devices.

 19. Mention of the Teng snake is common in literature from
before the Han period but there is no evidence for why it
should be considered an accurate or effective "pointer."
For a quick look at the importance of phonology in reading
ancient texts look at Wang Li's entry for *teng* 滕 in his
cognate dictionary, *Tongyuan zidian*, p. 253.  Then look at
the entry in *Ci tong* (p. 777) for *teng she* 螣 虵 .  One
will find in *Ci tong* not only several possible graphs for
the same word, but explanations of the Teng snake that
often echo very closely the cognates noted in Wang's book.
There is an interesting anecdote in HFZ "Shi guo 十過 ",
pp. 86-87, in which Teng snakes play a part in a scene that
illustrates a ruler's inability to "hear" what is really
going on.
     It should also be noted that lines 67 and 68 rhyme,
and if *shi* 矢  in 69 is the dominant word, *zhi* 指  is not
necessarily to be taken literally.
 20. Yi is a legendary figure associated with archery.
 21. Paired-eye fish are now thought to be flatfish, consi-
dered anciently to be individually one-eyed and unable to
see unless traveling in pairs.  It is a common metaphor for
cooperation.

like lodestone attracting a needle, and the tongue seeking
barbequed ribs.

II.76      Be subtle with others.  Be quick to sense
feelings.  Like *yin* is with *yang* and round with square.
When things have not yet appeared, be encompassing in
approaching them.  Once seen, be direct in dealing with
them.[22]

II.82      By advancing, then retreating, then left, then
right: that is how one manages things.  But if you do not
first establish yourself your control of others will not be
right.  If affairs are handled unskillfully, that is what
we call neglecting feelings and losing the way.  Carefully
establish yourself first to control others.  When prodding
without apparent purpose no one will see the opening.  That
is what is called spirits from Heaven.

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22. 'Encompassing' and 'direct' are used for the same
words translated as 'round' and 'square' above, 員 and
方 , respectively.

## D. Third *juan*: Inner Barriers

III.1 There is both the distant and intimate, close and estranged in the affairs of rulers and ministers, greaters and lessers. One approaches someone and is not used, but upon leaving him is summoned back. One daily is in someone's presence but is not employed, but hearing of his reputation from afar, he thinks upon him.[23]

III.7 There are inner barriers in all matters, common-ground connections from the beginning.[24] Sometimes the connection is by way of virtues and morality, sometimes by affiliation and friendship, sometimes via wealth or material goods, and sometimes by physical appearance.

III.12 Make use of this idea and enter wherever you wish to, depart from anywhere you like, be intimate or distant anytime you choose, accept and reject anything or anyone you wish, and dare to consider anything at all. Like the female trapdoor spider[25] following her offspring, she

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23. These clauses are examples of the topic sentence, i.e., how the seemingly impossible is in fact true.
24. The two difficult terms here are *nei jian* 內捷 and *su jie* 索結 . The sense of *nei jian* as used in the "Geng sang chu" 庚桑楚 chapter of *Zhuangzi* (*Zhuangzi jishi*, 23.341; Watson, p. 252) seems closest to our usage here. That is the idea of a barrier that one places within one's own mind against incursions from the outside. In this line, it is probably sufficient to understand "internal barriers." The term is expanded later. By *su jie* is meant connections that are "plain," without complications, direct, and which I understand as "common grounds."
25. There are two conflicting traditions that depend

appears where there is no opening, enters where is no

crack.  Passing back and forth alone, no one can stop her.

III.26   'Inner' [of inner barriers] means to put forward

suasive discourse, and 'barriers' means to fortify what is

being planned.  Those who would persuade should strive to

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upon the reading of this insect name.  1805 and SBBY read
*tie* 虫失, the only editions to do so.  The rest read *fu* 虫夫 .
The commentary clearly intends *tie* for the following rea-
sons.  *Er ya* is rare among old lexicons is providing an
instance of *tie* in the entry *wang tie yi* 王蛈蝪  (Er
ya, 釋 蟲 ,15.16a), which Guo Pu then expands, providing a
similar writing 即 虫室 虫童 (*zhi dang*).  The GGZ commentary
quotes this definition, which can be identified through *Ci
hai* as *Latouchia davidi*, and which I understand to be one
of many spiders that are called "trapdoor spiders."  See
Read, *Materia Medica*, pp. 91-92, for an interesting synop-
sis of information on the *zhi dang* as of his publication
date (1941).
       This makes the most sense of the passage as a whole
(lines 21-25) but is weak on the "following of offspring."
A more common creature in old texts is *fu* 虫夫 , which has a
*Shuo wen* entry and is described as a water insect.  This
would appear to have little connection with our illustra-
tion.  But, ShW also says that it "returns money."  Al-
though literal readings of ShW definitions must be under-
taken with care due to the common blending of phonological
and lexical information in the "definitions," the literal
meaning is confirmed by a story in the *Sou shen ji* (p. 99)
about the creature called *qing fu* 青 虫夫 .  It says that
when blood of the mother of this insect is smeared on 81
pieces of money and blood of its offspring is smeared on 81
other pieces no matter how one group of this money is then
spent, it will eventually return to the owner of the other
group.  The implication from the story is that the mother
insect is extraordinarily possessive of its young.  Despite
possible Buddhist influence (the number 81), this account
affords well with the brief numberless ShW phrase and is
said to be discussed in or by *Huainanzi* (not found).  Duan
Yucai prefers this explanation, calling *tie* a mistake.  It
makes far more sense of the "mother and offspring" line but
does not fit as well into the sense of argument.  As
intriguing as the story is and until more proof is avail-
able, I choose the usually preferable 1805 reading.

evaluate unnoticed. Those who would plan affairs should strive to be compliant. Consider to yourself whether something should be done or not. Speak out clearly about plusses and minuses to direct your target's intentions. In the future adapt to the situation to fit in with his plans. If you think carefully of the future and block the past your adaptations will be on the mark.

III.35   When there are contradictions within one cannot go ahead with actions. Measure closely the right moment. Follow up what presents itself to seek a change in your target, and use that change to seek input like a tube accepting a stopper.

III.39   When speaking of the past give precedence to compliant words. When speaking of the future speak to alter. Those who are good at altering know well the lay of the land. Thus, they are conversant with Heaven so as to transform the four seasons, they make ghosts and spirits conform to yin and yang, as they guide the people, perceive their plans and activities, and know their intentions and aspirations.

III.47   Where there are activities that do not conform [to their expectations] it is when they do not know enough about them. When there are things that conform, but with which they cannot make connections, they are close by yang but distant via yin. Where events do not conform, it has

not been a Sage who has made the plans.

III.50    Therefore, where someone has been distant but
made close, there is the virtue of *yin*.   Where someone has
been close but made distant, one's intentions have not been
in harmony.   Where one has approached but not been used,
his schemes have not been effective.   Where someone has
been rejected but has been summoned back, then his service
will better fit the future.   Where one daily comes forward
but is not received, his proposals are not in accord.   When
someone's fame is heard from afar and longed for, that
means that he accords with plans and is needed to resolve
matters.

III.57    So it is said, those who act while not seeing the
overall structure will be thwarted.   Those who attempt to
persuade without understanding the feelings of the target
will fail.   If you can understand his feelings then you
have mastered the skill.   By use of this principle you may
come and go at will, and may fortify or break open.

III.62    Therefore do Sages conduct their business by
means of this.   First understanding then blocking all
things.   Scheming by means of Morality and Virtue, Humane-
ness and Rightness, the Rites and the Music, Loyalty and
Trustworthiness.[26]    Take up first the *Songs* and the *Docu-*

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26. The words used here are common "Confucian" terms of
value.

*ments*. Throw in talk of advantage and disadvantage. Discuss at length rejection and acceptance.

III.69   When you wish to get close, make use of intimacy. When you wish to reject, use exclusion. For exclusion and intimacy you must be clear about the principles by which to proceed, measure and determine that which is to be, resolve any suspicions, make plans that cannot miss, and get merit for contributions.

III.76   When you become involved with an operation and have a reputation for management, that is called blocking out and coordinating within.[27]   When the higher levels are dim and do not govern well, and when subordinates are disorderly and there is no enlightenment, fortify and reverse the situation.

III.80   What is within will work on its own and that which is extraneous will not remain. Persuade and take by surprise.

III.83   If fate brings on something of itself, you welcome and take it over. If you wish to dispel something, put it into danger. Revolve and rotate following the transformations. No one will know how something is done. Backing off is a great tool.[28]

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27. The idea seems to involve the concept of keeping out "outside" influences and working on what is already "there."
28. Lines 83-84 and 85-87, respectively, all rhyme.

## E. Fourth *juan*: Pushing into Crevices

IV.1     Objects are self-actuating.  In events there are both combination and separation.  There are situations that are close yet cannot be seen, those that are distant but may yet be known.

IV.5     Those that are close yet cannot be seen, it is because their words have not been looked at.  When distant but still known, that which has past has been reflected upon to prove the future.

IV.7     A crevice is a rift.  A rift is a cleft.  To cleft is to make a large crack.[29]  When a crevice is barely perceptible, you can push in and block it up,[30] push in and break off, push in and extinguish, push in and hide, push in and gain.[31]  This is called the principle of

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29. These four words: crevice, rift, cleft, and crack are 山戲 (*hjiar/hjiag), 㝅庫 (*gwrag), 山閒 (*krian), 隙 (*khjak), respectively.  For the probable origins of two of them, see Wang Li, p. 279, p. 549.  Reconstructions are tentative, and based primarily on phonetic elements for the first three.  山閒 does not occur in any dictionary except *Ji yun* 集貟 , which says it is the same as 澗, "a moving stream between two mountains."  The equation would not seem valid based on GGZ's usage.  Whether valid characters or not, the sense intended is clear enough without parallel usage in other texts.

30. The character translated as "push in" here is 抵 *di*.  It sometimes has the sense of "elbow in," "push aside," etc.

31. Lines 10-14 rhyme, which lessens the importance of the rhyme words.  The point of the passage is that once one finds an opportunity, one should take it, and should therefore be able to accomplish anything.

"pushing into crevices."

IV.16    The Sage knows the fragile points in an affair. Watching out for himself he speaks to an affair according to its changes.  He is thoroughly conversant with plans and schemes in order to recognize the minutia and subtleties. Beginning with the tip of a hair of autumn down he produces from it the base of Mt. Tai. As things give out indications, they are the budding stumps of schemes, all done according to "pushing into crevices."  The cracks made by pushing into crevices are to be used by techniques of the Dao.[32]

IV.25    The world is in confusion.  There are no enlightened rulers in the upper levels, and lords and nobles are without morality and virtue.  So it is that the little man is slanderous and injurious, the worthy person goes unemployed, the Sage is in hiding, the avaricious and deceitful are on the rise, there is suspicion between ruler and minister, utter disorder and open warfare, division between father and son, and betrayal and quarrels.  These are all called the budding crevices and rifts.  When the Sage sees

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32. *Dao shu*, here "techniques of the Dao," is used in many early texts but its exact meaning is not clear.  See Morohashi, M:39010.252. It may be as simple as "means and techniques," as *dao* is translated below. *Han shu*, 地理 28b.1661, has 初大公治齊 ，修道術 ，尊賢 智，賞有功 . . . ."In the beginning, Tai Gong ruled Qi, practicing the techniques of Dao, revering the worthy and knowledge, rewarding merit, . . . ."  See also GGZ, X.49.

the budding crevices and rifts he uses methods to push into them.

IV.38    If the particular time may be managed, push in and block it off.  If it cannot be managed, push in and gain from it.  Push in sometimes by this method, sometimes by that one.  Sometimes push in and take it in, sometimes push in and expel it.  When there is good government, push in and block it up.  Even in ideal times, push in and gain from them.[33]  The many lords obstruct each other without end, and at these times one might push in and be a confidant.

IV.48    Stemming from the joining and separation, ending and beginning between Heaven and Earth, there are certain to be crevices and cracks.  They must be investigated.  Investigate them by means of splitting open and closing up.  He who is able to use this means is a Sage.  The Sage is the catalyst of Heaven and Earth.

IV.53    When there are no means by which a particular time may be pushed into then hide deeply away and await the right time.  One may align with upper levels, or one may

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33.  As in line 38, "block it up" seems to refer to a "good" action, perhaps in the sense of "protect against outside influences."  "Good government" is 丟肴之正攵 in GGZ, a reference to the times of various combinations of five legendary rulers.  "Ideal times" is my translation of 三王之睪 , usually considered to refer to the greatest kings of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties.  'Block' and 'gain' rhyme here.

gather together the lower.  The ability to go along with,
the ability to be compliant, will maintain one's spirit for
Heaven and Earth.

## F. Fifth *juan*: The Flying Clasp

V.1 All evaluation of power, estimation of ability is in order to attract that which is distant, bring even closer that which is near. To set up favorable circumstances and take control of things, one must first look into their differences and similarities. Distinguish talk that is true from that which is false. Perceive those words that are internal and those that are external. Know the principles of 'having' and 'not having.' Determine safe plans and those that are risky. Decide on those affairs that are intimate and those that are more distant. Only then should you evaluate and estimate these things. When there are means for correction, then can you summon, then can you seek, then can you utilize.

V.13 Introduce words that entice and clasp, then quickly clasp your target.[34]

V.15 As for speech that entices and clasps, the words that are used in persuasion are suddenly agreeing, then suddenly differing. When you cannot best someone, some-

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34. From the basic meaning of 'hook,' 鉤 has the sense of 'to bait,' 'entice,' etc. *Qian* 拑 , part of the title of this chapter, has the meaning of 'to pinch,' 'to grasp between.' Taking 'fei' 飛 , literally 'to fly,' as meaning 'on the fly,' or 'quickly,' GGZ seems to be creating a technique called "the flying clasp." The idea would appear to be simply the rapid consolidation of any advantage one is afforded.

times first summon and then encumber and entangle them, sometimes first encumber with entanglements, finally destroying them, sometimes consider the entangling and encumbering as destroying, and sometimes consider destroying as encumbering and entangling.[35]

V.22    As for its implementation, sometimes praise wealth and material goods, the rare and magnificent, brilliance and luster, tribute, and coloration to serve the cause. Sometimes evaluate ability and set up favorable circumstances to bait them. Sometimes just await perception of a cleft and clasp them.

V.28    To act, employ "pushing into crevices." If you wish to employ it throughout the world you must be sure to take measure of abilities. Observe the waxing and waning of Heaven's timing, control the breadth of terrain, the difficulties of obstacles, the degree of people's material wealth, interaction between the titled: who is intimate, who estranged, who admired, who detested.

V.38    As to consideration of emotional content, sympathetically examine its significance. Know what it is your target is fond of or detests, then procede to speak to that he values. Bait what he is fond of through words that are

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35. While the ideas here of entangling, encumbering, and destroying are important in themselves as keys to GGZ's methods, of equal importance is the way three individual techniques are manipulated in different ways to provide more than three applications.

"quick to clasp." Then work on him by clasping.

V.42    When you use this technique among men, evaluate
intellectual capability, measure power from wealth, and
estimate spirit and momentum. Become a pivotal force to
them in order to greet them, to follow along with them, to
join with them by pincer techniques, to bouy them up with
ideas. This is the consolidating [effect] of "quick
clasping." If you employ it among men the empty will pass
and the substantial will arrive: consolidate and do not
miss it.

V.52    By getting to the bottom of your target's words
you may clasp and follow along, or you may clasp and move
in another direction. You may lead on to the east, to the
west, to the south, or to the north. You may lead backward
or forward. Though forward, you can still go back if you
have not mistaken your evaluations.

## G. Sixth _juan_: Estrangement and Amalgamation

VI.1     In all cases of either moving toward amalgamation
or moving away from, there will be suitable plans for them.
As changes alter from one state to link to another, each
has its particular circumstance.  Back and forth, each
leading into the other: gain control by compliance with
this activity.

VI.4     Therefore, as the Sage dwells between Heaven and
Earth, he establishes himself, manages the world, extends
teaching, fosters a reputation, and clarifies names. He
must observe the appropriateness of Heaven's time in the
coincidence of actions and objects.  And he must first know
that in accordance with whatever knowledge he has, and then
alter and change with those things.

VI.10    The times have no constant value.  Affairs have
no constant leader.  The Sage has no constant interaction,
no situation in which he will not interact, nothing to
which he will always listen, nor anything to which he will
not.  Coming to fruition with the event, and it coinciding
with plans and schemes, he joins with it as its master.
Joining with one and separating from another, the plans and
schemes will not have two loyalties.

VI.20    There must be reversion and estrangement.[36]

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36. I have interpreted _fan_ 反 before as "reflection."

Reversion to this, estrangement from that. Estrangement from this, reversion to that. As for its techniques, if you use them throughout the world be sure to evaluate the world before interacting with it. If you use it within a state, be sure to evaluate the state before you interact with it. If you use it within a family, be sure to evaluate the family before you interact with it. If you use it on a person be sure to evaluate his abilities and circumstances before interacting with him. Whether great or small, advancing or retreating, its use is uniform: you must first conceive and establish plans, and only then put them into action using the techniques of the "flying clasp."

VI.35    Those of antiquity who excelled at taking different positions[37] in harmonizing[38] all within the four

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Here the sense of *fan* intended seems to be "to go back to," "to return." *Wu* 忤 , seen earlier in I.54, has a basic meaning of "to go against," "to run contrary to." In light of the topic of this chapter as presented in the first sections, we should be looking for the ideas of joining up and separating. As "technical terms," then, I translate as presented here.

37. The specific meaning of *bei* 背 and *xiang* 向 here is "behind" and "ahead." They have precedence for an extended sense of "positions," which I have expanded to include "taking positions." An excellent example of the use of these two characters that includes several other important terms to GGZ is the editorial comment in the military section of the *Han shu* bibliography. See HSh 30.1759.

38. *Xie* 協 , is defined by *Shuo wen* as 同 心' 之 和 , a "harmony of like minds." An easy translation would be "unify," but would imply too much.

seas, and embracing the various nobles, and [where there

are] grounds for contradiction or agreement, to transform

them by change. Then, they sought their conjoining.

VI.40     So it was that Yi Yin five times approached Tang,

five times approached Jie, but was not able to be under-

stood. Finally, he joined with Tang.[39]

VI.43     Lü Shang three times approached King Wen, three

times did he enter Yin but could not achieve recognition.

Finally, he joined with Wen.[40]

VI.46     Thus can you know the clasping of fate. There-

fore, accept it without hesitation.

VI.48     If he is not an accomplished Sage, conversant

with subtleties, he will not be able to control the times.

If he is not hard working and hard thinking, he will not be

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39. Yi Yin was a Xia dynasty minister who wanted to serve
the succeeding Shang dynasty king, Tang. Jie was the
"evil" king of that fading Xia dynasty. At least one
version of the legend surrounding him has Yi Yin approach
Tang five times before eventual acceptance. This is in
*Meng zi*, Yang Bojun edition: 12.6, p. 284. D. C. Lau
points out the contradictions in the *Meng zi* account of Yi
Yin, see his pp. 230-232. The *Shi ji* account, 3.94, has Yi
Yin refusing Tang five times.
     Just as the story of Yi Yin was retold in many dif-
ferent ways to make many different points, GGZ has used a
version that implies Yi Yin would have worked for either
the evil king or the good one, whichever first recognized
his worth.
40. Lü Shang is also known as Tai Gong Wang 太公望 .
His name also appears as just Tai Gong, as in the book
title recorded in the *Han shu* bibliography. I can find no
reference to his three attempts at anything. He lived at
the end of the Shang dynasty (capital at Yin), left the
service of the evil King Zhou, and then took up with King
Wen of the new Zhou dynasty.

able to find the source of affairs.  If he is not careful
and sympathetic, he will not be able to gain a name.  If
his talent and abilities are not sharp, he will not be able
to employ troops.  If his loyalty and sincerity are not
genuine he will not be able to understand others.[41]

VI.53      Therefore, in the way of contradiction and agree-
ment, one must have already self-evaluated ability and
intelligence, measured strengths and perspective.  If some-
one is not up to it, then.may you advance, then may you
step back, then may you go this way, then may you go that
way.[42]

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41. Lines 48-52 show near perfect Old Chinese rhyme within
each line, i.e., the last character in the first clause
rhymes with the last character in the line.
42. "This way" and "that way" are zong 縱 and heng 橫 ,
the two words that in combination form the general title of
the "school of philosophy" to which GGZ has been linked.
More literally, they are "vertical" and "horizontal,"
respectively.

## H. Seventh *juan*: On Measuring

VII.1     Those in the past who were good at making use of
the world were certain to evaluate the power of the world
and to measure the feelings of the nobles.[43]     If that
evaluation were not thorough, they would not know the
balance of strength and weight.   If that measurement of
feelings were not thorough, they would not know the move-
ment and quiescence of subtle and hidden transformations.

VII.7     What is it that we call evaluation and measure-
ment?   It is taking the extent of large and small; taking
heed of the many or the few; weighing the amount of mater-
ial goods available; determining the possessions of people
(how much is lacking between impoverishment and abun-
dance);[44]   determining the relative difficulty of terrain

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43. The word translated here as "measure" is *chuai* 揣.
It is tempting to find a different English expression for
each unique term used to represent the idea of "measure,"
or "evaluate" in GGZ, but that has not been done.   To
translate too literally would presume that each term is in
fact meant to represent a certain way of "measuring."   That
does not appear to be the case, so the illusion has not
been created that it is so.   There could be many reasons
for using different words to represent the same idea, such
as different authors of chapters (*chuai*, for example, is
confined almost exclusively to this chapter), a set of
terms that represent a certain kind of vocabulary (*chuai*,
among others in GGZ, tend to be associated with disputation
or persuasion in the many pre-Han and Han texts it which it
appears), and the like.

44. Consitutent analysis shows that line 12 is not part of
the general pattern of lines 8-13 so I have included it in
parentheses as an "expansion" of line 11.   Notice, however,
that it resembles the pattern beginning with line

(which is advantageous, which is harmful), and of schemes
and deliberations, which are strong, which are weak;[45]
investigating the relative intimacy with lords and mini-
sters, which are worthy, which are not; learning first hand
the intelligence of "guests,"[46] who has less, who more;
observing the relative fortune of Heavenly timing (which
are good, which are bad), interaction between lords (who is
made use of, who is not), the preferences and changes
therein among the common people (who are safe, who are
dangerous, what is welcome, what is disliked), and amid
constant fluctuation,[47] who is making the distinctions?
The ability to know all this is what is called evaluation

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13, but without the grammatical "which is. . ."

45. The pattern in this section is very strong and goes
verb/ noun phrase / 之 / object. Line 15, with its simple
noun or verb phrase (depending on interpretation), is out
of place. Since it also preserves the "which is. . . which
is. . ." in the following line, I have tried to maintain
the pattern structure of the section by taking the verb for
line 15 from line 13, and have softened somewhat the com-
plexity of the result by including line 14 as a parentheti-
cal aside.

46. "Learning first hand" is my interpretation of the odd
use of yu 與 as a full verb in this situation. Literally,
it would mean "become involved with," "get close to," etc.
"Guests" could mean all sorts of things, from the private
armies kept during the Han dynasty to a more figurative
sense of people who do not actually "belong" in a given
situation.

47. "Constant fluctuation" for fan ce 反侧 comes from
Lin Geng, Tian wen lunjian, p. 80. The "questioning"
aspect of this pattern reminds one of "Tian wen," so the
coincidence of the occurrence of this term in that piece
makes its use there all the more interesting. 天命反侧
何罚何佑      "As for fate's constant fluctuations,
what after all is it punishing, what is it blessing?"

and measurement.

VII.30    In the case of measuring feelings, one should proceed when the target is at his happiest and [measure] the extreme of his desires, for when he has desires he cannot hide his feelings.  One should also proceed when he is at the moments of greatest dread, for when he has dislikes he cannot hide his feelings.  Feelings and desires are certain to give evidence of their changes.  If having tried to influence someone you are unaware of any changes, you may temporarily put aside that person.

VII.39    Without engaging in conversation, repeatedly inquire about what he admires and know what calms him. When feelings change within there will be evidence outside. Therefore, as a rule you can know what is hidden by what is manifested, and this is what is called "plumbing the depths to measure feelings."

VII.44    Therefore, those who would plan a state's affairs should thoroughly investigate power and ability.  Those who would persuade the ruler of a people should thoroughly measure feelings.  Schemes and deliberations, feelings and desires will be certain to be evident this way.  Then can you praise, then can you demean, then can you take seriously, then can you treat lightly, then can you profit, then can you harm, so can you succeed, and so can you fail.  The principle for all is the same.

VII.52    Therefore, though you have the way of the former

kings, the schemes of the sage and wise, without measuring

feelings and the hidden and hiding, you cannot follow them.

This is the great basis of planning and is the pattern for

persuasion.

VII.57    Be regular in having something to do with others

and others cannot precede you.  To be first in acting while

being productive-- this is the most difficult thing to do.

So it is said, "Measuring feelings is the most difficult

thing to maintain.  Words must be timed to their strategems

and deliberations."

VII.61    Therefore, observe the fluttering and wriggling:

everything has either benefit or harm;[48] and may precipi-

tate action.  [Those innocuous events] good at precipita-

ting action are the timely opportunities of an affair.  For

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48. The phrase yuan fei run [following Zhou Zumo] dong
蜎 飛 蠕 動 seems to appear only in Han time texts.  It
occurs in Huainanzi twice and once each in Wenzi, Baihu-
tong, Xinyu, and Han shi waizhuan (HNZ 1.2,8.119; WZ, SBBY,
B.20a-20b; BHT, HWCSh A.26a; XY 1.1; HShWZh 7.15a).  The
two characters 翾 飛 are in a line in "Shao si ming" of
the Nine songs (ChC, SBBY, 2.17a.  The first character in
the phrase is represented by the following four graphs,
which are presumed to refer to the same word:蚰蠉 [*gwian],
蜎 [*?wian],虫宣 [*skwjan],翾羽 [*hwian].虫奐 , often
incorrectly read ru because of its variant writing虫需 , can
be reconstructed as *ngrjan.
    Taking the HNZ passages as the exemplar [the Wenzi
passage is a virtual quotation of HNZ, or vice versa] the
sense is of "natural" motion, possibly of animals, but more
to the point, motion without direction or a director.  Its
use in GGZ, then, is to represent seemingly irrelevant
action.

these, measure the feelings, embellish your speech, write

out a document, and then discuss it.

## I. Eighth *juan*: Probing

VIII.1     Probing is a technique of measurement.  Verification is the goal of measurement.[49]   Though its use be with purpose, that purpose must be hidden.[50]   Probe your target with what he desires, then measure and search it out. Verification will be certain to be the response, and that response can certainly be acted upon.  Therefore, [appear to] make little of it and dismiss it.  This is called "closing up the openings, concealing all traces, hiding all aspects, and shirking all feelings," while the other person is unaware.  Thus can you succeed in your endeavor while avoiding trouble.

VIII.12   Probe into one thing and there will be reaction elsewhere.  If you follow up on and use that reaction, all things are possible.

VIII.14   For those of old who were good at probing, it was like hanging on to the end of a hook and standing over a deep pool.  Just by baiting it and throwing it in, they

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49. The basic sense of *mo* 摩 is to probe, to know something by feeling it out.  I translate *fu ying* 符 應 as "verification" because its more literal meaning is "to tally within," and the idea seems to be the stimulus of a verification of the persuader's probing by a telling reaction on the part of the person being persuaded.

50. While *dao* 道 is too encompassing a word to be consistently translated successfully, there are times when one of its senses adequately covers its current context and presents a more effective reading than its use transliterated.

were sure to get fish. So it is said, "Manage affairs such that they are constantly successful, and no one will know. Manage troops so that they are constantly victorious, and no one will be frightened."

VIII.19 The Sage probes in obscurity. So that is called "divine."[51] But he is successful in the open, and so is called "brilliant."

VIII.23 What is called "managing affairs to be constantly successful" is owing to much virtue,[52] and people are secure in it. They do not know how it is by which they profit, but it is owing to much skill, and people follow it. While they do not know how it is these things happen, the world understands it as "spirits" and "brilliance."

VIII.29 What is called managing troops such that they are constantly victorious is to make it a practice to fight through non-contention and non-expenditure. and therefore people do not know how it is they are subdued and do not know what there is to fear. Thus, the world understands it as "spirits" and "brilliance."

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51. I do not think the intention here is to say that all things in the world that are explained as the work of spirits are actually the work of persuading sages, but rather when he does operate, since his own actions are unnoticed, whatever is observed as happening is or can be explained as the work of spirits.

52. An accurate translation of *de* 德. is perhaps more difficult to arrive at than one for *dao*. The use of "virtue" has the advantage of being well-known. and the reader is less likely to dwell on whatever "virtue" might really mean and just know that *de* is being used.

VIII.34   As for the ways of probing, there are pacifying, rectifying, making happy, making angry, naming, taking action, being honest, being trusting, benefitting, and assuming inferiority.

VIII.45   Pacifying means quiescence. Rectifying means justice. Making happy means pleasure. Making angry means instigation. Naming means disclosure. Acting means completing. Honesty means purity. Trusting means expectation. Benefitting means demanding. Demeaning means to flatter.[53]

VIII.55   Therefore, what the Sage is alone in using [this technique] is what everyone else already possesses. This being so, to be unsuccessful would mean its use has been faulty.

VIII.59   Therefore, in measuring there is nothing more

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53. 'To flatter,' here, is chan 諂. Most editions read tao 謟. This is probably not a case, however, of discovering which alternative is the original reading. Tao is a rare character. In Zuozhuan 昭 26 (p. 1479) Yang Bojun has chan where Takezoe writes tao (p. 54). Yang evidently does not accept Takezoe's comments about tao (that it is the same as 滔 and 慆, all of which would mean "unmoving," "slow," or "hesitant"), but quotes Du Yu's 杜預 (222-284) comment that is the basis for them, and accepts a pronunciation for chan that is not chan but tao. This confusion is widespread, and Huang Zhuo's discussion of the Jingdian shiwen entry for tao (juan 29) shows that the confusion goes back at least as far as the Tang time Jingdian shiwen (Huijiao, p. 250).
    Since just knowing the original orthography of this character does not guarantee knowing the sense in which it was intended, I have chosen "to flatter" as the most likely, thereby assuming a basic word chan.

difficult than the dense and dispersed. In persuasion there is nothing more difficult than a thorough listening. In acting there is nothing more difficult than the need to succeed. Only a Sage can take responsibility for these three things.

VIII.63   Therefore, in measuring [the Sage] must desire density and dispersion. He must choose that with which he is most conversant for persuasion. Thus it is said, sometimes join together and allow no openings. For an action to be successful it must be according to principles. Therefore it is said that the principles of progression are partners with timing. For persuaders, listening must accord with the feelings involved. Therefore, it is said that hearing is the coincidence of feelings.

VIII.70   So it is that all things return to their kind. When you put firewood on a fire, the driest is first to ignite. If you pour water out onto level ground, the wettest places will be first to be soaked.[54]   This is an example of things and their kinds reacting mutually to circumstances. It says that verification as reaction to external probing is just like that.

VIII.76   Therefore it is said, probe it with its kind and

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54. This illustration appears in other early texts, most notably in the first *juan* of *Xunzi* (*Xunzi jianshi*, p. 4). The point being made in both texts is similar. *Xunzi* goes so far as to claim that personal laxity will bring misfortune.

where could there not be reaction?  Then probe it using his

desires and where could there not be attention paid [you]?

VIII.80   And so it is called the only way by which to

proceed.  The early signs will not be missed; when success-

ful there will be no restraint; and, in time, transforma-

tions will be complete.

## J. Ninth *juan*: Evaluation

IX.1      Persuasion is the persuasion of someone. To persuade someone provide him with something. To embellish speech is to make use of it. You use it to [present] advantage and disadvantage. Reaction and response should use facile words. Facile words lighten discussion. When you have reached a consensus clarify it. To clarify it verify it. Words sometimes flip-flop. Desires retreat with them. A dilemma stifles conversation. Stifled conversation is an opportunity for enticement.

IX.12      Flatterers, in being obsequious, transgress against loyalty.[55] Fawners, in their exaggeration, violate wisdom. Boasters are disruptive and contradict courage. Pessimists, in being judgmental, violate trust. Those who remain quiet are contrary and contradict success.

IX.17      Obsequiousness is trying to anticipate the desires of higher-ups.[56] Exaggeration is making abundant

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55. The 1805 edition and MK agree is reading *gan* 干 for what the other editions write as *yu* 于. Yu Yue, evidently following the earlier Qin Enfu edition, reads *yu* as *wei* 為 (p. 108), for which identity he offers much evidence. But the others, including pseudo-Tao, read *gan* in the sense of "to seek." *Gan* has several possible meanings, but I follow here the ShW reading of 干 犯也 , "to violate, to transgress against." GGZ might simply be enumerating the ways in which one can overcome the effects of loyalty, wisdom, etc.

56. This phrase in GGZ, 先 意 承 欲 , is echoed in *HFZ* "入 彷 " (*jiaozhu*, 9.74), 先 意 承 旨 , which may be translated as in GGZ.

use of words. Decisiveness is to be unfettered and unhesi-
tating. Evaluation is selection of plans and recommenda-
tions of schemes. Contrary is [determining when] the other
side is not up to blocking objections.

IX.23    Therefore, the mouth is a mechanism.[57]    It is

the means by which to block and close off feelings and

ideas. Eyes and ears are the assistants and aids to the

heart. They are the means by which to ferret out evil and

vileness. Thus it is said, that the three coordinate in

response and move toward that which benefits. Thus, that

one does not become confused in spite of prolix speeches,

one does not become lost in spite of soaring flights, and

does not become imperiled in spite of changes and shifts,

is because he observes the essential and understands the

principles.

IX.33    Therefore, when without eyes, a person cannot be

shown the five colors. Without ears, a person cannot be

informed with sound. So it is that when something cannot

be advanced it is because there is no opening for it. When

something cannot be taken in, it is because there are no

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57. This passage is quoted in several "encyclopedias"
(leishu 類書 ), among which are TPYL (367.9a) and YWLJ
(17.316). A recent discovery of a previously unknown exam-
ple can be found in the documents of the Qin tomb find at
Shuihudi 睡虎地 . See Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian, p. 295.
There, the two words that I translate here as "mechanism"
are split, the first referring to the mouth, the second to
the tongue. Hulsewe dates the tomb to about 217 B.C. See
his "The Ch'in Documents Discovered in Hupei in 1975."

means by which to receive it. When there are things with which one cannot communicate, the Sage therefore does not act.

IX.38    The ancients had a saying: When the mouth can eat but cannot be used for talking, then there is something to avoid. Many mouths can fuse metal.[58]    That is because words can be twisted.

IX.43    When words come out because of a person's feelings, then his desires may be known. When he begins to act, it is to fulfill his desires. For that reason, those who are wise do not use that in which they are weak, but use that which the stupid find strong. They do not use that at which they are clumsy, but rather that at which the stupid are skilled. Therefore, there is no impasse. When you are speaking of benefits, go with the strengths. When speaking of harm, avoid the shortcomings. Therefore, the defense of shelled creatures is certain to be rigidity and thickness. The actions of poisonous insects is certain to be poisoning and stinging. So it is that animals know how to use their strengths, just as speakers also use them according to their knowledge.

IX.57    Therefore, it is said that there are five kinds

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58. This phrase, or one like it, is attributed by many early texts to "an old saying." See, for example, *Guo yu*, 周語下 (3.131), 故諺曰：衆心成城，衆口鑠金.

of speech and words: of illness, of fear, of anxiety, of
anger, and of joy.

IX.60    Illness is when feelings have declined and are
not invigorated.[59]    Fear is when one's stamina is down and
there is nothing in control.[60]    Anxiety is when there is
obstruction without relief.  Anger is when there is undis-
ciplined movement without direction.  Joy is when there is
expansiveness and relaxation without threat.  Use these
five things when opportune, implement them when advanta-
geous.

IX.67    Therefore, when you speak with the wise depend on
erudition.  When speaking with the erudite depend on argu-
mentation.  When speaking with the argumentative depend on
essentials.  When speaking with those who are high in
status depend on circumstance.  When speaking with those
who are wealthy depend upon that which is high.  When
speaking with the impoverished depend upon profit.  When
speaking with the lowly depend upon modesty.  When speaking
with the brave depend upon daring.  When speaking with the
stupid depend upon sharpness.  Although these are the

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59. See also Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210-263), in his "Discourse
on Music" 樂論 (Quan Sanguo wen 46.4b), where he wrote
樂者 使人 精神平和，氣 不入 . . .
("Music allows a calming of one's spirit, weak vapors
cannot enter, . . .").
60. "Stamina" is my translation of what is literally
"guts."  It, too, has wide ranging meaning in the Chinese
conception of health.

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[true] techniques, people often go counter to them.

IX.77    Therefore, when speaking with the wise, enlighten
them with this, and when speaking with those who are not
wise, instruct them by means of this.  But this is very
difficult to do.

IX.82    Therefore, there are many kinds of speech and
there are many changes in affairs.  Thus, if you always
speak so as not to lose the right category, affairs will
not fall into disorder.  If you never alter you will not
lose control.

IX.86    Therefore, as knowledge values not forgetting,
listening values a sharp ear, and wisdom values clarity,
so do words value the unusual.

## K. Tenth *juan:* Schemes

X.1     All schemes have a true way. You must know what is dependent upon what to be able to discover a target's feelings. Be completely clear about his feelings, and then establish the three standards. These three standards are called "top," "middle," and "bottom." The triad having been established, how is the unusual generated?.[61]   The unusual is when it is not known how something obstructs, but which is still what the ancients followed.

X.8     Therefore, the way the people of Zheng obtain jade is to ride in a south-pointing carriage so they will not lose their way.[62]   Evaluation of ability, survey of

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61. When it is possible to determine how the commentator or scholar has understood line X.5, it is always with the yan 言 in a postposition, the phrase 焉 以 之 哥 forming a clause that finishes the sentence. I have translated it in the manner above because I feel that the grammar is otherwise quite clumsy. The meaning should be that since everything has been placed in one of the three positions, how can anything surprise by being out of position. The following line is less clear, possibly because of textual problems (see 1805, 2.12a), possibly because of the X.6 and X.7 rhyme.

62. This reference to a south-pointing carriage is perhaps the most famous line in GGZ. The idea, admittedly a very curious one, of a carriage that will always point south has fascinated Chinese for centuries, and then Westerners as well. The best account of the evidence and its significance is in Needham, vol. 4, part 1, several references, but especially beginning p. 252. The interested researcher should also read Li Shuhua, *The South-Pointing Carriage and The Mariner's Compass.* While the question of what a south-pointing carriage might have been is indeed an interesting one, of more relevance to our current problem is how it might relate GGZ to other literature. Disre

capability, and measurement of feelings are similarly

south-pointers for affairs.[63]

X.12      Therefore, in the case of sharing common feelings

and having mutual affinity, there will be mutual success,

but in the case of sharing common desires, when there is

estrangement, one side will suffer harm. To share dislikes

and thereby become intimate is to share harm. To be separ-

ated by mutual dislikes is a one-sided harm. Therefore,

when there is mutual advantage there is affinity, and when

there is mutual disadvantage there is distance, which is

that principle in practice. This is how to investigate the

distinctions between things. Therefore, a wall collapses

at the cracks in it, and wood breaks at its joints. This

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garding GGZ for the moment, the first reference to a south-
pointing carriage seems to have been the *Gu jin zhu* 古今注
(ca. A.D. 300), but the authenticity of the extant edition
is in dispute (*Weishu tongkao* vrs. *Ci yuan*). Then, there
are two references in Pei Songzhi's (372-451) commentary to
the *Sanguo zhi* (3.105, 29.807). The *Song shu* of Shen Yue
(441-513) expands on the legend of the carriage and refers
to GGZ (18.496). It also tells us that Zhang Heng (78-139)
made one in the Han, but there is no evidence of that from
earlier sources. No one ever explains what the Zheng
people have to do with this, nor why they are particularly
associated with looking for jade. In general, then, refer-
ences to the south-pointing carriage can be traced back no
further than the origins of GGZ itself.

63. "South-pointing" would appear to refer to an estab-
lished concept here, although logically it is possible to
credit coincidence with GGZ's extraction of the south-
pointing idea for carriages to a concept of "guidance" and
the parallel concept derivative of magnetic action. If one
follows the former interpretation, this chapter of GGZ (at
least) must postdate the relatively common knowledge of
magnetism.

is due to the distinctions.

X.23    Therefore, change gives rise to affairs, affairs give rise to scheming, scheming gives rise to planning, planning gives rise to discussion, discussion gives rise to persuasion, persuasion gives rise to presentation, presentation gives rise to withdrawal, withdrawal gives rise to control. Follow this to the next step of control over affairs. Therefore, even a hundred affairs have one true way, and a hundred evaluations have one principle.

X.33    The humane person makes light of material goods. You cannot entice him with profit, but you can make him spend. The brave soldier makes light of difficulties. You cannot worry him with fear, but you can make him take risks. The wise are knowledgeable about principles, they are clear in reasoning. You cannot deceive them with insincerity, but you can present them with sound reasoning and make them do things for the public good. These are the three kinds of talented people.

X.45    Therefore, the stupid are easily deceived, the worthless are easily intimidated, and the greedy are easily enticed. These you may cut off as the situation warrants.

X.49    Therefore, strength is an accumulation of weakness. The straight is an accumulation of the crooked. A surplus is an accumulation of shortages. These are the methods of the true way in action.

X.53     So it is that when intimate with the outside but distant with the inside, speak to the inside. When intimate with the inside and distant from the outside, speak to the outside.[64]

X.55     Therefore, transform him by using his doubts. Agree with him according to what he sees. Get his trust and regard by going along with what he says. Unite with him by keeping to the situation. Evaluate him according to his dislikes. Repel him according to his anxieties.

X.61     By probing make him apprehensive. Motivate him with exaltation. Rectify him with subtlety. Respond with verification. Surround and block him up, confound and confuse him. This is called planning and scheming.

X.68     As for the implementation of planning and scheming, public interest is not as good as private interest. Private interest is not as good as collusion, because when the collusion is tight there are no openings. What is regular is not as good as the unusual, because the unusual flows without stopping. Therefore, when persuading a ruler of people one must speak with him of the unusual. When persuading a public official one must speak with him of private interests.

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64. The general idea here, as illustrated above, is to not worry about that which is already taken care of or which can easily be handled. Concentrate on the difficult things.

X.76     When one speaks apart from what one is involved

in, that is too distant.  When one speaks deeply of what is

apart from one, that is dangerous.[65]   Do not try to force

something upon someone that he does not desire.  Do not try

to teach something to someone that he does not understand.

Study what it is that people are fond of and then go along

with it.  Avoid what people dislike and do not speak of it.

Thus, keep your ways concealed and you can achieve your

goals openly.

X.84     Therefore, when something has been rejected,

follow it up.  By following it up you can take advantage of

it.

X.86     One's appearance should not be beautiful nor yet

ugly.  Thus, the greatest feelings can be entrusted to

it.[66]

X.88     What is understood may be used.  What is not

understood is not used by the schemer.

X.90     Thus it is said that with affairs, value the

control of others, and place no worth on being controlled

by others.  Those who would control others grasp authority.

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65. Pseudo-Tao and Yu Yue (p. 110) each have differing
views on this difficult passage.  The tendency, as they
each have done, is to see yan 言 as a noun.  But if yan is
seen as a verb, as in the preceding sentence, then the
passage seems more coherent.
66. It is not really clear whether GGZ is referring to
physical appearance or something more abstract.  I have
used "it" instead of "him" so the emphasis is still on the
appearance.

Those who are controlled by others obey commands.

X.94     Thus, the ways of the Sage are obscure and those of the fool are clear. The wise get involved with the easy and the unintelligent take up the difficult. Viewing it in this way, what perishes cannot be preserved and danger cannot be considered safe. This being so, be non-initiating and value intelligence.

X.101     As for intelligence, employ it in ways that the average person cannot understand and you will be able to operate where the average person cannot see. Having used it, one sees what is permissible and what is not, chooses an action and does it. That is how one acts for oneself. Seeing what is not permissible, choose the action and do it. That is how one acts on behalf of others.

X.109     Thus, the way of the former kings was obscure. There is a saying that goes: the changes in Heaven and Earth are both high and deep. The Sage's control of his ways is in shadow and seclusion. It is not loyalty, trust, humanity, and justice alone, but just integrity.

X.115     When the principles of the way have been attained to this degree, then may you engage in conversation. When your ability can reach this, then may you nurture far reaching enticements.

## L. Eleventh *juan*: Decisions

XI.1      In all [efforts to] decide matters, you must rely upon those things that are doubtful.[67]    Appreciate good fortune and detest bad.   When appreciation has become an enticement there will finally be no suspicion or partiality.

XI.6      If there is profit in something, and you dismiss that profit, then you will not be received, which is to have relied on the extraordinary [rather than the doubtful].

XI.8      If there is something to be gained from appreciating, but you indecisively rely on detesting, then you will not be received, and there will be a great distance [between you]. Therefore, in cases where benefit is caused to be lost or where harm is brought on, these are mishandled affairs.[68]

XI.13     There are five ways in which a Sage can

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67. The idea seems to be that it is the persuader who resolves the doubts, and you do so in either a positive or negative manner.  In general, the intention is to be as agreeable and sympathetic as possible.
68. The overall sense of this difficult opening passage appears to be that when the object of the persuasion is happy, whatever you have to say will be well received. Your job, then, is to make him happy, and when the situation appears doubtful, to erase those doubts in favor of a positive viewpoint.  Compare Zhao Quanbi, *GGZ zhushi*, p. 60, for a clear [he works in paraphrase] but differing interpretation.

accomplish his tasks: he can be openly virtuous about it, he can secretly be illicit about it, he can accomplish it with sincerity, he can do it clandestinely, or he can do it on the basis of the plain and ordinary.

XI.19    Openly encourage with consistent words. Secretly encourage with double talk. The plain and ordinary is the pivotal force in the use of the other four. Apply it with subtlety. Then, evaluate what has just happened. Test for what will happen. Compare it with the plain and ordinary. If everything is alright, make the determination.

XI.27    The affairs of kings, lords, and important people are dangerous but glamorous. If everything is alright, determine them. Those things that may be easily accomplished without effort: if everything is alright, go ahead and determine them. Those things that must be done regardless of the effort and hardship, do them when everything is alright. When getting rid of calamity, do so when everything is alright. When following after good fortune, do it when everything is alright.

XI.39    Therefore, that determination of feelings and laying aside of doubts is the basis of all activities to straighten out confusion and determine those things the outcomes of which are difficult to accomplish. Therefore, the early kings used yarrow stalks and turtles to determine

their own feelings.[69]

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69. "Yarrow" and "turtles" refer to the use of oracles, such as those associated with the *Yijing* and the earlier use of turtle shells for reading heat crack patterns.

## M. Twelfth *juan*: Tallied Words[70]

XII.1    Calm and reposed, upright and reserved, with an

exterior of integrity, polite and well-rounded,[71]  be good

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70. This chapter will be translated as it appears in GGZ. It should be known, however, that it is virtually identical with *juan* 55, " 九守 ," of *Guanzi*. Not only that, but the basic text has been recognized since the 1930s as a seminal text in Chinese philosophy, the first truly "legalist" text, according to Haloun. The great questions and possibilities raised by the same text being preserved in whole by at least two different "books," as well as fragmentarily in many other works, will not be pursued here for one very important reason. The text that forms this chapter has also been found to have been included in the bamboo strips uncovered at Yinque shan. These strips date from at least the Qin dynasty and their importance both to understanding the origins of this text and for providing a "ruler" by which to measure the changes it has taken through the centuries cannot be overestimated. According to the Chinese scholar Qiu Xigui, this text, known as "Liu tao" 六韜 after another of its manifestations, will not be published until 1985 (this information by personal communication). Until that time, the text should be read as it was intended by the "editor" of GGZ. Some of the differences between the GGZ version and others are substantive and quite possibly reflect intentional changes. For a thorough, but not necessarily convincing, description of the state of what he calls "the Glass of Government," see Haloun, "Legalist Fragments." Van der Loon refutes certain points made about the *Guanzi*. See his article, "On the Transmisson of *Kuan-tzu*."

71. I take the four characters 被節先肉 as a phrase made up of two two-character clauses. Neither two-character phrase is known to appear elsewhere in literature, so the meaning of each must be gathered from its parts. 被 can mean "exterior," as in 儀禮 , 士昏禮 , 笄 , 緇 被纁裏 "The *ji* [hairpin] has a black exterior and light red interior." 節 can mean "moral integrity," as in 左傳 , 成 15, p. 873, 聖達節 . . . "The wise attain moral integrity. . ."

    In most other versions of the "Glass" 先肉 is 先定 , where it appears to mean "composed." Although highly likely that either 定 or 肉 is a graphic error for the other, we stay with 肉 here. 肉 is used as a

at interaction, at which time do not be overly quiet. With

a receptive mind and settled intentions, await collapse and

destruction.

XII.4    The above concerns "position."

XII.5    The eyes value brightness, the ears acuity, and

the mind knowledge. If one sees with the eyes of the world

then everything will be apparent. If one listens with the

ears of the world then everything will be heard. If one

thinks and considers with the mind of the world then every-

thing will be known. Like spokes to a hub, everything

comes together, and the brightness cannot be blocked off.

XII.15    The above concerns "brightness."

XII.16    Of the techniques of virtue is said, by not being

rigid cut him off. If you allow him, then be on the defen-

sive. If you cut him off, then block off openings. One

may look up to see the extent of a high mountain, and one

may measure to determine the depth of an abyss. The divine

techniques of virtue are upright and reserved. No one can

see their extent.

XII.22    The above concerns "virtue."

XII.23    In implementing rewards, value trust. In meting

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description for music, as in 禮記，樂記 , jinzhu jinyi
p. 522, 使其曲直 ，繁瘠，廉肉 , . . ., which
commentators describe variously as "full," "crisp,"
"rounded," etc. I read the phrase, then, as "polite and
well-rounded," where 定 might be understood as
"anticipating [wishes, etc.]."

out punishment, value justice. When giving out rewards and valuing trust, you must go by what your ears and eyes have heard and seen. Then those you not heard and seen will all transform unseen. Sincerity will have spread throughout the world and to divinities, so how will self-seekers obstruct the ruler.?[72]

XII.30    The above governs "reward."

XII.31    One is called making it like Heaven. The second is called making it like Earth. The third is called making it like Man. Regarding the four directions, up and down, left and right, and front and back, where is Mars located?[73]

XII.35    The above governs "questioning."

XII.36    The heart is the controller of the body's nine openings. The ruler is the leader of the five offices. When someone does well, the ruler rewards them. When someone does wrong, the ruler metes out punishment. The ruler goes along with the way they have sought to be. In compliance he interacts with them, thus making no effort. The Sage employs them. Therefore, if he is able to reward

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72. Interpretation of this section largely follows Zhao Quanbi, p. 64.
73. Haloun refuses to translate "his" version of this section and I cannot blame him, but it is intriguing. If the GGZ is a conscious adaptation of an existing text, then there is greater possibility that "Mars" should be understood as "confusion," giving a line ". 螢. then where lies confusion?" Ying is written variously 螢 and 熒 .

them, he goes along with them in accordance with the prin-

ciples. He thrives long in stability and ability.

XII.45    The above concerns "compliance."[74]

XII.46    A ruler of the people cannot but be far-reaching.

If the ruler is not far-reaching the many officials will

stir up rebellion, and a family in this situation would

have no standards.[75]    If outside and inside are not commu-

nicating, how can one know how to open? If one is not good

at opening and closing, one cannot see origins.

XII.52    The above concerns "far-reaching."

XII.53    The first is called "long distance eyes." The

second is called "flying ears." The third is called "nur-

tured brilliance."[76]    To know clearly that beyond a thou-

sand *li* and that within the depths of obscurity is called

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74. I translate as "compliance" to choose just one inter-
pretation of the word *yin*    that can mean variously "to
go along with," "in accordance with," "following," etc.

75. The rendering of this line makes the best of a very
bad situation. Once again, the variant readings among the
many versions of this text are fascinating to behold,
especially since one can always sense a unifying thread
running through them. Although partly "content," that
thread appears to be the phonological and graphic resem-
blances among the various readings.

76. "Long distance eyes" and "flying ears," 長 目    and
飛 耳 , respectively, have precedence in texts other than
the "Glass." They refer there as here to "long range
perception," "far reaching vision (figurative)." *Shu ming*
樹 明, translated here as "nurtured brilliance," is not
otherwise known until Tang times. I take it to mean the
result, as it were, of the "long range perception," an
understanding brought forth through application of that
perception.

penetrating the world.  All deceit transforms in obscurity.

XII.59    The above concerns "respect."

XII.60    When substance is in accordance with naming,
there is peace and completeness.  Names and substance arise
together.  When things are contrary to this, the two create
feelings.  Therefore, it is said that when names are cor-
rect they have arisen from substance.  Substance arises
from principle.  Principles come from the virtue of name
and substance.  Virtue is produced by harmony.  Harmony
comes from appropriateness.

## VI. Thirteenth *juan*: The Fundamental Classic:

### Seven Techniques from Secret Tallies

XIII.1     The full spirit is patterned on the five

dragons.[77]

XIII.2     There are five vapors within the flourishing

spirit.[78]    The spirit, or soul, is the master, the heart

is the dwelling place for them, and virtue makes them

great.[79]    The areas in which the spirit is fostered can be

traced back to the Dao.   The Dao is the origin of Heaven

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77. To the extent that the material in this chapter refers
to Daoist practices, or to other non-"classical" disci-
plines, I cannot hope to offer elucidation.   Rather, I will
try to point out any material that be identified in other
"mainstream" works, to the extent that standard references
materials and other editions make that possible.   The con-
cept of a "full spirit" or "soul," for example, would seem
likely material for "religious" views, but I have found it
only in *HNZ*, "精神訓 ," (7:100-101).   There it is
described in relation to the body and the five "viscera."
Whether "dragons" here is somehow supposed to refer to
viscera or not is not clear.   Although references to "five
dragons" are numerous (see Morohasi 257:1096), they are to
gods or people, as in the commentary that accompanies the
extant version of GGZ.   Clearly, gods or spirits are not
intended here, but rather some concept of a soul, or life-
force.
    78. *Zhou li*, " 天官疾醫 ," (2:46) refers to "five
vapors," there understood as the outward manifestations of
the five viscera.   The Chinese, *qi* 氣 , appears quite
frequently alone in this chapter, as well as together with
"five."   When it is part of the phrase "five *qi*" I trans-
late it as "vapors," but when it occurs alone, as in "fos-
tering *qi*" (line 74) I leave it as *qi*, following the exam-
ple of D.C. Lao in his translation of *Mengzi*.
    79. "Virtue" should be understood here in its sense of
"power."

and Earth, and its structural thread is everywhere.[80]

XIII.9    [The Dao] is the way things are created, the way

Heaven came into being, encompasses vastness yet is without

form; transforming *qi*, it came together before Heaven and

Earth.  No one has seen its form, no one knows its name.

It is called the divine numen.[81]

XIII.16    Therefore, the Dao is the origin of "spiritual

brilliance."[82]    It unifies the extent of transformations.

This is fostering the five vapors with virtue.  When the

heart can obtain unity, its techniques come into being.

Techniques are the Dao of the heart's *qi*.[83]

XIII.21    What is resident [in the body] is made to act by

the spirit.  The nine openings and the twelve lodges[84]  are

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80. A more literal translation of 一其紀也  , "its
structural thread is everywhere," would be "its structural
thread is oneness," but it is preferable, when it is also
reasonable, to be more specific if you do not feel the
Western metaphysical tone of "oneness" is appropriate.
  81. Compare *Laozi*, 25, with this passage.  There are no
"quotations," but the tone and several terms are similar.
  Divine numen" is a translation of 神靈 .  See *Ci yuan*
entry for the wide range of usages to which this phrase has
been put.
  82. "Spiritual brilliance" is the translation of
used earlier in GGZ, and is used here to show that the term
has appeared earlier in GGZ.  But this should not be taken
as "proof" that this chapter "knows" of the earlier chap-
ters.  *Shen ming*, like so many of the words and phrases
used in this chapter, has an independent existence in many
other texts.
  83. *Qi* here seems to reflect an idea of the force emana-
ting from the heart.  It would seem to be the acting force
or agent of the otherwise stationary heart.
  84. Although 'twelve' is a common number in various
phrases throughout early Chinese literature; GGZ appears to
have the only example of "lodges" 舍 .

the passageways of *qi* and are the collective aids to the heart.

XIII.25   When still living and yet accepted by Heaven, that person is called an attained person.  The attained person is one with Heaven.

XIII.27   He who is inwardly refined and studied, and who knows things, is called a Sage.  The Sage know things by their type.  Therefore, men are given life in unity, and are produced through the changes in things.

XIII.32   [The Sage] knows types as they are outside his openings.[85]   When he has doubts or is confused, he clears the openings by using the techniques of his heart.[86]   If the heart is without its techniques there is certain to be that which is not understood.  If there is understanding, then the five vapors will have been nourished.

XIII.37   Strive to make a dwelling for the spirit.  This is what is called "change."  When the five vapors are in change, there is intention, consideration, spirit, and virtue.  Spirit is the overall leader.

XIII.42   Tranquility and harmony nourish the *qi*.  When the *qi* has been harmonized, the four [conditions above] do not

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85. This translation presumes that the openings refer loosely to the senses.  The Sage would then be working with more that just sight, as in fact has been mentioned several times before.

86. See lines 19-20 above.  By "clearing the openings" the Sage can perceive things.

decline.  When there is power and influence all around, all should be preserved and given residence.  That is called spirit transformations.  When they have returned to the person, the person is called "attained."

XIII.48  The attained person is together with Heaven and joined with the Dao.  He grasps unity and nourishes and produces all categories of things.  He embraces the heart of Heaven.  He implements the nurturing of virtue.  He does not initiate, thus preserving his intentions.  Keeping his ideas in mind, he practices power and influence.

XIII.55  Masters[87] perceive and understand this.  When the spirit is flourishing, then can it foster resolution.

XIII.57  Fostering resolution is patterned on efficacious turtles.[88]

XIII.57  Fostering resolution is when the thoughts of the heart's forces have not yet been effective.  When you have desires and resolutions, preserve and consider them.  Resolution is the agent of desire.  When there are many desires the heart disperses.  When the heart disperses, resolutions

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87. Shi 士 normally refers to a particular rank of "Confucian" society, or even to soldiers of a higher rank.  It would appear to be used here as in the phrase Dao shi 道士, Daoist Master" or "Daoist Priest."

88. "Efficacious turtles," or 靈龜 could refer either to long-lived turtles or to oracular turtles, that is, to the practice of divining using heat cracks on turtle shells.  The latter, considered generally, is preferable here.

weaken. When resolutions weaken, thought cannot reach
them.

XIII.64    Therefore, when the heart's forces are as one,
desires do not wander. When desires do not wander resolu-
tions and intentions do not weaken. When resolutions and
intentions do not wander thoughts and reason can work.
When reason is working harmony prevails. When harmony
prevails random forces do not trouble one's mind.[89]

XIII.69    Therefore, foster resolution within. Externally,
take care of other people. If you foster resolution the
heart will prevail. If you understand others the various
areas of knowledge will be clear.

XIII.73    If you are going to make use of your desires
among other people, you must be sure to know beforehand of
their fostering of *qi* and resolution.[90]    If you know when
a person's *qi* is strong or weak and [how he] fosters his

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89. If, as seems clear, the heart is considered to be what
we think of as the brain, that is, the center of thought
and feeling processes, there perhaps this reference, li-
terally, to "inside the breast" may be more reasonably
translated as "in the mind."

90. Although we have seen *qi* several times before, never
has it occurred together with "to foster." The general
idea of "fostering" all sorts of things is a trademark of
the Daoist religion and probably colored thinking during
those times when religious Daoism was most active. But the
phrase "foster *qi*" is first found in *Mengzi*, and commonly
connected with him (Yang Bojun edition, p. 62, for exam-
ple). In fact, the idea of the relation of the heart to *qi*
is presumed, at least, in *Mengzi* as well. Even in the Song
dynasty, Cheng Yi (1033-1107), a founder of the Neo-Confu-
cian school, said, "If one fosters *qi* then one's resolution
has a leader" (quoted in *Ci hai* under *yang qi*).

resolution and *qi*, then investigate with what he is comfortable to know of what he is capable.

XIII.78  If resolution is not fostered the *qi* of the heart is not steady.  If the *qi* of the heart is not steady then thought and considerations will not be attained.  When thought and considerations are not attained resolution and intention will not be genuine.  When resolution and intention are not genuine response will not be decisive.  When response is not decisive then resolution will falter and the *qi* of the heart will be empty.  When resolution falters and the *qi* of the heart is empty, this destroys the spirit. When the spirit is destroyed there is aimlessness.  When there is aimlessness, consolidation is incomplete.

XIII.88  The beginnings of the fostering of resolution are in striving to settle oneself.  When you yourself are settled, resolution and thought are genuine and firm.  When resolution and thought are genuine and firm, power and influence will not be dispersed.  Regularly keep spiritual brilliance steady and secure, and you will be able to dissipate [power and influence].


XIII.92  Substantial intentions are patterned on the Teng snake.[91]

XIII.93  Substantial intentions are the considerations of

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91.  See II.67 for first mention of this animal.

*qi.* The heart desires calm and tranquility, consideration
desires depth and distance. When the heart is calm and
tranquil, inspired plans arise. When consideration is deep
and far reaching, plans and schemes are successful. When
inspired plans arise, resolution cannot be confused. When
plans and schemes are successful, one's efforts cannot be·
divided. When intentions and considerations are fixed, the
heart is subsequently calm. When the heart is subsequently
calm, what is enacted does not err, and the spirit is
satisfied. When satisfied it is concentrated.

XIII.103 When the *qi* of knowledge is entrusted to villainy
it goes along with it. When entrusted to deceptive
scheming it is fooled by it, and speech is not according to
the heart.

XIII.107 Therefore, trust in the techniques of the heart.
Maintain the unity of integrity and do not change. Wait
until a person's intentions and considerations have come
together before listening to them.

XIII.111 Plans and schemes are the mechanism of preserva-
tion and dissolution. When considerations are not consoli-
dated then they will not receive a thorough hearing. Wait-
ing for that to happen will avoid the misfiring of plans
and schemes. Otherwise, intentions will not be trusted.
They will be empty and without substance. Therefore, in
the consideration of plans and schemes, strive for substan-

tial intentions.   Substantial intentions must begin with

the techniques of the heart.

XIII.117   In a non-initiating manner seek to make calm and

tranquil the five organs.[92]   Harmonize throughout the six

viscera.[93]   The spirits and departed souls are thus re-

spected and do not agitate.[94]   Then may one look within

and reflect on what has been heard.[95]

XIII.122   The vacuity in determining resolutions and

considerations awaits the spirit to inhabit it.[96]

XIII.124   By watching the openings and closings of Heaven

and Earth you will know how the many creatures come into

being, you will see the ending and beginning that are *yin*

and *yang*,  and you will see to the base of the governing

principles of the affairs of men.   Not even going out of

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92. These organs are understood to be the spleen, lungs,
kidney, liver, and heart.
93. The six viscera include the gallbladder, stomach,
large and small intestines, the urinary bladder, and the
three visceral cavities housing the internal organs.
94. I take both *jing shen* 精神 and *hun po* 魂魄 as
noun phrases, the former referring to the spirit or soul
that is part of life, the latter to that which comes into
being after death.   It is not clear from this passage that
*hun po* does refer to the soul after death, but usage is
quite established for that meaning of the phrase.   See *Zuo
zhuan*, 昭 7 (Yang Bojun, p. 1292), and especially Yang's
excellent commentary to that passage.
95. This appears to refer specifically to II.38.
96. "Vacuity," 太虛 , is used in *Zhuangzi* (*Zhuangzi
jijie*, (6) 22.143), probably as a "place" name [Watson
translates "Great Void," (p. 244)].   Nothing so grand would
seem warranted here.   Zhang Zai (1020-1077) used *tai xu*
(vacuity) and *qi* as basic elements of his philosophy, which
concept may have had roots in the tradition GGZ is
reflecting here.

doors, you will know the world. Not even looking out the window you will know the way of Heaven. Orders will be given unseen and will be effected without implementation. This is called the knowledge of Dao, by which to infuse spiritual brilliance, get response from nowhere, and in which the spirit dwells.

XIII.134  Divided powers are patterned on the crouching bear.[97]

XIII.135  Divided powers are a cover over the spirit. Therefore, make tranquil your intentions and firm your resolution. When the spirit returns to its dwelling place the cover over power will be full. When the cover over power is full then inner substance will be strong. When inner substance is strong nothing can reach it. When nothing can reach it you can divide the powers of others and affect circumstances just like Heaven. Seek emptiness with substance, seek nothing with something, just like calling *zhu* by the name *yi*.[98]

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97. There are intriguing references to the "crouching bear" motif in both *Hou Han shu* and *Tang shu* (see Morohashi 438:210,211), but nothing clear enough to make sense of this line. Other crouching animals appear occasionally, and Matthews' dictionary says that a crouching tiger is both a Buddhist and Daoist symbol, but no reference is given.

98. These are two ancient units of weight, descriptions of which vary with text and commentary. However, they seem to be about equal. Evidently, GGZ does not follow this. See *Ci hai* entry under each.

XIII.144  Therefore, motion must be in concert, and singing must be in harmony.  Stir up something once as an example and you will see in it the other times it will happen. Stimulating changes makes things appear, and nothing can interfere.  Look closely into singing harmonies to differentiate that which has been differentiated.  Stimulating changes clarifies, and power can be divided.  If you would like to stimulate change, you must first foster resolution. Subvert your intentions so you can watch for cracks.  Those who understand firm substance foster themselves.  Those who give way to others foster others.  Therefore, when the spirit has been preserved and the troops have vanished, create your own situation.

XIII.154  Dispersing momentum are patterned on the birds of prey.

XIII.155  Dispersing momentum is the agent of the spirit. To make use of it, be certain to move following along cracks.  When power is serious, its interior is full.  Push open cracks and operate on it, and the momentum will disperse.

XIII.159  That dispersion of momentum is when the heart is empty and resolution is overflowing.  When intentions have weakened and power has dissipated the animate spirit is not

concentrated.  Speech is off the point and changes
frequently.

XIII.162  Therefore, observe his resolution and intentions
as a principle of measure, by which to sound out his words
and plan the matter.  Combine the circle and the square,
even up the long and short.  Without cracks there will be
no dispersion of momentum.  Await cracks before acting.
Move then and momentum will be dispersed.  Therefore, those
who would conceive cracks must internally envigorate the
five vapors and externally watch for emptiness and sub-
stance.  To act without failing is the substance of disper-
sion.  When you act, follow your resolution and intentions,
know your plans and schemes.  Momentum is the channeling of
advantage and disadvantage and the power of authority and
change.  Those defeated by momentum did not seriously in-
vestigate their spirit.


XIII.177  Spinning spheres are patterned on fierce
animals.[99]
XIII.178  Spinning spheres are limitless plans.  To be
limitless you must have the heart of a Sage to find the
source of unfathomable knowledge.  And, to permeate the
techniques of the heart and the fact that the spirit and

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99. Neither of these two curious phrases has any precedent
that would give added significance to its literal meaning.

Dao are integral parts of a unity. And to discuss all
things by way of their changes. The principles of persua-
sion are limitless.

XIII.185 Resourcefulness, sagacity, planning, and scheming
each has its appearance. Sometimes round, sometimes
square, sometimes *yin*, sometimes *yang*, sometimes good for-
tune, sometimes bad; types of affairs are different.
Therefore, Sages hold to this, making use of spinning
spheres to seek adherence.

XIII.190 Therefore, be a beginning, like the process of
creation. Movement and actions alike should all encompass
the great Dao, in this way to view the realm of spiritual
brilliance. Heaven and Earth are infinite. The affairs of
man are limitless. Each constitutes its own kind.

XIII.196 To see plans and schemes you must be sure to
understand their good and bad fortune, and the ways of
success and failure. The spinning sphere sometimes spins
to good fortune, sometimes spins to bad. By means of Dao
the Sage knows beforehand preservation and loss. Thus,
understand the spinning sphere and follow what comes up.
When things are round, that is to bring words together.
When square, that is to bring affairs together. Revolving
and changing, that is to observe plans and schemes. Get-
ting close to things is the way by which to observe the
intentions to advance and back off. When all have had

their chance, connect that which is important to take on

the persuasion.

XIII.208  Injuring and pleasing are patterned on the divine

yarrow.[100]

XIII.209  Injuring and pleasing are ways to resolve

critical moments.  Affairs have an appropriateness, and

things have successes and failures.  The movements of

critical moments must be investigated.

XIII.212  Therefore, the Sage awaits virtue with non-ini-

tiation, speaks and investigates words with non-initiation,

and accords with affairs by non-initiation.  Pleasing un-

derstands this, and injuring practices it.  To injure some-

one, persuade him.[101]  When there are things that should

not be, the Sage does not do them.  Therefore the wise do

not miss the words of other people by [their own] words.

XIII.220  Therefore, his words do not irritate and his

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100. Literally, *sun* 損 means "to lose," but the sense of
"injuring" is not uncommon.  Its choice here was determined
by my interpretation of *dui* 兌 as "to please."  *Dui* has
several different meanings, none particularly persuasive
here.  One meaning, "to exchange," was tempting but is too
modern, examples going back only to the Song.  The sense of
*dui* should be complementary to that of *sun*, and Yu Yan's
choice of the *Yi jing* hexagram *dui* with its sense of "joy,"
"pleasure" is preferable here, especially as Gao Heng ar-
gues that it should be in the causative sense (Gao Heng, p.
461 ff).

101. Unfortunately, the English word "persuade" has the
success built in.  The Chinese word means "attempt to
persuade," "undertake persuasion."

heart is not empty. His resolution has not gone astray and his intentions are not villainous. He makes plans for something only after knowing its degree of difficulty. He follows the natural way as truth. That which is round does not roll, the square does not stay put. This is called great achievement.

XIII.226 Add to them, subtract from them-- create words for everything. Use the authority of dividing power and dispersing momentum to see his pleasure. Give power to the critical moment and resolve it.

XIII.231 So it is that for those who would injure and please it is like channeling a river through a very high dike, or rolling a round boulder into a very deep gorge. For those who can accomplish this, circumstances will surely go their way.[102]

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102. Although the first example is none too clear, the intent must be that when something finally gets going it will do so on its own quite handily.

## VII. Fourteenth *juan*: Grasping the Key

XIV.1     "Grasping the key" means birth in spring, growth in summer, harvest in fall, and storage in winter.[103]  This is the correct way of Heaven, and one may not obstruct and subvert it.  Those who subvert it, though at first successful will certainly fail.

XIV.6     So it is that people and their leaders also have the heavenly key of "birth, fostering, fruition, and storage."  And neither may this be obstructed nor subverted.  As for subverters, though they first flourish they will be sure to wane.  This is the great framework of the heavenly way and people and their leaders.

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103. *Shu* 樞 actually means "hinge," and from there "the key to something," etc.

## VIII. Fifteenth *juan*: Inner Classic

XV.1     By the "inner classic" we mean to be quick to aid those in straits.[104]    Implement it and you will be able to speak to those people with extensive virtue.

XV.3     When you rescue hostages, those in straits do not forget the favor you have done.  When you are able to speak, broadly praise, widely favor.  When doing favors for those with virtue, comply with the Dao, and when rescuing hostages cultivate the use of lesser people.

XV.7     Probably, the *shi*[105] who encounters a hostile world and dangerous times sometimes should go along with it

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104. One meaning of *zhong jing*, here "inner classic," is as the middle of a set having 大 before it and 下 after. Although possible here, too, if this chapter had a separate existence in addition to inclusion in GGZ, I have chosen instead the sense of "inner" that implies something available only to the initiated, not for public eyes.
     There is ample evidence that *zhen qiong* 振窮 means "come to the aid of the poor," but taken literally, that seems unlikely here.  Yu Yan quotes interesting passages from *Guan zi* and *Shuo yuan* that point to a probable shared source for the basic idea of this phrase, but once again, as with the "Fu yan" chapter before, this version might only be playing with the source language, making new meanings based on the old usage.  With this possibility in mind I have taken *zhen* as "to aid," and *qiong* as "in straits."  For *qu ji* 趣急, it is more in character to read *qu* as "to urge, to press" and *ji* as "in difficulty," thus preserving the dichotomy that has characterized this work throughout: rescue someone from difficulty when it is to your advantage, or put them into difficulty, if that would better serve your needs.
     105. *Shi* 士 is left untranslated here due to the multiplicity of types of people to whom it could refer.

to avoid filling in pits,[106] sometimes should strike out

against, sometimes should abandon principle and become a

warrior,[107] sometimes should be repressive and commit

crimes, sometimes should be happy and pleased with himself,

and sometimes should be serious[108] and self-seeking.

XV.14    Therefore, the Dao values controlling others, and

does not value being controlled by others.[109]  Those who

control others will be grasping authority.  Those who are

controlled by others will die.

XV.17    Therefore, visible form is appearance and

physical manifestation is demeanor.  By hearing sounds you

know tones, resolving enmity struggle recedes.  Stop and

dismiss stifling speech,[110] concentrate[111] and keep to

principles.

XV.20    In recording affairs [the chapter] "Ben jing"

records the principles of the Dao.[112]  The essentials of

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106. This is possibly a reference to the Qin emperor's
"pitting" of scholars.
107. Admittedly a guess, this interpretation of the line
is at least possible.
108. I can find no other instance of *bai bai* 敗敗 . *Zi
li* 自立 is used in the *Li ji* to mean "by one's own
effort. (40.778)"
109. See also X.90.
110. Compare IX.10-11.
111. The only example of the use of *she xin* 攝心 given
in Morohashi indicates that it is a Buddhist term for
roughly what I have translated. Literal senses of each
character give the same general meaning, as well.
112. Each phrase in this section, *ben jing*, *chi shu*, and
*zhong jing*, could possibly have references outside of GGZ,
that is, could refer to their meanings rather than to their
significance as GGZ chapter titles.  The coincidence is too

changes are in "Chi shu" and "Zhong jing."

XV.22     Visible form as appearance and physical manifestation as demeanor are called yao, and give life to [persuasion].[113] One may can be sensitive to appearance and demeanor and thereby be successful.[114]

XV.27     For the person who is sticking [to principles], the eye does not look upon what is false, nor does the ear hear what is villainous. One's speech must be of the *Shi jing* and *Shang shu*, and one's conduct must not be perverse. Appear as according to the Dao, and have the demeanor of virtue. One's deportment should be imposing, but manner should be warm. One cannot be successful on appearance alone. For this reason, hide your feelings, and stopping up all cracks get rid of them.

XV.34     As for the hearing of sounds and the knowing of tones, this is because the *qi* of sounds are not all the same, favor and affection do not meet. Therefore, the

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compelling, however, and I have assumed that they refer somehow to this book. Their place here, whether as mistaken commentary, as Yu Yan presumes, or as genuine text, is problematical.

113. Yao 爻 appears to have no other meaning than as the name for the horizontal lines in tri- and hexagrams. These lines, either *yang* or *yin*, in combination are understood to represent things in the physical world. See Gao Heng, p. 30 ff.

114. Yu Yan quotes an excellent parallel passage from *Huainan zi*, "繆稱訓" (HNZ, 10.155), that says in essence, where persuasion will not succeed appearance might, where appearance will not succeed, perhaps emotion will.

*shang* and *jiao* tones do not come together, and the *zheng* and *yu* notes do not harmonize. Only *gong* can govern those four tones.[115] So it is that when tones are not in harmony it is sorrowful. Therefore, when sounds are mournful and dissonant, speech is certain to be abrasive to the ear. Even with proper conduct and a good reputation you will not be able to be a close associate. This is because the *qi* involved will not be in harmony, nor the tones harmonious.

XV.47　　By resolving enmity and struggle receding, we mean resolving enmity that is dissipating and demanding.[116] Struggle receding is struggle strengthening, because when strength has receded there is struggle.

XV.50　　He who is pronounced victorious will have made high his achievements and the most of his situation. The weak mourn their losses, are hurt by their weakness, ruined by their reputations, and embarassed in front of

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115. *Shang* and *jiao* are adjacent tones on the pentatonic scale, as are *zheng* and *yu*. *Gong* is in the center of the scale considered as a sequence of tones, but is considered its starting point. See Liao Fushu, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue jianshi*, p. 18-19.

116. The 1805 edition is alone in reading *zhi* 執 where the other texts read *jie* 解. But the pattern for this section is quite clear: a phrase is repeated that has occurred earlier and is then enlarged upon. The phrase in question here clearly reads *jie* over *zhi*, although *zhi* occurs elsewhere, which probably caused the error reflected in the 1805 edition. The 1805 reading of *zheng* 徵 over *wei* 微 in this line is preserved since it can be relatively easily understood. Note that the commentary appears to have seen *jiao/yao* 徵 in this place, and one meaning of that, especially in the *yao* reading, would be close to my translation (to take, or demand).

their ancestors. Therefore, the victorious, when hearing
of their achievements and situation, casually advance and
do not think of retreating. The weak, when hearing their
mourning of loss and seeing their weakness, then strengthen
themselves with great force and fight to the death. If a
retreat is without great energy and resistance of no great
force, then all can restrain themselves and band together.

XV.60    To stop and dismiss means to put a stop to your
own contributions, to allow opportunity for much thought.
Therefore, when you encounter those who are sincere praise
their behavior, then study their resolution. One can make
promises, one can keep them, and it is a happy occasion
when the two combine. In order to lead others hopefully
on, prove yourself with past accomplishments. Be clearly
sincere and dismiss [stifling speech].

XV.68    As for stifling speech, be on the lookout for
shortcomings. Therefore, when there is a lot of talk there
are sure to be many instances of shortcomings. Be aware of
them and inspect them. Promote them with prohibitions,
expose them with taboos. [Your target] will be fearful and
anxious. Then, gain his confidence by comforting him.
Take in what he has to say, store it away, then put holes
in it. Do not show what you are incapable of to learned
people.

XV.78    To concentrate means, that when you happen upon

someone who is fond of studying skills and tricks, then praise him far and wide, but as you are confirming this, startle with the unusual. People's attention will be drawn to you. Present him to the others, justify his dismissal, and diffuse earlier resistance. This will bring back trust in you.

XV.85     Should you run into a profligate, work your tricks on him. Music will move him. Make him eventually agree with you by using the sorrow of certain death and few days of life, by pleasing him with things he has never heard of, and with a promise of looking forward to a vast, unbounded fate.

XV.91     By keeping to principles is meant probing inside people to bring them in line, and that with a deep probing of the heart you can master someone. Rule the inside from the outside. When there are convolutions to an affair follow them. Therefore when the small man is nearby, go to crooked heterodox practices and make use of him. The very capable can ruin a family and take over a state, but if they are not worthy and wise they cannot maintain the family by principle, nor preserve the state by the Dao. The way the Sage passes on the Dao so subtlely and delicately is that, with sincerity he makes peaceful that which can be transformed from the dangerous, and rescues what is lost and allows it to be preserved.

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## A. The Text of *Guiguzi*

The text of GGZ that follows represents an attempt to create a definitive edition of the text. It is based upon the 1805 edition of Qin Enfu as discussed in earlier chapters. In accordance with the results of the textual analysis of chapter two, this 1805 text is as close as we can come to the archetype without emendation. The focus of this rendering, however, has been on presenting the text with the 1805 reading mainly intact but with the addition of certain features discussed in chapters three and four. The text is written out with line numbers, where those numbers correspond to the translation that precedes this chapter. A full apparatus is provided, with some additional notes. An explanation of the basis for choosing editions and other factors is part of chapter two.

Information about possible rhyming is indicated in the following manner.  Old Chinese rhyme categories are assigned a number preceded by 'R'.  The categories are according to the division by Li Fanggui [1].

| R1 | 之 | -ək, -əg | R2 | 蒸 | -əng |
|----|----|----------|----|----|------|
| R3 | 幽 | -əkw, -əgw | R4 | 中 | -əngw |
| R5 | 緝 | -əp, -əb | R6 | 侵 | -əm |
| R7 | 微 | -ət, -əd | R8 | 文 | -ən |

| R9 | 祭 | -at, -ad | R10 | 歌 | -ar |
|----|----|----------|-----|----|-----|
| R11 | 元 | -ən | R12 | 葉 | -ap |
| R13 | 談 | -am | R14 | 魚 | -ak, -ag |
| R15 | 陽 | -ang | R16 | 宵 | -akw, -agw |

| R17 | 脂 | -it, -id | R18 | 真 | -in |
|-----|----|----------|-----|----|-----|
| R19 | 佳 | -ik, -ig | R20 | 耕 | -ing |

| R21 | 侯 | -uk, -ug | R22 | 東 | -ung |
|-----|----|----------|-----|----|-----|

## A. CHAPTER ONE: *Bai he*

I.1 粤若稽古聖人之在天地間也 R11

I.2 為衆生之先 R8

I.3 觀陰陽之開闔以名命物 R12,R7

以名命物] 1805; 以命物 MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ

I.4 知存亡之門户 R14

I.5 籌策萬類之終始 R1

I.6 達人心之理 R1

I.7 見變化之朕焉

I.8 而守司其門户 R14

户] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; ��� ShJZ

I.9 故聖人之在天下也

I.10 自古及今其道一也

及] 1805; 之 SB; 至 MK,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

I.11 變化無窮各有所歸

I.12 或陰或陽 R15

I.13 或柔或剛 R15

或柔或剛 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH.YL;

transposed MK (YL fragment begins here)

I.14 或開或閉 R17

I.15 或弛或張 R15

I.16 是 故 聖 人 一 守 司 其 門 户

　　　是故 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH;　是以 YL

　　一 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH;　omit YL

I.17 　　　　　審 察 其 所 先 後

　所 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; omit YL (which frag. ends)

I.18 　　　　　度 權 量 能　　　　　　　R2

I.19 　　　　　校 其 伎 巧 短 長　　　　R15

　　校 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　較 ShJZ,HH

I.20 夫 賢 不 肖 智 愚 勇 怯 仁 義 有 差

I.21 　　乃 可 捭 乃 可 闔　　　　　　R12

I.22 　　乃 可 進 乃 可 退　　　　　　R12

I.23 　　乃 可 賤 乃 可 貴　　　　　　R12

I.24 　　無 為 以 牧 之

I.25 審 定 有 無 與 其 實 虛　　　　R14,R14

　　　與 ] 1805,MK,Man,ShJZ,HH;　以 SB,DZ

I.26 隨 其 嗜 欲 以 見 其 志 意　　　R21,R1

　　欲 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　慾 ShJZ,HH

I.27 微 排 其 所 言 而 捭 反 之

I.28 　　以 求 其 實　　　　　　　　R17

I.29 責 得 其 指 闔 而 捭 之

　　　責 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH;　責 ShJZ

　　　指 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH;　旨 ShJZ

I.30 　　以 求 其 利　　　　　　　　R17

I.31 或 開 而 示 之　　　　　　　　R17

I.32 或 闔 而 閉 之　　　　　　　　R17

I.33　開 而 不 之 者 同 其 情 也　　　　　　　R20

I.34　闔 而 開 之 者 異 其 誠 也　　　　　　　**R20**

I.35　可 與 不 可

I.36　審 明 其 計 謀 以 原 其 同 異　　　　　R1,R1

I.37　錯 合 有 守 先 從 其 志　　　　　　　　R3,R1

　　　　志 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH;　　忠　ShJZ

I.38　即 欲 捭 之 貴 周

I.39　即 欲 闔 之 貴 密

I.40　周 密 之 貴 微 而 與 道 相 追　　　　　R7,R7

I.41　捭 之 者 料 其 情 也　　　　　　　　　R20

I.42　闔 之 者 結 其 誠 也　　　　　　　　　R20

I.43　皆 見 其 權 衡 輕 重 乃 為 之 度 數　　　R21

　　　　皆 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　　既　Man

I.44　聖 人 因 而 為 之 慮　　　　　　　　　R14

I.45　其 不 中 權 衡 度 數　　　　　　　　　R21

I.46　聖 人 因 而 自 為 之 慮　　　　　　　　R14

I.47　故 捭 者 或 捭 而 出 之　　　　　　　　R7

I.48　或 捭 而 内 之　　　　　　　　　　　　R7

　　　　内 ] 1805,ShJZ,HH:　　　納 MK,SB,Man,DZ

I.49　闔 者 或 闔 而 取 之　　　　　　　　　R21

I.50　或 闔 而 去 之　　　　　　　　　　　　R14

I.51　捭 闔 者 天 地 之 道

I.52　捭 闔 者 以 變 動

I.53　陰 陽 四 時 開 闔 以 化 萬 物 縱 橫

I.54　反 出 反 覆 反 忤

I.55 　　　　必 由 此 矣

I.56 捭闔者道之大化

　　　　者 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　omit Man

I.57 　　　　説 之 變 也

　　　　變 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　故 HH

I.58 　必 豫 審 其 變 化　　　　　　　　　　R10

I.59 　吉 凶 大 命 繫 焉　　　　　　　　　　R19

　　(whole line)] 1805;　omit (but in comm.) MK,SB,Man,DZ;

　　omit ShJZ, HH (which do not provide commentary)

I.60 口 者 心 之 門 户 也　　　　　　　　　R14

　　[YL begins again]

I.61 心 者 神 之 主 也　　　　　　　　　　R21

　　　　也 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　omit YL

I.62 　志 意 喜 欲 思 慮 智 謀　　　　　　R1

I.63 　　此 皆 由 門 户 出 入　　　　　　　R5

　　both lines:28-29] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;

　　YL: 智 謀 皆 從 之 出

　　　　此 ] 1805,MK,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　omit SB,[YL]

　　[YL fragment ends with this]

I.64 故 關 之 以 捭 闔　　　　　　　　　　R12

　　　　以 ] 1805,MK,Man,ShJZ,HH;　omit SB,DZ

I.65 　制 之 以 出 入　　　　　　　　　　　R5

I.66 　捭 之 者 開 也 言 也 陽 也

I.67 　闔 之 者 閉 也 默 也 陰 也

I.68 陰 陽 其 和　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R10

I.69 終 始 其 義　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R10

I.70 故 言 長 生 安 樂 富 貴 尊 榮 顯 名

　　名 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　　名譽 Man

I.71 　　　愛 好 財 利 得 意 喜 欲

I.72 　　　　為 陽 曰 始

I.73 故 言 死 亡 憂 患 貧 賤 苦 辱 棄 損

　　亡 ] 1805,MK,Man,ShJZ,HH;　omit SB,DZ

I.74 　　亡 利 失 意 有 害 刑 戮 誅 罰

　　戮 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　劉 MK

I.75 　　　　為 陰 曰 終

I.76 　　諸 言 法 陽 之 類 者 皆 曰 始　　R1

　　類 者 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　omit 者　MK

I.77 　　　言 善 以 始 其 事　　　　　　R1

I.78 　　諸 言 法 陰 之 類 者 皆 曰 終

　　類 者 ] 1805,Man,ShJZ,HH;　omit 者　MK,SB,DZ

I.79 　　　言 惡 以 終 其 謀　　　　　　R1

　　其 ] 1805;　為 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

I.80 捭 闔 之 道 以 陰 陽 試 之　　　　　R1

I.81 　　故 與 陽 言 者 依 崇 高　　　　　R16

I.82 　　與 陰 言 者 依 卑 小　　　　　　R16

I.83 　　以 下 求 小

I.84 　　以 高 求 大

I.85 　　由 此 言 之

I.86 　　無 所 不 出　　　　　　　　　　　R7

I.87 　　無 所 不 入　　　　　　　　　　　R5

I.88　　無所不可　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R10

　　　不可 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,ShJZ,HH;　　不言可　DZ

I.89　　可以說人

I.90　　可以說家

I.91　　可以說國

I.92　　可以說天下

　　　lines 89-92 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;

　　　written as commentary (just before the commentary

　　　shared with 1805,SB,Man,DZ) MK

I.93　　為小無內

I.94　　為大無外

I.95 益損就信反

　　　就 ] 1805;　　去就 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

I.96　　皆以陰陽御其事

I.97　　陽動而行　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R15

I.98　　陰止而藏　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R15

I.99　　陽動而出　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R7

I.100　　陰隨而入　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R5

　　　隨 ] 1805;　　隨 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

I.101　　陽還終陰

　　　陰 ] 1805;　　始 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

I.102　　陰極反陽

　　　極 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　　極而 MK

I.103　　以陽動者德相生也　　　　　　　　　　　　　R20

I.104　　以陰靜者形相成也　　　　　　　　　　　　　R20

I.105 以陽求陰芭以德也 R1

芭以德也] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH; 芭 MK

I.106 以陰結陽施以力也 R1

entire line] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH; omit MK

I.107 陰陽相求由捭闔也

陰陽相求由] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH; 由 MK

[therefore, MK omits 15 consecutive characters, 29

including commentary]

I.108 此天地陰陽之道而

天地陰] 1805,MK,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;

天地之陰 SB

I.109 說人之法也

I.110 為萬事之先

為] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; 蓋 ShJZ

I.111 是謂圓方之門户

B. <u>CHAPTER TWO</u>: *Fan ying*

II.1 古 之 大 化 者 乃 與 無 形 俱 生

II.2 反 以 觀 往 覆 以 驗 來

　　　來 ] 1805,SB,Man,ShJZ,HH; 今 MK,DZ

II.3 反 以 知 古 覆 以 知 今

II.4 反 以 知 彼 覆 以 知 此

　　　此 ] 1805; 己 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.5 動 靜 虛 實 之 理

　　　動 靜 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; transposed ShJZ

II.6 不 合 於 今 反 古 而 求 之

　　　於 今 ] 1805; 來 今 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.7 事 有 反 而 得 覆 者

　　　覆 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; 復 ShJZ (not considered

hereafter)

II.8 聖 人 之 意 也

II.9 不 可 不 察 也

II.10 人 言 者 動 也　　　　　　　　　　　　　R22

　　　動 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,ShJZ,HH; 重 DZ

II.11 己 默 者 靜 也　　　　　　　　　　　　　R20

II.12 因 其 言 聽 其 辭

II.13 言 有 不 合 者 反 而 求 之

II.14 其 應 必 出

II.15 言 有 象 事 有 比

II.16 其 有 象 比 以 觀 其 次

II.17　象著象其事

II.18　比著比其辭也

II.19　以無形求有聲

II.20　其鈎語合事得人實也

II.21　其猶張置網而取獸也

猶 ] 1805;　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.22　勿張其會而司之

司 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　同 Man

II.23　道合其事

II.24　彼自出之此鈎人之網也

II.25　常持其網驅之

II.26　其不言無比

不言 ] 1805;　言 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.27　乃為之變

II.28　以象動之

II.29　以報其心

II.30　見其情隨而牧之

II.31　己反往彼覆来　　　　　　　　　　R1

II.32　言有象比　　　　　　　　　　　　R17

II.33　因而定基之

II.34　重之竉覆之

II.35　反之覆之失

II.36　萬事失其辭

II.37　聖人誘愚智

II.38　事所不疑

II.39　故善反聽者乃變鬼神

故 ] 1805;　古 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.40　　以得其情

II.41　　其變當也而牧之審也

II.42　　　牧之不審得情不明

II.43　　　得情不明定基不審

得情不明 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　omit ShJZ,HH

II.44　變象比必有反辭以還聽之

II.45　　欲聞其聲反默　　　　　　　　　R1

II.46　　欲張反斂

欲 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;瞼 MK;臉 HH

II.47　　欲高反下　　　　　　　　　　　R14

II.48　　欲取反與　　　　　　　　　　　R14

II.49　欲開情者象而比之以牧其辭

而 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　可 MK

II.50　同聲相呼

II.51　實理同歸

II.52　　或因此或因彼　　　　　　　　　R10

II.53　　或以事上或以牧下　　　　　　　R14

II.54　此聽真偽知同異得其情詐也

R10,R1,R14

II.55　　動作言默與此出入　　　　　　　R5

II.56　　喜怒由此以見其式　　　　　　　R1

II.57　皆以先定為之法則　　　　　　　　R1

II.58 以反求覆觀其所託 R14

託 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ; 托 ShJZ,HH

II.59 故用此者己欲平靜以聽其辭 R1

II.60 窺其事 R1

II.61 論萬物 R7

II.62 別雄雌 R19

II.63 雖非其事見徵知類

II.64 若探人而居其內

II.65 量其能

II.66 射其意

意 ] 1805; 意也 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.67 符應不失 R17

符應 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ; 反應 HH

II.68 如螣蛇之所指 R17

II.69 若羿之引矢 R17

II.70 故知之始己自知而後知人也

II.71 其相知也若比目之魚 R19,R14

知也 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ,HH; 知者 Man

若 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ; 如 ShJZ,HH

II.72 其見形也若光之與影 R20,R15

其見 ] 1805; omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

影 ] 1805; 影也 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.73 其察言也不失

II.74 若磁石之取鍼

II.75　　　　　如舌之取燔骨

　　　　如 ] 1805;　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.76　　其與人也微

II.77　　其見情也疾

　　　　情 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　人 Man

II.78　　　如陰與陽　　　　　　　　　　　　　R15

　　omit ] 1805;　　　　如陽與陰 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.79　　　如圓與方　　　　　　　　　　　　　R15

　　omit ] 1805;　　　　如方與圓 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.80　　　未見形圓以道之　　　　　　　　　　R3

II.81　　　既見形方以事之　　　　　　　　　　R1

　　　見形 ] 1805;　　形 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

II.82　　進退左右以是司之

II.83　　己不先定牧人不正　　　　　　　　　R20,R20

II.84　　事用不巧是謂忘情失道　　　　　　　R3,R3

　　　忘 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　亡 Man

II.85　　己審先定以牧人　　　　　　　　　　　R18

II.86　　　策而無形容莫見其門　　　　　　　　R8

II.87　　　是謂天神　　　　　　　　　　　　　R18

**C. CHAPTER THREE:** *Nei jian* 內揵

III.1 　君臣上下之事有遠而親

III.2 　　　　　　　　　　近而疏

III.3 　　就之不用

III.4 　　去之反求

III.5 　　日進前而不御　　　　　　　　　R21

III.6 　　遙聞聲而相思　　　　　　　　　R1

　　　lines 5 and 6 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　YK begins

and ends a fragment with these two lines,　transposing and

paraphrasing: 或遙聞而相思或前進而不御

III.7 　事皆有内揵素結本始

III.8 　　或結以道德

III.9 　　或結以黨友

III.10 　　或結以財貨

III.11 　　或結以采色

III.12 　用其意

III.13 　　欲入則入

III.14 　　欲出則出

III.15 　　欲親則親

III.16 　　欲疏則疏

III.17 　　欲就則就

III.18 　　欲去則去

III.19 　　欲求則求

III.20 　　欲思則思

III.21 若 蚨 母 之 從 其 子 也

　蚨 ] 1805； 蛺 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

III.22 　出 無 閒 R11

　閒 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH； 問 ShJZ

III.23 　入 無 朕 R6

III.24 　獨 往 獨 来 R1

III.25 　莫 之 能 止 R1

III.26 内 者 進 說 辭 也

　辭也 ] 1805； 辭 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

III.27 捷 者 捷 所 謀 也

III.28 欲 說 者 務 隱 度

III.29 計 事 者 務 循 順

III.30 　陰 慮 可 否

III.31 　明 言 得 失 以 御 其 志

III.32 　方 来 應 時 以 合 其 謀

III.33 　詳 思 来 捷 往

III.34 　　應 時 當 也

III.35 夫 内 有 不 合 者 不 可 施 行 也

III.36 　乃 揣 切 時 宜

III.37 　從 便 所 為 以 求 其 變 R11

III.38 　　以 變 求 内 者 若 管 取 捷 R11

III.39 言 往 者 先 順 辭 也

III.40 說 来 者 以 變 言 也

III.41 善 變 者 審 知 地 勢

III.42 　乃 通 於 天 以 化 四 時

III.43　　　使 鬼 神 合 於 陰 陽

III.44　　　而 牧 人 民

III.45　　　見 其 謀 事　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

III.46　　　知 其 志 意　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

III.47　　　　事 有 不 合 者 有 所 未 知 也　R19

III.48　　　　合 而 不 結 者 陽 親 而 陰 疏　R14

III.49　　　　事 有 不 合 者 聖 人 不 為 謀 也　R1

all lines from II.28 through III.49 ] 1805;

omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

III.50　故 遠 而 親 者 有 陰 德 也　　　　　R1

III.51　　近 而 疏 者 志 不 合 也　　　　　R5

III.52　　就 而 不 用 者 策 不 得 也　　　　R1

III.53　　去 而 反 求 者 事 中 來 也　　　　R1

中 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　　　不中 Man

III.54　日 進 前 而 不 御 者 施 不 合 也　　R5

III.55　遠 聞 聲 而 相 思 者 合 於 謀　　　R1

III.56　　　　　　　待 決 事 也　　　　　R1

III.57　故 日 不 見 其 類 而 為 之 者 見 逆　R14

為 之 ] 1805,MK,DZ;　　說 之 SB,Man,ShJZ,HH

III.58　　不 得 其 情 而 說 之 者 見 非　　R7

III.59　　得 其 情 乃 制 其 術　　　　　　R7

III.60　　此 用 可 出 可 入　　　　　　　R5

III.61　　　　可 楗 可 開　　　　　　　　R7

III.62　故 聖 人 立 事 以 此　　　　　　　R19

III.63　先知而揵萬物　　　　　　　　　　　　　R7

　　物〕1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　　物也　ShJZ,HH

III.64　由夫道德仁義禮樂　　　　　　　　　　　R16

III.65　　　　忠信計謀　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

　　忠信〕1805;　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ

III.66　　先取詩書　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R14

III.67　　混說損益　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R19

III.68　　議論去就　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R3

　　議論去就〕1805,Man,SB;　議去論就　MK,DZ

III.69　欲合者用內　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R7

III.70　欲去者用外　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R9

III.71　　外內者必明道數　　　　　　　　　　　R21

III.72　　　揣策來事　　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

III.73　　　見疑決之　　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

　　決〕1805,SB;　訣　MK,DZ,Man

III.74　　　策無失計　　　　　　　　　　　　　R17

III.75　　　立功建德　　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

III.76　治名入產業　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R12

　　名〕1805,SB;　明　MK;　民　Man,DZ

III.77　曰捷而內合　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R5

III.78　　上暗不治　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

III.79　　下亂不寤　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R14

III.80　　　捷而反之　　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

III.81　內自得而外不留　　　　　　　　　　　　R3

III.82　　　說而飛之　　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

III.83　若命自来己迎而御之　　　　　R14

III.84　若欲去之因危　舆之　　　　　R14

III.85　　環轉因化　　　　　　　　　R10

III.86　　莫知所為　　　　　　　　　R10

知 ] 1805,SB,Man;　之 MK,DZ

III.87　　退為大儀　　　　　　　　　R10

D. <u>CHAPTER FOUR:</u> *Di xi* 抵 山 戲

IV.1  物 有 自 然

IV.2  事 有 合 離

IV.3  有 近 而 不 可 見

IV.4  有 袁 而 可 知

有 ] 1805;  omit MK.SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

知 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH;  知 著  ShJZ

IV.5  近 而 不 可 見 者 不 察 其 諱 也

IV.6  遠 而 可 知 者 反 往 以 驗 來 也

知 者 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH;  知  ShJZ

IV.7  山 戲 者 罅 也                                      R14

IV.8  罅 者 嶧 也

IV.9  嶧 者 成 大 隙 也                                   R14

隙 也 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;  隙  MK

IV.10  山 戲 始 有 眹 可 抵 而 塞                          R1

山 戲 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;  山 戲 者  TPYL

[TPYL has a fragment including lines 10-11]

IV.11  可 抵 而 卻                                        R14

卻 ] 1805,ShJZ;  却  MK,SB,Man,DZ,TPYL;           HH

IV.12  可 抵 而 息                                        R1

entire line ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH; omit MK

IV.13  可 抵 而 匿                                        R1

IV.14  可 抵 而 得                                        R1

IV.15  此 謂 抵 巇 之 理 也                               R1

IV.16　　事 之 危 也 聖 人 知 之

IV.17　　　　獨 保 其 身

身 ] 1805；　用　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH,TPYL

[TPYL fragment starts here]

IV.18　　　　因 化 說 事

化 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH；作　TPYL [ends here]

IV.19　　　通 達 計 謀 以 識 細 微

達 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH；速　ShJZ

IV.20　　　經 起 秋 毫 之 末

末 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,ShJZ；　未　DZ,HH

IV.21　　　揮 之 於 太 山 之 本

IV.22　　　其 施 外 兆 萌 牙 蘖 之 謀

萌牙蘖 ] 1805；萌蘖　MK；萌牙蘗　SB,Man,DZ；

萌芽蘖　ShJZ,HH [not further noted]

IV.23　　　皆 由 柝 嶽

IV.24　　　　柝 嶽 戲 之 隙 為 道 術 用

柝嶽戲之隙 1805；　omit 之　MK,SB,Man,DZ；

omit 柝嶽戲之　ShJZ,HH

術用 ] 1805；術 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

IV.25　天 下 紛 錯　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R14

紛 ] 1805；分　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

IV.26　　上 無 明 主　　　　　　　　　　　　　R21

IV.27　　公 侯 無 道 德　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

IV.28　　　則 小 人 讒 賊　　　　　　　　　　　R1

IV.29　　　　賢 人 不 用

IV.30　　　聖人宿匿

IV.31　　　貪利詐偽者作

IV.32　　　君臣相惑

IV.33　　　土崩瓦解而相俟射

IV.34　　　父子離散

IV.35　　　乖亂反目

乖亂反目 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH; 乖反亂目　MK

IV.36　　是謂萌牙巇嶮

是謂 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH;　自是謂　MK

IV.37　　聖人見萌芽巇嶮則拊之以法

IV.38　　世可以治則拊而塞之

IV.39　　不可治則拊而得之

IV.40　　或拊如此

IV.41　　或拊如彼

IV.42　　或拊反之

IV.43　　或拊覆之

IV.44　　　五帝之政拊而塞之　　　R1

IV.45　　　三王之事拊而得之　　　R1

IV.46　諸侯相拊不可勝數　　　R17,R21

IV.47　當此之時能拊為右　　　R1

IV.48　自天地之合離終始必有巇隙　R14

巇隙 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; 巇嶮　ShJZ

IV.49　不可不察也

IV.50　察之以捭闔

IV.51　能用此道聖人也

IV.52 　聖人者天地之使也

聖人者] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; 　聖人 　ShJZ

IV.53 世無可折則深隱而待時 　R1

IV.54 時有可抵則為之謀 　R1

IV.55 　可以上含 　R5

IV.56 　可以橢下 　R14

IV.57 　能因能循 　R8

IV.58 　為天地守神 　R18

E. __CHAPTER FIVE:__ *Fei qian*

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.1 | 凡 | 度 | 權 | 量 | 能 | 所 | 以 | 徵 遠 來 近 | |
| V.2 | | 立 | 勢 | 而 | 制 | 事 | 必 | 先 審 同 異 | |
| V.3 | | | 别 | 是 | 非 | 之 | 語 | | R14 |
| V.4 | | | 見 | 内 | 外 | 之 | 辭 | | R1 |
| V.5 | | | 知 | 有 | 無 | 之 | 數 | | R21 |
| V.6 | | | 決 | 安 | 危 | 之 | 計 | | R17 |
| V.7 | | | 定 | 親 | 疏 | 之 | 事 | | R1 |
| V.8 | | 然 後 | 乃 | 權 | 量 | 之 | | | |
| V.9 | | | 其 | 有 | 隱 | 括 | | | |
| V.10 | | | | 乃 | 可 | 徵 | | | |
| V.11 | | | | 乃 | 可 | 求 | | | |
| V.12 | | | | 乃 | 可 | 用 | | | |
| V.13 | | | 引 | 鈎 | 箝 | 之 | 辭 | | |
| V.14 | | | | 飛 | 而 | 箝 | 之 | | |

V.15 鈎 箝 之 語

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.16 | | 其 | 説 | 辭 | 也 | 乍 | 同 乍 異 | |
| V.17 | | 其 | 不 | 可 | 善 | 者 | | |

善 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ,HH; 差 Man

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.18 | | 或 | 先 | 徵 | 之 | 而 | 後 重 累 | R7 |
| V.19 | | 或 | 先 | 重 | 以 | 累 | 而 後 毀 之 | R1 |
| V.20 | | 或 | 以 | 重 | 累 | 為 | 毀 | R1 |
| V.21 | | 或 | 以 | 毀 | 為 | 重 | 累 | R7 |
| V.22 | 其 | 用 | | | | | | |

V.23　　　或稱財貨璋瑋珠玉

V.24　　　　　璧帛采色

　　璧帛 ] 1801；　璧白 MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH；　璧　ShJZ

V.25　　　　　　以事之

V.26　　　或量能立勢以鉤之

V.27　　　或伺候見㵎而箝之

V.28　　其事用抵巇

V.29　　將欲用之於天下

　　　　於天下 ] 1805,MK,Man,DZ,HH；　于天下 ShJZ；omit 於 SB

V.30　　　心度權量能

　　量能 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH；　度能 MK

　　心度權 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH；　心權 ShJZ

V.31　　　見天時之盛衰　　　　　　　　R7

V.32　　　制地形之廣狹　　　　　　　　R12

　　廣狹 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH；　庚狹 ShJZ

V.33　　　岨崄之難易　　　　　　　　　R19

　　岨崄 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH；　岨㑣 ShJZ

V.34　　　人民貨財之多少　　　　　　　R16

　　財之 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH；　財 ShJZ

V.35　　　諸侯之交　　　　　　　　　　R16

V.36　　　　孰親孰疏

V.37　　　　孰愛孰憎

V.38　心意之慮懷審其意

V.39　　知其所好惡乃就說其所重

V.40　以飛箝之辭鉤其所好

V.41　　乃以箝求之

乃 ] 1805; omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

V.42　用之於人則量智能

於人 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　于人　HH

V.43　　　　　權材力

材 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH;　才　ShJZ

V.44　　　　料氣勢

V.45　為之樞機

V.46　　以迎之隨之

V.47　　以箝和之

V.48　　以意宣之


宣 ] 1805,Man;　宜　SB,MK,DZ,ShJZ,HH

V.49　此飛箝之綴也

飛 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　非　ShJZ,HH

V.50　用之於人則空往而實來

用之於人 ] 1805;　　用于人　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,HH

V.51　　　綴而不失

V.52　　以究其辭

V.53　　可箝而從

從 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　縱　ShJZ,HH

V.54　　可箝而橫

V.55　　可引而東

V.56　　可引而西

V.57      可 引 而 南

V.58      可 引 而 北

V.59      可 引 而 反

V.60      可 引 而 覆

V.61      雖 覆 能 復

V.62      不 失 其 度

F. **CHANGE SIX:** *Wu he*

[HH no longer appears in the apparatus as it includes no
part of the next two chapters of GGZ]

VI.1 月 趨 合 倍 反 計 有 適 合      R5

VI.2   化 轉 環 屬 各 有 形 勢      R9

VI.3   反 覆 相 求 因 事 為 制      R9

VI.4 是 以 聖 人 居 天 地 之 間

VI.5   立 身 御 世 施 教 揚 聲 明 名 也

     教 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ;      Man

VI.6   必 因 事 物 之 會 觀 天 時 之 宜    R9,R10

VI.7      因 知 所 多 所 少      R16

     知 ] 1805,ShJZ;    之 MK,SB,Man,DZ

VI.8      以 此 先 知 之

VI.9      與 之 轉 化      R10

[YL and ZL both include lines 10-11]

VI.10 世 無 常 貴

     貴 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,YL;    責 ZL

VI.11 事 無 常 師

VI.12 聖 人 無 常 與

     無 常 與 1805;      常 為 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VI.13      無 不 與

     無 不 與 ] 1805;      無 不 為 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VI.14 　　　　　無所聽

　　　無所聽〕1805；　　　所聽 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VI.15 　　　　　無不聽

VI.16 　成於事而合於計謀

VI.17 　　　與之為主

VI.18 　合於彼而離於此

VI.19 　　計謀不兩忠

VI.20 　必有反忤

VI.21 　反於是忤於彼

　　是〕1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ；　此 ShJZ

VI.22 　忤於此反於彼

VI.23 　　　其術也

VI.24 　用之於天下

　　於〕1805；　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VI.25 　　必量天下而與之

VI.26 　用之於國

　　於〕1805；　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VI.27 　　必量國而與之

VI.28 　用之於家

　　於〕1805；　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VI.29 　　必量家而與之

VI.30 　用之於身

　　於〕1805；　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VI.31 　　必量身材能氣勢而與之

VI.32 　大小進退其用一也

VI.33　　　必 先 謀 慮 計 定

VI.34　　　　而 後 行 之 以 飛 鉗 之 術

VI.35　古 之 善 背 向 者 乃 協 四 海　　　　R1

VI.36　　　　　　　　包 諸 侯　　　　R21

VI.37　　　　　　　忤 合 之 地　　　　R10

之 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　天　MK,ShJZ

VI.38　　　　　　　　而 化 轉 之

VI.39　　　然 後 求 合

然 後 求 合 ] 1805;

　　然 後 以 之 求 合　MK,SB,Man,DZ;

　　然 後 以 之 來 合　ShJz

　　[TPYL quotes lines 40-47]

VI.40　故 伊 尹 五 就 湯

湯 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　桀　TPYL

VI.41　　　五 就 桀 而 不 能 有 所 明

而 不 能 有 所 明 ] 1805;　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,TPYL

五 就 桀 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　五 就 湯　TPYL

VI.42　　　然 後 合 於 湯

於 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,TPYL;　于　ShJZ

VI.43　　　呂 尚 三 就 文 王

就 文 王 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　入 殷 朝　TPYL

尚 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,TPYL;　望　ShJZ

VI.44　　　　三 入 殷 而 不 能 有 所 明

入 殷 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　就 文 王　TPYL

而 不 能 有 所 明 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　omit TPYL

VI.45 　　　　然 後 含 於 文 王

VI.46 　此 知 天 命 之 錯

　　　知 天 命 之 錯 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ；

　　　　天 知 之 至 　TPYL

VI.47 　故 歸 之 不 疑 也

　　故 , 也 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ；　omit　TPYL

　　[TPYL fragment ends after line 11]

VI.48 　非 至 聖 遠 奧 不 能 御 世 　　　　　　　R3,R9

　　聖 ] 1805；　　　聖 人 　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VI.49 　非 　　心 苦 思 不 能 原 事 　　　　　　R1,R1

　　非 ] 1805；　　不 　MK,Man,ShJZ；　omit SB,DZ

VI.50 　不 慈 心 見 情 不 能 成 名 　　　　　　R20,R20

VI.51 　材 質 不 惠 　　不 能 用 兵

　　材 質 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ；　　林 　Man

VI.52 　忠 實 無 真 　　不 能 知 人 　　　　　R18,R18

VI.53 　故 忤 合 之 道 己 必 自 度 材 能 知 睿

　　知 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ；　　　睿 ShJZ

VI.54 　　　　　　　　　　　　量 長 短 遠 近

VI.55 　　　訣 不 如

VI.56 　　　乃 可 以 進

VI.57 　　　乃 可 以 退

VI.58 　　　乃 可 以 縱

　　縱 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ；　　從 MK

VI.59 　　　乃 可 以 橫

## G. CHAPTER SEVEN: *Chuai pian*

[Lines 1-10 are an obvious addition to the main DZ text. The assumption here is that the addition is merely a correction of an error made during the initial copying and that it was not done in reference to any but the original copy text.]

VII.1 　古 之 善 用 天 下 者

VII.2 　心 量 天 下 之 權 而 揣 諸 侯 之 情

　　情 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　　　　分　ShJZ

VII.3 　量 權 不 審

VII.4 　不 知 強 弱 輕 重 之 稱

　　lines 3-4] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　omit ShJZ

VII.5 　揣 情 不 審

VII.6 　不 知 隱 匿 變 化 之 動 靜

VII.7 　何 謂 量 權

VII.8 　曰 度 於 大 小　　　　　　　　　　R16

VII.9 　謀 於 眾 寡　　　　　　　　　　　R14

VII.10 　稱 貨 財 有 無 之 數　　　　　　R21

　有 無 之 數 ] 1805;　　之 有 無　MK,SB,Man,DZ;

　有 無　ShJZ

VII.11 　料 人 民 多 少　　　　　　　　　R16

VII.12 　饒 乏 有 餘 不 足 幾 何　　　　　R10

VII.13 　辨 地 形 之 險 易　　　　　　　　R19

VII.14 　孰 利 孰 害　　　　　　　　　　　R19

VII.15　　　　謀慮

VII.16　　　　訣長訣短

　訣短 ] 1805,MK.SB,Man,DZ；　短　ShJZ

VII.17　　　揆君臣之親疏

　揆 ] 1805；　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VII.18　　　訣賢訣不肖　　　　　　　　R16

　不肖 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ；否 MK；　不賢　ShJZ

VII.19　　　與賓客之智慧　　　　　　　R9

　智 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man；　　　知 DZ,ShJZ

　慧 ] 1805；　睿 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VII.20　　　　訣少訣多　　　　　　　　R10

VII.21　　　觀天時之禍福　　　　　　　R1

VII.22　　　　訣吉訣凶　　　　　　　　R22

VII.23　　　諸侯之交　　　　　　　　　R16

　交 ] 1805；　親 MK,SB,Man,DZ；　　親信 ShJZ

VII.24　　　訣用訣不用　　　　　　　　R22

VII.25　　百姓之心去就變化

VII.26　　　訣安訣危

VII.27　　　訣好訣惜

VII.28　　　反倒訣辯

　辯 ] 1805；　便 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VII.29　　能知此者是謂量權

　　　能知此者 ] 1805,ShJZ；　　訣知如此者 MK；

　能知知此者 ] SB,Man,DZ

　　量權 ] 1805；權 MK；　transposed SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VII.30　揣情者必以其甚喜之時

VII.31　　　往而極其欲也

VII.32　　　　其有欲也不能隱其情

VII.33　　　必以其甚懼之時

VII.34　　　往而極其惡也

VII.35　　　　其有惡也不能隱其情

VII.36　　　　　情欲必出其變

　　出 ] 1805;　　　失　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VII.37　　　　感動而不知其變者

VII.38　　　　乃且錯其人

VII.39　勿與語而更問其所親　　　　　　　R18

　　其 ] 1805;　　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VII.40　　　　　　知其所安　　　　　　　R11

VII.41　夫情變於內者形見於外

　　於 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　　于　ShJZ

VII.42　故常必以其見者而知其隱者

VII.43　　此所以謂測深探情

　　以 ] 1801,SB;　omit MK,Man,DZ,ShJZ

　　探 ] 1801;揣　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VII.44　故計國事者則當審權量

VII.45　　說人主　　則當審揣情

VII.46　　謀慮情欲必出於此

VII.47　　　乃可貴乃可賤

VII.48　　　乃可重乃可輕

　...重..輕 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　transposed MK

VII.49　　　　乃可利乃可害

VII.50　　　　乃可成乃可敗

VII.51　　　其數一也

VII.52　故雖有先王之道

VII.53　　　　聖智之謀

VII.54　非揣情隱匿無可索之

　可 ] 1805；所 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VII.55　　　此謀之大本也

　此 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ；　omit MK

VII.56　　　而說之法也

VII.57　常有事於人人莫能先

　能先] 1805；　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

VII.58　　先事而生此最難為

　生 ] 1805；　至 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

　難 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ；　omit ShJZ

VII.59　故曰揣情最難守司

VII.60　　　言必時其謀慮

VII.61　故觀蜎飛蠕動

VII.62　　無不有利害

VII.63　　可以生事

VII.64　　　美生事者幾之勢也

VII.65　　此揣情飾言成文章

　文 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ；omit ShJZ

VII.66　　　而後論之也

　也 ] 1805；　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

## H. CHAPTER EIGHT: *Mo pian*

[HH includes this chapter as its last GG7 text portion]

VIII.1 摩者揣之術也
　　　　摩者揣之術也 ] 1805; 　　　摩之符也 MK,SB,Man,DZ;
　　　　摩之符也內 ] HH,ShJZ

VIII.2 內符者揣之主也

VIII.3 用之有道其道必隱

VIII.4 摩之以其所欲
　　　摩 ] 1805; 　　　　微摩 MK,SB,Man,DZ;
　　　　微揣 ] HH,ShJZ

VIII.5 測而探之內符必應

VIII.6 其所應也必有為之
　　　所 ] 1805; omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ

VIII.7 故微而去之

VIII.8 是謂塞窌匿端

VIII.9 隱貌逃情

VIII.10 而人不知

VIII.11 故能成其事而無患
　　　能 ] 1805,HH,ShJZ; omit MK,SB,Man,DZ

VIII.12 摩之在此符應在彼 　　　　　　　R10
　　　應 ] 1805; 之 MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ

VIII.13 從而用之事無不可 　　　　　　　R10
　　　用 ] 1805; 應 MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ

VIII.14　古之善摩者

VIII.15　　如操鈎而臨深淵　　　　　　　　　　R18

VIII.16　　　餌而投之必得魚焉　　　　　　　　R11

VIII.17　故曰主事日成而人不知　　　　　　　　R19

　　　　人〕1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH;　omit ShJZ

VIII.18　　　主兵日勝而人不畏也　　　　　　　R7

VIII.19　聖人謀之於陰　　　　　　　　　　　　R6

VIII.20　　故曰神　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R18

VIII.21　　　成之於陽　　　　　　　　　　　　R15

VIII.22　故曰明　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R15

VIII.23　　所謂主事日成者

VIII.24　　　積德也而民安之

VIII.25　　　不知其所以利

VIII.26　　　積善也而民道之

VIII.27　　　不知其所以然而天下比之

VIII.28　　　　神明也

VIII.29　　主兵日勝者

VIII.30　　　常戰於不爭不費

VIII.31　　　而民不知所以服

VIII.32　　　　不知所以畏

VIII.33　　　而天下比之神明

　　　　明〕1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　　明也 HH,ShJZ

VIII.34　　其摩者

　　　　其〕1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　omit HH,ShJZ

VIII.35　　　有以平　　　　　　　　　　　　　R20

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| VIII.36 | 正 | 以 | 有 | R20 |
| VIII.37 | 喜 | 以 | 有 | R1 |
| VIII.38 | 怒 | 以 | 有 | R14 |
| VIII.39 | 名 | 以 | 有 | R20 |
| VIII.40 | 行 | 以 | 有 | R15 |
| VIII.41 | 廉 | 以 | 有 | R13 |
| VIII.42 | 信 | 以 | 有 | R18 |
| VIII.43 | 利 | 以 | 有 | R17 |
| VIII.44 | 卑 | 以 | 有 | R19 |

VIII.45　平者靜也

VIII.46　正者宣也

宣 ] 1805; 直 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ; 甫 HH

VIII.47　喜者悦也

VIII.48　怒者動也

VIII.49　名者發也

VIII.50　行者成也

entire line] 1805.MK.SB,Man,DZ; omit HH,ShJZ

VIII.51　廉者潔也

VIII.52　信者期也

期 ] 1805; 明 MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ

VIII.53　利者求也

VIII.54　卑者詘也

VIII.55 故聖人所以獨用者

聖人 ] 1805.SB,Man,HH,ShJZ; 聖 MK,DZ

以 ] 1805; omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ

VIII.56 　　衆人皆有之

VIII.57 　　然無成功者

VIII.58 　　　其用之非也

VIII.59 故謀莫難於周密

　　　於 ] 1805,MK,Man,DZ,HH; 　　于 SB,ShJZ

　　　周 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ; 　　固 HH,ShJZ

VIII.60 　　説莫難於悉聽

VIII.61 　　事莫難於必成

　　　於 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; 于 ShJZ

VIII.62 　　　此三者唯聖人然後能任之

　　唯聖人 ] 1805; omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ

　　　任 ] 1805; omit MK,SB,Man,DZ.HH,ShJZ

　　　然後 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ; 　　摩然後 HH,ShJZ

VIII.63 故謀必谷周密

　　　密 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ; 審 MK

VIII.64 　　　必擇其所與通者説也

VIII.65 故曰或結而無隙也

VIII.66 　　夫事成必合於數

　　　於 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; 于 ShJZ

VIII.67 故曰道數與時相偶者也

VIII.68 　　説者聽必合於情

　　　於 ] 1805,MK,Man,DZ,HH; 　　　于 SB,ShJZ

VIII.69 故曰情合者聽

　　　聽 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; 　必聽 ShJZ

VIII.70 故 物 歸 類

　　　歸 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; 壻 ShJZ

　　　[YL has lines 71-73]

VIII.71 抱 薪 趨 火 燥 者 先 然

　　　趨 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ; 赴 YL

VIII.72 平 地 注 水 濕 者 先 濡

　　　濡 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ,YL; 渥 MK

VIII.73 　 此 物 類 相 應 於 勢

　　　entire line ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ;

　　　此 類 相 應 也 ] YL

　　　物 類 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; 類 類 ShJZ

VIII.74 　 譬 猶 是 也

VIII.75 　 此 言 内 待 之 應 外 摩 也 如 是

VIII.76 故 曰 摩 之 以 其 類

VIII.77 　 焉 有 不 相 應 者

VIII.78 　 乃 摩 之 以 其 欲

VIII.79 　 焉 有 不 聽 者

VIII.80 故 曰 獨 行 之 道

VIII.81 　 夫 幾 者 不 晚

　　　夫 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,HH,ShJZ; 大 MK

VIII.82 　 成 而 不 抱

　　　拘 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,HH; 抱 ShJZ

VIII.83 　 久 而 化 成

## I. CHAPTER NINE: *Quan pian*

[HH has no more of the GGZ text]

IX.1　説 者 説 之 也

説者 ] 1805,SB,ShJZ;　　　説之者 MK,Man,DZ

IX.2　説 之 者 資 之 也

IX.3　飾 言 者 假 之 也

IX.4　假 之 者 益 損 也

IX.5　應 對 者 利 辭 也

IX.6　利 辭 者 輕 論 也

辭者] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ;　　辭也 Man

輕論也] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ;　　輕也 Man

IX.7　成 義 者 明 之 也

IX.8　明 之 者 符 驗 也

IX.9　　言 或 反 覆 欲 相 却 也

entire line] 1805;　　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ [included

as commentary to preceding line, except ShJZ]

IX.10　難 言 者 却 論 也

去 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　　卻 ShJZ

IX.11　却 論 者 鉤 幾 也

却 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ;　　卻 ShJZ

IX.12　佞 言 者 諂 而 干 忠

干 ] 1805,MK;　　于 SB,Man,DZ;　　不 ShJZ

IX.13　　誤言者博而干智

　　干 ] 1805,MK;　　于 SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.14　　平言者決而干勇

　　平 ] 1805;　　于 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

　　干 ] 1805,MK;　　于 SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.15　　戚言者權而干信

　　干 ] 1805,MK;　　于 SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.16　　靜言者反而干勝

　　干 ] 1805,MK;　　于 SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.17　　先意承欲者諂也

　　承 ] 1805,SB,Man,ShJZ;　　成 MK,DZ

IX.18　　繁稱文辭者博也

IX.19　　縱舍不疑者決也

　　　　lines 18-19 ] 1805;　　transposed MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

　　疑 ] 1805,MK,SB,ShJZ;　　宜 Man,DZ

　　舍 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ;　　摧 Man

IX.20　　策選進謀者權也

IX.21　　他分不足以窒非者

　　他 ] 1805;　　先 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

　　以 ] 1805,SB;　　而 MK,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.22　　　　　　　　　　　　反也

　　　　[TPYL and YWLJ quote lines 23-24]

IX.23　　故口者機關也

　　機 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,TPYL,ShJZ;　　緩 DZ,ShJZ

　　關 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,YWLJ;　　開 TPYL

IX.24 　　所 以 關 閉 情 意 也

　　　　關閉] 1805； 閉　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ；

　　　　開開 TPYL； 開閉 YWLJ

IX.25 　耳 目 者 心 之 佐 助 也

IX.26 　　所 以 窺 覵 姦 邪

　　　覵] 1805； 覵 SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ； 問是 MK

IX.27 　故 曰 參 調 而 應

IX.28 　　　利 道 而 動

IX.29 　故 繁 言 而 不 亂

　　　繁] 1805,MK,SB,Man,ShJZ； 繫 DZ

IX.30 　　翱 翔 而 不 迷

IX.31 　變 易 而 不 危 者

IX.32 　　觀 要 得 理

　　　觀] 1805； 觀 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

　　　理] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ； 其理 ShJZ

IX.33 　故 無 目 者 不 可 示 以 五 色

IX.34 　　無 耳 者 不 可 告 以 五 音

IX.35 　故 不 可 以 往 者 無 所 開 之 也

　　　開之] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ； 開 ShJZ

IX.36 　　不 可 以 來 者 無 所 受 之 也

IX.37 　物 有 不 通 者 聖 人 故 不 事 也

　　　不事也] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ； 不事事也 MK

　　　聖人] 1805； omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.38 　古 人 有 言 曰

IX.39 口可以食不可以言者

以言者] 1805; 以言言者 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

[TPYL and YWLJ quote line 39 but not fully]

IX.40 有諱忌也

IX.41 素口爍金

IX.42 言有曲故也

IX.43 人之情出言則欲聽

IX.44 舉事則欲成

[YL quotes lines 41-44]

IX.45 是故智者不用其所短

IX.46 而用愚人之所長

長] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ; 長也 YL

IX.47 不用其所拙

omit ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ,YL; 智者 Man

IX.48 而用愚人之所工

愚人] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ,YL; 其愚人 MK

工 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ; 工也 YL

IX.49 故不困也

IX.50 言其有利者從其所長也

IX.51 言其有害者避其所短也

IX.52 故介蟲之捍也必以堅厚 R21

捍] 1805,SB,ShJZ; 悍 MK,Man,DZ

IX.53 螫蟲之動也必以毒螫 R14

IX.54 　故禽獸知用其長

知 ] 1805,SB,ShJZ; 　之 MK,Man,DZ

IX.55 　　而談者亦知其用

本知 ] 1805; 　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.56 　　而用也

54-55: as above] 1805; 　　知用其用也 MK,SB,Man,DZ;

知用其短 ShJZ

IX.57 　故曰辭言有五

辭言] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ; 　transposed MK

有五 ] 1805,ShJZ; 　五 MK,SB,Man,DZ

IX.58 　　曰病曰恐曰憂曰怒

恐 ] 1805,ShJZ; 　怨 MK,SB,Man,DZ

IX.59 　　曰喜

entire line ] 1805,ShJZ;

written/printed within commentary MK,SB,Man,DZ


IX.60 　病者感衰氣而不神也

omit ] 1805; 　故曰 precedes other text on this

line MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.61 　恐者腸絕而無主也

恐 ] 1805,SB,ShJZ; 　怨 MK,Man,DZ

IX.62 　憂者閉塞而不泄也

IX.63 　怨者妄動而不治也

IX.64 　｜畫者宣散而無要也

　　宣 ］ 1805,SB,Man,DZ; 　　　宜　MK,ShJZ

　　要 ］ 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ; 　　夸　Man

IX.65 此五者精則用之 　　　　　　　　　R22

IX.66 　　　利則行之 　　　　　　　　　R15

　　　　[TPYL has lines 3-5 and 12]

IX.67 故與智者言依於博

　　博 ］ 1805; 博　TPYL; 拙　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.68 　與博者言依於辯

　　辯 ］ 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ; 辯　Man,TPYL

IX.69 　與　者言依於

　　辯 ］ 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ; 辯　Man,TPYL

IX.70 　與貴者言依於勢

IX.71 　與富者言依於高

IX.72 　與貧者言依於利

IX.73 　與賤者言依於謙

IX.74 　與勇者言依於敢

IX.75 　與愚者言依於銳

　　愚 ］ 1805; 過　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.76 此其術也而人常反之

　　術 ］ 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ; 說　TPYL

IX.77 是故與智者言將以

IX.78 　　此明之

　　77-78: 以此 ］ 1805; 此以　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.79　　　　傻 不 智 者 言 料

言 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ；　　語 MK

IX.80　　　　以 此 教 之

以此 ] 1805；　　以此術 MK；　　此以 SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.81　　　　而 甚 難 為 也

而甚 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ；　　然人 MK

IX.82　故 言 多 類 事 多 變

IX.83　故 終 日 言 不 失 其 題

IX.84　　　　而 事 不 亂

而事 ] 1805；　　故事 MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ；　　故此 Man

IX.85　　終 日 不 變 而 不 失 其 主

IX.86　故 智 貴 不 忘

忘 ] 1805；　妄 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

IX.87　　聽 貴 聰

IX.88　　智 貴 明

IX.89　辭 貴 奇

## J. CHAPTER TEN: *Mou pian*

X.1 凡 謀 有 道

omit 〕1805; 為人 precedes line MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.2 必 得 其 所 因 以 求 其 情

X.3 審 得 其 情 乃 立 三 儀

審得 〕1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ 審 MK

X.4 三 儀 者 曰 上 曰 中 曰 下

X.5 參 以 立 焉 以 生 奇

X.6 奇 不 知 其 所 壅 R22

奇 〕1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ; 計 Man

壅 〕1805; 擁 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.7 始 於 古 之 所 從 R22

[YWLJ has lines 8-9]

X.8 故 鄭 人 之 取 玉 也

X.9 載 司 南 之 車 為 其 不 惑 也

載 〕1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ; 感 Man; 必載 YWLJ

X.10 夫 度 材 量 能 揣 情 者

X.11 亦 事 之 司 南 也

X.12 故 同 情 而 相 親 者 其 俱 成 者 也

而相 〕1805; 而俱相 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.13 同 欲 而 相 疏 者 其 偏 害 者 也

X.14 同 惡 而 相 親 者 其 俱 害 者 也

X.15 同 惡 而 相 疏 者 偏 害 者 也

X.16 故 相 益 則 親

X.17 　　相損則疏

X.18 　　　其數行也

X.19 　　此所以察異同之分也

異同 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ; 　transposed　MK,ShJZ

之分也 ] 1805; 　　　之分類一也　MK,SB,DZ;

之分其類一也Man,ShJZ

[YL has lines 20-21]

X.20 　　故墻墻於其隙　　　　　　　　　　　　R14

其隙 ] 1805,Man,ShJZ;　隙　MK,SB,DZ;　有隙 YL

X.21 　　　木毀於其節　　　　　　　　　　　R17

木 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　　　水　MK

其 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　　有　YL

於 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ;　　于　Man

X.22 　　　斯蓋其分也

X.23 故變生事　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

生事 ] 1805;　　　　生於事　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.24 　　事生謀　　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

X.25 　　謀生計　　　　　　　　　　　　　R17

X.26 　　計生議　　　　　　　　　　　　　R10

X.27 　　議生說

X.28 　　說生進

X.29 　　進生退

X.30 　　退生制

X.31 　　因以制於事

X.32 故百事一道而百度一數也

X.33 夫仁人輕貨

X.34 不可誘以利

X.35 可使出費

X.36 勇士輕難

X.37 不可懼以患

X.38 可使據危

X.39 智者達於數

X.40 明於理

X.41 不可欺以不誠

欺 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ,ShJZ; 頃 Man

不誠 ] 1805; 誠 MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.42 可示以道理

X.43 可使立功

X.44 是三才也

才 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ; 十 ShJZ

X.45 故愚者易蔽也 R9

X.46 不肖者易懼也 R14

X.47 貪者易誘也 R1

X.48 是因事而裁之 R1

而 ] 1805,MK,SB.Man,DZ; omit ShJZ

X.49 故為強者積於弱也 R16

於 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ; 于 MK

X.50 為直者積於曲也 R21

entire line ] 1805; omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.51　有餘者積於不足也　　　　　　　　　　R21
　　　　於 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ;　　于　MK

X.52　此其道術行也

X.53　故外親而內疏者說內

X.54　內親而外疏者說外

X.55　故因其疑以變之

X.56　因其見以然之

X.57　因其說以要之

X.58　因其勢以成之

X.59　因其惡以權之

X.60　因其患以斥之

X.61　摩而恐之　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R22

X.62　高而動之　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R22

X.63　微而證之　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R2
　　　　證 ] 1805;　　　正　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.64　符而應之　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R2

X.65　擁而塞之　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

X.66　亂而惑之　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R1

X.67　是謂計謀

X.68　計謀之用

X.69　公不如私　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R17

X.70　私不如結　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R17

X.71　結比而無隙者也　　　　　　　　　　　　R14
　　　　比 ] 1805;　　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.72　正不如奇

X.73　　　　　奇流而不止者也

X.74　故說人主者心與之言奇

X.75　　說人臣者心與之言私

X.76　其身內其言外者疏

X.77　其身外其言深者危

X.78　　　　　　[blank]

X.79　無以人之所不欲而強之於人
　　　人之所 ] 1805；　　　人之近所　　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.80　無以人之所不知而教之於人·

X.81　　人之有好也學而順之

X.82　　人之有惡也避而諱之

X.83　故陰道而陽取之
　　　　取之 ] 1805；　　　取之也　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.84　故去之者從之
　　　從 ] 1805；　　縱　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.85　　從之者乘之
　　　從 ] 1805；　　縱　MK,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.86　微者不美又不惡
　　　　不美 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ；　　美　ShJZ

X.87　故至情託焉
　　　託 ] 1805,SB；　托　MK,Man,DZ,ShJZ

X.88　　可知者可用也

X.89　　不可知者謀者所不用也

X.90　故曰事貴制人

X.91　　而不貴見制於人

X.92　　　制人者握權也

X.93　　　見制於人者制氣也

　　制］1805,MK,SB,Man,DZ；　　失　　ShJZ

　　　[Lines 94-100 are omitted in ShJZ]

X.94　故聖人之道陰

X.95　　　遇人之道

X.96　智者事易而不智者事難　　　　　　R11

X.97　　以此觀之　　　　　　　　　　　R11

X.98　　　亡不可以為存　　　　　　　　R8

X.99　　　而危不可以為安　　　　　　　R11

X.100　然而無為而貴智矣

X.101　智用於眾人之所不能知

　　　能知］1805,SB,Man,DZ,ShJZ；　知　MK

X.102　而能用於眾人之所不能見

　　　[ShJZ omits lines 103-108]

X.103　既用且可否

X.104　　　擇事而為之

X.105　所以自為也

X.106　　　且可

X.107　　　擇事而為之

X.108　所以為人也

X.109　故先王之道陰

X.110　言有之曰

X.111　天地之化在高與深

X.112　聖人之制道在隱與匿

X.113 　非 獨 忠 信 仁 義 也

X.114 　中 正 而 已 矣

[ShJZ inclusion of GGZ material ends here]

X.115 　道 理 達 於 此 之 義　　　　　　　R10

　　　　之 義 ] 1805;　　　義 之 MK,SB,Man,DZ

X.116 　則 可 與 語　　　　　　　　　　R14

　　　語 ] 1805;　　言 MK,SB,Man,DZ

X.117 　由 能 得 此　　　　　　　　　　R19

X.118 　則 可 以 穀 遠 近 之 誘　　　　　R1

　　　以 ] 1805,Man;　與 MK.SB,DZ

　　　誘 ] 1805;　　義 MK.SB,Man,DZ

## K. CHAPTER ELEVEN: *Jue pian*

XI.1　　凡決物必託於疑者

　　　omit ] 1805;　　為人 precedes MK,SB,Man,DZ

　　託 ] 1805;　　托 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XI.2　　　　善其用福

　　　善其用福 ] 1805,MK,Man,DZ;　　用其善福　　SB

XI.3　　　　惡其有患

XI.4　　　　善至於誘也

　　善 ] 1805;　　害 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XI.5　　終無惑偏

XI.6　　有利焉去其利

XI.7　　　　則不受也奇之所託

　　託 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　托 MK

XI.8　　若有利於善者隱託於惡

　　託 ] 1805,SB,DZ;　　托 MK,Man

XI.9　　　　則不受矣致疎遠

XI.10　故其有使失利者　　　　　　　　　　R17

　　　利者 ] 1805;　　利 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XI.11　　　　有使離害者　　　　　　　　　R9

　　　有 ] 1805;　其有 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XI.12　　此　　之失　　　　　　　　　　　R17

XI.13　聖人所以能成其事者有五

XI.14　　　有以陽德之者

XI.15　　　有以陰賊之者

XI.16　　　有 以 信 成 之 者

　　成 ] 1805,SB,Man;　　誠 MK,DZ

　　　信成之者 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ;　omit Man

XI.17　　　有 以 蔽 匿 之 者

XI.18　　　有 以 平 素 之 者

XI.19　　　陽 勵 於 一 言

XI.20　　　陰 勵 於 二 言

XI.21　　平 素 樞 機 以 用 四 者

XI.22　　　　微 而 施 之

XI.23　　　於 是 度 之 往 事

　　之 ] 1805;　　以 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XI.24　　　　驗 之 來 事

XI.25　　　　參 之 平 素

XI.26　　　可 則 決 之

XI.27　王 公 大 人 之 事 也

　　王公 ] 1805,Man;　　公王 MK,SB,DZ

XI.28　　　危 而 美 名 者

XI.29　　　可 則 決 之

XI.30　　不 用 費 力 而 易 成 者

XI.31　　　可 則 決 之

XI.32　　用 力 犯 勤 者

XI.33　　然 不 得 已 而 為 之 者

　　然 ] 1805;　　然而 MK,SB,Man,DZ

　　為之 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ;　　得之 Man

XI.34　　　　可 則 決 之

　　可 則 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man;　　則可　DZ

XI.35　　　去 患 者

XI.36　　　　可 則 決 之

XI.37　　　從 福 者

XI.38　　　　可 則 決 之

XI.39　　故 夫 決 情 定 疑

XI.40　　　萬 事 之 基

　　基 ] 1805;　　機　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XI.41　　　　以 正 治 亂

　　治 亂 ] 1805;　transposed　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XI.42　　　決 成 敗 難 為 者

XI.43　　故 先 王 乃 用 蓍 龜 者 以 自 決 也

## L. CHAPTER TWELVE: _Fu yan_

XII.1　　安 徐 正 靜 其 被 節 先 肉
　　　先 ] 1805;　　　無不 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XII.2　　善 與 而 不 靜

XII.3　　處 心 平 意

XII.4　　　以 待 傾 損　　右 主 位
　　　待 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　符 MK

　　　[All section titles are　右 X X in 1805,　有 X X
in MK,SB,Man,DZ.  Titles all appear at end of relevant
section.]

XII.5　　目 貴 明

XII.6　　耳 貴 聰

XII.7　　心 貴 智

XII.8　　以 天 下 之 目 視 者

XII.9　　　則 無 不 見

XII.10　　以 天 下 之 耳 聽 者

XII.11　　　則 無 不 聞

XII.12　　以 天 下 之 心 思 慮 者
　　　思慮 ] 1805;　　慮 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XII.13　　　則 無 不 知
　　　知 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　通 MK

XII.14　　輻 輳 並 進
　　　輳 ] 1805,MK;　湊 SB,Man,DZ

XII.15　　　　則明不可塞　　右主明

則明 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　則門 MK

XII.16　德之術曰

XII.17　　勿堅而拒之

XII.18　　許之則防守

XII.19　　拒之則閉塞

XII.20　　　高山仰之可極

XII.21　　　深淵度之可測

XII.22　神明之德術正靜其莫之極／右主德

神明之德 ] 1805;　　　神明之位 MK,SB,Man,DZ

極 ] 1805;　　極歡 MK;　　極歟 SB,Man,DZ

XII.23　用賞貴信

XII.24　用刑貴正

XII.25　　賞賜貴信

XII.26　　　必驗耳目之外聞見

聞見 ] 1805;　　transposed　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XII.27　　　其所不聞見者

聞見 ] 1805;　　transposed　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XII.28　　　莫不闇化矣

XII.29　誠暢於天下神明

XII.30　　而沈薉者于君　　右主賞

XII.31　一曰天之

XII.32　二曰地之

XII.33　三曰人之

XII.34 四方上下左右前後

左右 / 前後 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ; transposed MK

XII.35 燮慼之處安在 右主問

慼 ] 1805; 燮慼 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XII.36 心為九竅之治

XII.37 君為五官之長

XII.38 為善者君與之賞

XII.39 為非者君與之罰

XII.40 君因其所以求

其 ] 1805; 其政之 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XII.41 因與之則不勞

XII.42 聖人用之

XII.43 故能賞之

XII.44 因之循理

XII.45 固能久長 右主因

固 ] 1805,SB,DZ; 故 MK,Man

[MK continues with material the others have in comm.]

XII.46 人主不可不周

XII.47 人主不周則群臣生亂

XII.48 家于其無常也

XII.49 內外不通

XII.50 宇知所問

XII.51 開闔不善

XII.52 不見原也 右主周

XII.53 一曰長曰

XII.54　二曰飛耳

XII.55　三曰樹明

XII.56　　明知千里之外

　　明 ] 1805;　　omit　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XII.57　　　　隱微之中　　右主恭

XII.58　　　是謂洞天下姦

XII.59　　　莫不闇變

　　　變 ] 1805;　　　　變更 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XII.60　循名而為實

XII.61　　字而完

XII.62　名實相生

XII.63　　反相為情

　　　反 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　及　MK

XII.64　　故曰

XII.65　　　名當則生於實

XII.66　　　　實生於理

XII.67　　　　理生於名實之德

XII.68　　　　德生於和

XII.69　　　　和生於當　　右主名

## M. CHAPTER THIRTEEN: *Benjing yinfu qishu*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| XIII.1 | 盛神法五龍 | | | |
| XIII.2 | 盛神中有五氣 | | | |
| XIII.3 | 神為之長 | | | |
| XIII.4 | 心為之舍 | | | |
| XIII.5 | 德為之大 | | | |

惑 ] 1805; 燧 MK,SB,Man,DZ

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| XIII.6 | 養神之所歸諸道 | R3 |
| XIII.7 | 道者天地之始 | R1 |
| XIII.8 | 一其紀也 | R1 |
| XIII.9 | 物之所造 | |
| XIII.10 | 天之所生 | R20 |
| XIII.11 | 包宏無形 | R20 |
| XIII.12 | 化氣先天地而成 | R20 |
| XIII.13 | 莫見其形 | R20 |
| XIII.14 | 莫知其名 | R20 |
| XIII.15 | 謂之神靈 | R20 |
| XIII.16 | 故道者神明之源 | R11 |
| XIII.17 | 一其化端 | R11 |
| XIII.18 | 是以德養五氣 | |
| XIII.19 | 心能得一乃有其術 | |
| XIII.20 | 術者心氣之道 | |
| XIII.21 | 所有舍者神乃為之使 | R1 |

所有 ] 1805; 所由 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.22 　九竅十二舍者　　　　　　　　　R14

XIII.23 　　氣之門户　　　　　　　　　　R14

XIII.24 　　心之總攝也　　　　　　　　　R12

XIII.25 生殳於天謂之真人

　　於 ] 1805;　　　　　之　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.26 　真人者與天為一

XIII.27 内修練而知之

　　omit ] 1805;　　而知之者 precedes MK,SB,Man,DZ

　　練 ] 1805;　　　鍊　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.28 　謂之聖人

XIII.29 　聖人者以類知之

XIII.30 　故人樂一生

　　一生 ] 1805; transposed MK,SB,DZ;　生生一　Man

XIII.31 　出於物化

　　物化 1805;　transposed MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.32 知類在竅

XIII.33 　有所疑惑通於心術

XIII.34 　心無其術

　　心無其 ] 1805;　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.35 　　心有不通

XIII.36 　其通也五氣得養

XIII.37 務在舍神

XIII.38 　此謂之化

　　此謂之化 ] 1805;　　此之謂化 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.39 化有五氣者

XIII.40 　　　志 也 思 也 神 也 德 也

XIII.41 　　　　神 其 一 長 也

XIII.42 靜 和 者 養 氣 　　　　　　　　　　　　R7

XIII.43 　　氣 得 其 和 四 者 不 衰 　　　　　　R7

　　　氣 ] 1805；　　　卷 氣 MK,SB,DZ；　　　若 氣 Man

XIII.44 　　四 邊 威 勢 　　　　　　　　　　　R9

XIII.45 　　無 不 為 存 而 金 之 　　　　　　　R14

XIII.46 　　是 謂 神 化 　　　　　　　　　　　R10

XIII.47 　　　歸 於 身 謂 之 真 人

XIII.48 真 人 者 同 天 而 合 道

XIII.49 　　　執 一 而 養 產 萬 類

XIII.50 　　　懷 天 心

XIII.51 　　　施 德 養

XIII.52 　　　無 為 以 包 志

XIII.53 　　　慮 思 意 而

　　　思 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ；　　　忠 MK

XIII.54 　　　行 威 勢 者 也

XIII.55 士 者 通 達 之

XIII.56 神 盛 乃 能 養 志

XIII.57 養 志 法 靈 龜

XIII.58 養 志 者 心 氣 之 思 不 達 也

XIII.59 　　有 外 欲 志 存 而 思 之

XIII.60 　　　志 者 欲 之 使 也

XIII.61 　　欲 多 則 心 散

　　　欲 多 ] 1805,MK；　　　欲 多 志 SB,Man,DZ

XIII.62　　　心散則志衰

XIII.63　　　志衰則思不達

　　達 ] 1805;　　　達也　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.64 故心氣一則欲不惶

　　不惶 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ [see next note];　不偟則　Man

XIII.65　　欲不惶則志意不衰

　　64-65: 惶 ] 1805;　偟　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.66　　志意不衰則思理達矣

XIII.67　　理達則和通

XIII.68　　和通則亂氣不煩於胷中

XIII.69 故内以養志

　　志 ] 1805;　　　氣　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.70　　外以養人

　　養 ] 1805;　　　知　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.71　　養志則心通矣

XIII.72　　知人則職分明矣

　　職分 1805;　transposed　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.73 將欲用之於人

XIII.74　　必先知其養氣志

　　其養 ] 1805,MK,Man,DZ;　養其　SB

　　氣 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　omit　MK

XIII.75　　　知人氣盛衰而

XIII.76　　　養其志氣

　　志氣 ] 1805;　transposed　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.77　　　察其所安以知其所能

XIII.78　　　　志不養則心氣不固

　　　則 ] 1805;　omit　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.79　　　　心氣不固則思慮不達

XIII.80　　　　思慮不達則志意不實

XIII.81　　　　志意不實則應對不猛

XIII.82　　　　應對不猛則志失

　　　志失 ] 1805;　transposed　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.83　　　　　而心氣虛

　　　虛 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　應　MK

XIII.84　　　　志失而心氣虛則

XIII.85　　　　　喪其神矣

XIII.86　　　　神喪則髣髴

XIII.87　　　　髣髴則參會不一

XIII.88　養志之始務在安己

XIII.89　己安則志意實堅

XIII.90　志意實堅則威勢不分

XIII.91　神明常固守乃能分之

XIII.92　實意法螣蛇

XIII.93　實意者氣之慮也

XIII.94　心欲安靜慮欲深遠

XIII.95　心安靜則神策生

　　　策生 ] 1805;　明榮 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.96　慮深遠則計謀成

XIII.97　　神策生則志不可亂
　　　策生 ] 1805;　　明榮　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.98　　計謀成則功不可間

XIII.99　　意慮定則心遂安

XIII.100　　心遂安則所行不錯
　　　心遂安 ] 1805;　omit　MK,SB,Man,DZ

　　　所 ] 1805;　　其所　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.101　　神自得矣
　　　神自得矣 ] 1805;　　神者　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.102　　得則凝

XIII.103　識氣壽

XIII.104　　勢邪而倚之
　　　而 ] 1805;　　得而　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.105　　詐謀而惑之
　　　而 ] 1805;　　得而　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.106　　言無由心矣

XIII.107　故信心術

XIII.108　　守真一而不化

XIII.109　　待人意慮之交會

XIII.110　　聽之候也
　　　候 ] 1805;　　候之　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.111　計謀者存亡之樞機
　　　之 ] 1805;　　omit　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.112　　慮不會則聽不審矣

XIII.113　　候之不得計謀失矣

XIII.114 則 意 無 所 信 虛 而 無 實

XIII.115 故 計 謀 之 慮 務 在 實 意

XIII.116 　 實 意 必 從 心 術 始

　　　　[lines 115-116 appear in MK,SB,Man,DZ only in the attached commentary. However, the relevant portion of the commentary is not contiguous with the main text, i.e., other commentary appears before the lines in question.]

XIII.117 無 為 而 求 守 靜 五 臟

XIII.118 　　　　　　知 通 六 腑

XIII.119 　　　　　　精 神 魂 魄

XIII.120 　　　　固 守 不 動

XIII.121 　　　乃 能 内 視 反 聽

XIII.122 　　　　　定 志 慮 之 太 虛　　　　　　　　R14

　　　太 ] 1805,MK,SB;　　　大　Man,DZ

　　　慮 ] 1805;　　　　思　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.123 　　　　　待 神 往 來　　　　　　　　　　R1

XIII.124 　　　以 觀 天 地 開 闢　　　　　　　　　R19

XIII.125 　　　　知 萬 物 所 造 化　　　　　　　　R10

XIII.126 　　　　旦 陰 陽 之 終 始　　　　　　　　R1

XIII.127 　　　　原 人 事 之 政 理　　　　　　　　R1

XIII.128 　　不 出 戶 而 知 天 下　　　　　　　　　R14

XIII.129 　　不 窺 牖 而 見 天 道　　　　　　　　　R3

XIII.130 　　不 見 而 臭 不 行 而 至　　　　　　　　R17

XIII.131 是 謂 道 知 以 通 神 明　　　　　　　　　　R15

XIII.132 　　　　　應 於 無 方　　　　　　　　　　R15

XIII.133　　　　　而 神 宿 矣

XIII.134　分 威 法 伏 熊

XIII.135　　分 威 者 神 之 覆 也

XIII.136　故 靜 意 固 志

　　　意 固 志 ] 1805;　　固 志 意 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.137　　神 歸 其 舍　威 覆 盛 矣

　　　覆 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　omit　MK

XIII.138　　威 覆 盛 則 內 實 堅

XIII.139　　內 實 堅 則 莫 當

　　　內 實 堅 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　omit MK

XIII.140　　莫 當 則 能 以 分 人 之 威

　　　莫 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　則 MK

XIII.141　　　而 動 其 勢 如 其 天

XIII.142　　以 實 取 虛 以 有 取 無

XIII.143　　　若 以 鎰 稱 銖

　　　銖 ] 1805,MK;　　珠 SB,Man,DZ

XIII.144　故 動 者 必 隨 唱 者 必 和

XIII.145　　捷 其 一 指 觀 其 餘 次

XIII.146　　動 變 見 形 無 能 間 者

XIII.147　　審 於 唱 和 以 間 見 間

XIII.148　　動 變 明 而 威 可 分 也

　　　分 也 ] 1805;　　分 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.149　　將 欲 動 變 必 先 養 志

XIII.150　　　伏 意 以 視 間

XIII.151　　知 其 固 實 者 自 養 也

XIII.152　　　　讓己者養人也

XIII.153　故神存矢亡乃為之形勢

XIII.154　散勢法鷙鳥

XIII.155　　　散勢者神之使也

XIII.156　　　用之必循間而動

XIII.157　　　威肅內盛

XIII.158　　　　推間而行之則勢散

XIII.159　　　夫散勢者心虛志溢

XIII.160　　　意衰威失精神不專

　　　意衰威失] 1805;　　　　　意失威勢 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.161　　　　其言外而多變

XIII.162　故觀其志意為度數

XIII.163　　　乃以揣說圖事

XIII.164　　　　盡圓云

XIII.165　　　　齊短長

　　　短長] 1805,MK;　　　　長短 SB,Man,DZ

XIII.166　　　無間則不散勢者

　　間 ] 1805;　　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ [see next line]

XIII.167　　　　待間而動

　　omit ] 1805;　　　勢散者 SB;　　　　散勢者 MK,Man,DZ

XIII.168　　　　動而勢分矣

　　而 ] 1805,Man;　　omit MK,SB,DZ

XIII.169　故善思間者必內精五氣
　　　　　　　　　　　　　外視虛實

XIII.170

XIII.171　　動而不失分散之實

實 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ；　　散　Man

XIII.172　　　動則隨其志意

XIII.173　　　　知其計謀

XIII.174 謀者利害之決

XIII.175　　　權變之威

XIII.176 勢敗者不以神廟筭也

XIII.177 轉圓法猛戰

XIII.178　　轉圓者無窮之計也

計也 1805,Man；　　計 MK,SB,DZ

XIII.179　　無窮者必有聖人之心

XIII.180　　以虞不測之智

XIII.181　　而通心術

omit ] 1805；　　　以不測之智 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.182　　而神道混沌為一

XIII.183　　以變論萬類

萬類 1805；　　萬卷類 MK,SB,DZ；　　萬象類　Man

XIII.184　　　說義無窮

XIII.185 智畧計謀各有形容

XIII.186　　或圓或方或陰或陽

XIII.187　　或吉或凶事類不同

XIII.188 故聖人懷此

此 ] 1805；　　此之 MK,SB,Man,DZ

懷 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ；　懽 Man

XIII.189　　用轉圓而求其合

XIII.190 故輿造化者為始動作

興 ] 1805；　　興 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.191　　無不包大道

XIII.192　　以觀神明之域

XIII.193　　天地無極

XIII.194　　人事無窮

無窮 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ；　omit MK

XIII.195　　各以成其類

XIII.196　　見其計謀以知其吉凶

XIII.197　　成敗之所終

終 ] 1805；　　終也 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.198 轉圓者或轉而吉

XIII.199　　　或轉而凶

XIII.200　聖人以道先　　存亡　　　R15

XIII.201　　乃知轉圓而從方　　　R15

XIII.202　圓者所以合語　　　R14

XIII.203　方者所以錯事　　　R1

XIII.204　轉化者所以觀計謀　　　R1

XIII.205　接物者所以觀進退之意　　R1

接物者 1805,SB,Man,DZ；　　接物 MK

XIII.206 皆見其會

XIII.207　乃為要結以接其說也

XIII.208 損兌法靈蓍

XIII.209　損兌者機危之決也

XIII.210　事有適然物有成敗

XIII.211　　　機危之動不可不察

機 ] 1805;　　　幾 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.212 故聖人以無為待有德

XIII.213　　　　　　言寧辭

XIII.214　　　　　　合於事

XIII.215　　益者知之也

XIII.216　　損者行之也

XIII.217 損之說之

XIII.218　　物有不可者聖人不為之

之 ] 1805;　　　辭也 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.219 故智者不以言失人之言

XIII.220 故辭不煩而心不虛　　　　　　R14

虛 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　慮 MK

XIII.221　　志不亂而意不邪　　　　　R14

XIII.222　　當其難易而後為之謀　　　R1

XIII.223 因自然之道以為寶　　　　　R17

因 ] 1805;　　omit MK,SB,Man,DZ

XIII.224 圓者不行方者不止　　　　　R1

XIII.225　　是謂大功

XIII.226 益之損之皆為之辭

XIII.227　　用分威散勢之權

XIII.228　　　以且其尤

XIII.229　　威其機危

XIII.230　　乃為之決

XIII.231 故善損兌者

XIII.232 　壁若決水於千仞之堤　　　　R19

XIII.233 　　轉圓石於萬仞之谿　　　　　R19

XIII.234 　而能行此者

XIII.235 　　形勢不得不然也

[lines 234-235 omitted MK,SB,Man,DK]

## N. CHAPTER FOURTEEN: *Chi shu*

XIV.1　　持樞謂春生夏長　　　　　　　　　　R15

XIV.2　　　　秋牧冬藏　　　　　　　　　　　R15

XIV.3　　　天之正也

XIV.4　　　不可干而逆之

XIV.5　　　　逆之者雖成必敗

　　者 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　omit MK

XIV.6　　故人君亦有天樞生養成藏

XIV.7　　　亦不可干而逆之

　　亦 ] 1805;　　　　亦復　MK,SB,Man,DZ

　　可 ] 1805,MK;　　別　SB,Man,DZ

XIV.8　　　　逆之者雖盛必衰

　　者 ] 1805;　　omit　MK,SB,Man,DZ

　　盛 ] 1805,SB,Man;　　成　MK,DZ

XIV.9　此天道人君之大綱也

## O. CHAPTER FIFTEEN: _Zhong jing_

XV.1　　中 經 謂 振 窮 趨 急

　趨 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man;　　趣　DZ

XV.2　　　施 之 能 言 厚 德 之 人

XV.3　　　救 拘 執 窮 者 不 忘 恩 也

　　拘 ] 1805;　　　　物　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.4　　　　能 言 者 傳 善 博 惠

　　博 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　　轉　MK

XV.5　　　　　施 德 人

　　人 ] 1805;　　　omit　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.6　　　　　而 救 拘 執 者 養 使 小 人

XV.7　　　蓋 士 遭 世 異 時 危

　遭 ] 1805;　　　　當　MK,SB,Man,DZ

　危 ] 1805;　　　omit　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.8　　　或 當 因 色 填 坑

　　填 ] 1805;　　　閡　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.9　　　或 當 伐 言 能 言

XV.10　　　或 當 碱 德 為 雄

XV.11　　　或 當 抑 拘 成 罪

　　抑拘 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　　拘抑　MK

XV.12　　　或 當 厭 厭 自 善

XV.13　　　或 當 敗 敗 自 立

XV.14　　故 道 貴 制 人 不 貴 制 於 人 也

XV.15　　　制 人 者 握 權

XV.16　　制於人者失命

XV.17　是以旦形為容象體為貌

XV.18　　　聞聲知音解仇鬭卻

　　知 ] 1805;　　　和 MK,SB,Man,DZ

　　卻 ] 1805;　　　都 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.19　　　經去卻語攝心守義

XV.20　本經紀事者紀道數

　　紀 ] 1805,SB,Man;　　記 MK,DZ

XV.21　　其變雰在持樞中經

XV.22　　旦形為容

XV.23　　象體為貌者

　　象體 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　transposed MK

XV.24　　　謂文為之生也

　　生 ] 1805,MK,Man,DZ;　　主 SB

XV.25　　可以影響形容象貌

XV.26　　　而得之也

XV.27　有守之人目不視非

XV.28　　　　　耳不聽邪

XV.29　　言必詩書行不淫僻

　　淫僻 1805;　transposed MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.30　　以道為形以德為容

XV.31　　　貌莊色温

XV.32　　　不可象貌而得之

　　之 ] 1805;　也 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.33　　　如是隱情塞都而去之

XV.34　　聞聲知音者

　　知音者〕1805;　　　和音　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.35　　　謂聲氣不同

　　謂〕1805,SB,Man,DZ;　　諧　MK

XV.36　　　恩變不�ｫ

　　omit〕1805;　　　則　precedes line　MK,SB,Man,DZ

　　恩〕1805,MK,SB,DZ;　　思　Man

XV.37　　故意角不二合　　　　　　　　　　　R5

XV.38　　　徵羽不相配　　　　　　　　　　R7

XV.39　　　能為四聲主者　　　　　　　　R21

XV.40　　　　其唯宮乎　　　　　　　　　R14

XV.41　　　故言不合則悲　　　　　　　　R7

　　合〕1805;　　　和　MK,SB,Man,DZ

　　悲〕1805;　　　不悲不　MK;　　　不悲　SB,Man,DZ

XV.42　是以聲散傷醜害者

XV.43　　言心逆於耳也

XV.44　雖有美行盛譽

　　譽〕1805,MK,SB,DZ;　　　嚳　Man

XV.45　　　不可以目合翼相徂也

XV.46　　　此乃氣不合音不調者也

XV.47　執仇鬭郄謂解觀徵之仇

　　執〕1805;　　　解　MK,SB,Man,DZ

　　徵〕1805;　　　微　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.48　鬭郄者鬭强也

XV.49　强郄既鬭

XV.50　　　輔勝者高其功

XV.51　　　　　盛其勢也

　　　勢也 ] 1805；　　勢　　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.52　弱者衰其負傷其申

XV.53　　　汙其名耻其宗

　　　汙 ] 1805,SB；　行　MK,Man,DZ

XV.54　故勝者聞其功勢

　　聞 ] 1805；　　鬥　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.55　　苟進而不知退

XV.56　　弱者聞哀負見其傷

　　哀 ] 1805；　哀其　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.57　　則强大力倍死者是也

　　者 ] 1805；　為 MK；　而　SB,Man,DZ

XV.58　　郡無强大禦無强大

　强 (first)；1805；　　極　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.59　　則咎可臍而为

XV.60　綴夫者謂綴己之繋言

XV.61　　使有餘思也

XV.62　故搆貞信者輔其行

XV.63　　　　　屬其志

XV.64　言可為可復會之勘言

XV.65　　以他人庶引

　　人 ] 1805；　人之 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.66　　驗以結往

XV.67 　明歎歎而去之

歎 ] 1805；　　疑　　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.68 　卻語者察伺短也

卻 ] 1805,SB；　　　　郤　　MK,Man,DZ

XV.69 　故言多必有數短之處

言 ] 1805,MK,Man；　　　omit SB,DZ

XV.70 　識其短驗之

識 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ；　誠　MK

短 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ；　omit　MK

XV.71 　　動以忌諱

動 ] 1805,MK,SB,DZ；　　動不 Man

XV.72 　不以時禁

XV.73 　其人恐畏

entire line ] 1805；　　omit　MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.74 　然後結信以安其心

信 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ；　omit MK

XV.75 　牧語蓋藏而卻之

卻 ] 1805,SB；　郤　MK,Man；　　却　DZ

XV.76 　無是己之所不能

XV.77 　　於殊方之人

XV.78 攝心者謂逢好學伎術者

XV.79 　　則為之稱遠

XV.80 方驗之道驚以奇怪

道 ] 1805；　　omit　MK,SB,Man,DZ

怪 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ；　怪之MK

XV.81 　　人繫其心於己

XV.82 　　劢之於人

　　劢 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ; 效 MK

　　人 ] 1805,MK,SB,Man; 驗 DZ

XV.83 　　驗去亂其前

XV.84 　　吾歸誠於己

　　誠於 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ; 於誠 MK

XV.85 　　遭淫酒色者為之術

　　酒色 ] 1805; transposed MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.86 　　音樂動之

XV.87 　　以為心死生日少之憂

XV.88 　　喜以自所不且之事

XV.89 　　終可以觀漫瀾之念

XV.90 　　使有後會

XV.91 　　守義者謂

XV.92 　　以人探其在内以合也

　　entire line ] 1805;

　　守以入義探心在内以合 MK;

　　守以人義探心在内以合也 SB,DZ;

　　守以人義探心在内以合者色 Man

XV.93 　　探心深得其主也

　　主 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ; 生 MK

XV.94 　　從外制内

XV.95 　　事有繫曲而隨之

　　繫曲而隨之 ] 1805; 繫由而隨也 MK,SB,Man,DZ

XV.96　　故 小 人 北 人 則 左 道 而 用 之

XV.97　　至 能 敗 家 奪 國

XV.98　　　非 賢 智 不 能 守 家 以 義

XV.99　　　　　　不 能 守 國 以 道

XV.100　聖 人 所 遺 道 微 妙 者

XV.101　　　誠 以 其 可 以 轉 危 為 守

　　　誠 ] 1805,SB,Man,DZ;　omit MK

XV.102　　　　　　　救 亡 使 存 也

## B. Variations used for textual analysis

The following figures refer to the line numbers of the text
of *Guiguzi* indicating which lines contained variations
considered significant enough for use.

I.3,a:bcdefg
I.10,a:c:bdefg
I.13,b:acdefg
I.16,h:abcdefg
I.19,fg:abcde
I.25,ce:abdfg
I.29,cdef
I.29,g:abcdef
I.37,g:abcdef
I.43,d:abcef
I.48,afg:bcde
I.56,d:abcefg
I.57,f:abcdeg
I.59,a:bcdefg
I.63,h:abcdefg
I.64,ce:abdfg
I.70,d:abcefg
I.73,ce:abdfg
I.74,b:acdefg
I.76,b:acdefg
I.78,bce:adfg
I.79,a:bcdefg
I.88,e:abcdfg
I.92,b:acdefg
I.95,a:bcdefg
I.100,a:bcdefg
I.101,a:bcdefg
I.102,b:acdefg
I.105,b:acdefg
I.106,b:acdefg
I.108,c:abdefg
I.110,g:abcdef

II.2,be:acdfg
II.4,a:bcdefg
II.5,g:abcdef
II.6,a:bcdefg
II.21,a:bcdefg
II.22,d:abcefg
II.26,a:bcdefg
II.39,a:bcdefg
II.43,fg:abcde
II.46,b:f:acdeg
II.49,b:acdefg

II.66,a:bcdefg
II.67,f:abcdeg
II.71,d:abcefg
II.72,fg:abcde
II.72,a:bcdefg
II.72,a:bcdefg
II.75,a:bcdefg
II.77,d:abcefg
II.78,a:bcdefg
II.79,a:bcdefg
II.81,a:bcdefg

III.6,h:abcdefg
III.21,a:bcdefg
III.22,g:abcdef
III.26,a:bcdefg
III.28,a:bcdefg
III.53,d:abcefg
III.57,abe:cdfg
III.63,fg:abcde
III.65,a:bcde
III.68,be:acd
III.73,ac:bde
III.76,b:ac:de
III.86,be:acd

IV.4,a:bcdefg
IV.4,g:abcdef
IV.6,g:abcdef
IV.9,b:acdefg
IV.10,h:abcdefg
IV.17,a:bcdefgh
IV.18,h:abcdefg
IV.19,g:abcdef
IV.22,b:acdefg
IV.24,a:fg:bcde
IV.24,a:bcdefg
IV.25,a:bcdefg
IV.35,b:acdefg
IV.36,b:acdefg
IV.48,g:abcdef
IV.52,g:abcdef

V.17,d:abcefg

II.58,fg:abcde
V.29,c:abdefg
V.30,b:acdefg
V.30,g:abcdef
V.32,g:abcdef
V.33,g:abcdef
V.34,g:abcdef
V.41,a:bcdefg
V.48,ad:bcefg
V.49,fg:abcde
V.50,a:bcdefg
V.53,fg:abcde

VI.5,d:abceg
VI.7,ag:bcde
VI.10,j:abcdegh
VI.12,a:bcdeg
VI.13,a:bcdeg
VI.21,g:abcde
VI.24,a:bcdeg
VI.26,a:bcdeg
VI.28,a:bcdeg
VI.30,a:bcdeg
VI.37,bg:acde
VI.39,a:g:bcde
VI.40,h:abcdeg
VI.41,h:abcdeg
VI.42,h:abcdeg
VI.43,h:abcdeg
VI.43,g:abcdeh
VI.44,h:abcdeg
VI.46,h:abcdeg
VI.48,a:bcdeg
VI.49,a:ce:bdg
VI.51,d:abceg
VI.53,g:abcde
VI.58,b:acdeg

VII.2,g:abcde
VII.10,a:g:bcde
VII.13,d:abceg
VII.16,g:abcde
VII.17,a:bcdeg
VII.18,b:g:acde
VII.19,eg:abcd
VII.19,a:bcdeg
VII.23,a:g:bcde
VII.28,a:bcdeg
VII.29,b:ag:cde
VII.29,a:b:cdeg

V.24,a:g:bcdef
VII.43,ac:bdeg
VII.43,a:bcdeg
VII.48,b:acdeg
VII.54,a:bcdeg
VII.55,b:acdeg
VII.57,a:bcdeg
VII.58,a:bcdeg
VII.58,g:abcde
VII.65,g:abcde
VII.66,a:bcdeg

VIII.1,a:fg:bcde
VIII.4,a:fg:bcde
VIII.6,a:bcdefg
VIII.11,afg:bcde
VIII.12,a:bcdefg
VIII.13,a:bcdefg
VIII.17,g:abcdef
VIII.33,fg:abcde
VIII.34,fg:abcde
VIII.46,a:f:bcdeg
VIII.50,fg:abcde
VIII.52,a:bcdefg
VIII.55,be:acdfg
VIII.55,a:bcdefg
VIII.59,fg:abcde
VIII.62,a:bcdefg
VIII.62,a:bcdefg
VIII.62,fg:abcde
VIII.63,b:acdefg
VIII.69,g:abcdef
VIII.70,g:abcdef
VIII.71,h:abcdefg
VIII.72,b:acdefg
VIII.73,h:abcdefg
VIII.73,g:h:abcdef
VIII.81,b:acdefg
VIII.82,g:abcdef

IX.1,acg:bde
IX.6,d:abceg
IX.6,d:abceg
IX.9,a:bcdeg
IX.12,g:ab:cde
IX.13,ab:cdeg
IX.14,a:bcdeg
IX.14,ab:cdeg
IX.15,ab:cdeg
IX.16,ab:cdeg

VII.36,a:bcdeg
VII.39,a:bcdeg
IX.19,de:abcg
IX.19,d:abceg
IX.21,a:bcdeg
IX.21,ac:bdeg
IX.23,eg:abcdik
IX.23,i:abcdegk
IX.24,a:i:k:bcdeg
IX.26,a:b:cdeg
IX.29,e:abcdg
IX.31,a:bcdeg
IX.31,g:abcde
IX.35,g:abcde
IX.37,b:acdeg
IX.37,a:bcdeg
IX.39,a:bcdeg
IX.48,b:acdeg
IX.52,acg:bde
IX.54,bde
IX.55,a:bcdeg
IX.47,d:abceg
IX.56,a:g:bcde
IX.57,b:acdeg
IX.57,ag:bcde
IX.58,ag:bcde
IX.59,ag:bcde
IX.60,a:bcdeg
IX.61,acg:bde
IX.64,bg:acde
IX.64,d:abceg
IX.67,eh:bcdeg
IX.75,a:bcdeg
IX.78,a:bcdeg
IX.79,b:acdeg
IX.80,a:b:cdeg
IX.81,b:acdeg
IX.82,a:d:bceg
IX.84,a:bcdeg

X.1,a:bcdeg
X.3,b:acdeg
X.6,d:abceg
X.6,a:bcdeg
X.9,d:k:abceg
X.12,a:bcdeg
X.19,bg:acde
X.19,a:dg:bce
X.20,h:adg:bce
X.21,b:acdegh

IX.17,be:acdg
IX.18-19,a:bcdeg
X.41,a:bcdeg
X.44,g:abcde
X.48,g:abcde
X.50,a:bcdeg
X.63,a:bcdeg
X.71,a:bcdeg
X.79,a:bcdeg
X.83,a:bcdeg
X.84,a:bcdeg
X.85,a:bcdeg
X.86,g:abcde
X.87,ac:bdeg
X.93,g:abcde
X.101,b:acdeg
X.102,g:abcde
X.115,a:
X.116,a:bcde
X.118,ad:bce
X.118,a:bcde

XI.1,a:bcde
XI.1,a:bcde
XI.2,c:abde
XI.7,b:acde
XI.8,bd:ace
XI.10,a:bcde
XI.11,a:bcde
XI.16,be:acd
XI.16,d:abce
XI.23,a:bcde
XI.27,ad:bce
XI.33,a:bcde
XI.33,d:abce
XI.34,e:abcd
XI.40,a:bcde
XI.41,a:bcde

XII.1,a:bcde
XII.4,a:bcde
XII.4,b:acde
XII.12,a:bcde
XII.13,b:acde
XII.14,ab:cde
XII.15,b:acde
XII.22,a:bcde
XII.22,a:b:cde
XII.26,a:bcde
XII.27,a:bcde

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X.21,h:abcdeg          XII.34,b:acde
X.23,a:bcdeg           XII.35,a:bcde
X.41,d:abceg           XII.40,a:bcde
XII.45,bd:ace          XIII.168,ad:bce
XII.56,a:bcde          XIII.171,d:abce
XII.59,a:bcde          XIII.178,ad:bce
XII.63,b:acde          XIII.181,a:bcde
                       XIII.183,a:d:bce
XIII.5,a:bcde          XIII.188,a:bcde
XIII.21,a:bcde         XIII.188,d:abce
XIII.25,a:bcde         XIII.190,a:bcde
XIII.27,a:bcde         XIII.194,b:acde
XIII.27,a:bcde         XIII.197,a:bcde
XIII.30,a:d:bce        XIII.205,b:acde
XIII.31,a:bcde         XIII.211,a:bcde
XIII.34,a:bcde         XIII.218,a:bcde
XIII.38,a:bcde         XIII.220,b:acde
XIII.43,a:d:bce        XIII.223,a:bcde
XIII.53,b:acde
XIII.61,ab:cde         XIV.5,b:acde
XIII.63,a:bcde         XIV.7,a:bcde
XIII.64,d:abce         XIV.7,ab:cde
XIII.65,a:bcde         XIV.8,a:bcde
XIII.69,a:bcde         XIV.8,be:acd
XIII.70,a:bcde
XIII.72,a:bcde         XV.3,a:bcde
XIII.74,c:abde         XV.4,b:acde
XIII.74,b:acde         XV.5,a:bcde
XIII.76,a:bcde         XV.7,a:bcde
XIII.78,a:bcde         XV.7,a:bcde
XIII.82,a:bcde         XV.9,a:bcde
XIII.83,b:acde         XV.11,b:acde
XIII.95,a:bcde         XV.18,a:bcde
XIII.97,a:bcde         XV.20,be:acd
XIII.100,a:bcde        XV.23,b:acde
XIII.100,a:bcde        XV.24,c:abde
XIII.101,a:bcde        XV.29,a:bcde
XIII.104,a:bcde        XV.32,a:bcde
XIII.105,a:bcde        XV.34,a:bcde
XIII.110,a:bcde        XV.35,b:acde
XIII.111,a:bcde        XV.36,a:bcde
XIII.115-116,a:bcde    XV.36,d:abce
XIII.122,de:abc        XV.41,a:bcde
XIII.122,a:bcde        XV.41,a:b:cde
XIII.136,a:bcde        XV.44,d:abce
XIII.137,b:acde        XV.47,a:bcde
XIII.139,b:acde        XV.47,a:bcde
XIII.140,b:acde        XV.51,a:bcde
XIII.143,ab:cde        XV.53,ac:bde
XIII.148,a:bcde        XV.54,a:bcde
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XIII.160,a:bcde
XIII.165,ab:cde
XIII.166,a:bcde
XIII.167,a:c:bde
XV.67,a:bcde
XV.69,ce:abd
XV.70,b:acde
XV.70,b:acde
XV.71,d:abce
XV.73,a:bcde
XV.74,b:acde
XV.80,a:bcde
XV.80,b:acde
XV.82,b:acde
XV.82,e:abcd
XV.84,b:acde
XV.85,a:bcde
XV.92,a:b:d:ce
XV.93,b:acde
XV.95,a:bcde
XV.101,b:acde

XV.56,a:bcde
XV.57,a:b:cde
XV.58,a:bcde
XV.65,a:bcde

## Biographical Sketch

The author was born in Palo Alto, California in 1947. He lived in North Dakota until 1959 when the family moved back to California. He attended San Jose State College for two years before transferring to the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California in 1967, where he met and married Shira Lynn Tokuno. Although finishing in 1969 with an A.B. in philosophy, he had begun the study of Chinese with Ching-yi Dougherty while there and went on to study further while in the Air Force. In 1973 he began graduate study at the University of Washington where his interests developed in the ancient language and its literature. He spent two years on Taiwan, where his primary tutor was Liu Chi-hua. Returning in 1978 he further developed an interest in early forms of Chinese writing and became particularly interested in works then being excavated in mainland China. Computer fever struck in 1983. This dissertation reflects the influence of all the factors described above.