

A Research Note on the Textual Formation of the “Ziyi”

KUAN-YUN HUANG

NATIONAL TSING HUA UNIVERSITY, TAIWAN

This study offers a detailed analysis of an important but neglected passage from the Early Chinese text “Ziyi” 緇衣 (Black robe). Through a careful comparison of the three extant versions of this text—two manuscript versions and a third received version in the canonical *Liji* 禮記 (Records of rites)—the study shows that an earlier layer of the “Ziyi” presents an account about the acquisition of knowledge, and such an account is rewritten in a second layer of the text to reflect the different issue of how one should serve one’s superiors. This finding has significant implications for understanding the formation of the “Ziyi” and provides a hypothesis that can be tested against other newly excavated manuscripts with received counterparts.

The “Ziyi” 緇衣 (Black robe) has been known throughout history as one of the texts now collected in the ritual compendium *Liji*.¹ Thanks to the recent discovery of two manuscript versions of this text—one from a tomb in Guodian 郭店, Hubei province of southern China, and one of an unknown provenance, now at the Shanghai Museum—the most important question about the “Ziyi” is no longer its Warring States (481–221 B.C.) origins, but, rather, how one should understand the relation among the three extant versions, given that their differences are sometimes quite significant.² The present study is an attempt in this regard, offering a detailed analysis of an important passage from the “Ziyi.” Through a careful comparison of all three versions of the text, arriving at a specific conclusion about its formation, I will show that an account about the acquisition of knowledge, which characterizes the earliest layer of the “Ziyi,” is rewritten in a second layer to reflect a radically different concern, namely, how one should behave vis-à-vis a higher authority.³

1. Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed., *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義 (traditional character edition; Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2000), 1750–74. The standard work on the compilation of the *Liji* is Hong Ye 洪業 (William Hung), “*Liji yinde xu*” 《禮記引得》序, in *Hong Ye lunxue ji* 洪業論學集 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981), 197–220. More recently, Li Xueqin uses newly excavated manuscripts to propose several revisions to Hong’s account; see Li Xueqin, “Guodian jian yu *Liji*” 郭店簡與《禮記》, in *Chongxie xueshu shi* 重寫學術史 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu, 2002), 170–76.

2. For the excavation report of Guodian tomb no. 1, see “Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu” 荊門郭店一號楚墓, *Wenwu* 文物 1997: 35–48. Photographs of the manuscript, together with the transcription, can be found in *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1998). On the basis of the archaeological evidence, scholars have dated this tomb to the late fourth century B.C. For a recent study in favor of this date, see Li Xueqin, “Kong Meng zhi jian yu Lao Zhuang zhi jian” 孔孟之間與老莊之間, in *Wenwu zhong de gu wenming* 文物中的古文明 (Beijing: Shangwu, 2008), 400–407. As for the Shanghai Museum version of the “Ziyi,” see Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2001). Though unprovenanced, the Shanghai Museum manuscripts are regarded as genuine by the predominant majority of scholars who study newly excavated texts, and their overall similarity to the Guodian manuscripts suggests a date close to those finds.

3. The most comprehensive study of the “Ziyi” is Yu Wanli 虞萬里, *Shangbo guan cang Chu zhushu “Ziyi” zonghe yanjiu* 上博館藏楚竹書《緇衣》綜合研究 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue, 2010). Other scholarly works that compare all three versions of the text include Kondō Hiroyuki 近藤浩之, Sō Hō 曹峰, Haga Yoshinobu 芳賀良信, Hirose Kunio 廣瀨薰雄, Ri Shōritsu 李承津, and Watanabe Dai 渡邊大, “‘Shi’i yakuchū” 『緇衣』譯注, in *Kakuten Sokan Jukyō kenkyū* 郭店楚簡儒教研究, ed. Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 (Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin, 2003), 5–118; Lin Suqing 林素清, “Guodian, Shangbo ‘Ziyi’ jian zhi bijiao—jianlun Zhanguo wenzi de guobie wenti” 郭

The “Ziyi” passage appears on slips 37–40 of the Guodian version:⁴

37 . . . 子曰君子言又勿行又

38 達⁵此曰生不可斂志死不可斂名古君子多聞齊而獸⁶之多志⁷齊而

39 新⁸之精⁹智¹⁰達¹¹而行之寺員胥人君子其¹²義式¹³也君迪員出內自爾市于¹⁴

40 庶言同 . . .

子曰：「君子言有物，行有格¹⁵。此以生不可奪志，死不可奪名。故君子多聞，齊而守之；多志，齊而親之；精智，略而行之。《詩》云：『淑人君子，其儀一也。』《君陳》云：『出入自爾師虞，庶言同。』」

The master said: “The gentleman’s words have substance, and his action follows previous institutions. This is why while alive he cannot be deprived of his will and when dead cannot be deprived of his name. Therefore, the gentleman widens his hearing, treating all things evenly and maintaining them; he broadens his vision, treating all things evenly and becoming intimate with them. He refines his knowledge, drawing a general outline and putting it into action. The

店、上博《緇衣》簡比較——兼論戰國文字的國別問題, in *Xin chutu wenxian yu gudai wenming yanjiu* 新出土文獻與古代文明研究, ed. Xie Weiyang 謝維揚 and Zhu Yuanqing 朱淵清 (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue, 2004), 83–96; Ji Xusheng 季旭昇, ed., *Shanghai bowu guan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (yi) du ben* 《上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (一)》讀本 (Taipei: Wanjuan lou, 2004), 77–151; Zou Junzhi 鄒濬智, *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (yi) “Ziyi” yanjiu* 《上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (一) . 緇衣》研究 (Taipei: Hua Mulan, 2006); Feng Shengjun 馮勝君, “Guodian, Shangbo yi ji jinben ‘Ziyi’ duibi yanjiu” 郭店、上博以及今本《緇衣》對比研究, in *Guodian jian yu Shangbo jian duibi yanjiu* 郭店簡與上博簡對比研究 (Beijing: Xianzhuang, 2007), 63–187; and Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Rewriting the *Zi Yi*: How One Chinese Classic Came to Read as It Does,” in *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 2006), 63–130. This last item contains a translation of the “Ziyi,” which I have consulted together with Jeffrey Kenneth Riegel’s earlier translation of the same text; see “The Four ‘Tzu Ssu’ Chapters of the *Li Chi*: An Analysis and Translation of the *Fang Chi*, *Chung Yung*, *Piao Chi*, and *Tzu I*,” Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1978, 294–320.

4. The passage is in s. 19–20 of the Shanghai Museum version. When reading the “Ziyi,” my first priority is given to the Guodian version, then the more fragmentary Shanghai Museum version, and then the received version. This is mainly due to the respective dates of the three versions. The two manuscripts are written in the script of the Warring States and can be dated to that period with some certainty, while the received version is attested no earlier than the Han (206 B.C.–220 A.D.). As I will address by the end of the study, such a decision is also consistent with my understanding of the content of the three versions. Regarding the presentation of the text itself, the following gives first a transcription of the text into *kaishu* 楷書 “standard script” characters, followed by a suggestion for reading based on modern conventions, and finally the English translation.

5. Written as 陸 in the Shanghai Museum version.

6. Written as 守 in the Shanghai Museum version.

7. Written as 旨 in the Shanghai Museum version.

8. Written as 曷 in the Shanghai Museum version.

9. Written as 青 in the Shanghai Museum version.

10. Written as 箴 in the Shanghai Museum version.

11. Written as 陸 in the Shanghai Museum version.

12. Written as 刀 in the Shanghai Museum version.

13. Written as — in the Shanghai Museum version.

14. Written as 習 in the Shanghai Museum version.

15. It is noteworthy that in both the Guodian and Shanghai Museum text the word *ge* 格 “standard” is written with the same character as *lue* 略 “to outline,” which appears later in the passage. This might seem somewhat unusual, though there are good reasons to suggest the readings indicated here. While the reading of *ge* will be explained below, that of *lue* is supported by *Da Dai liji* 大戴禮記 “Zizhang wen ruguan” 子張問入官, which contains the sentence: 故君子南面臨官，大城而公治之，精知而略行之 “Thus, when the ruler faces south and oversees his officials, he is greatly sincere, governing with impartiality, and he refines his knowledge, putting a general outline into action”; see Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, *Da Dai liji huijiao jizhu* 大戴禮記彙校集注 (Xi’an: San Qin, 2005), 852–55. The passage has a parallel in *Kongzi jiaoyu* 孔子家語 “Ruguan” 入官; see Yang Chaoming 楊朝明, *Kongzi jiaoyu tongjie—fu chutu ziliao yu xiangguan yanjiu* 孔子家語通解——附出土資料相關研究 (Taipei: Wanjuan lou, 2005), 259–60.

“Shijiu” (the cuckoo) says: “The good man, my lord, his fine deportment is invariable.” The “Jun Chen” (Lord Chen) says: “In coming and exiting, accord with the considerations of your multitude, so all are in agreement.”¹⁶

This can be compared with the received version:

子曰：「言有物，而行有格也，是以生則不可奪志，死則不可奪名。故君子多聞，質而守之；多志，質而親之；精知，略而行之。《君陳》云：『出入自爾師虞，庶言同。』《詩》云：『淑人君子，其儀一也。』」

The passage begins with the sentence 君子言有物，行有格 “The gentleman’s words have substance, and his action follows previous institutions,” a formulation that is obviously crucial, given what immediately follows: 此以生不可奪志，死不可奪名 “This is why while alive he cannot be deprived of his will and when dead cannot be deprived of his name.” This second statement refers to a task that occupies a person throughout his life and continues even after death.¹⁷ According to the early commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 A.D.), *wu* 物 is *shiyán* 事驗 “attestation of events,” while *ge* 格 as *jiufa* 舊法 “previous institutions,” and these glosses give a more specific meaning to the otherwise unexplained phrase, *junzi yan you wu, xing you ge*: the gentleman behaves in such a way that his words are backed up by reality, while his actions follow earlier precedents. Here I believe it is possible to be even more specific than Zheng Xuan about the meaning of the sentence, particularly the meaning of the word *ge* 格. That is, while *ge* could mean *jiufa* “previous institutions,” or the *standards* set by those institutions, it also has the more basic meaning of recognizing one’s place and the ensuing role that one should fulfill, and it is the first step in a process. Here I would emphasize *process*, for *yan you wu, xing you ge* does not suggest that one has already reached a certain goal, but that one has identified a goal and is set to work towards it.¹⁸ Such an understanding of the opening sentence of the “Ziyi” passage, as I will demonstrate below, makes it possible for the passage to be read as a coherent whole.

16. The two quotations are from the “Shijiu” 鳴鳩, a poem found in the *Book of Odes*, and the “Jun Chen” 君陳, now extant as one of the “ancient script” texts of the *Book of Documents*; see Li Xueqin, ed., *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (traditional character edition; Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2000), 557–61; and Li, ed., *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (traditional character edition; Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2000), 578–82. For the first, I have consulted Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes: Chinese Text, Transcription and Translation* (Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950). For the quotation from the “Jun Chen,” my translation follows closely Zheng Xuan’s paraphrase: 言出內政教，當由女眾之所謀度，眾言同，乃行之，政教當由一也 “This suggests that in carrying out matters of governing and instruction, you ought to follow the considerations of the multitude; only when the multitude is in agreement do you act; governing and instruction ought to have only one source.” Note that the phrase *shuyan tong* 庶言同 “all are in agreement” hints at a contrast between one and many that is consistent with both the “Shijiu” and, as we will see, the rest of the discussion in the “Ziyi” passage.

17. It is possible to compare *ming* 名, translated as “name” here, with the discussion of *zhengming* 正名 “the rectification of names” in *Lunyu* 論語 13.3, which shows a concern with *yan* 言 “words” and *xing* 行 “action” similar to the “Ziyi” passage; see Cheng Shude 程樹德, *Lunyu jishi* 論語集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990), 885–96.

18. I owe this formulation to Qian Mu’s 錢穆 insightful analysis in the following studies: “‘Daxue’ ‘gewu’ xinshi” 《大學》「格物」新釋, “‘Daxue’ ‘gewu’ xinyi” 《大學》「格物」新義, and “Zailun ‘Daxue’ ‘gewu’ yi” 再論《大學》「格物」義, in *Zhongguo xueshu sixiang luncong (er)* 中國學術思想論叢 (二) (Taipei: Lantai, 2000), 178–93, 194–202, 203–10. Two other works that I have found useful are D. C. Lau, “A Note on *ke wu*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30 (1967): 353–57; and Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, “Shuo ‘ge wu’—yi Xian Qin renshi lun de fazhan guocheng wei beijing” 說「格物」——以先秦認識論的發展過程為背景, in *Wen-shi congkao—Shanggu sixiang, minsu yu gu wenzi xueshi* 文史叢稿—上古思想、民俗與古文字學史 (Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong, 1996), 3–15.

The next part of the “Ziyi” passage has the phrase:

故君子多聞，齊而守之；多志，齊而親之；精智，略而行之。

Therefore, the gentleman widens his hearing, treating all things evenly and maintaining them; he broadens his vision, treating all things evenly and becoming intimate with them. He refines his knowledge, drawing a general outline and putting it into action.

Here the expression *duowen* 多聞 has the meaning of “to widen one’s hearing,” while *duozhi* 多志 is explained by Zheng as the following: 謂博交汎愛人也 “This is about interacting broadly with people and loving them widely.” It is evident that Zheng takes *zhi* 志 as “to use one’s will” or simply “to will,” an understanding echoed in the scholar Kong Yingda’s 孔穎達 (574–648 A.D.) paraphrase: 謂多以志意博交汎愛 “This is about using the intention of the mind to interact broadly and loving widely.” However, there is some indication that Kong also has a second understanding of the word *zhi*. When offering a summary of the entire passage, Kong suggests the following: 此皆謂聞見雖多，執守簡要也 “What all of this means is that even though one is widely informed, one should hold onto the essential.” In this second statement, the expression *wenjian* 聞見 “to be informed” suggests that Kong might be reading *zhi* as *shi* 識 “to know.” Such an understanding is well supported in Early Chinese texts, as can be seen from the juxtaposition of *wen* 聞 “to hear” and *shi* “to know” in a passage like *Lunyu* 論語 7.28:

子曰：「蓋有不知而作之者，我無是也。多聞，擇其善者而從之，多見而識之；知之次也。」¹⁹

The Master said, “There are presumably men who innovate without possessing knowledge, but that is not me. I use my ears widely and follow what is good in what I have heard; I use my eyes widely and retain what I have seen in my mind. This constitutes a lower level of knowledge.”²⁰

In two other attestations of the same passage, what appears as *shi* in the received *Lunyu* is written *zhi* 志. The first is a quotation of the passage by Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 A.D.) in his comment at the end of *Hanshu* 漢書 (The records of the Han) “Gouxu zhi” 溝洫志 (The records of the water channels):

孔子曰：「多聞而志之，知之次也。」²¹

Confucius said: “To be widely informed and to retain it in the mind, this constitutes a lower level of knowledge.”

The second is from a Western Han (206 B.C.–25 A.D.) version of the *Lunyu*, found in a tomb in Bajiaolang 八角廊, Hebei province (s. 172–173):

子曰：「蓋有弗智而作之者，我無是。多聞，擇其善而從之。多聞而志之，智之次也。」²²

The Master said, “There are presumably men who innovate without possessing knowledge, but that is not me. I am widely informed and follow what is good in what I have heard. To be widely informed and to retain it in the mind, this constitutes a lower level of knowledge.”

These two attestations provide evidence for the interchange of *zhi* and *shi*: both mean “to know” or “to retain in the mind.”²³

19. Cheng, *Lunyu jishi*, 490–92.

20. For these translations, I have consulted D.C. Lau, *Analects* (Hong Kong: Chinese Univ. Press, 1992).

21. Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2008), 2898.

22. *Dingzhou Hanmu zhujian Lunyu* 定州漢墓竹簡論語 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1997).

23. The attestations in the *Hanshu* and the Bajiaolang text also suggest a possible emendation of the received text of *Lunyu* 7.28. As it is, the passage resembles *Lunyu* 2.18, the subject of the discussion below, in its juxtaposition of *duowen* “to use one’s ears widely” and *duojian* “to use one’s eyes widely”; but that juxtaposition breaks the

The passage from *Lunyu* 7.28 and its various attestations are valuable not only for illustrating the interchange of *zhi* and *shi*, but also for their content. In this discussion Confucius distances himself from the position of *bu zhi er zuo zhi* 不知而作之 “innovating without possessing knowledge,” and instead shows his preference for knowing by being *duowen* 多聞 “widely informed,” so he could *ze qi shanzhe er cong zhi* 擇其善者而從之 “follow what is good in what I have heard.”²⁴ Here the expression *duowen* is exactly what one finds in the “Ziyi,” while the word *cong* 從 “to follow” corresponds to such terms as *shou* 守 “to maintain” and *qin* 親 “to become intimate” in that text. This suggests the possibility that just as the *Lunyu* passage describes Confucius’ attitude towards knowledge, perhaps the “Ziyi” passage is an account of how knowledge is acquired.

It is possible to consider another passage from the *Lunyu*, 15.3:

子曰：「賜也，女以予為多學而識之者與？」對曰：「然，非與？」曰：「非也！予以貫之。」²⁵

The Master said, “Ci, do you think that I am the kind of man who learns widely and retains what he has learned in his mind?” “Yes, I do. Is it not so?” “No, I have a single thread binding it all together.”

In this passage, Confucius begins by describing an attitude towards learning that resembles what he suggests in 7.28: 多學而識之 “to learn widely and retain what one has learned in his mind.” With his reply: 然，非與 “Yes, I do; is it not so?” Ci 賜, also known as Zigong 子貢, makes an assumption based on what he knows about his teacher: is it not true that Confucius is this type of person? This is contradicted by what Confucius goes on to say. Rather than trying to know by being well informed, he actually prefers knowing by a single principle.

How should one reconcile the two positions presented in *Lunyu* 15.3? In the first instance, Confucius suggests that one should know by being well informed, and this is corroborated by Zigong’s reply. But in the second instance, he holds that one should know by a single principle. One possibility is that Confucius simply has different understandings of the best way to acquire knowledge, and there could be numerous explanations why this is so. A second possibility, however, is that knowing by being *duowen* “widely informed” is simply a stage in the process of the acquisition of knowledge, perhaps a stage reserved for disciples such

rhythm of the sentence and reads somewhat awkwardly. If the *Hanshu* and *Bajiaolang* text are any indication, then perhaps *jian* 見 should be emended to *wen* 聞, and this should be read together with the next part of the sentence, as the following: 多聞而識之，知之次也 “To be widely informed and to know, this constitutes a lower level of knowledge.” This would be a direct continuation of the discussion of *duowen* “to use one’s ears widely” from before. For another attempt to improve the text of *Lunyu* 7.28, it is possible to consider a passage in *Baihutong* 白虎通 “Liyue” 禮樂, which gives the following quotation: 吾聞擇其善者而從之；多見而志之，知之次也 “I have heard about following what is good. To use my eyes widely and retain what I have seen in my mind, this constitutes a lower level of knowledge”; see Chen Li 陳立, *Baihu tong shuzheng* 白虎通疏證 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1994), 128. What this does is also to break the parallel between *duowen* and *duojian*, in this case, by modifying the discussion surrounding the former of the two expressions. At the moment, I am unable to decide which solution is better, between the *Baihutong* reading, on the one hand, and the *Hanshu* and the *Bajiaolang* reading, on the other. What is clear is that by the Han many readers perceived a problem with the text of *Lunyu* 7.28 and devised different solutions for it. Note that there is another quotation of *Lunyu* 7.28 in another passage from the *Hanshu*, but it sheds no light on the problem discussed here; see Wang, *Hanshu buzhu*, 4606–7.

24. Cf. Confucius’ suggestion in *Lunyu* 2.18 about *duowen que yi* 多聞闕疑 “use your ears widely but leave out what is doubtful” and *duojian que dai* 多見闕殆 “use your eyes widely but leave out what is hazardous”; see Cheng, *Lunyu jishi*, 112–16.

25. *Ibid.*, 1055–61. The passage is also attested in the *Bajiaolang* text (s. 414–415), and there the word *shi* 識 is in fact written *zhi* 志. Another parallel is in *Shiji* 史記 “Kongzi shijia” 孔子世家; see Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎 and Mizusawa Toshitada 水澤利忠, *Shiji huizhu kaozheng fu jiaobu* 史記會注考證附校補 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1986), 47–59.

as Zigong. As for knowing by *yi yi guan zhi* 一以貫之 “binding it all together with a single thread,” this represents a second, more advanced stage. Following this interpretation, a person begins the process of acquiring knowledge by learning widely. Having achieved that, he makes an effort to reduce all that he has learned into the most crucial and the most essential, in Confucius’ words, the “single thread.”²⁶

This second interpretation suggested above provides a new perspective for reading the “Ziyi” passage. With the sentence 故君子多聞，齊而守之；多志，齊而親之 “Therefore, the gentleman widens his hearing, treating all things evenly and maintaining them; he broadens his vision, treating all things evenly and becoming intimate with them,” the passage appears to suggest a preliminary stage where one makes an effort to extend one’s knowledge. Once this stage is attained, one turns to a synthesis of what one has learned and, with knowledge reduced to such a concentrated form, puts it into action. This is why the aforementioned sentence is immediately followed by the phrase 精智，略而行之 “He refines his knowledge, drawing a general outline and putting it into action.” Here the words *jing* 精 “to refine” and *lue* 略 “to draw an outline” both correspond to the word *yi* 一 “one” in the *Lunyu* phrase, *yi yi guan zhi* “to bind it all together with a single thread,” attesting to a close connection that might have existed between the two texts.

This analysis of the “Ziyi” passage gets back to the hypothesis regarding *ge* raised at the beginning of the study, which suggests that *ge* refers to the *recognition* of one’s place and the ensuing role that one should fulfill. Considered together with the rest of the passage, the phrase *yan you wu, xing you ge* 言有物，行有格 means that the process of acquiring knowledge begins after one has recognized one’s role. Subsequently, one proceeds through the initial stage of learning widely to a second, more advanced stage of reducing knowledge to its most concentrated form.²⁷ If this understanding is correct, it would explain why *yan you wu, xing you ge* appears at the very beginning of the passage, for the recognition of one’s role is only the first step in the process of acquiring knowledge. It would also account for Zheng Xuan’s gloss of *ge* as *jiufa* “previous institutions,” for Zheng is simply identifying the transmitted wisdom of the past as the basis for recognizing one’s role. Finally, it would explain the sentence that immediately follows in the “Ziyi” passage: 此以生不可奪志，死不可奪名 “This is why while alive he cannot be deprived of his will and when dead cannot be deprived of his name,” for the recognition of one’s role constitutes an imperative that cannot be altered whether in life or death. In this way, the different parts of the “Ziyi” passage come together as a coherent whole.

There is some indication that the process of acquiring knowledge as described in the “Ziyi” passage can be traced back to the “Shijiu” 鳴鳩, the poem, now found in the *Book of Odes*, quoted at the very end of the “Ziyi” passage.²⁸ After all, it is in this poem, particularly in its suggestion of *shuren junzi, qi yi yi ye* 淑人君子，其儀一也 “the good man, my lord, his fine deportment is invariable,” that one first finds the concern with unity. To understand this connection, one could compare a passage from the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (Outer commentaries of the Han tradition of the *Odes*). In a discussion of *zhi qi yang xin zhi shu* 治氣養心之術 “the techniques for regulating breath and nourishing the mind,” the passage states an injunction that closely resembles the “Ziyi” and the two *Lunyu* pas-

26. The phrase *yi yi guan zhi* appears also in *Lunyu* 4.15, and there it is noteworthy that Confucius does not explain what it means, and it is Zengzi 曾子 who goes on to connect it with the notions of *zhong* 忠 “doing one’s best” and *shu* 恕 “consideration”; see Cheng, *Lunyu jishi*, 257–67.

27. It is possible to compare the process described here with that in the opening passage of *Liji* “Daxue” 大學; see Li, ed., *Liji zhengyi*, 1859–82.

28. Li, ed., *Maoshi zhengyi*, 557–61.

sages cited above: 智慮潛深，則一之以易諒 “If one’s knowledge is profound, unify it by being sincere,” followed by the quotation from the “Shijiu.”²⁹ This suggests that the *Hanshi waizhuan* shares with the “Ziyi” a similar understanding of the “Shijiu” and that the attempt by ancient authors to associate that poem with the acquisition of knowledge was a more prevalent approach.

At this point, only the word *qi* 齊 “to treat evenly” in the “Ziyi” passage remains to be discussed, as seen in the phrase: 故君子多聞，齊而守之；多志，齊而親之 “Therefore, the gentleman widens his hearing, treating all things evenly and maintaining them; he broadens his vision, treating all things evenly and becoming intimate with them.” In the received version of the “Ziyi,” this word is written *zhi* 質 and, if read as such, has the meaning “to reduce to substance.”³⁰ Such a usage is attested in another discussion of the “Shijiu,” now found in *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (Garden of sayings), in the text “Fanzhi” 反質 (Returning to substance).³¹ This passage is centered on the suggestion that the people easily succumb to their desire for gain, and for that reason it is up to a sage figure such as Yao 堯 to guide them so they would rediscover what is more fundamental to their nature. The whole passage is as follows:

歷山之田者善侵畔，而舜耕焉；雷澤之漁者善爭陂，而舜漁焉；東夷之陶器窳，而舜陶焉。故耕、漁與陶非舜之事，而舜為之，以救敗也。民之性皆不勝其欲。去其實而歸之華，是以苦窳之器、爭鬪之患起；爭鬪之患起，則所以偷也。所以然者，何也？由離誠就詐，棄樸而取偽也，追逐其末而無所休止。聖人抑其文而抗其質，則天下反矣。《詩》云：「尸鳩在桑，其子七兮；淑人君子，其儀一兮。」傳曰：「尸鳩之所以養七子者，一心也；君子所以理萬物者，一儀也。以一儀理物，天心也；五者不離，合而為一，謂之天心。在我能因自深結其意於一。故一心可以事百君，百心不可以事一君。是故誠不遠也。夫誠者一也，一者質也。君子雖有外文，必不離內質矣。」

The farmers of Lishan are prone to violating field boundaries, but Shun cultivated there. The fishermen of Leize are prone to fighting over the shores, but Shun fished there. The potteries of Dongyi are of an inferior quality, but Shun made potteries there. Thus, cultivation, fishing, and making potteries are not Shun’s business, but Shun did them in order to recover them from their failure. The nature of the people is such that they cannot surpass their desires. To leave behind what is at the core and resort to ornamentation, this is the reason that vessels of an inferior quality as well as conflicts arise. When conflicts arise, then they are the cause for theft. Why is this so? It is because they departed from sincerity and went along with trickery, because they have abandoned simplicity and chosen artifice; they chase after the trivial without rest. If the sage constrains embellishment and promotes substance, then the world will return. The *Odes* says: “The cuckoo is in the mulberry tree, its young ones are seven; the good man, my lord, his fine deportment is invariable.” The tradition says: “What the cuckoo uses to feed its seven young ones is a unified heart. What the lord uses to order the myriad things is a unified fine deportment.

29. Xu Weiyu 許維通, *Hanshi waizhuan jishi* 韓詩外傳集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980), j. 2, 74–76. For this translation, I have consulted James Robert Hightower, *Han shih wai chuan: Han Ying’s Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1952), 71–72. A parallel to this passage can be found in *Xunzi* 荀子 “Xiushen” 修身, which has the sentence: 知慮漸深，則一之以易良 “If knowledge and foresight are too penetrating and deep, unify them with ease and sincerity”; see Wang Xianqian 王先謙, Kubo Ai 久保愛, Ikai Hikohiro 猪飼彦博, and Hattori Unokichi 服部宇之吉, *Junshi* 荀子 (Kanbun taikai 漢文大系, vol. 15; Tōkyō: Fuzanbō, 1913), 1.27–29. The translation is from John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*, vol. 1 (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1988–94), 153–54. For further discussion of these two passages, see below.

30. It is noteworthy that two words, *qi* and *zhi*, may be phonologically similar: *qi* is reconstructed as *Hts(h)+j, while *zhi* can be reconstructed with the vowel *+ and the initial *tj-. Old Chinese reconstructions are based on William H. Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992).

31. Zuo Songchao 左松超, *Shuoyuan jizheng* 說苑集證 (Taipei: Guoli bianyi guan, 2000), 1289–91. A partial translation of this passage can be found in Jeffrey Riegel, “Eros, Introversion, and the Beginnings of *Shijing* Commentary,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57 (1997), 163 n. 50, which I have consulted.

The unified fine deportment that orders the myriad things is the heavenly heart. When the five are not separated but joined to become one, this is called the heavenly heart.³² For oneself it is that one is able to tie his thoughts together as one. This is the reason that a unified heart can serve one hundred rulers, but a heart divided one hundred ways cannot serve one ruler. For this reason, sincerity is not far off. Sincerity means unity and unity means substance. Although the lord possesses outer embellishment he must not depart from his inner substance.”

Here the emphasis on the word *zhi* “substance” corresponds to *zhi* “to reduce to substance” in the received “Ziyi.” If one understands this as referring to the gentleman’s attitude towards the variety of knowledge he has acquired, then one has one possible reading of the “Ziyi” sentence: 故君子多聞，質而守之；多志，質而親之 “Therefore, the gentleman widens his hearing, reducing all things to substance and maintaining them; he broadens his vision, reducing all things to substance and becoming intimate with them.” That is, the gentleman reduces what he has learned into something basic, and he both *shou* “maintains” and *qin* “becomes intimate with” it. In the sense that *zhi* “to reduce to substance” is to do away with the unnecessary and return to what is fundamental and basic, such a reading anticipates what appears later in the “Ziyi” passage, the discussion of reducing knowledge into a single principle.

The “Fanzhi” is also noteworthy for citing a *zhuan* 傳 “tradition.” Most interesting is its attention to the language of the “Shijiu,” as can be seen in the phrase: 在我能因自深結其意於一 “For oneself it is that one is able to tie his thoughts together as one.” Here the word *jie* 結 “to tie” alludes to a line from the poem (cited by neither the “Fanzhi” nor “Ziyi”): 其儀一兮，心如結兮 “His fine deportment is invariable, my heart is full of pent-up feelings.” In addition, the *zhuan* contains the statement: 故一心可以事百君，百心不可以事一君 “This is the reason that a unified heart can serve one hundred rulers, but a heart divided one hundred ways cannot serve one ruler.” This, as one will see below, draws attention to an important interpretation of the “Shijiu.”³³

Turning to the Guodian and Shanghai Museum texts of the “Ziyi,” one finds that in the place of *zhi* “to reduce to substance,” these two manuscripts have *qi* “to treat evenly.” This reading is also not uncorroborated by other ancient authors. In the *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of virtuous women) section “Muyi” 母儀 (The lady’s deportment), there is an account about a mother of eight children, five of whom were from her husband’s previous marriage.³⁴ When one of the stepsons is sentenced to death for a crime, this woman is so filled with worry that she *youqi beiai, daiwei jianchi* 憂戚悲哀，帶圍減尺 “was distressed and saddened, and her waistline diminished.” This statement is followed by a quotation from the “Shijiu” and an explanation:

言心之均一也。尸鳩以一心養七子，君子以一儀養萬物。一心可以事百君，百心不可以事一君。此之謂也。

This is about the evenness and singularity of the heart. The cuckoo feeds its seven young ones with a single heart. The gentleman nourishes the myriad things with an invariable fine deportment. A unified heart can serve one hundred rulers, but a heart divided one hundred ways cannot serve one ruler. This is what it refers to.

32. Nowhere does the “Fanzhi” explain what *wu zhe* 五者 “the five” means, and it is possible that the *zhuan* 傳 is alluding to another teaching related to the “Shijiu.”

33. For another occurrence of this statement in the *Shuoyuan*, see Zuo, *Shuoyuan jizheng*, 976–77. Cf. also a discussion of the “Shijiu” in *Xunzi* “Quanxue” 勸學 that contains the phrase 事兩君者不容 “Serving two lords is not tolerated”; see Wang, Kubo, Ikai, and Hattori, *Junshi*, 1.8–11. This latter passage has a parallel in Huang, *Da Dai liji huijiao jizhu*, 823–34.

34. Liu Dianjue 劉殿爵, ed., *Gu Lienü zhuan zhuzi suoyin* 古列女傳逐字索引 (Xianggang: Shangwu, 1993), 11.

By identifying “fairness,” or *junyi* 均一, as the central theme of the “Shijiu,” the “Muyi” points to an interpretation of the “Shijiu” consistent with the reading of *qi* in the two Warring States manuscripts of the “Ziyi.”³⁵ Following this understanding, *qi* in the “Ziyi” would have the sense of “to treat evenly,” and this would give a meaning for the rest of the “Ziyi” that is slightly different from what one finds in the received version: in order to consolidate the variety of knowledge into a single principle, rather than *zhi* “to reduce to substance,” the action of *qi* “to treat evenly” is also possible.³⁶ Such an analysis, if valid, suggests that the different readings between the two manuscript versions of the “Ziyi,” on the one hand, and the received version, on the other, reflect broader differences in the interpretative tradition of the “Shijiu.”

Among the various features of the “Muyi,” it is possible to focus on the statement: 一心可以事百君，百心不可以事一君 “A unified heart can serve one hundred rulers, but a heart divided one hundred ways cannot serve one ruler.” This is a statement that has already been seen in the “Fanzhi,” and it is concerned more generally with the topic of how one should serve one’s superiors. It raises the following question: if the topic of one’s behavior vis-à-vis a higher authority underlies such discussions as the “Muyi” and “Fanzhi,” then can the same concern also be found in the “Ziyi”?

Neither the Guodian nor the Shanghai Museum text of the “Ziyi” contains any explicit reference to one’s behavior vis-à-vis a higher authority. It is only in the received version that one finds the following passage, immediately preceding the passage that has been the subject of this study:

子曰：「下之事上也，身不正，言不信，則義不壹，行無類也。」

When those below serve those above, if their behaviors are not correct and their words are not trustworthy, then they will not be consistent in their principle and will be improper in their action.

This passage does not appear in either of the manuscript versions of the “Ziyi” and is evidently an attempt by the received version to paraphrase the passage that follows it.³⁷ This can be seen in the caution against *yi bu yi* 義不壹 “the principle is not consistent,” which anticipates the quotation of the “Shijiu”: 其儀一也 “His fine deportment is invariable.” As for the phrases *yan bu xin* 言不信 “their words are not trustworthy” and *xing wu lei* 行無類 “their conduct will be improper,” these correspond directly to the sentence that begins the “Ziyi” discussion of the “Shijiu”: 君子言有物，行有格 “The gentleman’s words have substance, and his action follows a standard.” Where this additional passage departs from its source is its reference to *xia zhi shi shang* 下之事上 “when those below serve those above.” Such a concern is unparalleled in the discussion of the “Shijiu” and can only be seen as an attempt by the additional passage to introduce a new line of interpretation.

35. Interestingly, when describing the mother’s fairness to her eight children, the “Muyi” indicates that she purposely gives fewer material things to her own children: 不得與前妻子齊 “they cannot be the same as the sons of the previous wife.” Here, knowing all too well that her affection for her own children can only be greater than that for her stepsons, the mother attempts to deprive the former of certain resources, so in the end all of her sons are treated fairly and equally.

36. For another discussion that follows the same line of interpretation, the *Yilin* 易林, in the hexagram “Guai” 夬, under “Jiaren” 家人 contains the following verses: 鳴鳩七子，均而不殆，長大成就，棄而合好 “The cuckoo to its seven young ones is fair and not negligent / When they grow up they will be successful, when they are abandoned they will be just fine”; see Shang Binghe 尚秉和, *Jiaoshi Yilin zhu* 焦氏易林注 (Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu, 2005), 767.

37. Cf. Kong Yingda’s commentary, which takes this passage together with the discussion of the “Shijiu” as forming one section.

Elsewhere in the “Ziyi” there is another passage where the received version shows a similar concern with one’s behavior vis-à-vis a higher authority, also not found in the two manuscripts. This is the concluding passage of the “Ziyi,” and once again it is possible to cite the Guodian version:³⁸

45 . . . 子曰宋人又言曰人而亡贊³⁹不可為

46 卜筮也亓古之遺言龜豎獸弗智而坐於人唐. . .

子曰：「宋人有言曰，人而無恆，不可為卜筮也。其古之遺言與？龜筮猶弗知，而況於人乎？」⁴⁰

The Master said: “The men of Song have a saying that goes: ‘If a man does not have constancy, he cannot be a turtleshell or milfoil diviner.’ This must be a saying handed down from antiquity! If even the turtleshell and milfoil do not know it, how much more so is it with men!”

Here, by drawing upon a saying from the people of Song, the “Ziyi” makes the claim that human activity is to be emphasized over the spirits and fate. This is followed by several quotations from canonical sources: the “Xiaomin” 小旻 (The lesser severity), quoted in all three versions, and the “Yueming” 兌命 (The order of Yue) and the “Heng” 恆 (Constancy) hexagram, both quoted only in the received version. Among these, the quotation from the “Yueming” is especially interesting and can be cited as the following:

《兌命》曰：「爵無及惡德，民立而正事；純而祭祀，是為不敬，事煩則亂，事神則難。」

The “Mandate of Yue” says: “Entitlements do not extend to those of bad character, for the people will establish them as the standard of affairs. If all of them are to conduct the sacrifices, then this is not being respectful, for affairs will be nettlesome and lead to chaos, and it will be difficult to serve the spirits.”⁴¹

In Zheng Xuan’s reading, the quotation from the “Yueming” concerns the ruler’s handling of matters of sacrifice: when bestowing official posts, the ruler should not grant them to those of bad character, or *e de* 惡德, because this will set the wrong example for the people below and displease the spirits above. Ostensibly this statement is about what the ruler should or should not do, but in fact its focus is on those in a position inferior to the ruler, since they are the ones who potentially can receive *jue* 爵 “entitlements,” and those of bad character would not expect to be rewarded at all. This is the reason that Kong Yingda summarizes the entire passage as concerning one’s behavior vis-à-vis a higher authority: 此一節明為人臣之法，當有恆也 “This section clarifies that the standard for being the subject is that one should have constancy.” If this understanding is correct, then it provides a parallel to the “Ziyi” discussion of the “Shijiu.” In both cases the received version contains additional material not found

38. The parallel in the Shanghai Museum version appears in s. 23–24.

39. Written as 豎 in the Shanghai Museum version.

40. The received version has the following: 子曰，南人有言曰，人而無恆，不可以為卜筮；古之遺言與？龜筮猶不能知也，而況於人乎； see Li, ed., *Liji zhengyi*, 1773–74. Note the discrepancy between the two manuscripts and the received version in their identification of the source of the saying. One possible explanation is that the received version’s indication of *Nanren* 南人 “the men of the south” needs to be understood in relation to Lu 魯, where Confucius, the speaker in the “Ziyi,” originated. (It is noteworthy that a similar saying appears in *Lunyu* 13.22, and there it is also attributed to Nanren; see Cheng, *Lunyu jishi*, 32–35.) As for the indication of *Songren* 宋人 “the men of Song” in the two manuscripts, this is to be understood from the perspective of Chu 楚, the region where the Guodian manuscript was found and where the Shanghai Museum manuscript likely originated. In other words, assuming that the saying did originate from Song, it was possible for someone in the state of Lu to refer to that as the south, but not so for someone in the state of Chu, since Chu was farther south than Song. This suggestion, if valid, would be an indication of the geographical region with which the received version should be associated.

41. This is a difficult passage; my translation follows closely the reading suggested by Zheng Xuan.

in the two manuscript versions. In both cases this addition does not so much compromise the integrity of the text as shift the balance of the entire discussion.⁴²

This study has considered a single passage of the Early Chinese text, the “Ziyi.” By comparing the text with other ancient writings, it is possible to show that the “Ziyi” describes a process that begins with a person’s recognition of his role, continues with the acquisition of knowledge, and finally ends with the reduction of his knowledge into a single principle. Such an account is consistent with several passages from the *Lunyu* and, by reference to a passage from the *Hanshi waizhuan*, can be traced back to the canonical poem cited in the “Ziyi,” the “Shijiu.” Although the same account is present in all three extant versions of the “Ziyi,” it is in the received version that this is rewritten to reflect a different concern, of a person’s behavior vis-à-vis a higher authority. This concern is echoed in another passage from the received version of the “Ziyi” and can be seen as the defining feature of this transmission of the “Ziyi.” What this provides is a fixed point that allows for the differentiation of the three versions of the “Ziyi,” a hypothesis that can be tested against other passages from the same text. It is hoped that the analysis of this study illustrates an approach that will prove useful when reading newly excavated manuscripts against their received counterparts.

42. Is it possible that a shift such as described above took place in the reverse; that is, the received version is actually earlier than the two manuscript versions, and it was during the transmission of the received version that the concern with authority was removed from the text, resulting in what one finds in the two manuscript versions? Such a possibility cannot be completely ruled out, but it is not supported by the rest of the “Ziyi,” where the discussion of the subject (*chen* 臣) always takes place in the context of the correspondence between the subject and the ruler, never a one-sided demand placed on the subject which the ruler can then exploit for his own end. For the received version to highlight the question of authority as we saw in the two passages introduces an inconsistency into the text, and it is more natural to account for this as a later intrusion.