

The Formation and Circulation of Early Yanzi Lore, Fourth Century
B.C. - Third Century A.D.

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Abstract

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In this project I provide a textual study of two bodies of manuscripts related to Yanzi (d. 500 B.C.), from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D. with particular attention to the nature of textual variation among the manuscripts and the matching texts in the received literature. Both manuscripts, the Yinqueshan Western Han bamboo strips and the three texts from the Shanghai museum collection of Warring States period Chu strips, together with other Han discoveries pertaining to Yanzi reveal that before the official version of the most important transmitted literature on Yanzi, the *Yanziz chunqiu*, was fixed by Liu Xiang (77-6 B.C.) Yanzi lore had been in wide circulation: the Yinqueshan manuscripts correspond to about eight percent of the received *Yanzi chunqiu* and are fairly close to the received texts at the level of individual anecdotes; the three Chu manuscripts, “Jing gong nüe” (Commonlord Jing suffered from malaria) “Lu bang da han” (The great drought on the State of Lu) and “Zhao wang hui shi” (King Zhao demolished his palace) reflect an earlier stage in the process of shaping some of the Yanzi tales as we have them transmitted to us today.

The formation and circulation of early Chinese texts tend to be composite and *irresolute* in contrast to the Western textual world in which a single authorship and a relatively *resolute* tradition can often be identified. Basic principles of textual criticism are used as guidelines but with reservations in analyzing textual variation due to this difference in the contexts and nature

of text formation and circulation between the Western classical world and the early Chinese periods. The analysis of textual variation between the manuscripts and the received *Yanzi chunqiu* suggests that all the Yingqushan accounts discussed in this study were most likely composed before the received counterparts; and the textual study of the three Warring States period manuscripts reveals that besides text passages, literary motifs can be composite and can be adapted into different textual settings as well.

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Abbreviations

<i>Jishi</i>	<i>Yanzi chunqiu jishi</i> 晏子春秋集釋 (Wu Zeyu 1962)
M	Manuscripts
OC	Old Chinese
Qun	<i>Qunshu zhiyao</i> 群書治要
R	Received texts
ShY	<i>Shui yuan</i> 說苑
SSJ	<i>Shisanjing zhushu</i> 十三經註疏
Yulan	<i>Taiping yulan</i> 太平御覽
YQS	Yinqueshan 銀雀山 manuscripts
YZCQ	<i>Yanzi chunqiu</i> 晏子春秋
ZZ	<i>Zuozhuan</i> 左傳

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The Transmitted *Yanzi chunqiu*

1.1.1 Textual History and Classification

Yanzi chunqiu is a collection of 215 political anecdotes involving Yan Ying 晏嬰 (ca. 580 - 500),¹ known posthumously as Pingzhong 平仲, often referred to as Yanzi 晏子. Yanzi is said to have belonged to a minor aristocratic lineage of the State of Qi 齊. He served three generations of the Qi 齊 lords, Commonlord Ling 靈公 (r. 581-554), Commonlord Zhuang 莊公 (r. 553-548) and Commonlord Jing 景公 (r. 547-489).² As a prominent advisor at the Qi court and an active politician of the late Spring and Autumn period narratives of Yanzi are attested in many pre-Qin texts such as the *Yanzi chunqiu* and *Zuozhuan*.

The anecdotes in the *Yanzi chunqiu* are mostly remonstrances delivered by Yanzi, primarily to Commonlord Jing, together with other narratives about Yanzi. Yanzi is presented as a worthy and eloquent advisor who always found a witty way to save his lord from indiscretions and to extricate himself from delicate situations. The time Yanzi served at Qi was a period full of bloody coups and struggles among the rising ministerial lineages. The interactions between Yanzi and many important contemporaneous political figures, as well as the discussions on various issues at the Qi court recorded in *Yanzi chunqiu*, provide a panorama of the political and diplomatic situation in Qi during the late Spring and Autumn period. *Yanzi chunqiu* has been appreciated in the fields of both literature and early Chinese intellectual history. Many of the Yanzi narratives became popular folklore and are well circulated and recognized even today.

¹ Unless marked, all the dates used in the discussion are “Before Common Era.”

² Yan Ying’s major life events can be reconstructed mainly from the *Yanzi chunqiu* and the “Guan Yan lie zhuan”

² Yan Ying’s major life events can be reconstructed mainly from the *Yanzi chunqiu* and the “Guan Yan lie zhuan” 管晏列傳 in the *Shiji* (62.2131-2137).

Yanzi chunqiu as a name of a text is first referred to in the “Memoir of Guan [Zhong] and Yan [Ying]”, “Guan Yan lie zhuan” 管晏列傳, in the *Shiji* (62.2136):

I have read Guan’s *Mumin*, *Shangao*, *Chengma*, *Qingzhong* and *Jiufu*, and the *Yanzi chunqiu*. How articulate is their [Guan Zhong and Yan Ying] teaching! After reading their works, I want to observe their deeds and therefore I arranged their memoirs here. As for their works, many people have a copy of them, so I did not discuss those texts and instead discuss their anecdotes.

This passage is part of the final comment Sima Qian (145-86) made in the “Memoir of Guan and Yan.” According to Sima Qian, it was mainly from a text titled *Yanzi chunqiu* that his generation learned about Yanzi’s teaching. Since this text was reputedly widely circulated during his time, Sima Qian only included in Yanzi’s biography the anecdotes that were not recorded in the version of *Yanzi chunqiu* he read. Two anecdotes are included in Yanzi’s memoir, and they both can be found in the received version of *Yanzi chunqiu* (6.24, 6.25). This discrepancy suggests that the *Yanzi chunqiu* that circulated during Sima Qian’s time might differ from the now extant version with the same title. We have no further evidence to find out how much the *Yanzi chunqiu* in circulation during early Western Han is different from the received version, but the discrepancy is totally unsurprising. Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6) was credited with having fixed the transmitted version of the *Yanzi chunqiu* (abbreviated as YZCQ hereafter) from various pre-Han sources. Liu Xiang’s preface reveals that there were many different versions of Yanzi texts circulated during Western Han:

The imperial text of the *Yanzi* that I collated had eleven *pian*. What I, Xiang, carefully collated with Can, Commandant of Chang she, were the Director of Astrology’s text in five *pian*, my own text in one *pian* and Can’s text in thirteen *pian*. Altogether the imperial and private texts amounted to thirty *pian*, forming eight hundred and thirty eight *zhang*. I removed duplicates numbering twenty two *pian* and six hundred thirty eight *zhang*, establishing a text of eight *pian* and two hundred fifteen *zhang*...

Six *pian* of this book are all loyal remonstrances against a ruler. The composition is worthy of scrutiny, the principles worthy of emulation. In all cases these agree with the doctrine of the Six Classics. In addition, there are repetitions with rather different phraseology which I

dared not overlook and which have been further arranged in one *pian*. There are also those parts that disagree somewhat with the learning of the Classics, as if they were not the words of Yanzi. I suspect that they were produced by sophists of a later age, but again I did not dare to abandon them and have arranged them in one *pian*.³

This preface informs us of several things about the *Yanzi* text: (1) there were several different collections of Yanzi lore, often with the same episodes duplicated in each; (2) the first six *pian* 篇 are the core of this text, while many of the last two outer *pian* are materials that disagree with the rest of the text in phraseology and teaching; (3) the text Liu had fixed was titled *Yanzi* instead of *Yanzi chunqiu*.

By the time of late Western Han, the literature on Yanzi's anecdotes had accumulated and formed a large body of texts. Liu Xiang had different editions of Yanzi texts from both imperial and private collections at his disposal for editing. He selected 215 out of a total of 838 passages to establish his edition of the Yanzi text. About three-fourths of the texts that were available to him did not make it into this Western Han official edition. The text Sima Qian had known may be one of the sources Liu Xiang used for collating and editing.

The *Yanzi chunqiu* we have today contains two hundred and fifteen short passages which are distributed among eight sections (*pian*). The first six sections are entitled "inner *pian*," and the last two "outer *pian*." The dual division of early Chinese text between an inner *pian* and an outer *pian* is not uncommon. Usually the inner *pian* are the central part of a given text and the outer *pian* are considered less important either because of their content or due to the uncertainty on the authenticity of these passages. (Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫 1985, 264) This is also the case in *Yanzi chunqiu*. The six inner *pian* are categorized into three topics: *jian* 諫 'remonstrance' (*pian* one and two), *wen* 問 'inquiry' (*pian* three and four) and *za* 雜 'miscellany' (*pian* five and six).

³ Stephen Durrant's translation (Loewe ed. 1993, 484) is adopted here with some minor revisions.

Overall the arrangement of the passages within each *pian* appears to be arbitrary. The last two *pian* are simply termed “outer” without further designation. They include parallel but variant passages found in the inner chapters (*pian* seven) and other passages that are of a strong anti-Ruist tone that are lacking from the inner sections (*pian* eight). Liu Xiang’s description of his edition corresponds with the structure of the YZCQ as it appears today. Not only are the numbers of the *zhang* and *pian* the same, the two outer *pian* in received editions also fit the description Liu provided in his preface. In my discussion when citing from the YZCQ, the accounts are identified first by the *pian* they are included in and then by their order in the given *pian*. For example, YZCQ 1.1 means the first account in the first *pian*.

In the “Yi wen zhi” 藝文志 of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (30.1724), a text titled *Yanzi* is listed under the “Ru jia” in eight *juan*. In the Six Dynasties’ sources such as the *Kongcongzi* 孔叢子, a text with the title *Yanzi chunqiu* reappeared, and was then later recorded in all the major dynastic histories with the same title. (*Sibu congkan*, 17.19b) Table 1.1 provides a record of the registration of this text in the major catalogues.

Table 1.1 YZCQ in major catalogues

Catalogue	Number of <i>juan</i>	Classification
<i>Hanshu</i> 漢書	8	Ruist teaching
<i>Sui shu</i> 隋書	7	Ruist teaching
<i>Jiu Tang shu</i> 舊唐書	7	The Masters
<i>Xin Tang shu</i> 新唐書	7	The Masters
Fujiwara Sukeyo's catalogue (the ninth century)	7	
<i>Chong wen zong mu</i> 崇文總目	12	Ruist teaching
<i>Jun zhai du shu zhi</i> 郡齋讀書志	12	Mohist teaching
<i>Yu hai</i> 玉海	12	Mohist teaching
<i>Zhi zhai shu lu jie ti</i> 直齋書錄解題	12	
<i>Song shi</i> 宋史	12	Ruist teaching
<i>Si ku quan shu</i> 四庫全書	8	Biography

In several Song texts, such as the *Jun zhai du shu zhi* and *Yu hai*, YZCQ is listed as a work of twelve *juan*. The Song bibliographers seemed to be unclear about the origin of the twelve *juan* edition. It is reported in the *Chong wen zong mu* that, “the eight *pian* fixed by Liu Xiang is not extant anymore. This text is probably collected and compiled by people of a later time.” (*Hou zhibuzu zhai congshu* 後知不足齋叢書 edition, 3.1a) The earliest extant YZCQ is a late Ming edition in eight *juan*, purportedly based upon a Yuan edition.⁴ The Yuan and later editions in eight *juan* might have arisen from a re-arrangement from the Song editions, so as to reflect Liu Xiang's description of the Yanzi text. (*Jishi*, 630-631)

⁴ The Yuan edition is not extant anymore. The late Ming movable type edition is reproduced in the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition.

The categorization of the Yanzi text varies in different catalogues as reflected in the table. It has been listed under the Ruists, the Mohists or the biography within the scheme of traditional Chinese bibliography. To identify YZCQ as a Ruist text fits with Liu Xiang's diagnosis that, as a whole, *Yanzi* "agrees with the doctrine of the Six Classics" (preface). The five passages Liu Xiang included in the "outer *pian*" (chapter eight) with an overt tone of "anti-Ruist/Confucius" probably lead some scholars to categorize it as a "Mohist" text. In those episodes Yanzi criticized Confucius and Ruist teaching harshly. For example, in 8.1 Yanzi was attempting to persuade his lord that the teaching of Confucius was not practical at all in governing, and as a result, Lord Jing decided not to employ Confucius at his court. In 8.2, Yanzi attacked Confucius and his followers on their excessiveness in funeral rituals. Some of those "anti-Ruist" passages have parallels in the "Fei Ru" 非儒 (Repudiate the Ruists) chapter of *Mozi* 墨子.

Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819 A.D.) is probably the most influential scholar favoring the argument that YZCQ is a Mohist text. He pointed out that Yanzi promoted many of the Mohist principles such as "unification among all classes" 尚同, "frugality" 節用, "universal care" 兼愛, "opposition to music" 非樂 and "opposition to Ruists" 非儒. (Liu Zongyuan 1997, 56-7) The scholars of Tang and Song were most likely influenced by Liu's view of YZCQ. (Liu Wenbin 劉文斌 2008) As a result, in some major catalogues of the Song period, such as the *Jun zhai du shu zhi*, YZCQ is listed under the "Mo jia" category. More recently, Zhang Chunyi 張純一 has attempted a compromise by declaring the work to be 60 to 70% Mohist and 30 to 40% Ruist. (Zhang Chunyi 1975) Such a division does not help to solve the problem since it assumes an even more rigid classification of early philosophical thought. The author of the "Jie Mo" 詰墨 (Question the Mohists) chapter in the *Kongcongzi* 孔叢子 (third century A.D.) and some Qing

philologists such as Sun Xingyan (1753-1818 A.D.) on the other hand insisted that “Ru jia” is still the appropriate classification for YZCQ, and that the suspicious episodes in the “outer chapters” could be fabrications in order to promote Mohist teaching.⁵

The arguments on YZCQ’s affiliation with certain traditional “schools” assume a well-defined and rigid distinction among the various trends of thought during the Classical period. This assumption and the traditional categorization of different “schools” are probably more of an artificial classification than a realistic practice in the classical world. (Csikszentmihalyi & Nylan 2003) Moreover, their contention presupposes a unity and coherence throughout the YZCQ text, which is most likely the very opposite of the nature of early Chinese texts. It is becoming increasingly apparent particularly with the evidence provided by newly discovered manuscripts, that the formation of early Chinese texts is typically “composite” or “polymorphous.” (See discussion in section 4.1 “The formation and circulation of early Yanzi lore.”) The present study suggests that this is the case for the YZCQ as well.

The compilers of the *Si ku quan shu* avoid the problem of philosophical affiliation by placing YZCQ in biography (“zhuan ji” 傳記), a sub-category of history, and claim “it is actually the very beginning of the Chinese genre of biography.” Durrant disagrees for the reason that “the anecdotes and remonstrances are not even arranged chronologically.” (Loewe ed. 1993, 487) He approves Maspero’s description of the work as historical romance. Henri Maspero recognizes the literary merits of YZCQ: “The author knows how to make his characters come alive.” But he thinks that the philosophical ideas of Yanzi are thoroughly commonplace, “sharing the same banality as those of the romances of that period.” (Maspero 1978, 359) Olivia Milburn (2016, 4)

⁵ Sun Xingyan’s comment is included in the preface to his edition of *Yanzi chunqiu*, the pingjin guan 平津館 edition, (Shanghai guji reprint, 1986).

regards the text as “a biographical account of Master Yan with particular reference to his achievements in the field of statecraft.”

1.1.2 Authenticity and Authorship

Because of dissatisfaction with the confusion in philosophical affiliation, the discrepancy between what Sima Qian has described in the *Shiji* and the extant version, and the discrepancy in the number of chapters registered in different catalogues, *Yanzi chunqiu* has for a long time been suspected to be a forgery assembled after Han. (*Jishi*, 630-631) But many of the problems identified are actually not totally unexpected and have already been revealed in Liu Xiang’s preface, where he explicitly indicated that the edition he fixed was after all a synthesis from diverse sources.

In the *Yanzi chunqiu yan jiu* 晏子春秋研究, Wang Gengsheng’s 王更生 (1976) estimates that only about half of the received YZCQ (156 passages) are from an early time and thus authentic. I summarize and respond to three of his main arguments here. (1) Numerous anachronisms. For example, 6.18 is an anecdote about Lord Jing lamenting Yanzi seventeen years after the death of his minister (483 B.C.), but according to the *Shiji* Lord Jing died in 490 B.C., seven years before the event recorded in YZCQ. (2) Many word-for-word parallels with other texts could have been easily copied from texts such as *Zuozhuan* and *Mengzi*. (3) Some citations from YZCQ in other texts from the Han to the Song periods differ from the received YZCQ. So the extant YZCQ is not the one that was available to the ancient editors. Wang’s conclusion is that the extant version was reassembled later from a number of different sources.

As for problems such as the factual mistakes and discrepancies with other texts, since YZCQ is a text that did not pass through the critical hands of commentators and editors until the

eighteenth century, “the authenticity of the work is supported by the very fact that the many textual problems and questionable readings have been preserved as they stand.” (Durrant in Loewe ed. 1993, 486) In using the external evidence of parallels with other texts, Wang’s conclusion is impressionistic. It is totally possible that there are different temporal layers in the extant YZCQ as he points out, but only thorough textual study of all the variants among parallel texts can provide concrete support in determining which passage is earlier than the other.

Richard Walker, Gao Heng 高亨 and Zheng Liangshu’s 鄭良樹 studies of the parallels YZCQ has with early texts all conclude that YZCQ is a genuine pre-Qin text. Gao Heng (1961) draws on parallels YZCQ has with *Suo yu* 瑣語, *Mozi*, *Xunzi* 荀子 and *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 and finds that it is often the case that the YZCQ anecdotes are fuller than their parallels and use more archaic or more difficult words. This leads him to conclude that at least a substantial part of YZCQ predates those early texts.

Richard Walker and Zheng Liangshu’s textual study focuses on the *Zuozhuan*. Walker (1953) observes that the anecdotes in YZCQ are consistently fuller than the parallels in *Zuo zhuan*, and that there are also many Yanzi anecdotes only found in YZCQ but not in other early texts. His evaluation of YZCQ also reiterates Karlgren’s (1929) methodology by examining uniformity in grammar and content of a text. Walker contends that both the grammar and style of YZCQ are fairly homogeneous and consistent, which a later forgery drawn from multiple sources would have been unlikely to observe. Moreover, the diplomatic relations among various states Walker has reconstructed according to the anecdotes in YZCQ are consistent with the geographical and historical pattern established in other reliable early texts; the official institutions in Qi described in YZCQ are in complete agreement with the reconstructions by modern historical scholarship. Walker therefore concludes that YZCQ “is an authentic text most probably pre-dating the Tso-

chuan. A likely date of composition is sometime two or three generations after the death of Yen-tzu ... This would probably place it some time before 400 B.C.” (Walker 1953, 163)

Zheng Liangshu’s (2000) study on the YZCQ and *Zuo zhuan* parallels is by far the most comprehensive. He categorizes the parallels in the two works into four groups: (1) YZCQ and *Zuozhuan* have come from different sources (three cases). (2) YZCQ passages are derived from *Zuozhuan* (one case). (3) *Zuozhuan* passages are derived from YZCQ (six cases). (4) Parallels that cannot be decided (two cases). Zheng’s diagram presents a more complex textual relation between the two works, and probably provides a more realistic picture of how an early text was compiled and transmitted. In some cases my own study on parallels between YZCQ and the *Zuozhuan* reaches a different conclusion from Zheng’s, but methodologically viewing different passages in a text as potentially independent units instead of taking the whole text as a monolithic body is consistent with the understanding that the formation of early texts is often composite. Zheng concludes that the very first textual layer in YZCQ could have been assembled as early as the late Spring and Autumn period, soon after the death of Yan Ying, or it could have been collected during the early Warring States period before the *Zuozhuan* was compiled.

After the discovery of the Yanzi manuscript in an early Western Han tomb at Yinqueshan on the Shandong Peninsula in 1972 all doubts on the authenticity of YZCQ as an early text are dispelled. This manuscript contains sixteen Yanzi accounts that have counterparts in the received YZCQ. Although it is less than ten percent of the received YZCQ in size the Yinqueshan manuscripts provide conclusive proof that Yanzi lore had been assembled into collections at least by the early part of the Western Han period. Since the copying and circulation of texts on bamboo strips probably requires a period from a few years to several

decades, many of the Yanzi passages available in the received YZCQ and the manuscript must have been formed much earlier.

YZCQ has been attributed to Yan Ying in most early catalogues. Some accounts in YZCQ are incidents that happened after the death of Yan Ying, and Yan Ying could not have written them himself. The editors of the *Chong wen zong mu* and *Si ku quan shu* correctly point out that it is not a work composed by Yan Ying himself but a collection of Yan Ying anecdotes edited by later authors. Most scholars believe YZCQ was compiled by the disciples or admirers of Yan Ying from Qi. For example, Sun Xingyan attributes the work to disciples of Yan Ying and proposes that those disciples collected the stories and words of their master from official state annals of Qi; Gao Heng (1961) suggests the compilation of YZCQ may be related to the scholars of the Jixia Academy since it is probably not a coincidence that both the two Qi ministers, Guanzi and Yanzi, have texts associated with their names. He claims that Guanzi and YZCQ are probably both compiled by the scholars of Jixia Academy. Wu Zeyu (*Jishi*, 20-23) even goes so far as to attribute the text to Chunyu Yue 淳于越 (ca. 213), one of the renowned scholars employed at the Jixia Academy. By the time Liu Xiang established the official edition of YZCQ, there was already a large body of Yanzi related texts in circulation (838 *zhang* according to Liu). It is hard to imagine that those sources could all have come from a single hand or at a single time. As Yu Jiayi (1985, 174) has pointed out “ancient texts were not produced by one person: some were written on bamboo and silk by later teachers, some were narratives compiled by many people, some were arranged by the retainers of the various lords, and some were given final form by the government writing office.” (Fischer 2000, 31) Excavated manuscripts also prove that Yu’s observation is exactly right. Early manuscripts do not circulate with the names of the authors, and this indefinite authorship is also a manifestation

of the composite nature of early texts. What Yu has described for the authorship of ancient texts is probably the case for YZCQ too.

1.1.3 The Qing Philologists and *Yanzi chunqiu*

The first critical edition of YZCQ was prepared by the Qing scholar Sun Xingyan. Before that there is no notice of commentaries or serious textual study of YZCQ since the time Liu Xiang fixed the transmitted version of this text. In Sun's *Yanzi chunqiu yin yi* 晏子春秋音義, he commented on variants between YZCQ and other texts, noted rhyming words in many passages, and provided explanations for early ritual norms included in YZCQ. Some of his comments turn out to be inaccurate, but based on his critical edition works produced on YZCQ by other Qing scholars accumulated quickly. (Zhao Zhenduo 趙振鐸 1990) Among them, the most influential works are, Lu Wenzhao's 盧文弨 (1717-1796 A.D.) *Yanzi chunqiu shi bu* 晏子春秋拾補, Wang Niansun's 王念孫 (1744-1832 A.D.) *Du Yanzi chunqiu za zhi* 讀晏子春秋雜誌, Yu Yue's 俞樾 (1821-1906 A.D.) *Zhu zi ping yi* 諸子平議, Huang Yizhou's 黃以周 (1828-1899 A.D.) *Yanzi chunqiu jiao kan ji* 晏子春秋校勘記, Sun Yirang's 孫怡讓 (1848-1908 A.D.) *Zha yi* 札迻 and Tao Hongqing's 陶鴻慶 (1859-1918 A.D.) *Du Yanzi chunqiu zha ji* 讀晏子春秋札記.⁶ All the notes from works above are included in the modern critical edition Wu Zeyu prepared, *Yanzi chunqiu jishi* 晏子春秋集釋 (abbreviated as *Jishi*).

Wang Niansun's work on YZCQ is the most outstanding among the Qing scholars. Many of his notes on puzzling words turn out to be valid and are confirmed by the recently excavated Han manuscripts. The Yinqueshan manuscripts provide a tradition independent of the received

⁶ See publication information in *Jishi*, 33.

YZCQ and in several cases the variants in the manuscripts prove that Wang's proposals are exactly right. (Tang Dezheng 唐德正 2004) His commentaries and methodology are evaluated in the discussion of the manuscripts in chapter two. Wang's comments on YZCQ together with his contributions in the study of other classical texts are illustrations of erudite philological scholarship of Qing.

The scholars who have produced critical work on YZCQ mentioned above were all leaders of the *kaozheng* 考證 “evidential scholarship.” The “evidential scholarship” was a new trend in studying the classics in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. *Kaozheng* scholars were particularly interested in using evidence of linguistic, philological and text critical studies to verify or dispute a given interpretation and argument about early classics. (Lai Xinxia 來新夏 1983; Elman 1984; Guo Kangsong 郭康松 2001) The rich commentaries on YZCQ, particularly Wang Niansun's work, are a good manifestation of the advance in methodology compared with the traditional textual studies of earlier times.

1.2 Newly Discovered Manuscripts

In the study of the early Yanzi accounts, recently discovered manuscripts provide new and rich materials that are independent from the tradition of the received YZCQ. Several Western Han archaeological sites have included manuscripts related to Yanzi lore. The most important of them are the manuscripts from Yinqueshan. Three manuscripts from the Shanghai museum collection of Warring States period bamboo strips have parallels with the received YZCQ. The

Yinqueshan manuscripts and three texts from the Warring States period serve as the primary sources of this study.

The four archaeological discoveries of Western Han are summarized in the table below.

Table 1.2.1 Four Western Han archaeological discoveries bearing Yanzi manuscripts

Year, Location of discovery	Date of the site	Manuscripts related to Yanzi
1972, Yinqueshan, Shandong	140-118 B.C.	Sixteen anecdotes match the YZCQ. See table 1.2.2.
1972-1974, Juyan 居延, Gansu ⁷	141-149 B.C.	A single broken strip with forty-eight graphs, with no parallel with any received text.
1973, Bajiaolang 八角廊, Hebei ⁸	55 B.C.	Two accounts about Yanzi from the collection titled (given by the editors) “Ru jia zhe yan” 儒家者言. Both are comparable to transmitted texts including the YZCQ (5.3, 5.21), but both very fragmentary.
1977, Fuyang 阜陽, Anhui ⁹	165 B.C.	On the two tablets with lists of titles of early tales, four of the titles suggest link to Yanzi. Another three fragmentary strips seem to be an anecdote matching YZCQ 3.20.

Liu Jiao and Olivia Milburn have discussed the Fuyang manuscripts in relation to the received YZCQ together with the Yanzi related manuscripts from Juyan and Bajiaolang. (Liu Jiao 2008,

⁷ Gansu sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 甘肅省文物考古研究所, *Juyan xin jian Jia qu hou guan yu di si sui* 居延新簡甲渠候官與第四燧 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), 204.

⁸ Ding xian Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 定縣漢墓竹簡整理小組, “Hebei Ding xian 40 hao Han mu fajue jianbao” 河北定縣 40 號漢墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, 1981.8. The transcription and notes of “Ru jia zhe yan” is published on *Wenwu*, 1981.8.

⁹ Wang Xiangtian 王襄天 & Han Ziqiang 韓自強 “Fuyang Shuanggu dui Xi Han Ruyin Xia hou mu fajue jianbao” 阜陽雙古堆西漢汝陰夏侯墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, 1978.8; Han Ziqiang, *Fuyang Han jian Zhouyi yanjiu* 阜陽漢簡周易研究, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2004), 149-205.

41-45; Milburn 2016, 24-32) Although the size of the Yanzi related manuscript corpus discovered in these three Western Han sites is not significant, their geographical distribution suggests a wide and ongoing popularity of Yanzi anecdotes that lasted well into the later part of Western Han. All of the discoveries predate the time when Liu Xiang fixed the official edition of YZCQ, and the Yanzi anecdote discovered at Juyan that cannot be identified as a part of any received texts proves Liu Xiang's statement that there were many different versions of Yanzi tales in circulation at the time. The strip from Juyan is probably an anecdote that did not survive the long process of transmission but survived in the Western Han beacon towers and walls of frontier fortress.

The Yinqueshan bamboo slips were found in a Western Han tomb in Shangdong province. In 1972 two ancient tombs were accidentally unearthed by construction workers at the foot of Mount Yinqu southeast of the city of Linyi 臨沂. Archaeologists from the Shandong Provincial Museum and the Linyi Cultural Relics Bureau immediately excavated the two tombs. (Shangdong sheng bowuguan Linyi wenwu zu 山東省博物館臨沂文物組 1975) More than four thousands of bamboo slips were discovered in tomb number one. Thirty-two strips were found in tomb number two. Among them the manuscripts pertaining to military treatises such as the *Sunzi* 孫子, *Sun Bin bingfa* 孫臏子兵法 and *Yu Liaozhi* 尉繚子 immediately attracted wide scholarly attention. (Yates 1994) The fragments that are found to match the received YZCQ have been pieced together to make one hundred and three strips by the modern editors, and they parallel sixteen accounts in the different sections of the YZCQ.

The correspondence between the Yinqueshan Yanzi strips and the YZCQ and other received texts is presented in the table below.

Table 1.2.2 Matching passages between the Yinqueshan Yanzi manuscripts and received texts

(The names of the six inner *pian*, remonstrances, inquiry and miscellany, are provided in the table.)

YQS Yanzi account number	Matching passages in YZCQ	Matching passages in other early received texts
1	Remonstrances 1.3	
2	Remonstrances 1.9	
3	Remonstrances 1.20	
4	Remonstrances 1.22	<i>Suoyu; Lunheng</i>
5	Remonstrances 2.18	
6	Questions 3.3	
7	Questions 3.10	
8	Questions 3.17	
9	Questions 3.18	
10	Questions 3.20 and 3.21	
11	Questions 4.22 and 4.23	
12	Miscellany 5.2	<i>Zuozhuan; Shiji</i>
13	Miscellany tales 6.4 The outer <i>pian</i> 7.21	<i>Xinshu; Huainanzi; Shuiyuan; Lunheng</i>
14	The outer <i>pian</i> 7.19	<i>Yantie lun</i>
15	The outer <i>pian</i> 8.1	<i>Mozi; Kongcongzi</i>
16	The outer <i>pian</i> 8.18	<i>Shuiyuan</i>

All the Yinqueshan accounts are self-contained, each starting on a new strip with a dot marking its beginning. The binding cords that once tied the strips together have decayed and the original order of these accounts is unknown. The modern editors arrange them in accord with the section order in the received YZCQ. The Yinqueshan accounts match narratives in all the eight chapters in the YZCQ, including the two controversial “outer chapters.” A preliminary

comparison of matching lines between the manuscripts and the received counterparts of the YZCQ suggests that most variants are graphic and thus that the manuscripts and the transmitted YZCQ probably belong to the same textual lineage and have derived from a common origin. The manuscripts seem to reflect one stage in the process of shaping the YZCQ as we have it transmitted to us today.

The photos and transcription of the Yanzi manuscripts from Yinqueshan were published in *Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian* 銀雀山漢墓竹簡 (1985). Pian Yuqian 駢宇騫 was one the editors who first worked on the Yinqueshan manuscripts. Later he published detailed studies of the Yanzi manuscripts with commentaries, *Yanzi chunqiu kaoshi* 晏子春秋考釋 (1988) and *Yinqueshan zhujian Yanzi chunqiu jiaoshi* 銀雀山竹簡晏子春秋校釋 (2000). In chapter two of my study, eight of the sixteen accounts and their received parallels are subjected to a textual scrutiny and analysis adhering to the basic methods of textual criticism. The quality of the photos of the manuscripts is not good enough for me to produce my own transcription for all the strips. In most cases if the writing in the images of the strips is not legible I will follow the modern editors' transcription.

Three manuscripts from the Shanghai museum collection of strips from the Warring States period manuscripts, “Jing gong nüe” 景公瘡, “Lu bang da han” 魯邦大旱, and “Zhao wang hui shi” 昭王毀室, are related in content to the received YZCQ and are the primary texts under examination in chapter three of the present study. These three manuscripts are included in the body of texts written on bamboo strips dated to mid-to-late fourth century B.C., collected and published by the Shanghai Museum with the title *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhujian* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹簡 (nine volumes, 2001- 2012). In 1994, Ma Chengyuan 馬承

源 (1927-2004) the late head of the Shanghai museum purchased this corpus of manuscripts from the open market in Hongkong. Although the original archaeological context is unknown, by comparing to other excavated manuscripts in the region of the ancient state of Chu, we find great similarity in the format of the texts and writing style of the graphs. The resemblance to other well studied-Chu manuscripts from archaeological excavations from the Guodian 郭店 (Hubei, 1993), Baoshan 包山 (Hubei, 1987) and Wangshan 望山 (Hubei, 1965) sites of the late Warring States period leads us to believe that the Shanghai museum bamboo strips were presumably produced some time around 350-300 B.C. in the Chu region.

The Shanghai museum collection of strips consists of about a hundred distinct texts, most of which are of literary and philosophical content. Among them there are manuscripts matching the transmitted *Zhouyi* 周易, the “Ziyi” 緇衣 chapter in the *Liji* and some odes in the *Shijing* 詩經; there are also short anecdotes and treatises on various topics comparable to and familiar with transmitted early classical texts in style and content. The three manuscripts pertaining to the received YZCQ are all anecdotes. Their variation with the received YZCQ is of a different nature from that between the Yinqueshan Western Han manuscripts and the YZCQ. They only match YZCQ in self-contained passages or in motif or plot, reflecting instead an otherwise unknown early stage of Yanzi lore before it had become fixed in transmitted texts such as the YZCQ. “Jing Gong nüe” records the same event found in YZCQ 1.12 and 7.7, but the plot, main characters and wording are all different among the three accounts. “Lu bang da han” describes a discussion between Confucius and his lord and Confucius with his disciple. Only part of the conversation is comparable to that between Yanzi and Lord Jing in YZCQ 1.15. “Zhao wang hui shi” shares only the same literary motif with YZCQ 2.20, 7.11 and *Liji* 3.3. Each of these manuscripts and their relation with the YZCQ will be analyzed in detail.

1.3 Method and Conventions

The goal of this study is to evaluate the relation between the YQS Yanzi manuscripts and the three Shanghai museum manuscripts with their matching passages in the received literature and based on this textual study to delineate the formation and circulation of early Yanzi lore.

A preliminary comparison between the YQS manuscripts and the matching YZCQ passages suggests that they are very similar texts and they might have derived from a common origin. In chapter two, eight relatively complete YQS manuscripts accounts are subjected to a thorough line-by-line comparison with their corresponding accounts in the received YZCQ and other early texts. The goal is to investigate how textual variants have arisen, and then based on this, to explore which passage is likely to be closer to the shared common source that the YQS and YZCQ anecdotes have derived from. As Boltz and Paul Fischer have argued, the formation and transmission of early Chinese texts are highly “composite” or “polymorphous,” which is largely in contrast with text production in the west, where texts can often be traced to a single author, a single origin. Chinese texts are typically edited from diverse sources, by different scholars (see detailed discussion in chapter four). Matching passages from different texts could differ in length, chapter order and wording. Because of the uncertainty in authorship, often associated with the unknown external context within which a given text is edited and used, many manuscripts should not simply be viewed as an otherwise unknown “version” of a given received text. Take the YQS Yanzi manuscripts for example; it matches only a small portion of the received YZCQ (eighteen out of two hundred and fifteen episodes); these matching accounts are scattered in different chapters in the YZCQ and follow no apparent order. Therefore the YQS manuscripts cannot properly be called “a version” of YZCQ. Rather, they are more likely collections of passages assembled from a common repertoire and edited differently. YQS

manuscripts and YZCQ reflect exactly the composite nature of early Chinese texts. The methodology used in western textual criticism, a strict stemmatic codification and reconstruction of an Ur-text and the practice of correcting a textual error, is therefore not always suitable to be applied to Chinese texts. My goal in this analysis is, by exploring how variants have arisen adhering to the basic principles of textual criticism, to determine to the extent the relation between YQS and YZCQ, rather than to correct errors and restore the Ur-text.

The relation between the matching accounts is expected to follow one of three patterns: (1) The YQS episode is closer to the shared common source of YQS and YZCQ, and thus YZCQ is derived from YQS; (2) YQS is derived from YZCQ; (3) YQS and YZCQ are derived from the same source but have developed independently. All variants between YQS manuscripts and YZCQ will be subjected to discussion, and the determination of relation between parallel passages is based on the nature of the variants in each anecdote.

There are in general four types of variations: graphic variation, lexical variation, vacant variation and transpositional variation. Graphic variation means the same word is written with different characters in the matching place in two or more versions of a text. Since the underlying word signified by different characters in different texts is the same, there is no need to decide the original. They are ultimately the same text. This kind of variation is very common in early texts, in which the one to one correspondence between a graph and a word that exists in a well-developed writing system is not fully established yet, and the same word could be written with different graphs. The other three types of variations are of a different nature. Lexical variation is variation between different words. Vacant variation occurs when some of the comparable texts have no words for the matching place while other versions have.

Transpositional variation involves different arrangement of one or more words in different versions.

Lexical variation is usually more revealing than the other three kinds of variation in determining the relation of matching texts, inasmuch as the motivation behind the change of words (meaning) is sometimes perceptible. When the variation is lexical, I will follow two basic principles in determining which text is closer to the source: (1) The principle of *lectio difficilior potior*: all other things being equal, when the matching words are different but they both make good sense in their contexts, the more difficult word is likely to be closer to the source; (2) The rule of plausibility: when a word in one text is plausible while its matching variant is not grammatically or semantically, the word does not make sense is likely a copyist's error, and the more plausible word is probably closer to the source. The second rule needs to be practiced with great caution so that variant readings will not be dismissed prematurely as being copying errors. When evidence is available to account for how a certain error has arisen, we can be more confident in applying the rule of plausibility. For instance, in variant 5.18 in section 2.3, in the context of YQS: 節於身而調於民 “(The worthy rulers in the past) were modest in regard to their personal affairs and were accommodating in regard to the people,” the matching YZCQ passage has 節於身謂於民. The word *wèi* < **was* ‘call’ 謂 does not make good sense, and 調於民 ‘(a ruler) reconciles with people’ or 調乎天 ‘reconciles with heaven’ are common phrases in early texts. It is possible that YQS: 調 is original and the graph 謂 in the received YZCQ is an error for 調 due to graphical similarity.

When more than two texts are compared, vacant variations can sometimes serve as conjunctive indicators in determining the lineage affiliation among different texts. For instance, in the study of YQS account sixteen (section 2.8), besides YZCQ, the *Shui yuan* 說苑, *Qun shu*

zhi yao 群書治要 and *Taiping yu lan* 太平御覽 also have matching passages. A sentence is shared by the YZCQ, *Shui yuan*, and *Taiping yu lan* but absent from both YQS and the *Qun shu zhi yao* (see table 2.8), 君好之則臣服之, 君嗜之則臣食之 “If a lord is fond of something his subjects will submit to it. If a lord finds something tasty his subjects will feed it to him.” The addition or omission of a sentence is probably not an emendation that different scribes were likely to make independently or some sort of error that scribes could easily remove by conjecture. Therefore this vacant variant between YQS, *Qun shu zhi yao* :: YZCQ, *Shui yuan*, and *Taiping yu lan* suggests that in this account YQS and *Qun shu zhi yao* probably have a closer relation to each other than to the other three texts and share an immediate common source.

When the reading in YQS manuscripts agrees with a given received text but differs from other received parallels, the reading in the manuscript can probably be identified as the original. As an excavated text from a tomb sealed no later than 118 B.C., the YQS manuscripts did not go through a process of transmission and editing and were therefore less vulnerable from “contaminations” of later emendations that a received text particularly will have received. This fact makes YQS a witness independent from all other received counterparts. When the YQS reading agrees with a received text that means that reading can be probably traced back to the common source that all extant versions have derived from and survived in both the Western Han manuscript and in one of the received versions. For instance, in 5.21 YQS: 作為 ‘create and build’ :: YZCQ: 為 ‘build’, there is no significant difference between YQS and R in meaning in this context, but the citation of this line from YZCQ in the commentary in the *Wenxuan* also says 作為. With the witness from the *Wenxuan*, YQS, *Wenxuan*: 作為 is likely the original and the word 作 is probably dropped in the received YZCQ.

The style of the language could also be a consideration in evaluating the relation of parallel accounts although it is not a primary parameter. Vacant and lexical variations sometimes suggest a difference in style in the matching passages. Style here typically refers to conformation to the structural norms of early classical Chinese such as parallelism. Usually the stylistically more polished texts are considered likelier to be secondary and the less polished are probably the original based on the assumption that a more refined style is a result of later editorial “improvement.” The consideration for difference in style is by no means a primary principle in determining the relations among parallel texts, but only serves as a complementary criterion to the other rules discussed above. For instance, in note 1.19, YQS: 過者死 ‘those who transgress will die’ :: YZCQ: 過之者誅 ‘those who exceed it will be denounced,’ YQS: 死 ‘die’ :: YZCQ: 誅 ‘denounce’ are lexical variation. By the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*, YQS: 死 is probably the original since 誅 ‘denounce’ would be easier to understand and expected in this context. The other variant in the same sentence YQS: null :: YZCQ: 之 ‘pronoun (referring to the limit of not toasting more than five around when drinking wine)’ is vacant variation. The pronoun 之 in YZCQ creates a four-word sentence 過之者誅, which is a fairly common structure in Classical Chinese and also fits the pattern of the sentences immediately before and after it 周觴五獻, 過之者誅, 君身服之... “After five offerings of toasts, anyone who exceeds it will be denounced. The ruler himself observed it...” In this case the vacant variant serves as a useful secondary evidence to the lexical variant of YQS: 死 :: YZCQ: 誅 in determining the relation between YQS and YZCQ.

In the discussion of the YQS manuscripts, each account includes four parts: transcription of the manuscript, discussion of textual variants with received parallels, edited transcription and

translation of the account, and discussion of the passage as a whole. In the final evaluation of each account the findings in the discussion of all the textual variants will be synthesized to determine the relation of parallel anecdotes.

In chapter three, the study of the three Warring States manuscripts of the Shanghai museum collection, the principles discussed above will all apply in the discussion of matching texts. Before examining the manuscripts in relation to their received counterparts, a strip-by-strip transcription and annotated translation will be provided.

Conventions

1. Transcription

The graphs in the YQS manuscripts and Shanghai museum manuscripts are both written in a style different from the standardized *kai shu* 楷書 form. The YQS manuscripts are written in a script close to the *li shu* 隸書 (clerical style) form and Shanghai museum manuscripts are written with a script typical of the ancient Chu region. The first step in reading early manuscripts is to transcribe the graphs into *kai shu* without altering graphic structure. When the writing on the photographs is legible, I will transcribe the graphs as they are written instead of writing them the way the graphs are conventionally written in the later *kai shu* form. Although in most cases there might be no disagreement on the word intended, methodologically, a narrow transcription would reflect the manuscripts as they are more precisely and objectively than simply providing the conventional *kai shu* form of a given graph.

The photographs and facsimiles of most of the YQS strips are not clear enough for scholars to rely on to produce their own transcription. When the editors have a transcription but the graph is too illegible on the photograph for me to supply a transcription, I will follow the editors'

transcription and at the same time mark these characters with dots under them in the transcription. When a character is illegible but the editor's transcription looks suspicious, I will also make a note of any discrepancy I notice between their transcriptions and the photographs and facsimiles of the strips.

In chapter two superscript numbers and letters indicate the beginning of a strip or a broken piece as part of one strip. In chapter three since the manuscripts are discussed strip-by-strip, the superscript numbers in the transcription of each strip mark where I have a note for a certain graph on that strip. A square box □ stands for one missing character or one fragmentary character that is beyond legibility. When the number of the missing or incomplete graphs is unknown, an ellipsis (...) is used. When the manuscript is fragmentary, but both context and the matching YZCQ texts provide good evidence on what the missing words might be, I will supply the missing words, putting them inside □. The basis of why a word is supplied in the manuscript is provided in the discussion of textual variants.

2. Discussion of textual variants

In the discussion of parallel passages all variants are highlighted in bold font and labeled with numbers above the text in chapter two. This number corresponds to the note number in the discussion of each line. A single colon (:) is used between the letter identifying the text and the variant found in that text, and a double colon (::) is used between variants in different texts. For example, 1.4 YQS: 后 [hòu < *gôʔ 'sovereign'] :: YZCQ: 後 hòu < *hôʔ 'to be late' means YQS has 后 and YZCQ has 後 at the matching position. The pinyin, Old Chinese reconstruction and the meaning of the word follow each character under discussion. Axel Schuessler's (2009) reconstruction of Old Chinese is used in the discussion of words. If a character does not stand for the word it is conventionally associated with in its given context, I will put the word in

square brackets after the character in my formula. In the same example, the graph 后 usually stands for the word *hòu* < *gôʔ ‘sovereign’, but in this context it stands for *hòu* < *hòʔ ‘to be late’ (後).

Chapter Two: The Yinqueshan Yanzi Manuscripts (Third Century A.D.)

2.1 Yinqueshan Account One (strips 528-531)

Account one matches YZCQ 1.3 (*Jishi*, 9), in which Yanzi presented the harms of indulgence in drinking wine. YQS and R are fairly close in this account. In this chapter by “the editors” I am referring to the editorial team who published the annotated transcription of the Yanzi manuscripts in the *Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian yi* 銀雀山漢墓竹簡壹 in 1985.

Transcription

⁵²⁸ ● ^a景公飲酒□^b三日而后發晏子見曰君病酒乎公曰然^c□三日而后發晏子合曰古之飲酒也足以道

^{529 a} □合好而已矣故男不羣樂以^b□事女不羣樂...^c觴五獻過者死君身服之古上

^{530 a} 无怨治下...^b今一日飲酒而三日寤之國治怨^c乎外左右亂乎內以刑罰自妨者勸乎為非以賞譽

⁵³¹ 自勸者隋乎為善上離德...

Discussion of textual variants

1 2 3 4

5

YQS: 景公飲酒□ 三日而后發 晏子見曰君病酒乎 公曰然 □三日而后發

R: 景公飲酒醒 三日而後發 晏子見曰君病酒乎 公曰然

1.1 YQS: 飲 :: R: 飲 *yǐn* < *ʔəmʔ ‘drink’. Graphic variation.

The graph 飲 is registered in the *Shuowen* (180b). The component 今 *jīn* < *kəm is probably the phonetic for *yǐn* < *ʔəmʔ ‘drink.’ The component 酉 [*yǒu* < *juʔ ‘the tenth Earthly Branches’] can both stand for the word *jiǔ* < *tsiu* ‘wine’ and serve as the phonetic of 酒, the

later conventional way of writing the word. This variant between YQS and R is consistent throughout the whole account and will not be addressed in the following discussion.

1.2 YQS: □ :: R: 醒 *chéng* < **dreŋ* ‘become sick for over drinking’.

Strip 528 breaks here. The matching word in YQS is unknown.

1.3 YQS: 三 :: R: 三 ‘three’. The strip is broken here and the graph is incomplete. Only one horizontal stroke is legible. The reason we are fairly confident that the graph in YQS is incomplete and the character intended was 三 instead of 一 is that the same line is repeated in Lord Jing’s response to Yanzi’s question, with the word ‘three days’ 三日 in it. Moreover, the matching position in R also has 三.

1.4 YQS: 后 [*hòu* < **gô?* ‘sovereign’] :: R: 後 *hòu* < **hô?* ‘to be late.’ Graphic variation.

1.5 YQS: □三日而后發 “...I rose after lying in bed for three days.” :: R: null.

Vacant variation. This same piece of information with exactly the same wording has just appeared at the very beginning of this paragraph. It is a bit repetitive to have the same line here again. It is possible that the common source text from which both YQS and R have taken their respective version, and when it was edited into R, this line is removed because of redundancy.

6	7	8
YQS: 晏子合曰古之飲酒也 足以道□合好而已矣 故男不羣樂以妨事女不羣樂...		
R: 晏子 曰古之飲酒也 足以通氣合好而已矣 故男不羣樂以妨事女不羣樂以妨功		

1.6 YQS: 合 [*hé* < **gâp* ‘close’] for *dá* < **tâp* ‘respond’ (答) :: R: null. Vacant variation.

The character 合 stands for the word *dá* < **tâp* ‘respond’ which is conventionally written as 答. Also see discussion of YQS: 合(答) :: R: 對 variation in note 4.21.

1.7 YQS: 道 *dǎo* < **lüh* ‘guide’ (導) :: R: 通 *tōng* < **lhōŋ* ‘circulate’.

Lexical variant. The graph after YQS: 道 is missing. The matching word in R is 氣 *qì* < **khə̌s* ‘the vapors (in human body).’

1.8 R: 故男不羣樂以妨事女不羣樂以妨功 “Therefore males would not feast in assemblage to impede the serious business and the females would not feast in assemblage to impede their work.” The graph after 以 and the last part of this line in YQS are missing. The word missing after 以 is supplemented based on the matching word in R: 妨 *fáng* < **phaŋ* ‘impede.’ As for the last part of this sentence, the editors note that the graph after 羣樂 is incomplete with its right component being 方 and they suggest this graph is probably 妨.

9 10 11

YQS: ... 觴五獻 過 者死 君身服之 故上无怨治下...

R: 男女群樂者周觴五獻 過之者誅 君身服之 故外無怨治內無亂行

1.9 YQS: null :: R: 之. The pronoun *zhī* 之 refers to R: 男女群樂者周觴五獻 “When men and women feast in assemblage, one can have all around five offerings of the toast.” Without *zhī* the meaning will still be clear, *zhī* in R makes the line 過之者誅 “Anyone who exceeds it will be reproached” a four-word sentence, which is a fairly common structure and fits the pattern of the sentences immediately before and after it. Stylistically, with *zhī* R is more polished than YQS.

1.10 YQS: 死 *sǐ* < **si?* ‘die’ :: R: 誅 *zhū* < **tro* ‘denounce; put to death.’ Lexical variant.

The meaning of YQS: 死 is unambiguous. R: 誅 could be a synonym of 死, meaning ‘execute,’ or could mean ‘denounce, reproach.’ As the consequence of drinking over five toasts, to be put to death may seem too harsh and many scholars decide that ‘denounce’ is the sense here in

R. Pian Yuqian (2000, 37) even interprets the line in YQS means “when it exceeds five rounds of the toasts, people will receive punishment” regardless the fact that the word in YQS is clearly ‘put to death’ 死. Pian did not take the graph in YQS at fact value. This could be the same mistake a copyist would have made. Changing YQS: 死 to R: 誅 makes the meaning less harsh and therefore the sentence makes better sense.

By the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*, YQS is probably closer to their common source and R could be a later “improvement.”

1.11 YQS: 故上无怨治下... “Therefore at the court there will be no resentful governing, among the lower class...” :: R: 故外無怨治內無亂行 “Therefore there will be no resentful governing outside the court and no chaotic behaviors in the court.

YQS: 上...下... ‘above...under...’ :: R: 外...內... ‘outside...inside...’ is lexical variation.

This same R: outside/inside 外/內 parallel structure reappears in both YQS and R with slightly different wording in the following line. The repetition of the same parallel in R suggests that R is more consistent in style than YQS. This variant suggests that R is a probably a later emendation due to the fact that consistency can sometimes be attributed to the work of later editors who often attempt to make the style uniform.

YQS: 无 :: R: 無 *wú* < **ma* ‘to lack.’ Graphic variation.

12 13

YQS: 今一日飲酒 三日寤之 國治怨乎外 左右亂乎內

R: 今一日飲酒而三日寢之 國治怨乎外 左右亂乎內

R: Now my lord once drank and then slept for three days. Outside there is resentment in our governing practice, inside the people who are immediately around my lord became chaotic.

1.12 YQS: null :: R: 而 *ér* < **nə* connective. Vacant variant.

1.13 YQS: 寤 :: R: 寢 *qǐn* < **tshəm?* ‘sleep’. Graphic variant.

14

15

16


YQS: 以刑罰自妨者勸乎為非 以賞譽自勸者隋乎為善 上離德...

R: 以刑罰自防者勸乎為非 以賞譽自勸者惰乎為善 上離德行民輕賞罰失所以為國矣願君節之也

1.14 YQS: 妨 [*fáng* < **phaŋ* ‘impede’] :: R: 防 *fáng* < **baŋ* ‘guard against’.

Graphic variation. YQS: 妨 *fáng* < **phaŋ* ‘impede’ and R: 防 *fáng* < **baŋ* ‘guard against; dam’ are both phonologically and semantically related. The word intended is decided based on the context, R: 以刑罰自防者勸乎為非 “Those who use punishment and penalty for self-abstaining become industrious in committing wrong doings.”

1.15 YQS: 墮 [*duò* < **lôi?* ‘fall’] :: R: 惰 *duò* < **lôi?* ‘indolent’. Graphic variation.

The editors transcribe  (from the facsimile) as 隋, leaving the component 土 out.

The graph 隋 is an alternative character for the word 墮 *duò* < **lôi?* ‘fall.’ In this context R: ‘indolent’ *duò* < **lôi?* 惰 is the word intended. Also, *duò* < **lôi?* 惰 contrasts the word *quan* 勸 ‘industrious’ in the previous parallel line.

1.16 YQS: 上離德... “The ruler departs from appropriate practice...” :: R: 上離德行民輕賞罰失所以為國矣願君節之也 “The ruler departs from appropriate practice. The people despise rewards and punishments. The ruler will have lost the basis that constitutes an ordered state. I wish my lord be moderate in drinking.” YQS is incomplete.

Edited transcription and translation

景公飲酒□三日而后發，晏子見曰君病酒乎？公曰然，□三日而后發。晏子答曰，古之飲酒也，足以道□合好而已矣。故男不羣樂以妨事，女不羣樂...觴五獻，過者死。君身服之，古上无怨治，下...今一日飲酒而三日寤之。國治怨乎外，左右亂乎內。以刑罰自妨者勸乎為非，以賞譽自勸者隋乎為善。上離德...

Commonlord Jing drank wine... after three days he got up. Yanzi saw him and said: “Did my lord become sick from over-drinking?” The Commonlord said: “It is true...I rise after...three days.” Yanzi responded: “When people enjoyed wine in antiquity, they would have stopped when it was sufficient to guide...and to harmonize the group with pleasure. Therefore males would not feast in assemblage to [impede] the serious business and females would not feast in assemblage...five offerings of toasts. Anyone who exceeds it will be put to death. The ruler himself observed it. Therefore at the court there was no resentful governing, among the people...Now my lord once drank and then slept for three days because of drunkenness. Outside there is resentment in our governing practice, inside the people who are immediately around my lord fall into disarray. Those who use punishment and penalty for self-abstaining become industrious in committing wrong doings. Those who use reward and reputation for self-motivation become indolent in doing good things. The ruler departs from appropriate practice...”

Discussion

Among all the eleven variants discussed in this account, six of them are graphic variants (1.1, 1.4, 1.11, 1.13, 1.14, 1.15). Four cases provide useful references in determining the relation between YQS and R. They are arranged in the order of their significance from high to low.

Table 2.1 Significant variants in YQS Account One

Variants	Comment
1:10 YQS: 死 ‘put to death’ :: R: 誅 ‘denounce; execute’	R is easier to make sense. (the principle of <i>lectio difficilior potior</i>)
1.5 YQS: □三日而后發 “...I rose after lying in bed for three days” :: R: null	YQS is redundant in the context. This line could have been removed in order to improve the style of the text.
1.9 YQS: null :: R: 之	The word <i>zhī</i> in R creates a four-word sentence (過 之者誅 “Anyone who exceeds it will be punished”) and is stylishly more polished.
1:11 YQS: 上...下... ‘above...under...’ :: R: 外...內... ‘outside...inside...’	The same parallel structure of 外...內... reappears in the next section in both YQS and R. R is therefore more consistent. It is possible that the copyist had changed the following section based on this line to make the two parts resonate better.

The only variant that can provide conclusive evidence in determining the relation between YQS and R is 1:10. The other three cases, 1.5, 1.9 and 1.11, are variants in style. They could be suggestive but are definitely of secondary importance compared with the lexical variant at 1:10. In this account all these three variants suggest that R is more polished than YQS in style, and therefore might be a later version. This agrees with the hypothesis drawn from 1:10 that YQS is probably closer to the common source from which both YQS and R have derived.

2.2 Yinqueshan Account Four (strips 542-551)

In account four Lord Jing dreamed of two angry male figures when his troops passed Mt. Tai on their way to attack the State of Song. Yanzi attempted to persuade his lord that those two figures were the deceased ancestors of the rulers of Song and he interpreted the dream as an inauspicious omen of engaging in a fight with Song. Their troops were defeated as Yanzi anticipated. Lord Jing eventually gave up his military campaign. This account matches YZCQ 1.22 (*Jishi*, 79).

Transcription and Translation

- 542^a 景公將伐宋師過大山公吾薨有二丈夫立而怒^b...狀志其聲公恐學痛礪辟
- 543^a 門召占薨者曰今昔吾薨二丈夫立而怒其怒甚盛^b吾猶□其狀志其^c聲占薨者曰師過大山
- 544 不用事故大山之神怒趣...
- 545^a 者之言曰師^b過大山而不用^c事故大山之神怒今吾欲使人誅^d祝史晏子付有閒印而合曰
占薨者
- 546^a 弗識也是^b非大山之神也是宋之先也湯與伊尹也公疑^c猶以為大山^d晏子曰公疑之則嬰
請門湯
- 547^a ...逢下居身而陽聲公曰^b□□□伊尹黑以短□□以逢^c上而兌□
- 548 ...而下聲公...
- 549^a 唯宋耳而公伐之故湯伊尹怒請散師和乎^b...子曰公伐無罪之國以怒明神不易行
- 550^a □□□進師以戰禍非嬰之所智也^b師若果進軍必有戕軍進再舍將壹軍鼓毀公恐辭
- 551 □□□□□不果伐宋

Discussion of textual variants

	1	2	3	4	5
YQS:	景公	將伐宋	師過大山	公吾薨有	二丈夫立而怒 ...狀志其聲
R:	景公	舉兵	將伐宋	師過泰山	公 瞥見二丈夫立而怒 其怒甚盛

4.1 YQS: null :: R: 舉兵 ‘muster troops’. Vacant variation.

4.2 YQS: 大 [dà < *dâs ‘big’] :: R: 泰 tàì < *thâs, name of a mountain. Graphic variation. This variant is consistent between YQS and R throughout this account and will not be noted again in this passage.

4.3 YQS: 吾薨 :: R: 瞢

YQS: 薨 :: R: 瞢 is a graphic variation. YQS: 薨 hōng < *hmâη ‘(a lord) pass away’ does not make sense in this context, and the word intended is probably mèng < *mâη ‘dream,’ conventionally written as 夢. The matching graph in R, 瞢 [méng < *mâη ‘eyesight obscured’], most likely also stands for mèng < *mâη ‘to dream’ (夢), as Sun Xingyan suggested. (*Jishi*, 80) In the following lines in both YQS and R, we are told that the lord “woke up” and summoned the “dream diviner.” The word mèng < *mâη ‘to dream’ 夢 fits in the context very well and is phonologically and graphically similar to YQS: 薨 and R: 瞢.

As for YQS: 吾薨, there are two possible interpretations. Both the editors and Pian Yuqian suggest that the graph 吾 wú < *ŋâ ‘first person pronoun’ in YQS is an erroneous addition. Their basis is that the same phrase wú mèng 吾薨 “I dreamed...” appears again later in both YQS and R, so the graph 吾 is accidentally added here because of that later occurrence of the same phrase. (*Jishi*, 90) The second possibility is to read 吾 as wù < *ŋâh ‘become awake suddenly’ (寤). Tan Buyun 譚步雲 (2002, 436) and Li Tianhong 李天虹 (2009, 39) read 吾薨 as wù mèng 寤夢. Li points out that six types of unusual dreams are listed in the section on “divination on dreams” (占夢) in the *Zhouli* 周禮 and wù mèng 寤夢 is one of them. Zheng Xuan’s commentary on 寤夢 is “a dream related to what one talks about when awake” 覺時道之而夢. (*SSJ*, 807) Yu Yue (*Qun jing ping yi*, 13.10b-11a) interprets 寤夢 as “be in a trance

and have a dream” (寤夢者, 寤而夢也, 謂不寐而夢也). Li Tianhong suggests that Yu Yue’s interpretation is better. The context in YQS is that the lord encountered angry spirits in his dream and became alarmed. The meaning “be in a trance and have a dream” makes good sense. We cannot simply dismiss 吾 in YQS as a copyist’s error. I therefore follow Li Tianhong’s argument and interpret 吾寤 as 寤夢 “be in a trance and have a dream.”

4.4 YQS: 有 *yǒu* < **wə?* ‘there is’ :: R: 見 *jian* < **kêns* ‘see’. Lexical variation.

4.5 YQS: ...狀志其聲 “...appearance. Remember their voices” :: R: 其怒甚盛 “Their irritation is beyond measure.” Lexical variation. The strip is broken and incomplete.

6	7	8
YQS: 公恐	學痛碩	辟門召占
R: 公恐	覺	辟門召占
		薨者
		薈者

4.6 YQS: 學 [*xué* < **grûk* ‘study’] :: R: 覺 *jué* < **krûk* ‘wake up’. Graphic variation.

4.7 YQS: 痛碩 ‘be in pain and fall down’:: R: null. Vacant variation.

YQS provides more details than R. YQS: 碩 *yǎn* < **wrən?* ‘fall’ usually refers to meteorites falling from the sky, and is not a common word with the general meaning “to fall” in early texts.

4.8 YQS: 薨 :: R: 薈. Graphic variation. See 4.3. This variant is consistent between YQS and R throughout this account, and will not be noted again when appearing in the following lines.

9	10	11	12	13
YQS: 曰	今昔	吾薨	二丈夫立而怒	其怒甚盛
R: 至	公曰	今夕	吾薈	二丈夫立而怒
		不知其所言	其怒甚盛	吾猶
				識其狀
				志其聲
				識其聲

4.9 YQS: null :: R: 至, 公 “(The dream diviner) arrived. The lord...” Vacant variation.

4.10 YQS: 昔 *xī* < **sak* ‘night; in the past’ :: R: 夕 *xī* < **s-jak* ‘night’. Graphic variation.

4.11 YQS: null :: R: 不知其所言 “(I) do not understand what they said.” Vacant variation.

4.12 The graph before 其狀 ‘their appearance’ is incomplete. The remaining right part of the

missing graph seems to be 者. The editors suggest the graph could be 睹 *dǔ* < **tâ?* ‘see.’

Since the graph on the photo is not legible at all and both the matching word in R and the

following parallel line YQS suggest different words, I will not follow the editors’ suggestion.

4.13 YQS: 志 *zhì* < **təh* ‘register, record’ :: R: 識 *zhì* < **təkh* ‘remember; know’. Lexical

variation. This same textual variant also appears in the matching lines in the Mawangdui

Laozi and the transmitted *Laozi*. The modern editors of the Mawangdui manuscripts take it as

a case of graphic variation, and identify the intended word as ‘know.’ Boltz (1997, 271-272)

has a different proposal. He argues that although the common meaning associated with 識 is

‘know,’ 識 also has the sense of ‘record, call attention to,’ which becomes obsolete in the later

standard writing system. Boltz suggests that the variation is lexical, not graphic, and that by

the principle of *lectio difficilior potior* the original text may intend the word *zhì* ‘register,

highlight’ and the variant in the received texts may have arisen when that original word was

written in what later became the non-standard way with 識. To understand 識 as ‘know’ is

actually a later misconception. Boltz also points out that nowhere else in the Mawangdui

manuscripts is the word *shí* ‘know’ written with the graph 志. In YQS manuscripts, *shí* ‘know’

is not written with 志 either. For instance, in line 546, YQS: 占薨者弗識也 “The dream

diviner did not recognize them,” where the intended word is undoubtedly ‘know, recognize,’

it is written with 識 not 志.

14

YQS: 占薨者曰師過大山 不用事 故大山之神怒

R: 占薨者曰師過泰山而不用事 故泰山之神怒也

15

4.14 YQS: null :: R: 而 connective. Vacant variation. R with *ér* 而 between 師過泰山 and 不用事 makes the former subordinate to the latter (“When our troop passed Mt. Tai my lord did not make sacrifice”), whereas in YQS these two are coordinate (“Our troop passed Mt. Tai and my lord did not make sacrifice”).

4.15 YQS: null :: R: 也 *yě* ‘aspect marker’. Vacant variation.

YQS: 趣...

R: 請趣召祝史祠乎泰山則可 公曰 諾明日晏子朝見公告之如占蓍之言也

The lower part of strip 544 (after 趣 *qù* ‘hasten to’) is missing. The matching received text says, “‘Please quickly summon the invocator and scribe to make sacrifice to Mt. Tai and it will be fine.’ The Commonlord said, ‘Granted.’ Yanzi paid a visit to the court the next day. The Commonlord told him what the dream diviner said.”

		16	17	18
YQS: ...	占	夢	者之言曰師過大山而不用事 故大山之神怒	今吾欲使人誅祝史
R: 公曰占夢者之言曰師過泰山而不用事 故泰山之神怒也	今	使人召祝史祠之		

4.16 YQS: null :: R: 也 aspect marker. Vacant variation.

4.17 YQS: 吾欲 ‘I want to...’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

4.18 YQS: 誅祝史 ‘execute the invocator and scribe’ :: R: 召祝史祠之 ‘summon the invocator and scribe to make sacrifice to Mt. Tai’.

YQS: 誅 *zhū* < **tro* ‘punish; kill’ :: R: 召 *zhāo* < **drauh* ‘summon’. Lexical variation.

In YQS the lord expressed the intention to punish the invocator and scribe, but in R he wanted to make up for the situation to summon them to ‘make sacrifice to Mt. Tai.’ R is consistent with the previous line, R: “Please quickly summon the invocator and scribe to make sacrifice to Mt. Tai and it will be fine.” Unfortunately its matching part in YQS is missing and we do

not know the suggestions the diviner offered to the lord in YQS. The line under discussion in YQS, “Punish (or execute) the invocator and scribe,” is a much more aggressive way to handle this matter than the received counterpart. R seems to make better sense and therefore easier to understand. By the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*, YQS is probably closer to their common source.

19 20 21 22

YQS: 晏子付有間 印而合曰 占薨者弗識也

R: 晏子俯有間 對曰 占薨者不識也

4.19 YQS: 付 [fù < *poh ‘give’] :: R: 俯 fǔ < *poʔ ‘bend down’. Graphic variation.

4.20 YQS: 印而 ‘(He) raised his head and...’ :: R: null.

4.21 YQS: 合 dá < *tâp (答) ‘answer’ :: R: 對 duì < *tûts ‘respond’. Lexical variation.

In the YQS manuscripts the word dá < *tâp ‘answer’ (答) is always written with 合 [hé < *gâp ‘close’]. Also seen in 1.6.

YQS: 合 and R: 對 are lexical variation between synonyms. Gao Heng (1989, 546) identifies 答 and 對 as a *tongjia* pair. Chen Wei (2003) points out that in early texts 答曰 is rare, but 對曰 is very common. He provides the example of the exclusive use of 孔子對曰 “Confucius responded” (no occurrence of 孔子答曰) in the *Liji* and *Lunyu* and suggests that in manuscripts when 合 is used in the context of “respond by saying” (合曰), the intended word could be 對 not 答.

The words 合(答) and 對 are etymologically related and phonologically compatible. But to use the idiomatic usage in received texts to propose not taking the graph in manuscripts at face value is methodologically flawed. By identifying 對 as the intended word and dismissing 答

we could easily oversimplify possibilities such as dialectal differences reflected in different textual traditions.

4.22 YQS: 弗 *fú* ‘negative particle fusion of 不 and 之’ :: R: 不 *bù* ‘negative’. Lexical variation.

The use of 不 in R could be a later change in order to observe taboo and avoid writing 弗, which is part of Emperor Zhao’s name, 劉弗陵 (r. 86-74). (Pullyblank 1995, 105-106) If this is the case, YQS is closer to their common source.

23	24	25	26	27
YQS: 是非大山之神也	是宋之先也	湯與伊尹也	公疑	猶以為大山
R: 此非泰山之神	是宋之先	湯與伊尹也	公疑	以為泰山神

4.23 YQS: 是 *shì* < **deʔ* ‘this’ :: R: 此 *cǐ* < **tsheʔ* ‘this’. Lexical variation between synonyms.

4.24 YQS: 也 appositional sentence marker :: R: null. Vacant variation.

4.25 YQS: 也 appositional sentence marker :: R: null. Vacant variation.

4.26 YQS: 猶 *yóu* < **wə* ‘still’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

4.27 YQS: 大山 ‘Mt. Tai’ :: R: 泰山神 ‘the God of Mt. Tai’. Lexical variation.

There is a mark 丱 after 大山. Its significance remains unclear. It could be a symbol marking the proper noun Mt. Tai, but this is the only occasion it appears after the phrase 大山 in this manuscript.

28	29	30	31	32
YQS: 晏子曰公疑之則嬰請門湯	...	逢下	居身而	陽聲
R: 晏子曰公疑之則嬰請言湯伊尹之狀也	湯質皙而長	顏以髯	兌上豐下	倨身而揚聲

4.28 YQS: 門 [*mén* < **mân* ‘door’] stands for *wèn* < **məns* ‘ask’ (問).

YQS: 門 ‘ask’ :: R: 言 *yán* < **ɣan* ‘speak’. Lexical variation.

4.29 The top part of strip 547 is missing. The matching part in R: 請言湯伊尹之狀也 湯質皙而長 顏以髯 兌上豐下 “Please allow me to discuss Tang and Yiyin’s appearances. Tang has white skin and he is tall. He has beards on his face.¹⁰ His upper body is thin and his lower body is robust.”

4.30 YQS: 逢 [féng < *boŋ ‘encounter’] :: R: 豐 fēng < *phuŋ ‘abundant, robust’. Graphic variation.

4.31 YQS: 居 [jū < *ka ‘dwell’] :: R: 倨 jù < *kah ‘arrogant; overbearing’. Graphic variation.

4.32 YQS: 陽 [yáng < *laŋ ‘bright’] :: R: 揚 yáng < *laŋ ‘raise’. Graphic variation.

33 34 35 36

YQS: 公曰... 伊尹黑以短 □□以逢=上而兌... 而下聲

R: 公曰然是已 伊尹黑而短 蓬而髯豐上 兌下儻身而下聲

4.33 YQS: ... :: R: 然是已 “Right. It was like this.” The strip is broken here.

4.34 YQS: 以 yǐ < *lǝʔ :: R: 而 ěr < *nǝ. Lexical variation between synonyms.

The same variant is also observed in the next matching line.

4.35 YQS: □□以逢=上而兌... “...and (Yiyin’s) hair is disheveled. His upper body is robust and...thin.” The matching text in R says: 蓬而髯豐上兌下 “(Yiyin’s) hair is disheveled and he has whiskers. His upper body is robust and his lower body is thin.” Lexical variation.

In YQS, under the graph 逢 there is a repetition marker, which means the same character should be repeated once and text is 逢逢. As discussed in 4.30, 逢 in the previous line stands for fēng < *phuŋ ‘abundant, robust’ (豐), as suggested by the matching part in R and context.

In this line the second 逢 is also matching 豐 in R in a similar context, describing the body

¹⁰ The text in YZCQ, *yan yi ran* 顏以髯, might have corrupted. Yu Chang 于鬯 (*Jishi*, 81) suggests that the original text was probably 湯長頭而髯 “Tang has long head and long beards.”

feature of Yiyin. As for the first 逢, the word intended is probably 蓬 péng < *bôŋ ‘(hair) disheveled,’ describing the hair of Yiyin, as the context and matching word in R suggest.

4.36 YQS: ...而下聲 “...have a low voice” :: R: 僂身而下聲“(Yiyin) is humpbacked and has a low voice.’ The appearances of Tang and Yiyin are depicted in contrastive terms. The word *lóu* < *rô ‘humpback’ 僂 here is the opposite to *jù* < *kah 倨 ‘overbearing’ in the previous line.

37

YQS: 公

唯宋耳

R: 公曰然是已 今若何 晏子曰夫湯 太甲 武丁祖乙天下之盛君也 不宜無後 今惟宋耳

4.37 YQS: 唯 wéi < *wi ‘only’; to respond’ :: R: 惟 wéi < *wi ‘only’. Graphic variation.

The manuscript is incomplete. R: “The lord said: ‘Right. It was like this. Now what should we do about it?’ Yanzi said: ‘Tang, Taijia, Wuding and Zuyi were all prominent lords of the world. It would be unsuitable if they do not have descendants. Now only Song people are their descendants...’”

38

YQS: 而公伐之 故湯伊尹怒 請散師和乎...

R: 而公伐之 故湯伊尹怒 請散師以平宋 景公不用 終伐宋

Lun heng: 請散師和于宋 公不用 終伐宋

This passage of Lord Jing dreamed of Tang and Yiyin while planning to attack Song is also included in the “Si wei pian” 死偽篇 of the *Lun heng* 論衡 (*Sibu congkan* edition, 21.9a). The only significant lexical variant between the passage in *Lun heng* and the received YZCQ is in this line: R: 請散師以平宋 “May I ask my lord to dismiss the army to pacify Song?” :: *Lun heng*: 請散師和于宋 “May I ask my lord to dismiss the army and become reconciled with Song?”

4.38 YQS: 和乎... ‘become reconciled with [Song]’ :: R: 以平宋 ‘to pacify Song’ :: *Lun heng*: 和于宋 ‘become reconciled with Song’. Lexical variation.

The graph missing after *hu* 乎 in YQS is probably Song 宋, as suggested by the context and by the matching words in R and *Lun heng*. YQS: 乎 *hū* < **hâ* and *Lun heng*: 于 *yú* < **wa* ‘in relation to’ are lexical variation. The modern Chinese pronunciation of 乎 *hū* < **hâ* is an irregular evolvement from OC since voiced initials such as **h* in most cases gives rise to a second tone in modern Chinese. The alteration between 乎 and 于 is exceedingly common in received texts.

YQS, *Lun heng*: 和 *hé* < **wâi* ‘reconcile’ and R: 平 *píng* < **brenj* ‘pacify’ are lexical variation.

The YQS accounts are a line of transmission independent from the received literature on Yanzi.

When YQS matches one of the received texts, in this case, YQS and the *Lun heng*, it is plausible to argue that the shared word by YSQ and *Lun heng* (和) is more likely to be the original while the word in R (平) is secondary.

R: 請散師以平宋景公不用終伐宋 “May I ask my lord to dismiss the army to pacify Song?”

Lord Jing did not take his suggestion and eventually stroke Song.”

39

40

YQS: 晏子曰公伐無罪之國以怒明神不易行□□□進師以戰禍非嬰之所智也

R: 晏子曰 伐無罪之國 以怒明神 不易行以續蓄 進師以近過非嬰 所知也


4.39 YQS: 公 ‘Commonlord’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

R: 晏子曰伐無罪之國以怒明神, 不易行以續蓄 “Yanzi said, ‘Striking a state that committed no crime to irritate the perceptive gods, not rectifying our actions in order to continue and nurture the relation with Song...’”




4.40 YQS: 進師以戰, 禍非嬰之所智也 “...advance troops to fight. The disastrous consequence is not something I can even fathom” :: R: 進師以近過, 非嬰所知也 “Advance troops to approach disasters is not something I know of.”

The phrase 近過, in R: 進師以近過, is quite puzzling. Tao Hongqing 陶鴻慶 (*Jishi*, 83) proposes that 過 [*guò* < **kôih* ‘transgression’] stands for *huò* < **gôih?* ‘calamity’ (禍). This hypothesis is supported by the matching word in the manuscript. If *huò* 禍 is the word intended in both YQS and R, they function differently though. In the manuscript it is the topic of the sentence 禍非嬰之所智也 “The disastrous consequence is not something I can even fathom;” while in R, 進師以近過, 非嬰所知也 “Advancing troops to approach disasters is not something I know of,” *huò* 過(禍) is the object of *jìn* 近 ‘approach.’

As for the variant of YQS: 以戰 ‘by means of...to fight’ :: R: 以近過(禍) ‘get close to the disaster’, Li Tianhong (2009) suggests that 近 in R could be an error due to the graphic confusion with 戰, and the words intended after 以 are probably 戰 in both YQS and R. Her

basis is that in early writing 戰 ( *Guwenzi leibian*, 355;  Shanghai museum collection of

Warring States Chu strips, “Cao Mie zhi chen,” strip 43) is graphically close to 禱/斲/祈 ‘pray’

( *Guwenzi leibian*, 367;  YQS facsimile, strip 565), and 祈 is close to 近 ( *Xinyang*

Chujian 2.011) both graphically and phonologically. Li proposes the possibility of the graph 戰 in R first being confused with 祈/斲 then further confused with 近. Since both 近 and 戰 make sense when taken at face value, I will read them as what they are in both texts.

YQS: 之 extended modifier :: R: null. Vacant variation.

YQS: 智 [zhì < *tʰeh ‘knowledge’] :: R: 知 zhī < *tre ‘know’. Graphic variation.

The word zhì 智 could also be used putatively, meaning ‘consider...wise,’ but the expression 非 X(personal name)所知也 “It is not something that X knows of” seems to be a rhetorical and mild way to show disapproval, and fits the overall tone of this account well.¹¹ Therefore I take YQS: 智 and R: 知 ‘know’ as a case of graphic variation.

41	42	43 44 45
YQS: 師若果進軍必有戔 軍進再舍 將壹軍鼓毀 公恐 辭□□□□□不果伐宋		
R: 師若果進軍必有殃 軍進再舍 鼓毀將殪 公 乃 辭乎晏子散師不果伐宋		

4.41 YQS: 戔 zāi < *tsā ‘damage’ :: R: 殃 yāng < *ʔaŋ ‘calamity’. Lexical variation between synonyms.

4.42 YQS: 將壹軍鼓毀 “The general was killed, and the army drums were destroyed” :: R: 鼓毀將殪 “The drums were destroyed and the general was killed”. Transpositional and lexical variation.

YQS: 壹 [yī < *ʔit ‘one’] :: R: 殪 yì < *ʔits ‘die; kill’. Graphic variation.

4.43 YQS: 恐 ‘afraid’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

4.44 YQS: null :: R: 乃 ‘then’. Vacant variation.

4.45 YQS: 辭 [cí < *s-lə ‘decline’] :: R: 辭 cí < *s-lə ‘explain (as an apology)’. Graphic variation.

¹¹ For examples, in the *Mengzi*, “This is not what I (Zilu) know of” 非由之所知也 (*SSJ*, 2714); in *YZCQ* 2.1 “This is not what I (Yan Ying) know of” 非嬰所知也.

Edited transcription and translation

景公將伐宋，師過大山，公吾薨有二丈夫立而怒...狀，志其聲。公恐，學痛礮辟門召占薨者曰：今昔吾薨二丈夫立而怒，其怒甚盛吾猶□其狀，志其聲。占薨者曰：師過大山不用事，故大山之神怒。趣...占夢者之言曰：師過大山而不用事，故大山之神怒。今吾欲使人誅祝史。晏子付有間，印而合曰：占薨者弗識也。是非大山之神也。是宋之先也，湯與伊尹也。公疑，猶以為大山。晏子曰：公疑之則嬰請門湯...逢下，居身而陽聲。公曰□□□伊尹黑以短□□以逢上而兌...而下聲。公...唯宋耳，而公伐之。故湯伊尹怒。請散師和乎...晏子曰：公伐無罪之國以怒明神，不易行□□□進師以戰禍非嬰之所智也。師若果進，軍必有戔。軍進再舍，將壹軍鼓毀。公恐，辭□□□□不果伐宋。

Commonlord Jing was about to attack Song. When the troops passed Mt. Tai the lord was in a trance and dreamed of two males standing up, irritated...appearance, impressed by their voices. The Commonlord was in fear. When he woke up he was in pain and fell down. He opened the door and summoned the dream diviner. The lord said: "Tonight I was in a trance and dreamed of two males standing up irritated. Their irritation is beyond measure. I am still...their appearance and impressed by their voices." The dream diviner said: "Our troops passed Mt. Tai but did not offer sacrifice, therefore the god of Mt. Tai became irritated. Quickly...[the dream diviner] said: 'Our troops passed Mt. Tai but did not offer sacrifice, therefore the god of Mt. Tai became irritated.' Now I want to have the invocator and scribe punished." Yanzi lowered his head for a while then raised his head and responded: "The dream diviner did not recognize the figures in your dream correctly. They are not the gods of Mt. Tai, but the ancestors of Song, Tang and Yiyin." The Commonlord was in doubt, and he still thought it was Mt. Tai. Yanzi said: "If my lord is in doubt, please allow me to ask Tang...robust lower body. He has overbearing body gestures and speaks loudly." The lord said...Yinyi has dark skin and short...and his hair is disheveled. He has a robust upper body and thin...has a low voice." The Commonlord...it is only Song. But my lord is striking them. Therefore Tang and Yiyin were irritated. I request to dismiss the troops and reconcile with...[Yan]zi said: "My lord is striking a state that commits no crime and irritating the perceptive gods. If you do not change your actions...advance the troops to start the war. The disaster would be terrible to an extent beyond my knowledge. If the troops indeed advance, our army will for sure meet calamity." The troops advanced and camped for two nights. Their general was killed, and the army drums were

destroyed. The Commonlord was in fear. He expressed his remorse...and in the event they did not strike Song.

Discussion

Among the forty-five variants discussed, seven of the lexical and vacant variants provide significant references in determining the relation between YQS and R. All these variants suggest that YQS is most likely closer to the common source that both YQS and R have derived from. The variants and the reason they support this hypothesis that R is the derived are summarized in the table below.

Table 2.2 Significant variants in Account Four

Variants	Reason
4.3 YQS: 吾薨 :: R: 薈	By the principle of <i>lectio difficilior potior</i>
4.7 YQS: 痛礪 :: R: null	By the principle of <i>lectio difficilior potior</i>
4.13 YQS: 志 :: R: 識	By the principle of <i>lectio difficilior potior</i>
4.18 YQS: 誅 :: R: 召	By the principle of <i>lectio difficilior potior</i>
4.22 YQS: 弗 :: R: 不	弗 might have been changed into 不 due to the observation of taboo
4.38 YQS: 和 :: R: 平	YQS matches <i>Lunheng</i>
4.40 YQS: 禍 :: R: 過	R does not make good sense and is probably an error. The graph 禍 might have been changed to 過 due to graphical similarity

2.3 Yinqueshan Account Five (strips 552-555)

In this account Lord Jing complained about a high terrace when Yanzi remonstrated with him that a ruler should restrain himself from building luxurious palaces and terraces. The lower part of the last strip (no. 555) is broken. It is possible that at least one strip after no. 555 is lost. This account matches YZCQ 2.18 (*Jishi*, 142).

Transcription

⁵⁵² ●^a 景公登洛_洛 ^b寤之臺不能冬上而息於陞公曰孰為高臺_其病人之甚也晏子...
⁵⁵³ ^a使民如 □□□□□_罪也夫古之^c為宮室臺榭^d者節於身而調於民不以為奢侈及夏□□
⁵⁵⁴ ^a也其王桀^b怀行棄義^c作為頃宮壘臺_殷之^d□也其王紂作為環室玉門廣大者有賞埤小
⁵⁵⁵ ^a者有罪是^b以身及焉今君埤亦有罪高亦有罪吏憲從事不免於罪臣主俱困而无所辟患...

Discussion of textual variants

YQS Account Four matches YZCQ 2.18.

1 2	3 4	5	6
YQS: 景公登洛寤之臺	不能冬上	而息於陞	
R: 景公登路寢之臺	不能終	而息乎陞	忿然而作色不說

5.1 YQS: 洛 *luò* < **râk* [‘name of a river’] :: R: 路 *lù* < **râkh* ‘big’. Graphic variation.

The term *lù qǐn* 路寢 refers to one kind of formal dwelling palace for rulers. It first appears in the *Shijing* (*SSJ*, 614). The sense of *lù* 路 ‘big’ is obscure.

5.2 YQS: 寤 :: R: 寢 *qǐn* < **tshəm?* ‘palacial abode’. Graphic variation. The character 寤 is an allograph of 寢.

5.3 YQS: 冬 [*dōng* < **tûŋ* ‘winter’] :: R: 終 *zhōng* < **tuŋ* ‘finish’. Graphic variation.

5.4 YQS: 上 ‘top’:: R: null. Vacant variation.

5.5 YQS: 於 *yú* < **wa* ‘in regard to’ :: R: 乎 *hū* < **hâ*. Lexical variation. The alteration between 於 and 乎 is exceedingly common in received texts. Also see note 4.38.

5.6 YQS: null :: R: 忿然而作色不說 “(Lord Jing) was so angry that he showed signs of annoyance.” Vacant variation. R provides more explanatory details than YQS.

	7		8		9	
YQS:	公	曰	孰	為	高	臺
R:	曰	孰	為	高	臺	病人之甚也

... ^{553 a}使民如 ... ^b 罪也

5.7 YQS: 公 *gong* ‘Lord (Jing)’:: R: null. Vacant variation.

5.8 YQS: 其 *qí*, modal particle :: R: null. Vacant variation.

5.9 YQS: 晏子...使民如□□□□罪也 “Yanzi...use people like...blame” :: R: 晏子曰君欲節於身而勿高使人高之而勿罪也 “Yanzi said: ‘If my lord wanted to show moderation in your own affairs you should not have it built high. After you had other people build it high you should not have blamed them.’”

Strip 553 is fragmentary and is restored together with four short pieces of strips (a, b, c and d). See the image of the facsimile of strip 533. The top part of strip 553 (a) has three graphs 使民如 which do not connect with the b part. Together with the fact that the end of the previous strip (532) is also broken, this makes strip 553a 使民如 ‘use people in the way of...’ isolated from its immediate context. Strip 553a 使民如



Facsimile of strip 533

does not match R. So the question remains whether 553a should be restored here, as the editors have done, or not. Contextually there is no evidence to support piecing 553a with the rest of this strip.

10

YQS: null

R: 今高從之以罪 卑亦從以罪 敢問使人如此可乎

5.10 Vacant variation. Yanzi’s reasoning is more elaborate in R: “Now when build it high blame will come to them, when build it low blame will also come to them. I dare to ask, is it acceptable to use people like this?”

11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
YQS:	夫古	之為宮室	臺榭者		節於身而	調於民	不以為奢侈	
R:	古者	之為宮室	也	足以便生	不以為奢侈也	故節於身	謂於民	

5.11 YQS: 夫 ‘in any particular case’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

5.12 YQS: null :: R: 者, focus particle. Vacant variation.

5.13 YQS: 臺榭 ‘terrace and pavilion’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

5.14 YQS: 者 :: R: 也. Lexical variation. They both function as topic markers in this context.

5.15 YQS: null :: R: 足以便生, 不以為奢侈也 “(They were built) sufficient to make life comfortable, but not to be used as luxurious dwellings.” YQS also has 不以為奢侈 ‘do not use it as luxurious dwellings,’ but it is placed after the next line, see 5.19. Therefore this variant is also transpositional.

5.16 YQS: null :: R: 故 ‘therefore’. Vacant variation.

5.17 YQS: 而 connective :: R: null. Vacant variation.

5.18 YQS: 調 *tiáo* <*diû ‘reconcile’ :: R: 謂 *wèi* <*wās ‘call’. Lexical variation. The word *wèi* 謂 ‘call’ in R does not make sense. Qing Philologists have proposed different explanations for

謂. (*Jishi*, 143) Wang Niansun (*Dushu zazhi*, YZCQ 2.23a) suggests the word intended is *tiáo* 調 ‘reconcile, harmonize with.’ He contends that the original word *tiáo* 調 was mistakenly written as 謂 due to graphic similarity. His basis is that phrases such as 調於民 ‘reconcile with people’ or 調乎天 ‘reconcile with heaven’ are used in a context very similar to the line under discussion.¹² Wang Niansun also provides another case where 調 was written as 謂 as a copyist mistake in the *Jiyun*, “In the *Jiyun* entry citing from the *Guangya*, ‘*shi*, is a tune.’ The word *tiao* is written mistakenly as *wei* in the extant edition.” 集韻引廣雅, “識, 調也。” 今本‘調’作‘謂.’

The matching word in YQS confirms that Wang is exactly right and R: 謂 is an error.

5.19 YQS: 不以為奢侈 ‘do not use it as luxurious dwellings’ :: R: null. Vacant variation. Also see 5.15.

	20	21	22
YQS: 及夏□□也 其王桀怀行棄義 作為頃宮壘臺 殷之□也 其王紂作為環室玉門			
R: 及夏之衰也 其王桀背 棄德行 為璿室玉門 殷之衰也 其王紂作為頃宮靈臺			

5.20 YQS: 怀行棄義 ‘turn against the righteous practice and abandon the Propriety’

R: 背棄德行 ‘turn against and abandon the righteous practice’. Lexical variation.

YQS: 怀 [*pī* < **phrə*, name of a mountain] :: R: 背 *bèi* < **bkəh* ‘turn against’. Graphic variation.

5.21 YQS: 作為 ‘create and build’ :: R: 為 ‘build’. In the following paralleling line, both

versions write 作為. When this line is cited in the commentary of the “*Gan quan fu*” 甘泉賦 in

¹² For instance, in the *Yan tie lun* 鹽鐵論, 法令調于民而器械便于用 “Laws and regulations are accommodating for people and tools and facilities are expedient to use” (Wang Liqi 王利器 1958, 46); in YZCQ 3.22, 舉事調乎天 藉斂和乎民 “Align your endeavors with Heaven, and reconcile with people in levy.” The citations from the *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜誌 are all from the Guangxu guangutang edition 光緒觀古堂本.

the *Wenxuan*, it writes 作為 instead of 為. (the Chunxi edition, 7.6b) Based on the parallelism and the citation in *Wenxuan*, Wang Niansuan has an emendation note suggesting that the original text should be 作為 instead of 為. The matching phrase in YQS suggests that Wang is probably right.

5.22 YQS: 頃宮壘臺 ‘lofty palace and the *ling* numinous terrace’ 環室玉門 ‘jade-ring decorated chamber and jade gate’ :: R: 璿室玉門 ‘carnelian chamber and jade gate’, 頃宮靈臺 ‘lofty palace and the *ling* numinous terrace’. Transpositional variation.

The graph 頃 [*qǐng* < *khwen?* ‘short while; a measurement of land’] in YQS and R stands for 傾 *qīng* < **khwen* ‘(too high to the point of) inclining.’ “Qing gong” 頃(or 傾)宮 reputedly was built by Jie, last ruler of the Xia, as a kind of extravagant palace is always associated with famous tyrants such as King Ling of Chu 楚靈王(YZCQ 2.8) and Zhou 紂 of Shang.

Knechtges (2014, 398) translates “qing gong” as “the Hundred Mou Palace” based on Gao You’s note.¹³ Another possibility for the meaning of *qing* is ‘inclining, be about to fall.’ In the “Gan qun fu” 甘泉賦 by Yang Xiong (53 B.C.-18 A.D.), the context suggests that “qing gong” is a place so high that one would feel “on the edge an abyss.”

襲琰室與傾宮兮，若登高妙遠，肅虜臨淵

“It is heir to the Jade Building and Lofty Palace. It is as if one had climbed high and were looking into the distance; He is awe-struck as if on the edge of an abyss.”¹⁴

¹³ 思比屋於傾宮，畢結瑤而構瓊

Wishing to match their buildings with the Hundred Mou Palace,
They formed jasper and carnelian into terraces and chambers.

“The Hundred Mou Palace (Qing gong 傾 [or 頃] 宮) reputedly was built by Jie, last ruler of the Xia. See *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (Bamboo Annals), *Sbby*, A.9b. Gao You (*Huainanzi* 4.2b and *Liishi chungiu* 23.6b) says that this palace occupied a *qing* (one hundred *mou*) in area.”

¹⁴ This translation is based on Knechtges’ study of Yang Xiong’s work with revision. See Knechtges (1976, 49).

YQS: 壘 :: R: 靈 *líng*. Graphic variation. The *líng tai* is a kind of extravagant ceremonial terrace. YQS: 壘 is not attested in standard writing. The editors point out that it is an abbreviated form of 靈. The graph 靈 is an allograph of *líng* < **rêŋ* ‘spirited’ 靈 according to the *Shuowen* (13b).

YQS: 環 *huán* < **wên* ‘jade ring’ :: R: 璿 *xuán* < **s-wen* ‘fine jade’. Lexical variation.

23

YQS: 廣大者有賞 卑小者有罪 是以身及焉
R: 卑狹者有罪 高大者有賞 是以身及焉

5.23 YQS: 廣大者有賞 卑小者有罪 “The wide and large ones will receive awards, the low and small ones will receive blame” :: R: 卑狹者有罪 高大者有賞 “The low and small ones will receive blame, the wide and large ones will receive awards”. Transpositional variation.

YQS: 廣 *guǎng* < **kwâŋʔ* ‘broad’ :: R: 高 *gāo* < **kâu* ‘high’. Lexical variation.

YQS: 埤 [*pí* < **be* ‘parapet (wall)’] :: R: 卑 *bēi* < **pe* ‘low’. Graphic variation.

YQS: 小 *xiǎo* < **siauʔ* ‘small’ :: R: 狹 *xiá* < **grêp* ‘narrow’. Lexical variation.

24

YQS: 今君卑亦有罪 高亦有罪
R: 今君高亦有罪 卑亦有罪

25

吏憲從事 不免於罪
甚於夏殷之王 民力殫乏矣 而不免于罪

5.24 YQS: 今君卑亦有罪 高亦有罪 “Now my lord will blame both the low and high ones” :: R: 今君高亦有罪 卑亦有罪 “Now my lord will blame both the high and low ones”.
Transpositional variation.

5.25 YQS: 吏憲從事 不免於罪 “The officials are attentive in fulfilling their duties, but they are not exempt from blame” :: R: 甚於夏殷之王, 民力殫乏矣 而不免于罪 “(My lord) is more

than the rulers of Xia and Yin. People have used up and exhausted their strength but are not exempt from blame.”

YQS: 審 is not attested in standard writing. The editors suggest that it is an allograph of *shěn* < **lhəm?* 審 ‘attentive, heedful’ based on *Shuowen* (28b): 審悉也, 本作窳 “*shěn* means thorough.

It was originally written as 窳.” The graph 審 has an extra heart component compared with 窳.

It is common to add heart component to words related to mental activity.

26

YQS: 臣主俱困而无所辟患...

R: 嬰恐國之流失而公不得亨也。公曰善寡人自知誠費財勞民以為無功，又從而怨之，是寡人之罪也。非夫子之教豈得守社稷哉？遂下再拜，不果登臺

The lower part of strip 555 is broken, therefore it is unknown whether this is the last strip of this account or not. There could be strips following 555 but now lost. Based on what we have, YQS and R do not match.

YQS: 臣主俱困而无所辟患... “The subjects and the ruler are both stranded and lack the means to avoid suffering...”

R: 嬰恐國之流失而公不得亨也。公曰善寡人自知誠費財勞民以為無功，又從而怨之，是寡人之罪也。非夫子之教豈得守社稷哉？遂下再拜，不果登臺 “Ying is worrying that the state will drift away and my lord does not get to enjoy it.” The lord said: “Well said. I come to know myself that this is indeed a wasting of resources and a wearing-down of my people to no avail, and in addition I go further to resent it. This is my fault. If it is not for your instructing, how can I maintain my Temple and Altar!” Then he descended and bowed again. Eventually he did not ascend the terrace again.

From what is available in YQS, R seems much harsher and bolder than YQS when Yanzi was warning the lord of the consequences if he did not mend his behaviors: “the state will drift away and my lord does not get to enjoy it” which is probably the ultimate distress of any lord in power.

Edited transcription and translation

景公登洛(路)寤(寢)之臺,不能冬(終)上而息於陞。公曰:孰為高臺,其病人之甚也。晏子...使民如□□□□罪也。夫古之為宮室臺榭者,節於身而調於民,不以為奢侈。及夏□□也,其王桀(背)行棄義,作為頃宮壘(靈)臺。殷之□也,其王紂作為環(璇)室玉門。廣大者有賞,卑(卑)小者有罪,是以身及焉。今君卑(卑)亦有罪,高亦有罪,吏憲(審)從事,不免於罪,臣主俱困而无所辟患...

Commonlord Jing ascended the terrace of the grand palatial abode. He could not finish climbing up to the top and rested on the steps. The Commonlord said: “Who made this high terrace? It really wears people out!” Yanzi...use people in the way of...a fault. In antiquity those who built palaces, chambers, terraces and pavilions were modest in regard to their personal affairs and were accommodating in regard to the people. They did not build things for luxury and extravagance. When it came to Xia...Their ruler Jie turned against the correct practice, abandoned Propriety, and built Lofty Palace and Jade Terrace. Upon the...of Yin, its ruler Zhou built the *huan*-jade ornamented chamber and the jade gate. He rewarded those who built it broad and big and found fault with those who built it low and small. Because of these practices these rulers got what they deserved from it. Now in my lord’s case, to build it low will have blame; to build it high will also have blame. Even when the officials are attentive in fulfilling their duties, they are not exempt from blame. The subjects and the ruler are both stranded and lack the means to avoid suffering...

Discussion

Among the twenty-six variants discussed, most of them are vacant variants (5.4, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.10, 5.11, 5.12, 5.13, 5.15, 5.16, 5.17, 5.19, 5.25) and transpositional variants (5.15, 5.23, 5.24). They are either insignificant (for instance the presence or absence of grammatical particles such as 5.8, 5.11 and 5.12) or are variants that provide no clear clue in determining the textual relation between YQD and R.

5.18 and 5.21 are significant lexical variants. They suggest that YQS is probably closer to the common source YQS and R have derived from and R is secondary. The basis and reason of how the variants could have arisen is summarized in the chart below.

Table 2.3 Significant variants in YQS Account Five

Variants	The reason YQS is more likely to be the original	Possible reason for variants to arise in R
5.18 YQS: 調 :: R: 謂	R does not make sense and is most likely an error.	Graphic similarity between 調 and 謂
5.21 YQS: 作為 :: R: 為	YQS matches a received version of this line in the <i>Wenxuan</i>	作 and 為 are synonyms. With 作 being left out in R, the overall meaning of the sentence does not change.

5.18 is an excellent example of using newly excavated manuscripts to reevaluate earlier philological scholarship and emendation. Wang Niansun proposed that 謂 was an error and *tiáo* (調) is the word intended. Without the evidence revealed in YQS, Wang's argument remains only a strong hypothesis for its good reasoning based on graphic similarity and the meaning of

the word. The graph 謂 is recorded in all the received versions of YZCQ, and therefore without YQS: 調, there is no evidence from an independent source to validate Wang's emendation.

The same thing can be seen in 5.21. In 5.21, YQS differs from R, but agrees with the citation from the Yanzi text in the *Wenxuan*. YQS as an excavated manuscript created no later than 118 B.C. (the latest possible year the texts were buried in the tomb) is a witness apart from the body of received Yanzi texts and therefore is free from the "lateral contamination" the received texts are subject to during transmission. When YQS matches a received edition that reading is probably closer to the original than others that do not match. Wang Niansu reached the same conclusion without the availability of YQS manuscripts. His basis is the parallelism in R and the matching text in the *Wenxuan*. Without the evidence from the manuscripts Wang's emendation would not be conclusive since the difference between YQS, *Wenxuan*: 作為 and R: 為 is in style but not meaning, and one would counter Wang's argument to suggest that R: 為 is original and *Wenxuan*: 作 was added in order to improve the style. The evidence in YQS is significant for confirming Wang's argument.

2.4 Yinqueshan Account Ten (strips 578-584)

In this account Lord Jing asked Yanzi to comment on the conduct of a loyal official and of a toadying one. In the received YZCQ, this conversation is divided into two episodes, 3.20 and 3.21 (*Jishi*, 226). Five of the seven strips in account ten are fragmentary. The modern editors believe that there is probably one strip missing between the first two strips (strips 578 and 579) based on the matching lines in R.

Transcription

578 ●^a 景公問晏子曰忠臣之行何如合曰忠臣不合...^b 乎前弗華於外篡

... (probably one strip missing here)

579^a 位以為忠不刻...^b 事天子國危不交諸侯順則^c 進不則退不與君行邪此忠臣之

580 行也公有問曰佞人之事君何如合曰意難之不至也明言行□飭其□□□无欲也兌□

581^a 其交觀上^b □□欲而微為之^c 竊求君之比璽...^d 爵而外輕之以誣行...

582^a □而面公正以偽廉^b 誣行偽廉以夜上工於取蜚乎□觀於新曼乎故鄰於財薄乎施堵貧窮

583^a 若弗式騶富^b 利若弗及非譽不徵乎^c 請而言不合乎行身殷存所義而好論賢不宵有之

584^a 己不難非之^b 人无之己不難求之人^c 此佞人之行也

Discussion of textual variants

	1	2	3	4
YQS: ^a 景公問晏子曰忠臣之行何如	合	曰忠臣不合	...	^b 乎前 弗華於外
R: 景公問晏子曰忠臣之行何如	對	曰	不掩君過 諫乎前	不華乎外

10.1 YQS: 合 *dá* < **tâp* (答) ‘answer’ :: R: 對 *duì* < **tûts* ‘respond’. Lexical variation.

This variant between YQS and R is consistent throughout this account and will not be discussed again. Also see note 4.21.

10.2 YQS: 忠臣 ‘loyal officials’ :: R: null. Vacant variation. No significant difference in meaning between R and YQS. ‘Loyal officials’ have already appeared in the previous line and are the expected subject here with or without its being explicitly marked.

10.3 YQS: 不合...乎前 “not cover...in the front.” :: R: 不掩君過, 諫乎前 “(A loyal official) does not cover up his lord’s mistakes, and remonstrates in front of his lord.”

Strip 578 is broken with a middle piece missing. The missing part would have allowed for about ten graphs. The matching text in R has three characters for the missing piece of this strip. If the editors are right in combining a and b for strip 578, which means about ten graphs are matching R: 君過諫, YQS could be much more elaborate than R.

The editors read YQS: 合 [*hé* < **gâp* ‘close’] as *yǎn* < **ʔamʔ* ‘cover’ (掩, 弇) as the matching word in R suggests. Phonologically *hé* < **gâp* 合 and *yǎn* < **ʔamʔ* ‘cover’ 掩 are not compatible. YQS: 合 could have the sense of ‘cover’ too, but YQS: 合 cannot be a graphic variant of R: 掩. The graphic similarity between YQS: 合 and 弇 (an alternative way to write *yǎn* ‘cover’) is clear. If *yǎn* ‘cover’ is the word intended in YQS, this could be the connection.

10.4 YQS: 弗華於外 “(A loyal official) does not embellish (his lord’s wrong doings) from outside.” :: R: 不華乎外 “(A loyal official) does not embellish (his lord’s wrong doings) from outside.” Lexical variation.

YQS: 弗 *fú* ‘negative particle fusion of 不 and 之’ :: R: 不 *bù* ‘negative’. Lexical variation.

See note 4.22.

YQS: 於 *yú* < **wa* ‘in relation to’ :: R: 乎 *hu* < **hâ* ‘in relation to’. Lexical variation. See note 4.38.

YQS: 篡 (end of strip 578) ...

R: 選賢進能不私乎內 稱身就位 計能定祿 睹賢不居其上 受祿不過其量

10.5 YQS: 篡 *cuàn* < **tshrôns* ‘usurp’ :: R: 選 *xuǎn* < **son?* ‘choose’ are phonologically compatible, and this could be a graphic variant. In all other seven cases where the graph 篡 appears in the YQS manuscripts it all stands for the word *xuǎn* < **son?* ‘choose’ (選).

(*Yinqueshan Hanjian wenzhibian* 銀雀山漢簡文字編, 308) The graph 篡 is at the end of strip 578. The editors believe between strip 578 and 579 there is one strip missing, since in R a paragraph of thirty-five characters having no parallel in YQS between strip 578 and 579. The YQS Yanzi strips typically have thirty four to thirty seventy graphs on each strip, and it is likely that there is one strip missing between 578 and 579.

R: 選賢進能不私乎內, 稱身就位, 計能定祿, 睹賢不居其上, 受祿不過其量 “Select the worthy and recommend the capable, not keep them to himself; Take the position that matches his ability, and provide the schemes that are good enough to entitle him to receive his salary; When recognizing worthy people he does not assume a higher position than the worthies, and in receiving salary he does not accept more than what he deserves.”¹⁵

YQS: ... ⁵⁷⁹位以為忠 不刻 ...

R: 不權居以為行 不稱位以為忠 不揜賢以隱長 不刻下以諛上

10.6 R: 不權居以為行, 不稱位以為忠, 不揜賢以隱長, 不刻下以諛上 “(A loyal official) does not act by weighing his status, does not pledge loyalty by measuring his position; He does not

¹⁵ Wang Niansun (*Dushu zazhi*, YZCQ 1.41a) contends that 定祿 ‘determine the salary’ originally should be 受祿 ‘receive a salary’ for three reasons. First, the sentence would be odd in meaning and it is always the lord who determines the rank and salary of an official, not the official himself. Also, the following line says 受祿. On the top of that, the matching line in the *Zhiyao* is 計能受祿. (*Jishi*, 226) I follow Wang’s emendation in my translation.

The two phrases have the same meaning and are both common in early texts. YQS:何如 gradually becomes the regular, conventional order in later classical Chinese. (Pullyblank 1995, 94)

10.15 YQS: null :: R: 晏子. Vacant variation.

10.16 YQS: 意難之不至也 “(He) anticipates adversity will never reach him” :: R: 意難難不至也 “He anticipates difficulties. Difficulties will not come.”

R is puzzling. Wu zeyu believes the text is corrupted and there is no good way to make sense of it. (*Jishi*, 228) According to YQS the context seems to be that a toadying official is impudent and seldom expects that his crafty endeavors will ever bring him any negative consequences.

17

18

YQS: 明言行□ 飭其□ □□无欲也兌□

R: 明言行之以飾身 偽言無欲以說人

10.17 YQS: 明言行□ 飭其□ :: R: 明言行之以飾身 “speaks openly about doing things in order to glorify himself.” Yu Chang 于鬯 suggests 之 stands for *zhǐ* ‘stop’ (止). (*Jishi*, 228)

His basis is probably that *xíng zhǐ* 行止 as a phrase means ‘actions, conduct, whereabouts’ and it fits in this context well.

Two graphs are missing in YQS. YQS and R are not identical but seem fairly close.

YQS: 飭 *chì* < **rhək* ‘make into order’ :: R: 飾 *shì* < **lhək* ‘adorn’ is a graphic variant.

10.18 YQS: □□无欲也兌□ “...no desire, please...” :: R: 偽言無欲以說人 “(He) lies by saying he has no desire to pander to others.”

YQS and R could match closely but due to the incompleteness of YQS we cannot determine that with certainty.

YQS: 兌 *duì* < **lôts* ‘glad’ :: R: 說 *yuè* < **lhots* ‘pleased’. This could be graphic variation with shared phonetic, if the contexts in two texts match.

YQS: 其交 19 20 21 22 23
 觀上□□欲而微為之竊求君之比璽 ...
R: 嚴其交以見其愛 觀上之所欲而微為之偶求君 逼邇而陰為之與

10.19 YQS: 其交觀上□□欲而微為之 “In his socializing, he observes his superior...intention and then secretly does it” :: R: 嚴其交以見其愛, 觀上之所欲而微為之偶 “He carefully adjusts his interactions by means of observing their preferences. He observes what his superior desires and then secretly mirrors it.”

In R, Wu Zeyu comments that there is probably a line missing after 嚴其交以見其愛, since the meaning of 嚴其交以見其愛 is obscure. (*Jishi*, 228) The matching line in YQS is very different from R. If we punctuate before 其交, the paragraph reads as □□无欲也兌□, 其交觀上□□欲而微為之 “...no desire, please...In his socializing, he observes his superior...intention and then secretly do it.” If YQS is the original, then opposite to what Wu suggests, it was not that a line was dropped after R: 嚴其交以見其愛, but more words were added to the original. The relation between YQS and R cannot be determined due to the incompleteness of YQS.

10.20 YQS: 竊 *qiè* < **tshêt* ‘secretly’ :: R: 偶 *ǒu* < **ηôʔ* ‘pair’. Lexical variation.

In R, 偶 *ǒu* < **ηôʔ* is the last word of the previous sentence, 觀上之所欲而微為之偶 “Observes what his superior desires and then secretly make a pair of it,” while in YQS the word 竊 *qiè* < **tshêt* ‘secretly’ is probably the beginning of 竊求君之比璽 “secretly seek the lord’s close associates.”

Pian Yuqian (2000, 123) suggests R: 偶 is a graphic error of YQS: 竊, which is not impossible. But R: 觀上之所欲而微為之偶 parallels with what follows, 求君逼邇而陰為之與 “seek the close associates of the lord to secretly make them his acquaintances.” The last words of the two sentences, 偶 *ǒu* < **ŋôʔ* ‘(make a) pair’ and 與 *yǔ* < **laʔ* ‘participate; cohort,’ are related in meaning and make a well-ordered couplet, thus makes the possibility of reading R: 偶 as 竊 very low.

Another possibility to make sense of YQS: 竊 :: R: 偶 is that R: 偶 could be a deliberate effort to make a couplet to “improve” the style of the text. This has to remain speculative in view of the incompleteness of YQS.

10.21 YQS: 之 ‘attributive marker’ :: R: null. Vacant variation. In R, based on the previous parallel sentence, the word 之 is actually expected here.

10.22 YQS: 比璽 *bǐ ěr* ‘close associates’ :: R: 逼邇 *bī ěr* ‘intimate associates’. Lexical variation.

The phrase *bī ěr* 逼邇 meaning ‘close associates’ appears in YZCQ twice (also in account 1.1).

YQS: 比 *bǐ* < **piʔ* ‘put next to each other’ :: R: 逼 *bī* < **prək* ‘come close to’. Lexical variation. Pian Yuqian (2000, 123) claims that YQS: 比 and R: 逼 is a *tongjia* pair and are used interchangeably here. Their OC pronunciations are not compatible, and this cannot be a graphic variant. But YQS: 比 and R: 逼 both have the sense of ‘be right next to,’ and YQS: 比 fits well with the meaning ‘intimate/close associates’ in the context.

As for the graph in YQS matching R: 邇, the editors transcribe it as 璽, and Pian Yuqian (2000, 122) transcribes it as 璽. This graph is not eligible in the picture or in the facsimile of this strip,

but either way the phonetic of the word is 爾, the same with R: 邇 . YQS: 璽 [*xǐ < *sne?*

‘seal’] :: R: 邇 *ěr < *ne?* ‘near’ is a graphic variant with shared phonetic.

10.23 YQS: ... :: R: 而陰為之與 “secretly make them their acquaintances”. The line under discussion is part of the rhymed couplet in R. The missing part of YQS allows for about seven graphs, is similar in length to that of the matching text in R (seven graphs including the first two words in the following line, R: 內重). It is possible that what is missing in YQS is close to R.

	24	25		26	27		28
YQS:	...	爵	而外輕之以誣行	□□□□	而面	公正以偽廉	誣行偽廉以夜上
R:	內重	爵祿	而外輕之以誣行	下事左右	而面示正公	以偽廉	

10.24 YQS: ... :: R: 內重 ‘inside attach great importance to’. YQS is broken. Also see 10.23.

10.25 YQS: 爵 ‘rank’ :: R: 爵祿 ‘rank and remuneration’. Lexical variation.

Rank and salary are usually closely associated and this variant does not make a significant difference in meaning. But stylistically, R: 爵祿 is more polished than YQS: 爵. This paragraph has several two-word phrases, for example 邇邇(/YQS: 比璽) ‘close associates,’ 誣行 ‘fabricated actions,’ 正公(/YQS: 公正) ‘fairness,’ and 偽廉 ‘fake honesty’, and therefore R: 爵祿 ‘rank and remuneration’ fits in the overall language style of the passage better. The text before YQS: 爵 is missing and it is possible that the context in YQS differs from R. In view of this, the textual relation between YQS and R cannot be determined in this case.

10.26 YQS: null :: R: 示 ‘show’. Vacant variation.

R: 下事左右而面示正公以偽廉 “(He) disparages his colleagues but on the surface he shows fairness to pretend incorruptibility.” A verb with the meaning of ‘show’ would be expected

between 面 ‘on the surface’ and 公正(YQS: 公正) ‘fairness.’ In this case YQS might be corrupted.

10.27 YQS: 公正 ‘fairness’ :: R: 正公 ‘noble title; upright and impartial’. Lexical variation.

YQS: *gōng zhèng* 公正 is the common phrase for ‘fair and impartial.’ R: 正公 is usually used as a noble title in early texts. R: 正公 could have a similar meaning with YQS: 公正 ‘fairness’ simply with the word order reversed, but it is rare for 正公 to be used this way. Wu Zeyu (*Jishi*, 228) suggests that the original text should have 公正 instead of 正公. YQS suggests so too.

10.28 YQS: 誣行偽廉以夜上 “(He) uses fabricated behaviors and false incorruptibility to assist his superiors” :: R: null. Vacant variation.

The graph 夜 [*yè* < **jah* ‘night’] stands for *yè* < **jak* ‘armpit; assist’ (掖).

29

YQS:

R: 求上采聽而幸以求進 傲祿以求多 辭任以求重 工乎取 鄙乎予

30

工於取 蜚乎予

10.29 YQS: null :: R: 求上采聽而幸以求進, 傲祿以求多, 辭任以求重 “(He) seeks audience with his superiors expecting to become fortunate and receive promotion; he looks with contempt at low remuneration and seeks better alternative, and quits his duties to seek a more significant responsibility.” Vacant variation.

10.30 YQS: 蜚 [*fěi* < **pai?* ‘grasshopper’] :: R: 鄙 *bǐ* < **prə?* ‘despise, belittle’.

Graphic variation.

R: 工乎取鄙乎予 “(He) strives toward acquiring, despises giving to others.” The words 取 *qǔ* < **tsho?* and 予 *yǔ* < **la?* are opposites and create a parallelism. I supply the missing word in YQS 蜚乎予 as R suggests.

	31	32	33		34	35 36	37	38																
YQS:	觀	於	新	曼	乎	故	鄰	於	財	薄	乎	施	堵	貧	窮	若	弗	式	騶	富	利	若	弗	及
R:	歡	乎	新	慢	乎	故	悛	乎	財	薄	乎	施	睹	貧	窮	若	不	識	趨	利	若	不	及	

10.31 YQS: 觀 *guān* < **kwân* ‘observe’ :: R: 歡 *huān* < **hwân* ‘rejoice’. Lexical variation.

Both Pian Yuqian (2000, 124) and Li Wanshou (1993, 192) read YQS: 觀 as *huān* ‘rejoice’ (R: 歡). Their reading suggests this is a graphic variant and YQS: 觀 is either a graphic error or a “borrowed character” of 歡. YQS: 觀 *guān* < **kwân* and R: 歡 *huān* < **hwân* are close both phonologically and graphically, but before we dismiss the common graph YQS: 觀 as an error, there is another possibility. Besides the basic meaning ‘observe,’ 觀 also has the sense of ‘attentive to; hold in high regard,’ and YQS: 觀於新 could be interpreted as ‘hold one’s new associates in high regard.’ This makes YQS: 觀於新 and the following line 曼(慢)乎故 ‘neglect old acquaintances’ a good contrast and fits the context perfectly. If this interpretation is possible, by the principle of *lectio difficilior potior* YQS is more likely the original since R: 歡乎新 ‘rejoice at one’s new associates’ is more straightforward.

YQS: 於 *yú* < **wa* :: R: 乎 *hu* < **hâ* ‘in relation to’ are lexical variation. Also see 4.38 and 10.4.

10.32 YQS: 曼 [*màn* < **mâns* ‘soft and extended’] :: R: 慢 *màn* < **mrâns* ‘neglect’.

Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

10.33 YQS: 鄰 [*lín* < **rin* ‘neighbor’] stands for *lìn* < **rāns* ‘stingy’ (吝)¹⁶ :: R: 悵 *lín* < **rāns* ‘stingy’. Graphic variation.

10.34 YQS: 堵 [*dǔ* < **tâ?* ‘measure of length of wall’] :: R: 睹 *dǔ* < **tâ?* ‘see’. Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

10.35 YQS: 弗 *fú* ‘negative particle fusion of 不 and 之’ :: R: 不 *bù* ‘negative’. Lexical variation.

This variation is consistent between YQS and R. Also see 4.22.

10.36 YQS: 式 [*shì* < **lhək* ‘pattern’] :: R: 識 *shì* < **lhək* ‘know’. Graphic variation.

10.37 YQS: 騶 [*zōu* < **tsro* ‘groom’] :: R: 趨 *qu* < **tshro* ‘hasten’.

Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

10.38 YQS: 富利 ‘wealth and benefit’ :: R: 利 ‘benefit’. Lexical variation.

Like 10.25, the two word phrase YQS: 富利 does not significantly differ from R: 利 in meaning in this context, but YQS: 富利 agrees with the style of this paragraph better. What differs from 10.25 is that, at 10.25 R: 爵祿 is the “expected” and YQS: 爵 is the out of pattern one. But the incomplete context of YQS gives rise to uncertainty to conclude that YQS: 爵 is corrupted. For this line, Wu Zeyu comments that there is probably a word missing before R: 利 since it breaks the parallelism with the previous line, 睹貧窮若不識 “When seeing **poverty and insufficiency**, he acts like he does not recognize it.” The original text probably had 趨富利, and 富 was later dropped and the text became 趨利. The phrase *qū lì* ‘pursue benefit’ 趨利

¹⁶ Gao Heng (1989, 97-98) provides examples of 憐 and 遴 used interchangeably with 吝 in receive texts.

is a common fixed expression, and this is probably why the graph 富 is accidentally skipped when copying.

39

YQS: null

R: 外交以自揚 背親以自厚 積豐義之養而聲矜卹之義

10.39 YQS: null :: R: 外交以自揚, 背親以自厚, 積豐義之養而聲矜卹之義 “(He) makes connections outside his state to applaud himself, betrays his kin to enrich himself. While he accumulates all the superfluous wealth he voices the propriety of compassion and sympathy.”¹⁷

Vacant variation.

40

41

42

43

YQS: 非譽不徵乎請而言不合乎行 身殷存所義而好論賢不宵

R: 非譽 乎情而言不行身 涉時所議而好論賢不肖

10.40 YQS: 非譽不徵乎請 “(He) does not check on the circumstances when he passes on criticisms and praises” :: R: 非譽乎情 “Criticize and praise in relation to circumstances”.

R is apparently corrupted. There are probably words missing between 非譽 and 乎情. Zhang Chunyi (1975, 66) suggests that the original text could be 非譽徇乎情 “Complying with personal considerations in passing on criticisms and praises.” YQS suggests that the original text probably had 不徵 and it was dropped in R.

YQS: 請 [qǐng < *tshɛŋʔ ‘request’] :: R: 情 qíng < *dʒɛŋ ‘true situation’ are graphic variation with shared phonetic.

10.41 YQS: 言不合乎行 “(His) words do not accord with his actions” :: R: 言不行身 “(His) words do not apply to his actions.” Lexical variation.

¹⁷ The word 義 ‘propriety’ after 豐 does not make sense here. Yu Yue 俞樾 (*Zhuzi ping yi*, 7.13b) suggests that 義 is an error for *xiàn* ‘greedy; superfluous’ (羨). The phrase 豐羨 ‘rich and superfluous’ fits in this context well. My translation follows Yu’s suggestion.

The meanings of YQS and R do not differ significantly. It is possible that the text in R was changed to make a four character line, the same as the part it is subordinated to, 非譽乎情.

10.42 YQS: 身殷存所義 “He himself indulges lavishly in what he passes (negative) comments on” :: R: 涉時所議 “get involved in what is discussed at the time.”

YQS: 義 [yì < *ŋaih ‘Propriety’] :: 議 yì < *ŋaih ‘discuss’. Graphic variation.

No obvious explanation comes to mind that can account for the difference between YQS and R.

YQS seems to be more obscure in meaning than R.

10.43 YQS: 宵 [xiāo < *siau ‘night’] :: R: 肖 xiào < *siauh ‘resemble’. Graphic variation with shared phonetic. *Bú xiào* 不肖 as a phrase means ‘unworthy.’

44

YQS: 有之己 不難非之人 无之己 不難求之人
也

此佞人之行

R: 有之己 不難非之人 無之己 不難求之人 其言彊梁而信其進敏遜而順 此佞人之行
也

10.44 YQS: null :: R: 其言彊梁而信其進敏遜而順 “Their speeches are powerful and convincing; their recommendations are accepted quickly, humbly and smoothly.”

Vacant variation.

45

YQS: null

R: 明君之所誅 愚君之所信也

10.45 YQS: null :: R: 明君之所誅, 愚君之所信也 “This is what a discerning lord disapproves and what an obtuse lord accounts on”. Vacant variation.

Transcription and translation of the edited text

景公問晏子曰忠臣之行何如。合(答)曰忠臣不合...乎前,弗華(謹)於外。篡(選)...位以為忠,不刻...事大(太)子,國危不交諸侯。順則進,不(否)則退,不與君行邪,此忠臣之行也。公有(又)問曰佞人之事君何如。合(答)曰意難之不至也。明言行□飭(飾)其□□□无欲也兌□其交,觀上□□欲而微為之,竊求君之比璽(邇)...爵而外輕之以誣行,□□□□而面公正以偽廉,誣行偽廉以夜上,工於取,蜚乎[予],觀於新,曼(慢)乎故,鄰(吝)於財,薄乎施,堵(睹)貧窮若弗式,騶(趨)富利若弗及,非譽不徵乎請(情)而言不合乎行,身殷存所義(議)而好論賢不宵(肖),有之己不難非之人,无之己不難求之人,此佞人之行也。

Commonlord Jing asked Yanzi: “What is a loyal official’s conduct like?” Yanzi responded: “A loyal official does not cover...in the front, does not embellish (his lord’s wrong doings) from outside. Usurp ... (probably one strip missing here) position, regard it as loyalty. Not harsh...serve the prince. When his state is in danger, he does not make personal connections with the lords of other states. If the time is good, he comes forth; if the time is bad, he withdraws. He does not assist his lord in practicing indecency. This is a loyal official’s conduct. The lord also asked: “As for a toadying official serving his lord, what is it like?” Yanzi responded: “He anticipates that adversity will never get to him. He speaks openly about his conduct...decorates his...no desire to please...In his interacting with others, he observes his superiors...desire and then secretly does it. He privately seeks the close associates of his lord...rank and then outside he gives the impression of belittling it with fabricated actions...on the surface he shows fairness to pretend incorruptibility. He uses fabricated behaviors and false incorruptibility to assist his superiors. He strives toward acquiring but despising [giving]. He is attentive to his new associates but neglects his old acquaintances. He is stingy in sharing wealth and is ungenerous in giving. When seeing people in poverty and insufficiency he acts as if he has not recognized it; when chasing wealth and benefit, he acts as if he is not fast enough to catch it. When criticizing and praising, he does not check on the true circumstances. He himself indulges lavishly in the conduct he passes negative comments on, and he is fond of discussing the worthy and the unworthy. For things he has in himself, he never finds it difficult to criticize them in others; for things he does not have in himself, he never finds it difficult to request them in others. These are the conduct of the toadying.”

Discussion

The account in YQS is included in two separate chapters in YZCQ. In the second part of the episode, the discussion on the conduct of a toadying official, R is more elaborate than YQS: four paragraphs in R are not seen in YQS (10.29, 10.39, 10.44, 10.45). One possibility is that YQS is original and the two questions the lord asked are divided and included in two chapters in R. If this is the case the four vacant variants mentioned above could be later elaborations of the second conversation to make it a fuller independent account in R.

Five lexical variants suggest that YQS is probably closer to the common source YQS and R have taken their respective version from and R is the derived version. The data are summarized in the table below.

Table 2.4 Significant variants in YQS Account Ten

Variants	Comment
10.22 YQS: 比 ‘right next to’ :: R: 逼 ‘close to’	YQS are harder to make sense or less expected than R. By the principle of <i>lectio difficilior potior</i> , YQS is most likely the original.
10.31 YQS: 觀 ‘attentive to’ :: R: 歡 ‘rejoice’	
10.27 YQS: 公正 ‘fairness’ :: R: 正公 ‘noble title’	R is probably corrupted. The Contexts suggest that YQS is the one that makes sense either in meaning (10.27, 10.40) or in style (10.38).
10.40 YQS: 非譽不徵乎請 :: R: 非譽乎情	
10.38 YQS: 富利 :: R: 利	

10.22 YQS: 比 ‘right next to’ and R: 逼 ‘close to’ are close in meaning. It is possible that at some point YQS: 比_重 and R: 逼_適 both mean ‘close associates’ but later R: 逼_適 becomes an idiomatic expression and YQS: 比_重 becomes obsolete.

In 10.31 YQS: 觀 ‘attentive to’ :: R: 歡 ‘rejoice’, R: 歡 could have arisen due to graphical similarity and to the fact that R: 歡 is easier to understand.

The second part of this account, which matches YZCQ 3.21, seems to have many textual corruptions. Among the five cases that R appears to be obscure (10.16, 10.19 and the last the three listed in the table), we can probably account for how the errors could have arisen in three of them. In 10.27 and 10.40, it could simply be scribes’ careless mistakes. When copying, word order was reversed (10.27) and some words were skipped (10.40).

In 10.38, YQS: 騶富利若弗及 “When chasing wealth and benefit, he acts as if he is not fast enough to catch it.” The original text probably has 騶(趨)富利 as the style of the paragraph suggests, and 富 was possibly later dropped in R due to the reason that the phrase *qu li* 趨利 ‘pursue benefit’ itself is a fairly common fixed expression, which makes it easier to skip 富.

2.5 Yinqueshan Account Twelve (strips 590-597)

Account twelve records Yanzi's mixed feeling toward the murder of Lord Zhuang. Yanzi foresaw the demise of his lord but could not help to prevent it since he had lost the ruler's favor. On one hand, Yanzi deeply lamented his lord; on the other hand, he defended himself to the murderer, his political enemy Cui Shu (d.546), arguing that he did not deserve to follow his lord to die.

The YQS account and YZCQ 5.2 (*Jishi*, 295) are fairly close to each other. *Zuozhuan* (Yang Bojun 1981, 1098 [Xiang 25]) and *Shiji* (32.1500) also record this episode. The *Zuozhuan* and *Shiji* accounts are more cursory than YQS and R. The matching lines with YQS and R in the *Zuozhuan* (abbreviated as ZZ hereafter) and *Shiji* start from the part of Yanzi coming to the site of the assassination (the fourth section, variant 12.19).

Transcription

- ⁵⁹⁰ ●晏子為壯公臣言用晦朝賜爵益邑我而不用晦朝致邑與爵邑盡退朝而乘渭然僕終而笑
^{591 a} 其僕曰...^b僕笑相^c從之數也晏^d子曰吾^e僕也哀吾君必不免於難也吾笑...
- ^{592 a} 吾夕无死已^b崔杼果式壯公晏子立於崔子之門從者曰何不死乎晏子曰獨吾君與吾死也
^{593 a} 何不去乎曰吾罪與才吾亡也然則何不^b□□□君死焉歸夫君人者幾以冷民社稷是主也
故
^{594 a} 君為社稷死則死之君為社稷亡則亡之若君為己死為己□□^b不私親孰敢任之有君而殺
之吾
^{595 a} 焉得死^b焉得亡^c門啟而入崔子曰晏子□□□^d子曰過始弗智也過眾弗智也吾何為死且
^{596 a} 吾聞之以亡為行者不足以存君以死為義者不足以^b立功嬰幾婢子才隘而從之術但免枕
君
⁵⁹⁷ ...哭興九甬而出

Discussion of textual variants

1 2 3
 YQS: 晏子為壯公臣言用晦朝賜爵益邑
 R: 晏子為莊公臣言大用每朝賜爵益邑

12.1 YQS: 壯 [zhuàng < *tsraŋh ‘robust’] :: R: 莊 zhuāng < *tsraŋ, the posthumous name of
 Commonlord Zhuang (r. 693-662). Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

12.2 YQS: null :: R: 大 ‘greatly’. Vacant variation.

12.3 YQS: 晦 [huì < *hmâ? ‘dark; the last day of the lunar month’] :: R: 每 měi < *mâ? ‘every’.

Graphic variation with shared phonetic. The sense here seems to be that **every time** when Yanzi was paying visits to the court, he received rank and land as award from his lord, I therefore read it as měi ‘every’ (每) as the matching word in R suggests. This variation is consistent in this account and will not be discussed again.

4 5 6 7 8 9
 YQS: 我而不用晦朝致邑與爵邑盡退朝而乘渭然僕終而笑
 R: 俄而不用每朝致邑與爵爵邑盡退朝而乘嘖然而歎終而笑

12.4 YQS: 我 [wǒ < *ŋâi? ‘I, we’] :: R: 俄 é < *ŋâi ‘a short time’.

Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

12.5 YQS: null :: R: 爵 ‘rank’. Vacant variation.

In the editors’ transcription YQS has the graph 爵 here, which is probably a slip. On both the photo and facsimile a full graph 爵 is not present.

12.6 YQS: 渭 [wèi < *wâs ‘name of a river’] :: R: 嘖 kuì < *khus ‘sigh’. Graphic variation.

The OC Schuessler reconstructs for 渭 and 嘖 may not seem close to each other, but there are many cases of words with 胃 and 貴 as phonetics used interchangeably in early texts. For

instance, 喟 and 嘖, 喟 and 憤. (Gao Heng 1989, 487) This suggests that YQS: 涓 and R: 嘖 could be phonologically compatible and this is a case of graphic variation.

12.7 YQS: null :: R: 而 conjunctive. Vacant variation.

12.8 YQS: 嘆 :: R: 歎 *tàn* < **nhâns* ‘sigh’. Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

Later in R, the word *tan* ‘sigh’ is also written as 嘆 (see 12.12), which provides a case of free alternation between the heart component 心 and the mouth component 口. The word ‘sigh’ involves both mental activity and sound making. This is probably the rationale behind using 心 and 口 in 嘆 and 嘆 for the word ‘sigh,’ with 心 in 嘆 not reflected in the transmitted writing system anymore.

12.9 YQS: The symbol after 嘆, =, is a ditto symbol. See note 1.7.

YQS: 嘆 ‘sigh’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

	10	11	12	13	14	15
YQS:	其僕曰...	僕笑相從之數也	晏子曰吾嘆也	哀吾君必不免於難也	吾笑...	
R:	其僕曰何歎笑相從	數也	晏子曰吾嘆也	哀吾君	不免於難	吾笑也喜吾自得也

12.10 YQS: ... :: R: 何 ‘why’. Strip 591 is broken and the modern editors suggest that there is one graph missing. Their basis is probably the matching word in R. Judging from the photograph, the missing piece could have allowed up to three graphs.

12.11 YQS: 之 nominalizer :: R: null. Vacant variation.

12.12 YQS: 嘆 :: R: 嘆 ‘sigh’. Graphic variation with shared phonetic. Also see 12.8.

12.13 YQS: 必 ‘inevitably’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

12.14 YQS: 也 aspect particle :: R: null. Vacant variation.

YQS: 哀吾君必不免於難也 “I am lamenting that our lord will inevitably fall victim to the forthcoming calamity.”

12.15 YQS: 吾笑... “I was laughing...” :: R: 吾笑也喜吾自得也 “I was laughing because I am pleased with my own achievement.” The missing piece of strip 591 could have allowed for six graphs, which is the length of the matching line in R. YQS and R could be very close to each other.

	16	17	18	19	20	21
YQS:	吾	夕	无	死	已	崔杼果式壯公 晏子立於崔子之門 從者曰 何不
R:	吾	亦	無	死	矣	崔杼果弑莊公 晏子立 崔杼之門 從者曰 死乎
ZZ:						晏子立於崔氏之門外 其人曰 死乎
Shiji:						晏嬰立於崔杼 門外

12.16 YQS: 夕 [*xī* < **s-jak* ‘evening’] :: R: 亦 *yì* < **jak* ‘also’. Graphic variation.

12.17 YQS: 已 *yǐ* < **lǎ?* ‘stop; perfective particle’ :: R: 矣 *yǐ* < **lǎ?* ‘perfective aspect marker’.

Graphic variation. As perfective markers, usually *yǐ* 已 is preverbal, and *yǐ* 矣 is found at the end of a sentence. *Yǐ* 已 is sometimes used after the predicate to indicate a new realization on the part of the speaker. (Pulleyblank 1995, 118)

12.18 YQS: 式 [*shì* < **lhək* ‘established practices’] :: R: 弑 *shì* < **lhəkh* ‘assassinate (one’s superior)’. Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

12.19 YQS: 晏子立於崔子之門 :: R: 晏子立崔杼之門 :: ZZ: 晏子立於崔氏之門外 :: Shiji: 晏嬰立於崔杼門外

In ZZ, before the introduction of the encounter between Yanzi and Cuizi, the direct cause that led to murder of Lord Zhuang is provided: 崔武子見棠姜而美之, 遂取之, 莊公通焉, 崔子弑

之 “Wuzi of the Cui clan saw Tang Jiang and thought she was beautiful, and then he married her. Commonlord Zhuang had dalliances with Tang Jiang. Cuizi assassinated Lord Zhuang.” In *Shiji* (32.2), this episode is recorded in “The hereditary house of Tai Gong of Qi” 齊太公世家. More details on the dalliances between Cuizi’s wife and Lord Zhuang and on the assassination are provided than in ZZ.

Cui Shu 崔杼 (d. 546) or Cuizi 崔子 was the Prime Minister of Qi since Lord Ling’s regime 靈公 (r. 581-554). He installed Lord Zhuang (r. 553-548) and Lord Jing (r. 547-490) on the throne. Cui’s clan was wiped out in the factional struggle with another powerful minister of Qi, Qing Feng 慶封 (d. 538). Cui Shu is also addressed as Cuizi 崔子, Cui Wuzi 崔武子 (Wu is his posthumous title) in early texts.

YQS, R, ZZ: 晏子 Yanzi (Master Yan) :: Shiji: 晏嬰 Yan Ying. Ying is Yanzi’s given name.

In the “The hereditary house of Qi Tai Gong” in the *Shiji*, both Yan Ying 晏嬰 and Yanzi 晏子 are used.

YQS, ZZ, Shiji: 於 ‘at’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

YQS: 崔子 Cuizi (Zi is a common respectful suffix in a name) :: R, Shiji: 崔杼 Cui Shu :: ZZ: 崔氏 the Cui clan. Lexical variation.

YQS, R, ZZ: 之 ‘possessive particle’ :: Shiji: null. Vacant variation.

YQS, R: null :: ZZ, Shiji: 外 ‘outside’. Vacant variation.

ZZ: 崔氏之門外 and Shiji: 崔杼門外 “outside the gate of the Cui clan (or Cui Shu),” as a location Yanzi stood at, is more accurate than YQS: 崔子之門 “the gate of Cuizi” or R: 崔杼之門 “the gate of Cui Shu.”

12.20 YQS, R: 從者 ‘attendant’ :: ZZ: 其人 ‘his people’ :: Shiji: null.

Shiji does not have the conversation between Yanzi and his attendant.

The variant between YQS, R and ZZ is lexical variation. Although YQS, R 從者 ‘attendant’ and ZZ 其人 ‘his people’ both refer to the same person, YQS and R are more explicit than ZZ.

12.21 YQS: 何不死乎 “why not die?” :: R, ZZ: 死乎 “Will you die?” Lexical variation.

YQS: 何不死乎 “Why not die?” sounds like a suggestion instead of a real question. In R and ZZ, 死乎 “Will you die?” is a question. This difference also presents in 12.26 and 12.31.

	22		23	24		25		26		27		28														
YQS:	晏子	曰	獨	吾	君	與		吾	死	也		何	不	去	乎	曰		吾	罪	與	才	吾	亡	也		
R:	晏子	曰	獨	吾	君	也	乎	哉		吾	死	也	曰		行	乎	曰	獨	吾	罪	也	乎	哉	吾	亡	也
ZZ:		曰	獨	吾	君	也	乎	哉		吾	死	也	曰		行	乎	曰		吾	罪	也	乎	哉	吾	亡	也

12.22 YQS, R: 晏子 Yanzi :: ZZ: null. Vacant variation.

12.23 YQS: 與 *yú* < **la*, interrogative final particle, a fusion of 也乎 :: R, ZZ: 也乎 *yě hu* < **lai?* **hâ*. Lexical variation.

12.24 YQS: null :: R, ZZ: 哉 *zāi* < **tsâ*, final exclamation particle. Vacant variation.

12.25 YQS: null :: R, ZZ: 曰 ‘say’. Vacant variation. The word *yuē* 曰 in R and ZZ is a useful indicator that the speaker changes from Yanzi to his attendant again.

12.26 YQS: 何不去乎 “why not leave?” :: R, ZZ: 行乎 “Will you escape?” Also See 12.21.

YQS: 去 *qù* < **khah* ‘go away’ :: R, ZZ: 行 *xíng* < **grâṅh* ‘go’. Lexical variation.

12.27 YQS, ZZ: null :: R: 獨 ‘alone’. Vacant variation.

YQS agrees with ZZ: 吾罪也乎(/哉) “Was it my fault?”

The word *dú* 獨 in R: 獨吾罪也乎哉 “Was it solely my fault?” makes its meaning not in line with what was introduced earlier. Before the assassination Yanzi was already distanced from Lord Jing, his suggestions disregarded, enfeoffed lands and rank taken back. In YQS and ZZ, Yanzi was defending himself insisting that the demise of the lord was not his fault at all. But *dú* 獨 in R makes it sound like Yanzi was the culprit of the fall of his lord.

In the previous sentence, 獨吾君與(/也乎哉) “Was he **solely** my lord?” Yanzi was pointing out that he was not the only vassal and not even a trusted one of his lord. It is possible that a later editor made a mistake by repeating *dú* 獨 at the beginning of the second rhetorical question in R.

Since YQS and ZZ agree, the variant in R is probably the derived version.

12.28 YQS: 才 [*cái* < **dzâ* ‘talent’] :: R, ZZ: 哉 *zāi* < **tsâ*, final exclamation particle.

Graphic variation.

	29	30		31		32	33	34	35	36	37													
YQS:	然	則	何	不	歸	乎	曰	君	死	焉	歸	夫	君	人	者	幾	以	冷	民	社	稷	是	主	也
R:	曰				歸	乎	曰	吾	君	死	安	歸	君	民	者	豈	以	陵	民	社	稷	是	主	
ZZ:	曰				歸	乎	曰	君	死	安	歸	君	民	者	豈	以	陵	民	社	稷	是	主		

12.29 YQS: null :: R, ZZ: 曰 ‘say’. Vacant variation. Also see 12.25.

12.30 YQS: 然則 “If so then...” :: R, ZZ: null. Vacant variation.

12.31 YQS: 何不□□□君死焉歸 :: R: 歸乎曰吾君死安歸 :: ZZ: 歸乎曰君死安歸.

Based on the context and the matching parts in R and ZZ, the missing words in YQS are probably 何不歸乎曰君死焉歸 “Why not [return? (Yanzi) said,] the lord is dead, where should I return?”

R: 吾 ‘first person pronoun’ :: ZZ: null. Vacant variation.

YQS: 焉 *yān* < *ʔan ‘how, where’ :: R, ZZ: 安 [*ān* < *ʔân ‘how, where; peace’]. Graphic variation.

12.32 YQS: 夫 ‘in any particular case’ :: R, ZZ: null. Vacant variation.

12.33 YQS: 人 *rén* < *nin ‘people’ :: R, ZZ: 民 *mín* < *min ‘people’.

Lexical variation between synonyms.

12.34 YQS: 幾 [*jǐ* < *kəi ‘minute’] :: R, ZZ: 豈 *qǐ* < *khəiʔ, ‘how (in a rhetorical question)’.

Graphic variation.

12.35 YQS: 冷 [*líng* < *rêŋ ‘cool’] :: R, ZZ, Shiji: 陵 *líng* < *rəŋ, ‘mound; ascend; override’.

Graphic variation.

12.36 YQS: 稷 :: R, ZZ: 稷 *jì* < *tsək ‘crops’. Graphic variation.

YQS: 稷 is an allograph of 稷 *jì* 稷. (*Kangxi zidian*, 845) The phrase *shèjì* 社稷 ‘temple and altar’ refers to ‘state.’

12.37 YQS: 也, continuative aspect marker :: R, ZZ: null. Vacant variation.

	38	39 40	41
YQS:		故君為社稷死則死之	君為社稷亡則亡之
R:	臣君者豈為其口實 社稷是養	故君為社稷死則死之	為社稷亡則亡之
ZZ:	臣君者豈為其口實 社稷是養	故君為社稷死則死之	為社稷亡則亡之
Shiji:		曰 君為社稷死則死之	為社稷亡則亡之

12.38 YQS: null :: R, ZZ: 臣君者豈為其口實, 社稷是養 “Are those who serve a lord only doing it for the sake of the remuneration they will receive? It is the state that they are supporting.” Vacant variation.

12.39 YQS, R, ZZ: null :: Shiji: 曰 ‘say’. Vacant variation.

In the *Shiji* this sentence is the very first line Yanzi said after he came to Cui Shu's residence.

12.40 YQS, R, ZZ: 故 'therefore' :: Shiji: null. Vacant variation.

In YQS, R and ZZ, Yanzi is concluding his arguments. In the *Shiji* this is the very first line Yanzi said after he came to the gate of Cui Shu's residence. Since this is not part of the conversation between Yanzi and his attendant like in the other three texts, what Yanzi said becomes a monologue. In YQS, R and ZZ, it is clear that Yanzi was responding to his attendant's queries on why he would not kill himself or go away. This monologue in the *Shiji* seems out of context. Most likely the dialogue absent in the *Shiji* was taken out from the original text when this episode was edited into the *Shiji*.

12.41 YQS: 君 'lord' :: R, ZZ, Shiji: null. Vacant variation.

	42		43 44		45		46		47
YQS:	若君	為己	死	為己	亡	非	兀私親	孰敢	任之
R:	若君	為己	死而	為己	亡	非	其私暱	孰能	任之
ZZ:	若	為己	死而	為己	亡	非	其私暱	誰敢	任之
Shiji:	若	為己	死	己	亡	非	其私暱	誰敢	任之

12.42 YQS, R: 君 'lord' :: ZZ, Shiji: null. Vacant variation.

12.43 YQS, Shiji: null :: R, ZZ: 而 connective particle. Vacant variation.

12.44 YQS, R, Shiji: null :: ZZ: 為 'for the sake of'. Vacant variation.

12.45 Strip 594 has two graphs missing. The matching words in all other three texts suggest

YQS could be 若君為己死為己亡, 非兀私親, 孰敢任之 "If a lord dies for his personal agenda, [flees away] for himself, [except for] his favorites and intimates, which one dares to assume this responsibility?"

12.46 YQS: 親 *qīn* < **tshin* 'intimate' :: R, ZZ, Shiji: 暱 *nì* < **nrək* 'close'.

Lexical variation between synonyms.

12.47 YQS: 孰敢任之 :: R: 孰能任之 :: ZZ, Shiji: 誰敢任之

YQS: 孰敢任之 “Which one dares to take up responsibility (of killing oneself or fleeing for the lord)?”

YQS, R: 孰 *shú* < **duk* ‘which’ :: ZZ, Shiji: 誰 *shuí* < **dui* ‘who’. Lexical variation between synonyms.

YQS, ZZ, Shiji: 敢 *gǎn* < **kâm?* ‘dare’ :: R: 能 *néng* < **nâŋ* ‘be capable of’. Lexical variation.

YQS, ZZ, Shiji: 敢 ‘dare’ makes it a stronger rhetorical question than R: 能.

48	49	50	51	52	53
YQS:	人有君而殺之	吾焉得死	焉得亡		
R:	且人有君而弑之	吾焉得死之而	焉得亡之	將庸何歸	
ZZ:	且人有君而弑之	吾焉得死之而	焉得亡之	將庸何歸	
Shiji:	null				

12.48 YQS: null :: R, ZZ: 且 ‘moreover’. Vacant variation.

12.49 YQS: 殺 *shā* < **srât* ‘kill’ :: R, ZZ: 弑 *shì* < **lhəkh* ‘assassinate’. Lexical variation.

R, ZZ: *shì* 弑 ‘assassinate (one’s superior)’ is more accurate than YQS in this context.

12.50 YQS: null :: R, ZZ: 之 ‘pronoun (him, Lord Zhuang)’. Vacant variation.

12.51 YQS: null :: R, ZZ: 而 connective. Vacant variation.

12.52 YQS: null :: R, ZZ: 之 ‘pronoun (him, Lord Zhuang)’. Vacant variation.

12.53 YQS: null :: R, ZZ: 將庸何歸 “Where am I returning?” Vacant variation.

In YQS, R and ZZ, Yanzi’s attendant asked him three questions, “Will you die?” “Will you leave?” and “Will you return?” This line in R and ZZ is responding to the third question. In this sense, R and ZZ are more complete and polished than YQS.

straightforward and seems to be the words intended here rather than “not considering the transgression wise.” Also see 4.40.

12.58 YQS: 眾 [zhòng < *tuŋh ‘numerous’] :: R: 終 zhōng < *tuŋ ‘end’. Graphic variation.

12.59 YQS: 弗智也 “(I) do not know it.” :: R: 吾不知也 “I do not know it.” Lexical variation.

YQS: 智 [zhì < *treh ‘knowledge’] :: R: 知 zhī < *tre ‘know’. Graphic variation. Also see

12.57.

60

YQS: 且吾聞之 以亡為行者不足以存君 以死為義者不足以立功

R: 且吾聞之 呂亡為行者不足以存君 以死為義者不足呂立功

ZZ: null

Shiji: null

12. 60 YQS, R: 且吾聞之以(/呂)亡為行者不足以存君, 以死為義者不足以(/呂)立功

“Moreover I have heard that those who take going away as the right action are not sufficient to preserve their lord, and those who take death as Propriety are not sufficient to establish merits.”

	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73														
YQS:	嬰	幾	婢	子	才	隘	而	從	之	術	但	免	枕	君	...	哭	興	九	踊	而	出						
R:	嬰	豈	其	婢	子	也	哉	其	隘	而	從	之	也	遂	袒	免	坐	枕	君	尸	而	哭	興	三	踊	而	出
ZZ:													枕	尸	股	而	哭	興	三	踊	而	出					
Shiji:													枕	公	尸	而	哭					三	踊	而	出		

12.61 YQS: 幾 [jī < *kəi ‘minute’] :: R, ZZ: 豈 qǐ < *khəi?, ‘how (in a rhetorical question)’.

Graphic variation. Also see 12.34.

12.62 YQS: null :: R: 其 modal qí, indicating the ridiculousness of this option. Vacant variation.

12.63 YQS: null :: R: 也 continuative aspect marker. Vacant variation.

12.64 YQS: 才 [cái < *dzə ‘talent’] :: R: 哉 zāi < *tsə, final exclamation particle. Graphic

variation. Also see 12.28.

12.65 YQS: null :: R: 其 modal *qí*. Vacant variation. Also see 12.62.

12.66 YQS: 隘 [*ài* < **ʔrêkh* ‘narrow’] :: R: 縊 *yì* < **ʔêkh* ‘strangle’.

Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

12.67 YQS: null :: R: 也 continuative aspect marker. Vacant variation.

12.68 YQS: 術 [*shù* < **m-lut* ‘road; technique’] :: R: 遂 *sui* < **s-jus* ‘subsequently’.

Graphic variation. *Shù* 術 and *sui* 遂 is an established *jiajie* pair in received texts. (Gao Heng 1989, 555) In Baxter’s OC reconstruction they are very close to each other: 術 **Cə-lut*, 遂 **Sə-lut-s*.

12.69 YQS: 但 [*dàn* < **dân?* ‘only’] :: R: 袒 *tǎn* < **dân?* ‘strip oneself naked to the waist’.

Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

12.70 YQS: null :: R: 坐 ‘sit’. Vacant variation.

12.71 YQS: 枕君...哭 :: R: 枕君尸而哭 :: ZZ: 枕尸股而哭 :: Shiji: 枕公尸而哭.

R: 枕君尸而哭 “(Yanzi) pillowed the body of the lord and then cried” and Shiji: 枕公尸而哭 “(Yanzi) pillowed the body of the Commonlord and then cried” are almost identical.

ZZ is more specific, 枕尸股而哭 “(Yanzi) pillowed the body on his thigh and then cried.”

12.72 YQS, R, ZZ: 興 ‘rise’ :: Shiji: null. Vacant variation.

12.73 YQS: 九鬲 nine ritual dances :: R, ZZ, Shiji: 三躡 three ritual dances

YQS: 鬲 [*yǒng* < **loŋ?* ‘handles of a bell’] :: R, ZZ, Shiji: 躡 *yǒng* < **loŋ?* ‘ritual jumping dance (on a funeral)’. Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

YQS: null

R: 人謂崔子必殺之 崔子曰 民之望也 舍之得民

ZZ: 人謂崔子必殺之 崔子曰 民之望也 舍之得民

Shiji: 人謂崔杼必殺之 崔杼曰 民之望也 舍之得民

12.74 YQS: null :: R, ZZ, Shiji: 人謂崔子(杼)必殺之。 崔子(杼)曰, 民之望也, 舍之得民

“Someone said to Cui zi: ‘You must kill him.’ Cui zi said, ‘Yanzi is someone people look up to.

If let him go, I can gain the people.’” Vacant variation.

Edited transcription and translation

晏子為壯(莊)公臣,言用,晦(每)朝賜爵益邑。我(俄)而不用,晦(每)朝致邑與爵,邑盡,退朝而乘,渭(喟)然慟(歎歎)終而笑。其僕曰...慟(歎)笑相從之數也? 晏子曰,吾慟(歎)也,哀吾君必不免於難也。吾笑...吾夕(亦)无死已。崔杼果弑(弑)壯(莊)公。晏子立於崔子之門。從者曰,何不死乎? 晏子曰,獨吾君與? 吾死也。何不去乎? 曰吾罪與才(哉)? 吾亡也。然則何不歸乎? 曰君死焉歸? 夫君人者幾以冷民,社稷是主也,故君為社稷死則死之,君為社稷亡則亡之。若君為己死為己亡非忝私親,孰敢任之? 有君而殺之,吾焉得死? 焉得亡? 門啟而入,崔子曰,晏子□□□子曰,過始弗智也。過眾弗智也。吾何為死? 且吾聞之,以亡為行者不足以存君,以死為義者不足以立功。嬰幾婢子才? 隘(縊)而從之? 術(遂)但(袒)免枕君...哭興九甬(踊)而出。

Yanzi served Commonlord Zhuang. When his suggestions were used, every time he paid visits to the court, the lord rewarded him with rank of nobility and increased his enfeoffed lands. After a short time Yanzi was not used anymore. Every time he paid visits to the court, he returned those enfeoffed lands and rank. The enfeoffed lands were eventually all returned. Yanzi withdrew from the court and got on his ride. He sighed deeply. After sighing he laughed. His attendant said, “...your sigh is followed by laughter so fast?” Yanzi said, “I sighed because I was lamenting that my lord will inevitably fall a victim of disasters. I laughed...I also would not die.” Cui Shu indeed assassinated Commonlord Zhuang. When Yanzi stood at the gate of Cui zi, his attendant said, “Why not die?” Yanzi said, “Was Commonlord Zhuang only my lord, that I should die (for him)?!” “Why not leave?” (Yanzi) said: “Is it my fault, that I should flee?!”

“If so then why not [return home]?” (Yanzi) [said]: “My lord is dead, where would I return to? The ones who rule people, can they use their ruling to oppress the people? It is the state that they are managing. Therefore if the lord dies for the state his subjects should then die for him; if the lord runs away for the state his subjects should then run away with him. If the lord dies for his own sake and run away for his own sake, except for his favorites and intimates, who dares to assume such a task?” Someone assassinated his own lord. Why I get to die? Why I get to run away?” The gate opened and Yanzi entered. Cui zi said: “Yanzi ...” (Yan)zi said: “When the calamity started I did not know it. When the calamity ended, I did not know it. Why should I die? Moreover, I have heard that taking running away as the proper behavior is not sufficient to preserve his lord and seeing death as Propriety is not sufficient to establish merits. Am I a maidservant? To strangle myself to follow him?” He then took off his clothes and his hat, pillowed the lord...cried. (Yanzi) then rose. He jumped up nine times and went out.

Discussion

The matching accounts in YQS, R, ZZ and *Shiji* suggest that they are probably from a shared source. ZZ and *Shiji* are less detailed than YQS and R. *Shiji* does not have the first conversation between Yanzi and his attendant and the one between Yanzi and Cui Shu. ZZ does not have the latter. This is probably because in both ZZ and *Shiji* the assassination of Lord Zhuang is introduced as an event took place in Qi, unlike YQS and R in which Yanzi is the focus of the narratives. Passages that are not essential to the event itself are therefore not included in ZZ and *Shiji*. The fact that YQS and R are fuller than ZZ and *Shiji* suggests that ZZ and *Shiji* have taken materials from YQS and R and then edited them to fit into their own narrative structures.

The study of textual variants shows that ZZ and *Shiji* are closer to R than YQS. The significant variants among R, ZZ and *Shiji* versus YQS are summarized in the table below.

Table 2.5 Significant variants in YQS Account Twelve

Variants	Comment
12.21, 12.26, 12.31 YQS: 何不死乎? 何不去乎? 何不歸乎? :: R, ZZ: 死乎? 行乎? 歸乎?	YQS sounds like a suggestion or accusation while R and ZZ sound like a simple inquiry. R and ZZ make better sense contextually.
12.38 YQS: null :: R, ZZ: 臣君者豈為其口實, 社稷是養	Yanzi was defending that it was the state that vassals were supporting not a particular lord, especially an unworthy one like Lord Zhuang. This line in R and ZZ fits the context well.
12.46 YQS: 親 ‘intimate’ :: R, ZZ, Shiji: 暱 ‘close’	No apparent difference between the two synonyms. Both phrases, 私親 and <i>sī nì</i> 私暱, can be found in early texts.
12.48 YQS: 人有君而殺之, 吾焉得死焉得亡 :: R, ZZ: 且人有君而弑之, 吾焉得死之而焉得亡之	The most significant difference is YQS: 殺 ‘kill’ :: R, ZZ: 弑 ‘assassinate’. R, ZZ: 弑 is more precise in this context.
12.74 YQS: null :: R, ZZ, Shiji: 人謂崔子(杼)必殺之。崔子(杼)曰, 民之望也, 舍之得民	This last paragraph in R, ZZ and <i>Shijing</i> makes the account fuller.

Except 12.46, all the other variants summarized in the table suggest that R, ZZ and *Shiji* are more polished versions than YQS by either providing a smoother narrative (12.21, 12.74), a stronger argument (12.38), or by being more precise than YQS (12.48). By the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*, YQS is closer to the common source they have all derived from.

There are also cases that ZZ and *Shiji* agree with YQS but differ from R. Two variants are noteworthy.

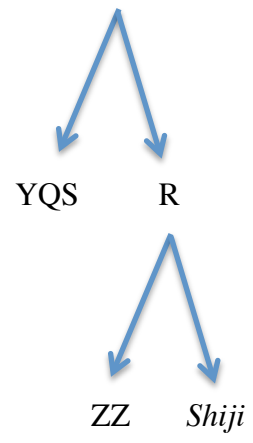
12.19 YQS: 晏子立於崔子之門
R: 晏子立 崔杼之門
ZZ: 晏子立於崔氏之門外
Shiji: 晏嬰立於崔杼 門外

YQS: 晏子立於崔子之門 “Yanzi stood at the gate of Cuizi.” ZZ and *Shiji* are similar to YQS but more precise: Yanzi “stood **outside** the gate” of Cui clan. Later it is recorded in all four texts that “the gate opened and Yanzi entered,” so the detail “stood outside the gate” in ZZ and *Shiji* is not only clearer but also consistent with other passages of the texts. R is the only version without the relational locative word 於 ‘at.’ Since the other three texts all have 於, the original text probably has it and R is corrupted. The table we have discussed has already shown that ZZ and *Shiji* are taking materials from R, so their variation with R in this case (於, 外) suggests that either ZZ and *Shiji* are subject to lateral influence from other textual linages or their editors just fixed the text to make it smoother and polished. The latter is probably more possible because non-content words such as grammatical particles like 於 tends to be dropped and added quite often anyways. An editor could have easily identified the slips and fixed the text by adding 於 and 外.

Another case of YQS, ZZ and *Shiji* differing from R is 12.47 YQS, ZZ, *Shiji*: 敢 ‘dare’ :: R: 能 ‘be capable of’. YQS, ZZ, *Shiji*: 孰(/誰)敢任之 “Who **dares** to assume the task (of dying for the lord)?” suggests that it is inappropriate to even think about it, while R: 誰能任之 “Who **is capable of** assuming the task?” is less strong in tone. In other words, the variant in YQS, ZZ and *Shiji* makes a more effective rhetorical question than R.

Based on the discussion of the significant variants, the relation among the four texts can be summarized in the diagram below.

Common source



2.6 Yinqueshan Account Thirteen (strips 598-610)

Account thirteen records how Lord Jing was tricked into believing that his longevity can be increased simply by Baichang Qian's performing sacrifice for him, and how Yanzi saw through Baichang Qian's deceit and discouraged him in this practice. Baichang Qian was the *tai bu* 太卜 (Grand Diviner) of Qi at this time. He appears in three YZCQ accounts (4.30, 6.4, 8.9).

This account matches YZCQ 6.4 (*Jishi*, 375) and *Shui yuan* 說苑 (*Sibu congkan* edition, 18.6a).

The *Shui yuan* is a collection of episodes of prominent lords and scholars from Chunqiu to the Western Han periods (compiled in 17). The matching accounts in YZCQ and *Shui yuan* are compared and discussed with the manuscript.

Transcription

- 598 ● ^a景公令脩 ^b蒼寧之臺_成 ^c公不尚焉柏常騫見曰 ^d□□□甚急今成何為不尚焉公曰然每
- 599 ^a□□□鳴焉其聲无不為也吾是以不尚焉柏常騫曰臣請□而去之公曰若令官具柏
- 600 ^a常騫之求柏常騫曰无求也請筑新室以茅菽之室成具白茅而已矣柏常騫夜用事 ^b焉
- 601 ^a旦見於公曰今夜尚聞 ^b梟聲乎公曰吾壹聞 ^c□□□□矣柏常騫曰 ^d□令人視之梟□□
- 602 ^a矣公令人視之梟布翼伏 ^b地而死乎臺下公喜曰子能請...
- 603 ^a柏常騫曰能公曰益幾何合曰天子九諸侯七大夫五公曰□□益壽有徵兆乎柏常騫曰然
- ^b益
- 604 ^a壽地將動公喜令數為之令官具柏常騫之求後者□ ^b不用令之罪柏常騫出曹晏子
- 605 ^a於涂曰前日公令脩 ^b臺成而 ^c公不尚焉騫見 ^d而□問之君曰有梟夜鳴焉吾惡之故不尚焉
- 606 ^a騫為君□之而梟已死矣君謂騫曰女能請鬼神殺梟而不能益寡人之 ^b壽乎騫合曰能君曰
- 607 ^a若為之今騫 ^b將大祭以為君請壽故將往以聞晏 ^c子□諛夕善矣能為君請壽雖然徒祭可
- 608 ^a以益壽 ^b柏常騫曰可晏子曰嬰聞之雖正川□ ^c□可以益壽而已矣今徒祭可以益壽若
- 609 ^a謹為之然得壽則有見乎柏常騫曰得壽 ^b□□□□□曰昔吾見維星絕樞星散地其
- 610 ^a幾動女以 ^b是乎柏常騫付有聞合曰然晏子曰為 ^b□□□弗為損年數為之而毋求財官

Discussion of textual variants

Shui yuan is abbreviated as ShY in the discussion.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
YQS:	景	公	令脩	蒼	寤之臺	成	公不尚焉
R:	景	公為	路寢	之臺	成而		不踊焉
ShY:	齊	景公為	露寢	之臺	成而		不通焉

13.1 YQS, R: null :: ShY: 齊 *qí*, name of a state. Vacant variation.

13.2 YQS: 令脩 ‘order to restore’ :: R, ShY: 為 ‘create’. Lexical variation.

13.3 YQS: 蒼寤 :: R: 路寢 ‘the grand dwelling palace’ :: ShY: 露寢 ‘the revealed dwelling palace’. YQS: 蒼 [*gè* < **kâk* ‘one kind of wild onion’] :: R: 路 *lù* < **râkh* ‘big’ :: ShY: 露 *lù* < **râkh* ‘show’. The term *lù qǐn* 路寢 refers to one kind of formal dwelling palace for rulers, but the meaning of *lù* 路 in this phrase is obscure (also see YQS 5.1). YQS: 蒼 ‘wild onion’ does not make sense in this context and YQS: 蒼 and R: 路 are probably graphic variation with shared phonetic. Most phonologists reconstruct clusters **kl-* ~ **gl-* for the 各 *xiesheng* series. ShY: 露 *lù* < **râkh* ‘show’ and 路 *lù* < **râkh* ‘big’ could be graphic variation too. But since 露 ‘show’ is a common word, and the phrase 露寢 ‘the revealed dwelling palace’ also fits into the general description of *lù qǐn* as a grand, formal dwelling palace, we will take a conservative approach and treat it as a lexical variant with 路.

YQS: 寤 :: R, ShY: 寢 *qǐn* < **tshəm?* ‘palacial abode’. Graphic variant. Also see 5.2.

13.4 YQS: 臺_二: 臺臺. The mark _二 is a ditto symbol. See 1.3.

YQS: 臺 ‘terrace’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.5 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 而 connective. Vacant variation.

13.6 YQS: 公 *gōng* ‘commonlord’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.7 YQS: 尚 *shàng* < **daŋh* ‘ascend’ :: R: 踊 *yǒng* < **loŋʔ* ‘leap’ :: ShY: 通 *tōng* < **lhônʔ* ‘go through, arrive’. Lexical variation.

The context is that Lord Jing felt reluctant to mount the newly built terrace. R: 踊 **loŋʔ* ‘leap’ has the sense of ‘go up’, but it is often used in a ceremonial setting as a ritual dance (see 12.73).

The only other example where *yǒng* 踊 is attested meaning ‘go up (stairs)’ is in the *Gongyang Zhuan* 公羊傳 (17.6b), 踊于楅而闕客 “(The mother of Qi Lord) got on the footboard (installed for uneven surface) to peep at the guests.”

R: 踊 and ShY: 通 have shared phonetic and are graphically similar with walking related components 足 and 走. Wang Niansun (*Dushu zazhi*, YZCQ 2.10a) suggests ShY: 通 is either a graphic error of R: 踊 or stands for the word *yǒng* 踊. I will take 通 at face value.

This same variant is consistent in the rest of the passage and will not be discussed again.

	8	9	10	11		12	13	14	15								
YQS:	柏	常	騫	見曰	□□□	甚	急	今	成	何為	不	尚	焉				
R:	栢	常	騫	曰	君	為	臺	甚	急	臺	成	君	何為	而	不	踊	焉
ShY:	柏	常	騫	曰		為	臺	甚	急	臺	成	君	何為		不	通	焉

13.8 YQS, ShY: 柏 *bǎi* :: R: 栢 *bǎi*, part of the surname Bǎicháng. Graphic variation.

13.9 YQS: 騫 [*xiān* < **qhan* ‘(birds) flap’] :: R, ShY: 騫 *qiān* < **khran* ‘abdominal disease of a horse; defective’, used as a name in this account. Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

This variation is consistent through the whole episode and will not be discussed again.

13.10 YQS: 見 *jiàn* ‘meet’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.11 YQS: □ :: R: 君 ‘lord’ :: ShY: null. Vacant variation.

The missing words in YQS are probably very similar to R.

13.12 YQS: 今 *jīn* ‘now’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.13 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 臺 *tái* ‘terrace’. Vacant variation.

13.14 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 君 *jūn* ‘lord’. Vacant variation.

13.15 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 而 *ér*, connective. Vacant variation.

	16		17	18	19		20
YQS:	公曰然每	□□□	鳴焉	其聲	無不為也		
R:	公曰然	有梟昔者鳴		聲無不為也	吾惡之甚		
ShY:	公曰然	梟昔者鳴	其聲	無不為也	吾惡之甚		

13.16 YQS: 每 *měi* < **mâ?* ‘each’ or *huì* < **hmâ?* ‘dark’ (晦) :: R, ShY: null.

Vacant variation. The manuscript is incomplete, and YQS: 每 could be *měi* ‘every’ or *huì* ‘night.’ R: 有梟昔者鳴 “There is an owl crying during the **night**” suggests that the word intended in YQS is probably *huì* ‘night’ 晦.

13.17 YQS: □□□鳴 “...cry” :: R: 有梟昔者鳴 “There is an owl crying during the night” ::

ShY: 梟昔者鳴 “An owl was crying during the night”. Vacant variation.

13.18 YQS: 焉 *yān* ‘there’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.19 YQS: 其 :: ShY: 其 *qí* ‘its’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

13.20 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 吾惡之甚 “I abhor it greatly”. Vacant variation. This sentence makes the meaning of the previous sentence clearer: “Its sound is capable of anything (inauspicious).”

	21		22	23		24
YQS:	吾是以不尚焉	柏常騫曰	臣請□而去之	公曰	若令官具	柏常騫之求
R:	是以不踊焉	栢常騫曰	臣請禳而去	公曰	何具	
ShY:	是以不通焉	柏常騫曰	臣請禳而去之	公曰	何具	

13.21 YQS: 吾 first person pronoun :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.22 YQS: □ :: R, ShY: 禳 *ràng* < **naŋ?* ‘perform an exorcising ceremony’.

The matching word in YQS is illegible.

13.23 YQS, ShY: 之 ‘it (the owl)’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

R is grammatically incomplete. Since both YQS and R have 之, the common source from which all three texts have derived probably had 之, and it got dropped in R.

13.24 YQS: 若。令官具柏常騫之求 (The lord said:) “Granted.” He asked his officials to provide Baichang Qian with what he needed :: R, ShY: 何具 “What should we prepare?”

	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32																	
YQS:	柏	常	騫	曰	无	求	也	請	筑	新	室	以	茅	蔴	之	室	成	具	白	茅	而	已	矣		
R:				對	曰				築	新	室	為	置	白	茅	公	使	為	室	成	置	白	茅	焉	
ShY:				對	曰				築	新	室	為	置	白	茅	焉	公	使	為	室	成	置	白	茅	焉

13.25 YQS: 柏常騫 Baichang Qian :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.26 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 對 ‘respond’. Vacant variation.

13.27 YQS: 无求也 “I have no requests” :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.28 YQS: 請 ‘request (politely)’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.29 YQS: 筑 :: R, ShY: 築 *zhù* ‘build’. Graphic variation.

13.30 YQS: 以茅蔴之 “use thatch to cover its top” :: R: 為置白茅 “apply white thatch for it” ::

ShY: 為置白茅焉 “apply white thatch to it”.

The graph after 以茅 in YQS is incomplete. The modern editors transcribe it into 蔴 and think it stands for the word 茨 *cí* < **dzi* ‘thatch.’ Their basis is that the phonetic of 蔴 is the same as 糶 (*Shuowen* 149b), 次 *cì* < **tshih*. The difference between R and ShY is vacant variation. The word *yān* (‘to it’) in ShY makes the meaning of the sentence more explicit than that of R.

13.31 YQS: 室成 “When the room was finished.” :: R, ShY: 公使為室, 成 “The Commonlord ordered to build a room. Finished.” Vacant variation.

13.32 YQS: 具白茅而已矣 “It only had the white thatch” :: R, ShY: 置白茅焉 “They put white thatch on it”. Lexical variation.

33 34 35 36 37 38 39
YQS: 柏常騫夜用事焉 旦 見於公曰今夜尚聞梟聲乎公曰 吾壹聞□□□□矣
R: 栢常騫夜用事 明日 問公曰今昔 聞鴞聲乎公曰 一鳴而不復聞
ShY: 柏常騫夜用事 明日 問公曰今昔 聞梟聲乎公曰 一鳴而不復聞

13.33 YQS: 焉 *yān* ‘at it’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.34 YQS: 旦 *dàn* ‘morning’ :: R, ShY: 明日 *míng rì* ‘the next day’. Lexical variation.

13.35 YQS: 見於 *jiàn yú* ‘have an audience with’ :: R, ShY: 問 *wèn* ‘ask’. Lexical variation.

13.36 YQS: 夜 *yè* < **jah* ‘night’ :: R, ShY: 昔 *xī* < **sak* ‘evening’.

Lexical variation between synonyms.

13.37 YQS: 尚 *shàng* ‘still’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.38 YQS, ShY: 梟 *xiāo* < **kiû* ‘owl’ :: R: 鴞 *xiāo* < **wau* ‘owl’. Lexical variation.

Both words should refer to the same bird. From this point, the word ‘owl’ in R is always written as 鴞, different from how it is written earlier (梟). The reason for this inconsistency in a single text is not clear.

13.39 YQS: 吾壹聞□□□□矣 “I have once heard...” :: R, ShY: 一鳴而不復聞 “(The owl) cried once and then it was not heard again”.

40 41 42 43 44 45 46
YQS: 柏常騫曰□□令人視之梟□□矣公令人 視之梟 布翼伏地而死乎臺下
R: 使人往視之 鴞當陞布翼伏地而死
ShY: 使人往視之 梟當陞布翼伏地而死

13.40 YQS: 柏常騫曰□令人視之，梟□□矣 “Baichang Qian said...Sent people to observe it.

The owl has...” :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.41 YQS: 公 *gōng* ‘Commonlord’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.42 YQS: 令 *lìng* < **riŋ-s* ‘order’ :: R, ShY: 使 *shǐ* < **s-rəʔ* ‘send’. Lexical variation.

13.43 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 往 *wǎng* ‘go to’. Vacant variation.

13.44 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 當陞 *dāng bì* ‘lying right on the stair’. Vacant variation.

13.45 YQS, ShY: 翼 *yì* < **lək* ‘wing’ :: R: 翬 *yì* < **lək* ‘wing’. Graphic variation.

13.46 YQS: 乎臺下 ‘under the terrace’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

In R and ShY, the owl is “lying right on the stair” (See 13.44). Both YQS: 乎臺下 ‘under the terrace’ and R, ShY: *dāng bì* 當陞 ‘(lying) right on the stair’ are giving locations where the owl was found dead. Stylistically, 當陞 is more accurate and polished than 乎臺下. The phrase *dāng bì*, together with the following phrases *bù yì* 布翼 ‘spread the wings’ and *fú dì* 伏地 ‘sprawl on the ground’ create a series of “factor + object” parallel structures, which makes R and ShY stylistically more elegant than YQS.

47	48	49	50
YQS: 公喜曰子	能請 ...	柏常騫	曰能
R: 公 曰 子之道若此其明	亦能益寡人之壽乎		對曰能
ShY: 公 曰 子之道若此其明也	亦能益寡人 壽乎		對曰能

13.47 YQS: 喜 *xǐ* ‘happy’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.48 YQS: 子能請... “Can you request...” :: R: 子之道若此其明，亦能益寡人之壽乎“Since your practice is so effective like this, can you also increase my longevity?” :: ShY: 子之道若

此其明也, 亦能益寡人壽乎 “Your practice is so effective like this. Can you also increase my longevity?”

R and ShY are only different in two grammatical particles and there is no significant difference in meaning between them. R: 也 aspect marker :: ShY: null and R: null :: ShY: 之 extended modifier marker.

13.49 YQS: 柏常騫 Baichang Qian :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.50 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 對 ‘respond’. Vacant variation.

51	52
YQS: 公曰 益幾何	合曰天子九諸侯七大夫五
R: 公曰 能益幾何	對曰天子九諸侯七大夫五
ShY: 公曰 能益幾何	對曰天子九諸侯七大夫五

13.51 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 能 *néng* ‘be able to’. Vacant variation.

13.52 YQS: 合(答) ‘reply’ :: R, ShY: 對 ‘respond’. Lexical variation between synonyms.

Also see 4.21 and 10.1.

53	54	55	56	57	58
YQS: 公曰 □□益壽有徵兆	乎	柏常騫	曰	然	益壽地將動
R: 公曰 子亦有	徵兆之見乎		對曰		得壽地且動
ShY: 公曰 亦有	徵兆之見乎		對曰		得壽地且動

13.53 YQS: □□益壽有徵兆乎 “...increasing the longevity has any omens and signs?” :: R: 子亦有徵兆之見乎 “Do you also have any manifestation of omens and signs?” :: ShY: 亦有徵兆之見乎 “Is there any manifestation of omens and signs too?” The difference between YQS and R, ShY is lexical variation.

R: 子 :: ShY: null is a vacant variant. Again, R and ShY differs from YQS.

13.54 YQS: 柏常騫 Baichang Qian :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.55 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 對 ‘respond’. Vacant variation.

13.56 YQS: 然 *rán* < **nan* ‘true’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.57 YQS: 益 *yì* < **ʔek* ‘increase’ :: R, ShY: 得 *dé* < **tâk* ‘obtain’. Lexical variation.

13.58 YQS: 將 *jiāng* < **tsaŋ* ‘will’ :: R, ShY: 且 *qiě* < **tshaʔ* ‘be about to’. Lexical variation.

	59	60	61	62	63	64
YQS:	公喜	令數為之	令	官	具	柏常騫之
R:	公喜	令百官趣具				騫之所求
ShY:	公喜	令百官趣具				騫之所求

13.59 YQS: 令數為之 ‘order (his officials) to do it quickly’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.60 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 百 *bǎi* ‘hundred’. Vacant variation.

13.61 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 趣 *qù* ‘hasten to’. Vacant variation. In both 13.60 and 13.61 the matching words in R and ShY are two syllable phrases, 百官 ‘hundreds of officials (all the officials)’ and 趣具 ‘hasten to provide’ verses the one syllable word 官 ‘official’ and 具 ‘provide’ in YQS. This variation is similar to notes 13.44-46. The two syllable phrases in R and ShY are stylistically more polished than the counterpart in YQS.

13.62 YQS: 柏常 Baichang (surname) :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.63 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 所 *suǒ*, object nominalizer. Vacant variation.

13.64 YQS: 後者□不用令之罪 “Those who are behind...the crime of not implementing the order” :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

	65	66	67	68	69	70
YQS:	柏常騫	出	曹晏子	於	塗	曰
R:	栢常騫	出	遭晏子	于	塗	拜馬前
ShY:	栢常騫	出	遭晏子	於	塗	拜馬前

13.65 YQS: 曹 [*cáo* < **dzû* ‘pair’] :: R, ShY: 遭 *zāo* < **tsû* ‘encounter’.

Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

13.66 YQS, ShY: 於 yú < *ʔa ‘at (locative)’ :: R: 于 yú < *wa. Graphic variation.

13.67 YQS: 涂 tú < *lâ ‘spread; road’ :: R, ShY: 塗 tú < *lâ ‘road’. Graphic variation.

13.68 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 拜馬前 ‘bow in front of the horse’. Vacant variation.

13.69 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 辭 cí ‘make an apology; speak deferentially’

13.70 YQS, ShY: 騫 Qian :: R: null. Vacant variation.

71

YQS: 前日公令脩臺成而公不尚焉騫見而問之君曰有梟夜鳴焉吾惡之故不尚焉

R: null

ShY: null

13.71 Vacant variation.

YQS: “A couple days ago our Commonlord ordered the terrace to be restored. When the terrace was ready our lord did not ascend it. I saw this and then...asked about it. The lord said, ‘There is an owl crying on the terrace during the night. I abhor it. Therefore I am not ascending it.’”

Baichang Qian is recapping to Yanzi why he was asked to kill the owl. This part is basically repeating what happened at the very beginning of this episode. Without this section the story would still be complete in plot.

72

73

YQS: 騫為君之而梟已死矣 君謂騫曰 女能請鬼神殺梟而不能益寡人之壽乎

R: 為禳君鴉而殺之 君謂騫曰 子之道若此其明也亦能益寡人 壽乎

ShY: 騫為君禳梟而殺之 君謂騫曰 子之道若此其明也亦能益寡人 壽乎

13.72 YQS: 騫為君之而梟已死矣 “Qian...it for our lord and now the owl has already died” ::

R: 為禳君鴉而殺之 “For the sake of exorcising the owl for our lord I killed it” :: ShY: 騫為君

禳梟而殺之 “Qian exorcised the owl for our lord and killed it”.

R and ShY are close but different from YQS.

13.73 YQS: 女能請鬼神殺梟而不能益寡人之壽乎 “You can request the ghosts and spirits to kill the owl but you cannot increase my longevity?” :: R, ShY: 子之道若此其明也, 亦能益寡人壽乎 “Your practice is so effective. Can you also increase my longevity?” Lexical variation.

	74	75	76	77	78
YQS:	騫合曰能	君曰若為之	今騫將大祭以為君請壽	故將往以聞	
R:	騫 曰能		今 且大祭 為君請壽	故將往以聞	
ShY:	騫 曰能		今 且大祭 為君請壽	故將往以聞	

13.74 YQS: 合(答) ‘reply’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation. See 13.52.

13.75 YQS: 君曰若為之 “The lord said: ‘Good. Do it’” :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.76 YQS: 騫 Qian (self-reference) :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.77 YQS: 將 *jiāng* < **tsaŋ* ‘will’ :: R, ShY: 且 *qiě* < **tsha?* ‘be about to’.

Lexical variation. Also see 13.58.

13.78 YQS: 以 *yǐ* ‘use; (grammaticalized) in order to’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

	79	80	81	82	83	
YQS:	晏子	曰	諗夕善矣	能為君請壽	雖然徒祭可以益壽乎	柏常騫曰可
R:	晏子曰	嘻亦善	能為君請壽也			
ShY:	晏子曰	嘻亦善矣	能為君請壽也			

13.79 YQS: 諗 *xī* < **hə*, exclamation word :: R, ShY: 嘻 *xī* < **hə*, exclamation word.

Graphic variation.

13.80 YQS: 夕 [*xī* < **s-jak* ‘night’] :: R, ShY: 亦 *yì* < *jak* ‘also’. Graphic variation.

13.81 YQS, ShY: 矣 *yǐ*, perfective aspect particle :: R: null. Vacant variation.

13.82 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 也 *yě*, continuative aspect particle. Vacant variation.

13.83 YQS: 雖然徒祭可以益壽^乎? 柏常騫曰可 “Although being so, can sacrifice alone increase longevity? Baichang Qian said, ‘Yes’” :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

84 85 86 87 88 89
YQS: 晏子曰 嬰聞之 雖 正 川□□ 可以益壽而已矣
R: 雖然吾聞之 維以政與德而順乎神為可以益壽
ShY: 雖然吾聞之 惟以政與德 順乎神為可以益壽

13.84 YQS: 晏子曰 ‘Yanzi said’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

In YQS, Yanzi and Baichang Qian had one more around of conversation (see 13.83).

13.85 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 雖然 ‘although so’. Vacant variation.

13.86 YQS: 嬰 Ying (Yanzi addressing himself) :: R, ShY: 吾 ‘first person pronoun’.

Lexical variation.

13.87 YQS: 雖 *sui* < **swi* ‘although’ :: R: 維 *wéi* < **wi* :: ShY: 惟 *wéi* < **wi* ‘only’.

R: 維 and ShY: 惟 are graphic variation. YQS: 雖 is a lexical variant with 維 (惟).

There are cases of 雖 and 維 (唯, 惟) used interchangeably in early texts, but since 雖 ‘although’ is a common word and the context in YQS is incomplete, I will take it at face value.

13.88 YQS: 正川□□ “upright/governing and follow...” :: R: 以政與德而順乎神為 “using good governing and latent power follow the spirits to act” :: ShY: 以政與德順乎神為 “use good governing and latent power and follow the spirits to act”

YQS: 正 *zhèng* < **teŋh* probably stands for ‘governing’ (政), as the matching part in R and ShY suggests. YQS: 川 *chuān* < **k-hlun* ‘stream’ does not make sense in this context, and the word intended is probably *shùn* < **m-luns* ‘follow’ (順) as the matching words in R and ShY suggest.

13.89 YQS: 而已矣 ‘that is it’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

	90	91	92	93	94	95
YQS:	今徒祭可以益壽	若謹為之	然得壽則	有見乎	柏常騫	曰得壽
R:	今徒祭可以益壽乎		然	則福兆有見乎		對曰得壽
ShY:	今徒祭可以益壽乎		然	則福名有見乎		對曰得壽

13.90 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 乎 *hu*, interrogative particle. Vacant variation.

The final particle *hu* makes the line in R and ShY a rhetorical question.

13.91 YQS: 若謹為之 “If it is like this please do it cautiously” :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.92 YQS: 得壽 ‘achieve longevity’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.93 YQS: null :: R: 福兆 ‘blessing omen’ :: ShY: 福名 ‘blessing sign’. Lexical variation.

13.94 YQS: 柏常騫 Baichang Qian :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.95 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 對 ‘respond’. Vacant variation.

	96	97	98	99
YQS:	晏子曰	昔吾見維星絕樞星散	地其幾動	女以是乎
R:	晏子曰騫	昔吾見維星絕樞星散	地其動	汝以是乎
ShY:	晏子曰騫	昔吾見維星絕樞星散	地動	汝以是乎

13.96 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 騫 Qian (name). Vacant variation.

13.97 YQS, R: 其 *qí* (modal) :: ShY: null. Vacant variation.

YQS: 地其幾動 “The ground seemed almost to have moved.” In YQS, *qí* 其 modifies the following word *jī* 幾 ‘slightly; almost,’ which suggests the imperceptibility of the shaking of the ground.

13.98 YQS: 幾 *jī* ‘almost’ :: R, ShY: null. Vacant variation.

13.99 YQS: 女 [*nǚ* < **nra*? ‘woman’] :: R, ShY: 汝 *rǔ* < **na*? ‘second person pronoun’.

Graphic variation.

100 101 102

YQS: 柏常騫付有間 合曰然 晏子曰為□□□ 弗為 損年
 R: 栢常騫俯有間 仰而 對曰然 晏子曰為之無益 不為無損也
 ShY: 柏常騫俯有間 仰而 對曰然 晏子曰為之無益 不為無損也

103

13.100 YQS: 付 [fù < *poh ‘give’] :: R, ShY: 俯 fǔ < *po? ‘lower one’s head or body’.

Graphic variation.

13.101 YQS: null :: R, ShY: 仰而 ‘raise his head and then’. Vacant variation.

13.102 YQS: 合(答) ‘reply’ :: R, ShY: 對 ‘respond’. Lexical variation.

Also see 13.52 and 13.74.

13.103 YQS: 為□□□, 弗為損年 “Practice...if not practice it, it will harm (the lord’s)

longevity” :: R, ShY: 為之無益, 不為無損也 “If practices it, there is no benefit; if not practice it, there is no harm”.

It is possible that the missing words in YQS are similar to R and ShY, 為之無益弗為損年 “If practice [the ceremony there is no benefit], if you do not practice it this will hurt the (lord’s) longevity,” but the meaning of this couplet would be awkward, and also the second parts of the couplet are opposite in YQS and R, ShY, therefore I will leave the three missing words in YQS as unidentified.

104

YQS: 數為之而毋求財官
 R: 汝薄栢 毋費民 且無令君知之
 ShY: 薄賦斂 無費民 且 令君知之

13.104 YQS does not match R and ShY. YQS: 數為之而毋求財官 “Do it quickly and do not seek fortune or rank.” YQS: 數 [shù < *sroh ‘number’] stands for sù < *sôk ‘fast’ (速).

R: 汝薄栢毋費民且無令君知之 “You minimize... (cedar tree?) Do not debilitate people.

Besides, do not let our lord know about this.” The meaning of the beginning of this line, 汝薄栢, is not clear.

ShY: 薄賦斂無費民且令君知之 “Reduce taxes and collections. Do not debilitate people.

Besides, let our lord know about this.”

ShY: 令君知之 “Let our lord know about this” is the opposite of R: 無令君知之 “**Do not** let our lord know about this.” ShY seems easier to understand: Yanzi is urging Baichang Qian not to deceive the lord anymore and to tell the lord that the shaking of the earth is not the sign of Qian’s successful praying. Both Yu Yue (*Zhuzi ping yi*, 7.19a) and Tao Hongqing suggest that the word *wú* 無 in R was added later and it was an error. (*Jishi*, 379) In YQS, Yanzi only asked Baichang Qian to end this quickly and not seeking more benefit for himself, so the implication seems to be that Yanzi will allow Baichang Qian to finish his practice and will not reveal to his lord what he has found out about Qian’s trick. It is possible that what is intended in R is similar to YQS, that is, Yanzi is asking Baichang Qian to finish the ceremony with the minimal cost but not to talk about this any more to impress the lord, and therefor 無 is not a mistake but probably reflects the original meaning of the text.

Edited transcription and translation

景公令脩荅(路)寤之臺,臺成,公不尚(上)焉。柏常騫見曰,“□□□甚急,今成,何為不尚(上)焉?公曰,“然,每□□□鳴焉,其聲无不為也,吾是以不尚(上)焉。”柏常騫曰,“臣請□而去之。公曰,若。”令官具柏常騫之求。柏常騫曰,“无求也,請筑(築)新室,以茅菝(茨)之。”室成,具白茅而已矣。柏常騫夜用事焉,旦見於公曰,“今夜尚聞梟聲乎?”公曰,“吾壹聞□□□矣。”柏常騫曰,“□令人視之,梟□□矣。”公令人視之,梟布翼伏地而死乎臺下。

公喜曰，“子能請...” 柏常騫曰，“能。” 公曰，“益幾何？” 合(答)曰，“天子九，諸侯七，大夫五。” 公曰，“□□益壽有徵兆乎？” 柏常騫曰，“然。益壽地將動。” 公喜，令數(速)為之，令官具柏常騫之求，後者□不用令之罪。柏常騫出，曹(遭)晏子於涂(途)，曰，“前日公令脩(修)臺，臺成而公不尚(上)焉，騫見而□問之，君曰有梟夜鳴焉，吾惡之，故不尚(上)焉。騫為君□之而梟已死矣。君謂騫曰，女能請鬼神殺梟而不能益寡人之壽乎？騫合曰，能。君曰：若為之。今騫將大祭，以為君請壽，故將往，以聞。” 晏子□曰，“諛，夕(亦)善矣，能為君請壽。雖然，徒祭可以益壽乎？” 柏常騫曰，“可。” 晏子曰，“嬰聞之，雖(唯)正(政)順□□可以益壽而已矣。今徒祭，可以益壽，若，謹為之。然得壽則有見乎？” 柏常騫曰，“得壽地將動。” 晏子□曰，“昔吾見維星絕，樞星散，地其幾動。女以是乎？” 柏常騫付(俯)有間，合(答)曰，“然。” 晏子曰，“為□□□弗為損年，數(速)為之而毋求財官。”

Commonlord Jing issued an order to restore a terrace of the grand dwelling Palace. When the terrace was finished, the lord did not ascend it. Baichang Qian saw this and said: "...very urgent. Now it is finished, why not ascend it?" The Commonlord said: "That is true. At night...cried there. Its voice is capable of anything. I therefore will not ascend it." Baichang Qian said: "Please allow me...get rid of it." The Commonlord said: "Granted." He ordered his officials to provide Baichang Qian with whatever he needed. Baichang Qian said: "I do not need anything. Please build a new room and use thatch to cover its top." When the room was ready, it had only white thatch on it. Baichang Qian worked there during the night. In the morning when he met with the Commonlord he said: "Did you still hear the sounds of the owl at night?" The lord said: "I heard once..." Baichang Qian said: "...ask people to look at it. The owl..." The lord asked people to look at it. The owl spread its wings falling on the ground and died under the terrace. The lord was pleased and said: "You can ask..." Baichang Qian said: "I can." The lord said: "How many can you increase?" Baichang Qian responded: "For the Son of Heaven, nine; various Marklords, seven; the Grand Minister, five." The Commonlord said: "...will there be any sign if my longevity increases?" Baichang Qian said: "Yes. If I increase your longevity, the ground will shake." The Commonlord was pleased and asked him to do it right away. He commanded the officials to provide Baichang Qian with whatever he needed. Those who were behind...the crime of not following the order.

Baichang Qian went out and encountered Yanzi on the road. Qian said: “A couple days ago our lord ordered to build the terrace. When the terrace was finished, the lord did not ascend it. Qian met and...asked our Commonlord about this. The Commonlord said, ‘There is an owl crying there at night. I hate it therefore I do not ascend it.’ I...it for you and the owl has already died. Our Commonlord said to me: ‘You can ask the ghosts and spirits to kill an owl, so can’t you increase my longevity?’ I responded that I could. The lord said, ‘Fine. Do it!’ Now I am about to practice a grand sacrifice to ask for longevity for our lord. I am on my way to the sacrifice, and just reported this matter to you.” Yanzi... “Alas! This would be nice, that you are capable of enhancing the longevity of our lord. Although being so, can sacrifice alone increase longevity...?” Baichang Qian said: “Yes.” Yanzi said: “I heard that although being upright and following...can increase longevity and that is it. Now sacrifice alone can increase longevity. If it is like this perform it with due diligence. But when longevity is achieved, will there be any visible sign?” Baichang Qian said: “If longevity is achieved, [the ground will shake].” [Yanzi] said: “During the night I saw the Wei constellation cut off and the Shu constellation dispersed. The ground is almost shaking. Are you taking it to be this?” Baichang Qian lowered his head for a while and then he responded: “True.” Yanzi said: “To do...; if do not do it, harm the year. Do it quickly and do not seek wealth or rank.”

Discussion

The examination of all the variants shows that the three texts are fairly close. R and ShY show a closer relation to each other than to YQS. Among all the lexical and vacant variants, cases where R and ShY match but differ from YQS are dominant: there are seventy-eight of them. *Shui yuan* is a collection of episodes of prominent lords and scholars, also compiled by Liu Xiang (compiled in 17 B.C.). This probably explains why R and ShY match so closely: most likely the same source was used when Liu Xiang was fixing the official edition of YZCQ and when he was compiling ShY.

Two variants between R and ShY suggest that ShY is probably taking materials from R.

These two cases are summarized in the chart below. By the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*, ShY is more likely to be secondary.

Table 2.6 Significant variants in YQS Account Thirteen

Variants	Comment
13.72 ShY: 為君禳梟 ‘exorcise the owl for our lord’ :: R: 為禳君鴉 ‘in order to exorcise our lord’s owl’	The word order in R is awkward.
13.104 ShY: 令君知之 “Let our lord know about this” :: R: 無令君知之 “Do not let our lord know about this”	R is countering intuitive and harder to understand than ShY (if without YQS).

As for the variants between YQS on the one hand and R and ShY on the other, one obvious difference is that R and ShY are more concise and polished than YQS. In the cases of 13.34-27 and 13.71, YQS is verbose and repetitive, while R and ShY are concise but are no less informative than YQS in plot. It is quite possible that the some of the repetitive passages in YQS were later removed in transmission.

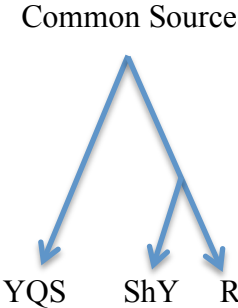
Also, in 13.44-46, YQS: 梟 布翼伏地而死乎臺下

R: 鴉當陛布翼伏地而死

ShY: 梟當陛布翼伏地而死

R and ShY are more polished than YQS in style. R, ShY: *dāng bì* 當陛 ‘(lying) right on the stair’ is more accurate and polished than YQS: 乎臺下 ‘under the terrace.’ The phrase *dāng bì*, together with *bù yì* 布翼 ‘spread the wings’ and *fú dī* 伏地 ‘sprawl on the ground’ create a series of “factor + object” parallel structures, which seems like a deliberate revision of the text to make it more refined in prosody.

My conclusion of the textual relation among YQS, R and ShY can be summarized in the diagram below:



2.7 Yinqueshan Account Fifteen (strips 617-623)

Account fifteen matches YZCQ 8.1 (*Jishi*, 491), one of the “anti-Ruist” chapters. In this episode Yanzi criticized Confucius and commented on his various inadequacies in front of Lord Jing. In the end Lord Jing was persuaded not to make use of Confucius. The same story is recorded in the “Fei Ru” 非儒 (criticize Ruists) chapter of the *Mozi* (*Mozi jian gu*, 299-302).

There are also a couple of matching lines in the “Jie Mo” 詰墨 (dispute Mohists) chapter of the *Kongcongzi* 孔叢子 (*Sibu congkan* edition, 6.24b) and in the “Kongzi shi jia” 孔子世家 (Hereditary House of Confucius) chapter of the *Shiji* (47.1934-1935).

The discussion of all the textual variants shows that YQS, R and the matching passage in the *Mozi* have probably derived from the same source, and that YQS is the closest to the origin while R has undergone the most reediting.

Transcription and Translation

^{617 a} 中泥之齊見景公說之將封之以_以 ^b璽稽以告晏...

^{618 a} 下好樂而... ^b親治立令而殆_□ ^c不可使守職久喪 ^d而循哀不可使子民...

^{619 a} 容不可以道... ^b之威周室之卑... ^c民行茲薄聲樂繁充而世茲衰今

^{620 a} 孔丘盛為容飭以盡世紂歌... ^b眾博學不...

^{621 a} _□思不可補民纍讎 ^b不能宣 ^c其教當年不能行其禮積材不能譖其樂繁飭降登以營世君

^{622 a} 盛為聲樂以淫愚民其道不可以視 ^b世其教不可以道眾今君封之移齊俗非所以道國先民

^{623 a} 也公曰善於是重其禮而留其奉敬見之而不 ^b問其道中泥_□去

Discussion of textual variants

The *Mozi* is abbreviated as Mo, *Kongcongzi* as KCZ in the discussion.

	1	2	3	4	5
YQS:	中	泥之齊	見景公	說之	將封之以璽稽
R:	仲尼	之齊	見景公	景公說之	欲封之以爾稽
Mo:	孔某	之齊	見景公	景公說	欲封之以尼谿

15.1 YQS: 中泥 :: R: 仲尼 :: Mo: 孔某

YQS: 中 [zhòng < *truŋh ‘hit the center’] 泥 [ní < *nî ‘impeded’] :: R: 仲尼 zhòng ní < *druŋh *nri, Confucius’ style name. Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

Mo: 孔某 ‘Kong so-and-so’. Lexical variation. It is a disrespectful designation to refer to Confucius. Confucius is addressed as “Kong so-and-so” throughout this passage in the *Mozi*.

15.2 YQS: 景公景公, ditto symbol. See 1.2.

15.3 YQS, R: 之 pronoun (Confucius) :: Mo: null. Vacant variation.

15.4 YQS: 將 jiāng < *tsaŋ ‘be about to’ :: R, Mo: 欲 yù < *lok ‘desire to; will’.

Lexical variation between synonyms. No significant difference in meaning.

15.5 YQS: 璽稽 xǐ jī < *sneʔ *kî :: R: 爾稽 ěr jī < *neʔ *kî :: Mo: 尼谿 ní xī < *nri *khê.

Place name. YQS and R are graphic variation. The OC of Mo: 尼谿 is close to but not unambiguously compatible with the OC of 璽(/爾)稽. It may be a dialect variant, but we will treat it here as lexical variation.

			6		
YQS:	以告晏	子	...		下
R:	以告晏子	晏子對曰不可	彼浩裾	自順	不可以教下
Mo:	以告晏子	晏子 曰不可	夫儒浩居	而自順者也	不可以教下

15.6 YQS: 以告晏子... 下“(Commonlord Jing) told Yan[zi] about it...below” :: R: 以告晏子, 晏子對曰不可, 彼浩裾自順, 不可以教下“(Commonlord Jing) told Yanzi about it. Yanzi responded: ‘You cannot do this. That person is arrogant, haughty and self-serving. He cannot instruct the people below’” :: Mo: 以告晏子, 晏子曰不可, 夫儒浩居而自順者也, 不可以教下“(Commonlord Jing) told Yanzi about it. Yanzi said: ‘You cannot do this. The Ruists in general are the ones who are arrogant, haughty and self-serving. They cannot instruct the people below.’”

Strip 617 is broken. About seventeen graphs are missing. The matching parts in R and Mo have sixteen characters and eighteen characters respectively, so the missing lines in YQS could be fairly close to R and Mo.

R: 彼 demonstrative pronoun ‘that one (Confucius)’ :: Mo: 夫儒 ‘the Ruists in any particular case’. Lexical variation. The phrase in the *Mozi* is referring to and attacking all the Ruist scholars instead of just Confucius as in R.

R: 浩裾 *hào jù* < *gû? *ka :: Mo: 浩居 *hào jù* < *gû? *ka ‘arrogant and haughty’. Graphic variation.

In the “Kongzi shi jia” of the *Shiji*, there is a passage close to the paragraph under discussion.

The matching part in the *Shiji* has 倨傲 *jù ào* < *kah *ŋâuh ‘haughty and arrogant’.

R: 裾 [*jù* < *ka ‘the front side of a gourmet’] :: Mo: 居 [*jū* < *ka ‘dwell’] :: Shiji: 倨 *jù* < *kah ‘haughty’ are graphic variants with shared phonetic. R, Mo: 浩 *hào* < *gû? ‘vast’ :: Shiji: 傲 *ào* < *ŋâuh ‘proud’ are lexical variation, but their OC pronunciations are fairly close. Hao 浩 belongs to OC *you bu* 幽部, and ao 傲 belongs to *xiao bu* 宵部. Those two *Shijing* rhyme groups have many contacts, and words from those two groups are often used interchangeably.

	7		8	9	10
YQS:	好樂而	...	親治	立令而殆事	不可使守職
R:	好樂	綏於民	不可使親治	立命而建事	不可守職
Mo:	好樂而淫	人	不可使親治	立命而怠事	不可使守職

15.7 YQS: 好樂而... “(Confucius) is fond of music...” :: R: 好樂綏于民 “(Confucius) is fond of music and is lax with people” :: Mo: 好樂而淫人 “(The Ruists) are fond of music and lead people into wantonness”.

R: 綏 *suí* < **snui* ‘lax; console’ :: Mo: 淫 *yín* < **ləm* ‘licentious, excessive’.

Lexical variation. The word *yín* ‘licentious, excessive’ 淫 in the *Mozi* indicates a much stronger criticism than *suí* ‘lax’ 綏 in R.

A passage in the *Yan tie lun* 鹽鐵論 (first century B.C.) is similar to the line under discussion:

晏子有言, 儒者... 繁於樂而舒於民 “Yanzi had the saying that, ‘The Ruists...are extravagant in music and **lax** with people.’” (Wang Liqi 王利器 1958, 171) Based on this parallel, Sun

Xingyan speculates that the word intended in R should be *huǎn* 緩 ‘slow; delay’ which has a similar meaning to *shu* 舒 ‘slack, relaxed,’ and that the word *suí* 綏 in R is a textual corruption of *huǎn* 緩 because of graphic similarity. In one of the extant YZCQ editions, the “Ling ben” 凌本 (produced during Ming), the matching word is *huǎn* 緩, but all other editions have *suí* 綏.

(*Jishi*, 492) The common meaning of the word *suí* 綏 is ‘console, appease,’ but it also has the sense of ‘slack, slow.’ R: 綏于民 could mean ‘be lax with people.’

The matching word in Mo: 淫 is graphically similar to R: 綏. Mo: 淫人 ‘lead people into wantonness’ makes the image of the Ruists much more despicable.

15.8 YQS: 令 *lìng* < **reŋh* ‘order’ :: R, Mo: 命 *mìng* < **min* ‘command’.

Lexical variation between two etymologically related words.

15.9 YQS: 殆 *dài* < **lâʔ* ‘idle, slack off’ :: R: 建 *jiàn* < **kans* ‘build’ :: Mo: 怠 *dài* < **lâʔ* ‘idle, slack off’. YQS: 殆 :: Mo: 怠 is graphic variation with shared phonetic. YQS: 殆, Mo: 怠 :: R: 建 are lexical variation.

The word *jiàn* 建 ‘build’ in R does not fit in the context well. From the parallel sentences before and after, the discussions seem to always start from an unappealing character of Confucius or the Ruists and then conclude that they are not suitable for a certain administrative role. Take the line in Mo as an example: 立命而怠事, 不可使守職 “When (the Ruists) establish orders they slack off with these affairs. They cannot be allowed to hold an official post.” The parallel in R in contrast is abstruse, 立命而建事, 不可守職 “When (Confucius) initiates orders he establishes these affairs, he cannot hold an official post.” Textual scholars have noticed this inconsistency and suggested alternative readings of 建. Sun Xingyan speculates that the graph 建 was an error for 逮 *dǎi* < **lâs* ‘reach,’ and then suggests that the intended word is 怠 *dài* < **lâʔ*. Sun Yirang instead suggests that 建 stands for the word 券 *quàn* < **khwans* ‘weary, tired,’ conventionally written as 倦. Both 建 and 券 belong to the *yuan* 元 rhyme group, and there are cases in early texts of 建 or graphs with 建 as the phonetic (for instance 捷) standing for the word ‘weary’ (券, 倦). (*Jishi*, 493) Sun Yirang uses *yan jiàn* < **ʔems* **kans* 厭建 meaning ‘tired and weary’ in the “Hao ling” 號令 chapter of *Mozi* to argue that it is an example of 建 standing for ‘weary’ (倦). Sun Xingyan’s proposal has the advantage of having R matching Mo and YQS. Sun Yirang’s reading is simpler without assuming a graphic error was made in the first place. I follow Sun Yirang’s reading here.

15.10 YQS, Mo: 使 *shǐ* ‘make, allow someone to do something’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

Without the word *shǐ* 使, the sentence in R: 不可守職 “Cannot be guarded the post” is grammatically awkward since *ke* 可 makes the whole line a passive sentence. R is probably corrupted.

	11	12	13	14	15	16
YQS:		久喪而循哀				不可使子民
R:	厚葬破民貧國	久喪	道哀費日			不可使子民
Mo:		宗喪	循哀			不可使慈民
KCZ, Shiji:		崇喪	遂哀			

15.11 YQS, Mo, KCZ, Shiji: null :: R: 厚葬破民貧國 “Lavish funerals debilitate people and enervate the state”. Vacant variation.

15.12 YQS, R: 久 *jiǔ* < **kwəʔ* ‘prolong’ :: Mo: 宗 [*zōng* < **tsûŋ* ‘ancestral temple’] :: KCZ, Shiji: 崇 *chóng* < **dzruŋ* ‘honor’. Mo: 宗 and KCZ, Shiji: 崇 are graphic variants with shared phonetic. YQS, R: 久 and Mo, KCZ, Shiji: 宗/崇 are lexical variation.

YQS, R: 久喪 ‘prolong the mourning’ Mo, KCZ, Shiji: 崇喪 ‘esteem the mourning’

15.13 YQS: 而 conjunctive :: R, Mo, Kong, Shiji: null. Vacant variation.

15.14 YQS, Mo: 循 *xún* < **s-lun* ‘pursue’ :: R: 道 *dǎo* < **lûh* ‘lead’ :: KCZ, Shiji: 遂 *sui* < **swis* ‘advance; follow’. Lexical variation.

R: 道哀 “guide lament” does not make good sense in the context. Wang Niansun (*Dushu zazhi*, YZCQ 2.10a) suggests that 道 in the received YZCQ is an error and the intended word is *xún* < **s-lun* ‘pursue’ (循) as the matching word in the *Mozi* suggests. He argues that the original text could have 循 or 遁 [*dùn* < **lûnʔ* ‘escape’] and 道 is simply a graphic error. Wang Niansun

(6.26a) points out that the phrase 循哀 ‘pursue lament’ is a common expression, also appearing in other chapters of the YZCQ and that there are many cases of using 循 and 遁 interchangeably in early texts for the word 循 ‘pursue.’ The matching line in the Yanzi manuscript has 循. This witness, independent of all the transmitted sources, verifies that Wang Niansun’s analysis is exactly right.

YQS, Mo: 循 *xún* < **s-lun* ‘pursue’ and KCZ, Shiji: 遂 *sui* < **swis* ‘follow’ are lexical variation, but the two words are closely related both phonologically and semantically, and may have been derived from the same lexical root.

15.15 R: 費日 ‘waste time’ :: YQS, Mo, KCZ, Shiji: null. Vacant variation. Those two words in R make this line a parallel couplet with the previous one, see 15.11. R is different from all other sources, as with 15.11.

15.16 YQS, R: 子 *zǐ* < **tsəʔ* ‘take care of’ :: Mo: 慈 *cí* < **dzə* ‘show affection or kindness to (typically) a child’. Lexical variation between etymologically related words.

	17	18	19	20
YQS:	...		容	不可以道...
R:	行之難者在內而傳者無其外 故異于服勉于容 不可以道眾而馴百姓			
Mo:		機	服勉	容 不可使導眾

15.17 YQS, Mo: null :: R: 行之難者在內而傳者無其外 “The difficulty of a given practice lies inside, but the transmitters only smooth out their outside”.

The meaning of this line is puzzling if we take all the words at their face value. Lu Wenzhao suggests 傳 [*chuán* < **dron* ‘transmit’] is a graphic mistake for the word *rú* < **no* ‘Ruist’ 儒 based on graphic similarity. Many scholars agree with Lu by supplying more evidence for this emendation. For example, Huang Yizhou 黃以周 (1828-1899) points out another possible

textual corruption between 傳 and 儒 in YZCQ 8.4: 始吾望傳(儒)而貴之, 今吾望傳(儒)而疑之 “At first when I (Yanzi) looked at the Ruists I honor them; but now when I look at them I have doubts about them.” (*Jishi*, 493-494) The matching passage in the *Kongcongzi* has 儒. Although 儒 would be the word expected in this context and make perfect sense, the possibility of taking 傳 at its face value instead of dismissing it as a graphic error cannot be ruled out so easily.

All the extant YZCQ editions have 傳.¹⁸ Also, 傳 and 儒 are both commonly used words and graphically they are not highly similar. I will therefore take the text at its face value and translate 傳者 as ‘transmitters.’

The graph 無 [*wú* < **ma* ‘lack’] could stand for the word *fǔ* < **pha?* ‘soothe by hand’ (撫). Then 無(撫)其外 would mean ‘smooth out and polish one’s outside.’ Many scholars suggest the word intended is *wǔ* < **ma?* ‘charming’ conventionally written as 嫵, and 無(嫵)其外 means ‘beautify one’s appearance.’ (*Jishi*, 494) The problem with this suggestion is that the word *wǔ* 嫵 is usually used as a stative verb, being used as a transitive verb like 嫵其外 is not attested in pre-Han texts.

15.18 R: 故 therefore :: Mo: null. Vacant variation.

15.19 YQS: ...容 “...appearance” :: R: 異于服勉于容 “Therefore (Confucius) makes himself different from others in apparel and makes great efforts in his appearance” :: Mo: 機服勉容 “(The Ruists) have strange apparel and a contrived appearance”.

¹⁸ Although it is not explicitly documented in the *Jishi* whether any extant YZCQ edition has 儒 instead of 傳 at all, from the discussions Wu includes in the note, there is no mention of 儒 in any YZCQ edition. At least the most commonly used *yuan ben* 元本 and *jin ben* 今本 (the Ming edition) both have 傳. (*Jishi*, 493-494)

The end part of strip 618 is broken. The missing part can allow for four or five graphs. That is the number of the graphs R and Mo have in the parallel line.

R: 異 $yì < *lakh$ ‘differ’ :: Mo: 機 [$jī < *kai$ ‘key part; crucial point’]. Graphic variation.

Sun Yirang (2011, 300) suggests that “ $jī$ 機 means ‘high’ (機, 危也), and $ji fu$ 機服 is probably similar in its meaning to the common phrase $wei guan$ 危冠 ‘a decorative high-flown cap.’

Although both fu 服 and $guan$ 冠 can be collective nouns and refer to apparel in general, to

interpret $ji fu$ 機服 the same as $wei guan$ 危冠 does not seem to help to pin down the exact

meaning of $ji fu$. The variant in R, $yì$ 異, suggests that it is possible that 機 is actually standing

for the word $*lakh$ ‘differ’ (異). $Yì$ 異 is usually reconstructed with a velar coda, $*-k$ (OC $zhi bu$

職部), which is not conventionally considered to be compatible with $wei bu$ 微部 words such

as $*kai$ 機. But we do find many cases of $yì < *lak$ 翼 and $jī < *kai$ 幾 used interchangeably to

stand for the word ‘wish, anticipate’ in the *Shiji* and *Hanshu*. (Gao Heng 1989, 375) If 異 is the

phonetic of 翼 and the OC of 異 and 翼 are fairly close to each other, then $*lakh$ 異 and $*kai$ 幾

could be phonologically close enough to be a legitimate *tong jia* pair, standing for the same

word.

Mo: 機服 could mean ‘unusual/odd garment.’

R: 勉于容 “make great efforts in appearance” :: Mo: 勉容 “contrived appearance”. The

absence of yu 于 in Mo makes the two phrases structurally different.

15.20 YQS: 不可以道... “cannot guide...” :: R: 不可以道眾而馴百姓 “cannot guide the

masses and make people obedient” :: Mo: 不可使導眾 “cannot be used to guide the masses”

YQS, R: 道 [$dào < *lûh$ ‘way’] :: Mo: 導 $dǎo < *lûh$ ‘guide’. Graphic variation.

	21	22	23	24
YQS: 自 大 賢 之 威 周 室 之 卑	...	民 行 茲 薄	聲 樂 繁 充 而 世	茲 衰
R: 自 大 賢 之 滅 周 室 之 卑 也	威 儀 加 多 而 民 行 滋 薄	聲 樂 繁 充 而 世 德 滋 衰		
Mo: null				

15.21 YQS: 威 *xuè* < **hmet* ‘destroy’, allograph for 滅 :: R: 滅 *miè* < **met* ‘demise, destroy’.

Graphic variation.

R: 自大賢之滅周室之卑也 ‘Since the demise of the great worthies and the decline the Zhou of house.’ This whole passage is not included in Mo.

15.22 YQS: 茲 [*zī* < **tsə* ‘grow (of vegetation)’] :: R: 滋 *zī* < **tsə* ‘increase’.

Graphic variation. The same variant also appears in the following line.

R: 威儀加多而民行滋薄 “Awesome ceremonies proliferated but people’s proper behaviors were becoming increasingly attenuated.”

The broken part of the strip allows for five to six graphs, so it could be quite close to the matching part in R.

15.23 YQS: 繁 [*fán* < **ban* ‘a kind of wormwood’] :: R: 繁 *fán* < **ban* ‘abundant’.

Graphic variation.

15.24 YQS: 世 ‘generation, world age’ :: R: 世德 ‘the moral power of the age’. Lexical

variation. The two-word phrase *shi de* 世德 makes a better parallel to the phrase *min xing* 民行 ‘people’s proper practice’ in the previous line than YQS.

R: 聲樂繁充而世德滋衰 “Sounds and music excessively fill the air and the moral power of the age is increasingly deteriorating.”

25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32
 YQS: 今孔丘盛為容飭以盡世 絃歌 ... 眾
 R: 今孔丘盛 聲樂 以侈世 飾弦歌鼓舞以聚徒 繁登降之禮 趨翔之節以觀眾
 Mo: 孔某盛容脩飾 以盡世 弦歌鼓舞以聚徒 繁登降之禮以示儀務 趨翔之節以觀眾

15.25 YQS, R: 今 ‘now (indicating a shift of topic)’ :: Mo: null. Vacant variation.

15.26 YQS, R: 孔丘 Kong Qiu :: Mo: 孔某 ‘Kong so-and-so’. Lexical variation. See 15.1.

15.27 YQS: 盛為容飭 “(Confucius) extravagantly contrives his appearance and adornments” ::

R: 盛聲樂 “(Confucius) makes sounds and music extravagant” :: Mo: 盛容脩飾 “(Kong so-and-so) makes his appearance extravagant, refines his adornments”. Lexical variation.

YQS: 飭 [*chì* < **rhək* ‘put (military line) in order; command’] :: Mo: 飾 *shì* < **lhək* ‘adorn’.

Graphic variation.

The only word that all three texts share is *sheng* 盛 ‘extravagant’. Structurally all three phrases are different. YQS and Mo are close in meaning, and this criticism of Confucius’ contrivance in his appearance corresponds to 15.19. R is criticizing Confucius’ extravagant music and corresponds to the lines immediately before and after it. The editors of YQS and Mo on the one hand and R on the other hand seem to have different understanding of the organization of the whole passage.

15.28 YQS: 盡 :: R: 侈 *chǐ* < **k-lhai?* ‘wanton; brag’ :: Mo: 盡 *gǔ* < **kâ?* ‘delude’.

The *Kangxi zi dian* (142.5) cites the *Pian hai* 篇海 and identifies 盡 as an allograph of Mo: 盡 .

R: 侈 is a lexical variant.

15.29 YQS, Mo: null :: R: 飾 *shì* ‘adorn’. Vacant variation. The word *shì* makes the following phrase *xuan ge gu wu* 弦歌鼓舞 its object, and this is structurally parallel to the phrase in the next sentence, 繁登降之禮 “over-complicate the rituals of ascending and descending”. *Shì* is

absent in both YQS and Mo, and R: *shì* 飾 could be a later “enhancement” of the style as the variant in 15.24 (R: 世德) suggests.

15.30 YQS: 紕 :: R, Mo: 弦 *xián* < **gîn* ‘string’. Graphic variation.

This same variant also appears in 16.7 in a person’s name. The graph 紕 is not attested in the standard writing system. No obvious phonetic can be identified in 紕 or graphs with 弓 *gōng* < **kwəŋ* such as 引 *yǐn* < *lin?* ‘draw (a bow).’ The component 弓 ‘bow’ has a clear semantic relevance in both 紕 ‘string (of a bow)’ and 引 ‘draw (a bow).’ Phonologically this could be a case of 弓 once being a polyphonic with a reading of **g(~l)in* later becoming obsolete in the evolution of the writing system. Boltz (2003, 63 and 103) provides examples of 口 (*ming* < **mjing*) being the possible phonophoric element in 名, 鳴 and 命 in the discussion of polyphony in early writing. 弓 in 紕 and 引 could be a similar case.

15.31 YQS: (strip broken) :: R: null :: Mo: 以示儀 *yǐ shì yí* ‘in order to show ceremonial etiquette’. Vacant variation. These three words parallel the phrases 以聚徒 ‘in order to accumulate followers’ and 以觀眾 ‘in order to cause the masses to watch’ before and after this line.

15.32 YQS: (strip broken) :: R: null :: Mo: 務 *wù* ‘engage in’. Vacant variation. The word *wù* makes the phrase 務趨翔之節 “pay too much attention to the moderation of the gait” a “verb + noun” structure and matches the phrase in the previous line, 繁登降之禮 “overcomplicate the rituals of ascending and descending.” The word *wù* in Mo makes the parallelism of this section neater than R, just as the word *shì* 飾 in R does (note 15.29).

33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43
 YQS: 博學不 ... 思不可 補民景讎不能亶其教當年不能行其禮積材不能贍其樂
 R: 傳學不可以儀世勞思不可 補民兼壽不能殫其教當年不能究其禮積財不能贍其樂
 Mo: 博學不可使議世勞思不可以補民象壽不能盡其學當年不能行其禮積財不能贍其樂

15.33 YQS, Mo: 博 *bó* < **pâk* ‘wide’ :: R: 傳 *chuán* < **dron* ‘transmit’. Lexical variation.

The left part of the graph in YQS is not clear. Based on its right part and the matching character in Mo, the editors restore it as 博. *Bo xue* 博學 ‘wide knowledge’ is common phrase. It resonates with the following line, “Accumulated longevity (sic) cannot exhaust his teaching” 景讎不能亶其教. Confucius and Ruists are the scholars who have the reputation of having studied the classic texts widely. This paragraph argues that their learning although comprehensive is not practical or useful in ruling people. Wu Zeyu thinks the graph 傳 in R: 傳學 ‘transmit knowledge’ is an error and changes it to 博 according to Mo. (*Jishi*, 494) The matching word in YQS suggests that Wu is probably right.

15.34 R: 不可以 ‘cannot’ :: Mo: 不可使 ‘cannot be used to’. Lexical variation.

See the same variant between R and Mo in 15.20.

15.35 R: 儀 *yí* < **ŋai* ‘ceremony; bearing’ :: Mo: 議 *yì* < **ŋaih* ‘discuss, criticize’. Lexical variation. Both words make good sense in the context. R: 傳學不可以儀世 “(Confucius) transmits knowledge but it cannot serve as the ceremonial standard for the world.” Mo: 博學不可使議世 “(The Ruists) have wide knowledge but they cannot be employed to discuss the worldly business.” Some editors dismiss this variant as a case of graphic variation. But if both words make good sense in the context we have to take them at face value and treat it as a lexical variant unless there is direct evidence to suggest otherwise.

15.36 YQS, R: 不可 ‘cannot be’ :: Mo: 不可以 ‘cannot’. Lexical variation.

R: 勞思不可補民 “Labored thinking cannot be contributed to the people.” Mo: 勞思不可以補民 “Labored thinking cannot contribute anything to the people.” R: 不可 ‘cannot be’ makes the sentence passive and therefore awkward in this context. The original text probably has 不可以 and 以 got dropped in R in transmission.

15.37 YQS: 纍 *léi* < **ruí* ‘bind together; pile up’ :: R: 兼 *jiān* < **kēm* ‘annex, combine’ :: Mo: 象 *xiàng* < **ruí* ‘increase’. YQS: 纍 and Mo: 象 are graphic variation, R: 兼 is a lexical variant.

15.38 YQS: 讎 [*chóu* < **du* ‘respond’] :: R, Mo: 壽 *shòu* < **du?* ‘longevity’.

Graphic variation.

15.39 YQS: 亶 [*dǎn* < **tân?* ‘solid’] :: R: 殫 *dān* < **tân* ‘exhaust’ :: Mo: 盡 *jìn* < **dzin?* ‘use up’. YQS: 亶 and R: 殫 are graphic variation, Mo: 盡 is a lexical variant and is a synonym of R: 殫.

15.40 YQS, R: 教 *jiào* < **krâuh* ‘teach’ :: Mo: 學 *xué* < **grûk* ‘learn’. Lexical variation.

YQS: 纍讎不能亶其教 “Even in multiple lifetimes one is unable to exhaust his teaching.” R:

兼壽不能殫其教 “Even a extended lifespan cannot be long enough to exhaust his teaching.”

Mo: 象壽不能盡其學 “Even in multiple lifetimes one is unable to exhaustively comprehend their learning.”

15.41 YQS, Mo: 行 *xíng* < **grâh* ‘practice’ :: R: 究 *jiù* < **kuh* ‘perfect’. Lexical variation.

YQS, Mo: 行其禮 ‘practice his rituals.’ R: 究其禮 ‘perfect his rituals.’ R: 究 ‘perfect’ has the sense of ‘reach the limit of’ and resonates well with the parallel verb in the previous line R: 殫 ‘exhaust.’

15.42 YQS: 材 [cái < *dzâ ‘timber’] :: R, Mo: 財 cái < *dzâ ‘wealth’. Graphic variation.

15.43 YQS: 譖 [zhān < *tam ‘delirium’] :: R: 瞻 [zhān < *tam ‘look out for’] :: Mo: 贍 shàn < *dams ‘provide for’. Graphic variation with shared phonetic.

Mo: 積財不能贍其樂 “Accumulated wealth cannot provide enough for their music.”

44 45

46 47

YQS: 繁飭降登以營世君 盛為聲樂 以淫愚 民

R: 繁飾邪術以營世君 盛為聲樂 以淫愚其民也

Mo: 繁飾邪術以營世君 盛為聲樂 以淫遇 民

15.44 YQS: 繁飭 :: R, Mo: 繁飾 ‘extravagantly adorn’. Graphic variation. See 15.23 and 15.27.

15.45 YQS: 降登 jiàng dēng ‘(the ceremonies of) descending and ascending’ :: R, Mo: 邪術 xié shù ‘malicious maneuvers’. Lexical variation.

Earlier in R and Mo, there is a phrase: 繁登降之禮 ‘overcomplicate the rituals of ascending and descending’ (note 15.32). The matching part in YQS is not available due to fragmentation. The phrase YQS: jiàng dēng 降登 ‘(the ceremonies of) descending and ascending’ in this line is just the reverse of dēng jiàng 登降 ‘ascending and descending’ in R and Mo.

Mo and R: xié shù 邪術 ‘malicious maneuvers’ is a much stronger criticism of Confucius than YQS: 降登 ‘(the ceremonies of) descending and ascending.’ When a variant between the YZCQ and the *Mozi* is lexical this is not the only case that the word in *Mozi* is a more antipathetic denunciation than the matching text in YZCQ. Another example is 15.7. In this case it is possible that YQS is close to the original, and the text in Mo was deliberately changed. The editors of R used the matching passage in Mo for emendation and changed R to avoid repetition of the phrase 降登 ‘(the ceremonies of) descending and ascending’ in two lines.

15.46 YQS: 淫愚民/Mo: 淫遇民 ‘lead ignorant people into wantonness’ :: R: 淫愚其民 ‘fool and lead his people into wantonness’. Lexical variation.

YQS, R: 愚 *yú* < **ɣo* ‘ignorant; fool’ :: Mo: 遇 [*yù* < **ɣoh* ‘encounter’]. Graphic variation.

YQS, Mo: null :: R: 其 ‘his’. Vacant variation. *Qi min* 其民 ‘his people’ in R is the object of *yín yú* 淫愚 ‘lead into wantonness and fool.’ Without the *qí*, it is more likely that *yú* 愚 is the modifier of *mín* 民 as in YQS and Mo, and *yú mín* ‘ignorant people’ is the object of 淫 ‘misuse.’

15.47 YQS, Mo: null :: R: 也 continuative aspect marker. Vacant variation.

48	49	50 51	52 53		
YQS: 其道	不可以	視世	其教	不可以	道眾
R:	不可以	示世	其教也	不可以	導民
Mo: 其道	不可以	期世	其學	不可以	導眾

15.48 YQS, Mo: 其道 ‘his way’ :: R: null. Vacant variation.

15.49 YQS: 視 [*shì* < **gi?* ‘look’] :: R: 示 *shì* < **gih* ‘show’ :: Mo: 期 *qī* < **gə* ‘arrange a meeting’. YQS: 視 and R: 示 are graphic variation, and Mo: 期 *qī* is a lexical variant. Yu Yue suggests that 期 is a graphic error. The left part of 期 is often written as 示 which is similar to 示, and Yu Yue (*Zhuzi ping yi*, 10.21a) emended the text by replacing 期 with 示. The YQS manuscripts suggest that he was probably right.

15.50 YQS, R: 教 ‘teach’ :: Mo: 學 ‘learn’. Lexical variation. See 15.40.

15.51 YQS, Mo: null :: R: 也 topic marker. Vacant variation.

15.52 YQS: 道 :: R, Mo: 導 ‘guide’. Graphic variation. See 15.20.

15.53 YQS, Mo: 眾 *zhòng* < **tujh* ‘the masses’ :: R: 民 *mín* < **min* ‘people’. Lexical variation.

Lexical variation between synonyms.

15.62 YQS, R: 而 sentence connective :: Mo: null. Vacant variation.

15.63 YQS: 奉 *fèng* < **phoŋ* ‘remuneration’ :: R: null :: Mo: 封 *fēng* < **poŋ* ‘enfeof’.

Lexical variation. At the beginning of this account, all the three texts record that Lord Jing wanted to enfeoff Confucius the land of Xiji, and M: “keep his fief” 留其封 is referring to the land given to Confucius.

The word after 留其 in R is missing. Sun Xingyan restored R based on the matching word in Mo.

15.64 YQS: 之 him (Confucius) :: R, Mo: null. Vacant variation.

15.65 YQS, Mo: 而 sentence connective :: R: null. Vacant variation.

15.66 YQS: 中泥 :: R: 仲尼 *zhòng ní*, Confucius’ style name :: Mo: 孔某 ‘Kong so-and-so’

YQS and R are graphic variation, R is a lexical variant. See note 15.1.

15.67 YQS: □去 “...left” :: R: 迺行 “then depart” :: Mo: 乃恚怒於景公與晏子 “(Confucius) then became resentful. He was angry with Lord Jing and Yanzi.” In the *Mozi*, the story does not end here, and it is reported that after Confucius left he created nasty and severe conflicts between Qi and Lu for revenge.

R: 迺 *nǎi* < **nâʔ* :: Mo: 乃 *nǎi* < **nâʔ* ‘then’. Graphic variation.

The word missing in YQS is probably 迺, as the matching word in R suggests.

YQS: 去 *qù* < **khaʔ* ‘leave’ :: R: 行 *xíng* < **grâŋ* ‘depart’ :: Mo: 恚 *huì* < *ʔweh* ‘resent’.

Lexical variation.

Edited transcription and translation

中泥(仲尼)之齊見景公,景公說(悅)之,將封之以璽稽,以告晏[子]...下好樂而...不[可]使親治,立令而殆[事]不可使守職。久喪而循哀不可使子民...容不可以道[眾],自[大]賢之威周室之卑...民行茲薄,聲樂繁充而世茲衰。今孔丘盛為容飭以盪世,紆歌...眾博學不...勞[思]不可補民,纍[壽]不能亶[其]教,當年不能行[其]禮,積材不能譖[其]樂。繁飭降登以營世君,盛為聲樂以淫愚民,其[道]不可以視世,其[教]不可以道眾,今君封之移齊俗,非所以道國先民也。公曰善。於是重[其]禮而留[其]奉,敬見之而不問[其]道。中泥(仲尼)[迺]去。

Zhongni went to Qi. He had an audience with Commonlord Jing. Commonlord Jing was pleased with him and was about to enfeoff him with the land of Xiji. He told Yan[zi]...below. He is fond of music...[cannot be used] to rule personally. When he establishes orders he slacks off, and cannot be allowed to hold an official post. He makes funeral ceremony long lasting and over-pursues lament, and cannot be put in charge of caring for people...appearance, he cannot guide [the masses]. Since the demise of [the great worthies] and the decline of the house of Zhou...people's proper behaviors were becoming attenuated. While sounds and music excessively fill the air the world is increasingly deteriorating. Now Kong Qiu extravagantly contrives his appearance and adornments to delude the world. He plucks string to sing...the masses. His wide knowledge does not...[labored] thinking cannot contribute to people. Enhanced life span cannot be long enough to exhaust his teaching. One cannot practice his rituals in the prime of one's life. Accumulated wealth cannot provide enough for his music. Confucius elaborately adorns the rituals of ascending and descending to seek the attention from the lords of the day. He performs the sounds and music to an extreme degree in order to lead the ignorant people into wantonness. His way cannot show the world anything good. His teaching cannot guide the masses. Now my lord is enfeoffing him to change the customs of Qi. This is not the means to guide the state and to put people first. The Commonlord said, "Good." Thereupon the lord valued Confucius' rituals, kept his remuneration, respectfully visited him but did not ask about his way. Zhongni [then] left.

Discussion of Account Fifteen

The three passages from YQS, R and Mo are fairly close to one another, and they should have all derived from a common source. More than half of the textual variants are graphic variation and are not immediately relevant to the evaluation of the textual relation among the three accounts. As for vacant and lexical variants, YQS and Mo show a closer relation to each other than with R.

Table 2.7.1 Distribution of vacant and lexical variants in Account Fifteen

A	B	C	D
YQS matches Mo	YQS matches R	R matches Mo	YQS, R, Mo differ from one another
19 cases	16 cases	7 cases	2 cases

In category A, we have nineteen cases of YQS matching Mo but differing from R. Two kinds of variants can be identified in this category: textual corruptions and deliberate emendations in R. Copyist errors in R are identifiable. The three variants that suggest textual corruptions in R are summarized in the table below.

Table 2.7.2 Variants that suggest textual corruptions in R

Variants	Reason
15.8 15.10 YQS: 立令而殆[事]不可使守職 R: 立命而建事不可守職 Mo: 立命而怠事不可使守職	15.8 R: 建 does not make good sense in the context, and <i>juan</i> ‘weary’ (倦) is probably the word intended; 15.10: R is grammatically awkward without 使
15.14 YQS, Mo: 循 ‘pursue’ :: R: 道 ‘guide’	R: 道 is most likely a graphic error of 循
15.63 YQS: 奉 :: Mo: 封 :: ‘effeof’ :: R: null	The sentence in R is incomplete

In 15.8, R: 建 is probably an error and *juan* ‘weary’ (倦) is the word intended. In 15.10, without the matching word 使 in YQS, Mo, the sentence in R is grammatically awkward, so it is very likely that 使 was dropped from the original text. In 15.14, R: 道 does not make good sense in the context, and it is probably a graphic error of YQS, Mo: 循 ‘pursue.’ 15.63 is a case of omission of word. From these cases we can argue that these variants in R are separative errors, which suggest that R belongs to a transmission lineage distinct from YQS and Mo. Another two cases in category A (15.11, 15.15) are variants that could be later revisions and enhancement in R and therefore different from YQS and Mo.

	11	12 13 14	15	16
YQS:		久喪而循哀	不可使子民	
R:	厚葬破民貧國	久喪	道哀費日	不可使子民
Mo:		宗喪	循哀	不可使慈民

The words highlighted in 15.11, 15.15 are absent in YQS and Mo. R is more explanatory than YQS and Mo and creates two sentences with a series of two-word phrases. This seems to be a deliberate emendation and enhancement. If we are right, this variant supports the hypothesis that R is secondary and belongs to a different transmission lineage.

In category B, YQS matches R but differ from Mo: the reason why some of the variants arose is recognizable: for instance, in 15.1 (YQS, R: 中泥/仲尼 :: Mo: 孔某) and 15.26 (YQS, R: 孔丘 :: Mo: 孔某), Mo: 孔某 ‘Kong so-and-so’ is a disrespectful designation to refer to Confucius and is probably a deliberate change of the original text to denounce Confucius.

Many other variants in category B are not easily accounted for. For instance, in the three cases of lexical variants, 15.12 YQS, R: 久 ‘prolong’ :: Mo: 宗 ‘esteem’, 15.16 YQS, R: 子 ‘take care of’ :: Mo: 慈 ‘show affection to a child’, and 15.39 YQS, R: 亶/殫 ‘exhaust’ :: Mo: 盡 ‘use up’,

it cannot be easily determined which word is the original. They are all commonly used words, and the variants in 15.16 and 15.39 are synonyms.

The same thing is seen with category C. Among all six cases where R matches Mo but differs from YQS, three of them are variants between synonyms, 15.4 YQS: 將 ‘be about to’ :: R, Mo: 欲 ‘desire to’, 15.8 YQS: 令 ‘order’ :: R, Mo: 命 ‘command’, and 15.61 YQS: 重 ‘make rich’ :: R, Mo: 厚 ‘make thick’. The motivation of changing the texts could be a copyist’s preference of words or dialectal differences, which cannot be identified with confidence.

The distribution of the textual variants and the significant variants we just discussed suggest that YQS, R and Mo have all derived from the same source. YQS is probably the closest to their common source, and R has undergone the most revision.

2.8 Yinqueshan Account Sixteen (strips 624-630)

This episode records an event that took place seventeen years after Yanzi's death. At a banquet Lord Jing lamented that no officials were as upright as Yanzi and nor would give him critical suggestions in a comparable fashion anymore. In the received YZCQ this is the last account in the "outer chapter" (8.18). This account is also included in the *Shui yuan* 說苑, *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 (*Sibu congkan* edition, 33.23a), and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽.

The *Shui yuan* is a collection of moral tales and political admonitions assembled by Liu Xiang. Forty-five accounts on Yanzi are included in the *Shui yuan* with forty two of them matching the accounts in YZCQ. The *Qunshu zhiyao* was compiled during early Tang. It is a collection of excerpts from earlier texts on the subject of governing. This compendium is organized by the texts that are used as its sources. In the section of *Yanzi* in the *Qunshu zhiyao*, forty-two accounts are included. The *Taiping yulan* is the most extensive *leishu* (usually translated as encyclopedia) compiled in early Northern Song with fifty-five categories in total. Under each category, there are also subcategories and subdivisions of the given subject. This Yanzi account under discussion can be found in three different sections in the *Taiping yulan*: *ren shi bu* 人事部 (the section on human affairs, 426.2134), *yu bu* 魚部 (the section on fish, 935.4155), and *chong zhi bu* 蟲豸部 (the section on insects, 948.4210). All three excerpts differ from each other with some overlaps. They will all be included in the discussion of textual variants among YQS, R together with the other two collectanea *Shui yuan* (*Sibu congkan* edition, 1.22b) and *Qunshu zhiyao* (*Sibu congkan* edition, 33.23a).

Transcription

624 ● ^a 晏子沒十有七年公飲諸大夫酒公射出質堂上 ^b 昌...公組色大息蕃弓矢紂章入公曰

625 ^a 章自吾失... ^b 於今十有七年未嘗聞吾不善今射出質昌善者若出一口紂章合曰此諸臣之不宵

626 ^a 也智不足以智君之不善勇不足以犯君之彥准此諸臣之不 ^b 宵也然而有一焉臣聞斥汙食黃其身

627 ^a 黃食青其身 ^b 青君其有食乎凶人之言與公曰善紂 ^c 章出自海入魚五十乘以賜紂章歸魚塞

628 ... ^a 之手曰襄之昌善者皆欲若魚者也昔者 ^b 晏子辭賞以正君故過不奔今諸臣凶史

629 ^a 以弋利故出質而昌善若出一口今所以補君未見於 ^b ...晏子之義而順凶史

630 之欲也固辭而弗受公曰紂章之廉晏子之...

Discussion of textual variants

In the discussion, *Shui yuan* is abbreviated as ShY, *Qunshu zhiyao* as Qun, and *Taiping yulan* as Yulan. In the Yulan, among the three sections that include this Yanzi episode, the one in the “section on fish” is the most elaborate and close to other texts, and thus cited for line by line comparison. In the second part of this account, the “section on human affairs” of Yulan will be cited too.

	1	2		3
YQS:	晏子沒十有七年	公飲諸大夫酒	公射出質堂上	昌善若出一口
R:	晏子沒十有七年	景公飲諸大夫酒	公射出質堂上	唱善若出一口
ShY:	晏子沒十有七年	景公飲諸大夫酒	公射出質堂上	唱善若出一口
Qun:	晏子沒十有七年	景公飲諸大夫酒	公射出質堂上	唱善若出一口
Yulan:		景公射	質堂上	唱善者 一口

16.1 YQS: null :: R, ShY, Qun: 景 Jing, posthumous title. Vacant variation.

16.2 YQS: 飲 :: R, ShY, Qun: 飲 . Graphic variation. See note 1.1.

The time and background of this incident is not introduced at the beginning of Yulan as in the other texts.

16.3 YQS: 公射出質堂上昌... “The Commonlord shot and the arrow missed the target. The shouts in the hall...” :: R, ShY, Qun: 公射出質堂上唱善若出一口 “The Commonlord shot and the arrow missed the target. The shouting of plaudits in the hall was like coming out of one mouth” :: Yulan: 景公射質堂上唱善者一口 “Commonlord Jing shot an arrow at the target. The ones shouting plaudits in the hall were like using one mouth.”

In the Yulan, 射質 “shoot an arrow at the target” did not introduce the fact that the lord missed, as recorded in other texts 公射出質 “The Commonlord shot and the arrow missed the target.”

In the other texts, it is the very contrast that the lord missed but he nevertheless received zealous applauses from his officials led to his comment on upright admonition and to his conversation with Xian Zhang. Thus this variant in Yulan makes the meaning ambiguous.

In YQS, the strip is broken at the graph 昌. This graph is incomplete with only one component 日 remaining. The reason we suspect the incomplete graph might be 昌 instead of 唱 as suggested by the matching words in all the received texts is that this graph appears four more times in this account and they are all written as 昌. After 昌, the missing strip allows for the space of about four to five graphs. Based on the similarity between YQS and the parallel received texts, we supplement the missing words in YQS according to the matching texts in the received texts: 公射出質堂上昌善若出一口.

YQS: 昌 [*chāng* < **k-hlan* ‘refined’] :: R, ShY, Qun: 唱 *chàng* < **k-hlanh* ‘lead (in singing)’.

Graphic variation. This variant between YQS and the received texts is consistent throughout the whole account and will not be addressed in the following discussion.

	4	5	6	7		8		9
YQS:	公	組	色	大	息	蕃	弓	矢
R:	公	作	色	太	息	播	弓	矢
ShY:	公	作	色	太	息	播	弓	矢
Qun:	公	作	色	大	息	播	弓	矢
Yulan:								

紂章入 公曰 章 自 吾 失 晏 子 於 今 十 有 七 年 未 嘗 聞 吾 不 善
 弦 章 入 公 曰 章 自 晏 子 沒 後 不 復 聞 不 善 之 事
 弦 章 入 公 曰 章 自 吾 失 晏 子 於 今 十 有 七 年 未 嘗 聞 吾 過 不
 善
 弦 章 入 公 曰 章 自 吾 失 晏 子 於 今 十 有 七 年 矣 未 嘗 聞 吾 不 善
 弦 章 入 公 曰 吾 失 晏 子 未 嘗 聞 吾 不 善

16.4 YQS: 組 [zǔ < *tsâ? ‘bind together’] :: R, ShY, Qun: 作 zuò < *tsâk ‘take on’. Graphic variation. The phrase zuòsè 作色 ‘show signs of anger’ is a fixed expression, appearing eleven times in YZCQ and is also attested in the *Liji* (27.848).

16.5 YQS, Qun: 大 tài < *thâs ‘great’ :: R, ShY: 太 tài < *thâs ‘great’. Graphic variation. The phrase tài xī 太息 means ‘give a great sigh.’

16.6 YQS: 蕃 [fān < *pan ‘hedge’] :: R, ShY, Qun: 播 bō < *pâih ‘put away’. Graphic variation.

YQS: 蕃 and R, ShY, Qun: 播 are in the same *xiesheng* series.

Yulan differs from all the other texts and does not have the sentence 公作色太息播弓矢 “The Commonlord showed signs of anger and put away the bow and arrow.”

16.7 YQS: 紂 :: R, ShY, Qun: 弦 xián < *gîn ‘string’, name. Graphic variation.

See discussion in 15.30. This variant between YQS and received texts is consistent in the whole account and will not be addressed in the following discussion.

16.8 YQS, ShY: 自 吾 失...於 今 十 有 七 年 “Seventeen years has passed since I lost...” :: R: 自 晏 子 沒 後 “Since after Yanzi passed away” :: Qun: 自 吾 失 晏 子 於 今 十 有 七 年 矣 “It has been seventeen years since I lost Yanzi” :: Yulan: 吾 失 晏 子 “I lost Yanzi”.

The two missing graphs in YQS after 失 probably are 晏子 based on the matching texts in ShY and Qun.

In the various versions of received YZCQ, this account is incomplete and the rest of the narrative is not available after 公曰章 “The Commonlord said, Zhang...” Scholars have claimed that they used the matching text in Yulan to supplement what is missing in R. (*Jishi*, 521) In the discussion of the following variants we will see that although R and Yulan are close they do not always match. For example in this section, R and Yulan are more cursory than the other three texts but they are not identical.

16.9 YQS, Qun, Yulan: 未嘗聞吾不善 “I have not ever heard discussions on my improper deeds” :: R: 不復聞不善之事 “I did not hear any concern on improper deeds again” :: ShY: 未嘗聞吾過不善 “I have not ever heard my faults and improper deeds”.

The word *guò* 過 ‘fault’ in ShY has a similar meaning with *bu shan* 不善 ‘not good, badness.’

ShY: 吾過不善 ‘my fault and improper deeds’ is somehow redundant in meaning and stylistically awkward. It is possible that *bú shàn* is an editorial note to point out the textual variant between ShY and YZCQ but became mixed into the main text. (Xiang Zonglu 向宗魯 1987, 29)

	10	11	12
YQS:	今射出質昌善者若出一口	紉章合曰	此諸臣之不宵也
R:		弦章對曰	
ShY:	今射出質唱善者若出一口	弦章對曰	此諸臣之不肖也
Qun:	今射出質唱善者如出一口	弦章對曰	此諸臣之不肖也
Yulan:	null	章曰	

16.10 YQS, ShY, Qun: 今射出質昌善者若(Qun: 如)出一口 “Now my shot missed the target, but the shouting of plaudits were like coming out of one mouth” :: R, Yulan: null.

vassals' not being able to make good remonstrations arose from their insufficiency in both knowledge and courage. The word *bù* after 不足 seems to be erroneous since it is not only ungrammatical but also breaks the parallel between the line under discussion and the previous. Based on the context, the parallelism and the matching texts in ShY and Qun, *bù* in YQS is most likely a typo.

16.17 YQS: 彥隹 :: ShY: 顏色 *yán sè* < **ɲrân* **srək* 'face and countenance' :: Qun: 顏 *yán* < **ɲrân* 'face'.

The graph in YQS, 彥隹 is not attested in standard writing. Bases on the matching word in ShY and Qun, it most likely stands for the graphically similar word *yán* < **ɲrân* 'face' (顏).

ShY: 顏色 'face and countenance' :: Qun: 顏 'face' is lexical variation.

The previous parallel sentence in YQS and ShY has 君之不善 'the improper deeds of the lord.'

The four-syllable phrase 君之顏色 'the face and countenance of the lord' in ShY makes a neater match with 君之不善 than YQS: 君之顏 'the face of the lord.'

16.18 YQS: 此諸臣之不宵也 "This is due to the unworthiness of the officials" :: ShY, Qun: null. Vacant variation. Exactly the same sentence appears in YQS, ShY and Qun in the immediately prior section (see 16.12). The same sentence is repeated with only two lines apart, this line in YQS seems redundant.

	19	20
YQS:	null	
R:	君好之 則 臣服之 君嗜之 則 臣食之	
ShY:	臣聞之 君好之 則 臣服之 君嗜之 則 臣食之	
Qun:	null	
Yulan:	臣聞	君好 臣服 君嗜 臣食

YQS and Qun have no lines matching R, ShY and Yulan in this section.

16.19 YQS, R, Qun: null :: ShY: 臣聞之 “I have heard it that...” :: Yulan: 臣聞 “I have heard that...” Vacant variation. No significant difference between ShY and Yulan.

16.20 YQS, Qun: null :: R, ShY: 君好之則臣服之, 君嗜之則臣食之 “If a lord is fond of something his subjects will submit to it. If a lord finds something tasty his subjects will feed it to him” :: Yulan: 君好臣服, 君嗜臣食 “When a lord is fond of something his subjects will submit to it. When a lord finds something tasty his subjects will feed it to him”. Vacant variation. The absence of the extended modifier particle 之 and the connective 則 in Yulan does not make a significant difference the meaning between R and ShY.

	22	23		24	25		26		27															
YQS:	斥	汙	食	黃	其	身	黃	食	蒼	其	身	蒼	君	其	有	食	乎	凶	人	之	言	興		
R:	尺	蠖	食	黃	則		黃	食	蒼	則		蒼	是	也										
ShY:	夫	尺	蠖	食	黃	則	其	身	黃	食	蒼	則	其	身	蒼	君	其	猶	有	諂	人	言	乎	
Qun:	尺	蠖	食	黃	其	身	黃	食	蒼	其	身	蒼	君	其	猶	有	食	諂	人	之	言	乎		
Yulan:	尺	蠖	食	黃	身	黃	食	蒼	身	蒼	君	其	食	諂	人	言	乎							

16.22 YQS, R, Qun, Yulan: null :: ShY: 夫 ‘in any particular case’. Vacant variation.

16.23 YQS: 斥汙 :: R, ShY, Qun, Yulan: 尺蠖 *chǐ huò* < **thak* **ʔwâk* ‘inchworm’.

斥 [*chì* < **k-lhak* ‘rebuff’] :: 尺 *chǐ* < **thak*. Graphic variation.

汙 [*wū* < **ʔwâ* ‘filthy’] :: 蠖 *huò* < **ʔwâk*. Graphic variation.

16.24 YQS, Qun, Yulan: null :: R, ShY: 則 connective. Vacant variation.

This same variant between YQS, Qun, Yulan and R, ShY is also observed in the following parallel lines. In the Yulan this Yanzi account is included in three different sections. The passage cited is from the “section on fish.” In the “section on insects” this same line with slightly different wording is recorded as (948.4210): 尺蠖食黃即身黃, 食蒼即身蒼 “When an

inchworm eats yellow its body will right away turn yellow; when eating green its body will surely turn green.” As for this variant between the two Yulan passages, there are two possibilities to account for it. Perhaps the Yulan editors were using different versions of the Yanzi text; or, alternatively the same Yanzi text was used but the wording was changed when edited into different sections.

16.25 YQS, ShY, Qun: 其 ‘its’ :: R, Yulan: null. Vacant variation.

This same variant between YQS, ShY, Qun and R, Yulan is also observed in the following parallel lines.

16.26 YQS: 青 *qīng* < **k-sêŋ* ‘green’ :: R, ShY, Qun, Yulan: 蒼 *cāng* < **k-sâŋ* ‘green blue’.

Lexical variation between synonyms. This same variant between YQS and all the received texts is also observed in the immediately following sentences, and thus will not be singled out for discussion again.

16.27 YQS: 君其有食乎由人之言與 “Has my lord taken in the words of the toadying

officials?” :: R: 是也 “...is a case of this” :: ShY: 君其猶有諂人言乎 “Has my lord likewise had the words of the toadying officials?” :: Qun: 君其猶有食諂人之言乎 “Has my lord likewise taken in the words of the toadying officials?” :: Yulan: 君其食諂人言乎 “Has my lord taken in the words of the toadying officials?”

R is different from the all the other of the texts. The differences among YQS, ShY, Qun and Yulan are mostly graphic variation or vacant variation. YQS: 與 :: ShY, Qun, Yulan: 乎.

Lexical variation. See 11.3.

YQS: 由 :: ShY, Qun, Yulan: 諂 *chǎn* < **rham?* ‘toadying’. Graphic variation.

The graph 𠂔 is registered in the *Shuowen* (286b), as an allograph of *kuai* < **khwrwâih* ‘clod’ 塊.

The editors take 𠂔 as an allograph of 坎 [*kǎn* < **khâm?* ‘clod’] and suggest that the word intended is *chǎn* < **rham?* ‘toadying’ (諂). Tan Buyun (2002, 437) argues that the graph in the manuscript is actually 𠂔 not 𠂔. From the photograph of the manuscripts it does not look like so. The graph 埵 is an attested graphic variant for ‘clod’ 坎, and 埵 and 諂 are in the same *xiesheng* series. (*Daguang yihui yupian* 大廣益會玉篇 *Sibu congkan* edition, 2.2b)

Phonologically YQS: 𠂔 :: ShY, Qun, Yulan: 諂 are compatible, and are a case of graphic variation.

	28	29	30	31	32	33
YQS:	公曰善	紂章出自海入魚五十乘	以		賜紂章	歸
R:	公曰善吾不食諂人以言也				以魚五十乘賜弦章章歸	
ShY:	公曰善今日之言章為君我為臣	是時海人入魚	公以	五十乘	賜弦章章歸	
Qun:	公曰善 (the end)					
Yulan:	公曰善				賜弦章魚五十乘	弦章歸

16.28 YQS, Qun, Yulan: null :: R: 吾不食諂人以言也 “I will not take the words of the toadying people anymore” :: ShY: 今日之言章為君我為臣 “As for the conversation today, Zhang is my lord, and I am the subject.” Vacant and lexical variation.

This is the end of the account in Qun.

16.29 YQS: 紂章出 “Xianzhang went out” :: R, ShY, Yulan: null. Vacant variation.

16.30 YQS: 自海入魚五十乘 “Fifty *sheng* of fish were delivered from the sea” :: ShY: 是時海人入魚 “At that time fishermen were sending in fish” :: R, Yulan: null.

YQS and ShY are lexical variation. Their difference from R and Yulan is vacant variation.

YQS and ShY provide more details than in Y and Yulan.

16.31 YQS, R, Yulan: null :: ShY: 公 Commonlord (Jing). Vacant variation.

This variant makes no significant difference in meaning.

16.32 YQS: 以賜紂章 “(Lord Jing) bestowed it to Xian Zhang” :: R: 以魚五十乘賜弦章

“(Lord Jing) bestowed fifty *sheng* of fish to Xian Zhang” :: ShY: 賜弦章魚五十乘 “(Lord Jing)

bestowed Xian Zhang fifty *sheng* of fish” :: Yulan: 公以五十乘賜弦章 “The Commonlord

bestowed Xian Zhang fifty *sheng* (of fish).” Lexical variation.

16.33 YQS, ShY, R: 章 Zhang :: Yulan: 弦章 Xian Zhang. Lexical variation. The symbol after

章 in YQS, 二, is a ditto mark, suggesting that the same graph before it is repeated. Also see

note 1.13.

	34	35		36		37		38	39		40							
YQS:	魚	塞	塗	撫	其	御	之手曰	曩	之昌善者皆欲	若	魚者也							
R:	魚	車	塞	塗	撫	其	御	之手曰										
ShY:	魚	乘	塞	塗	撫	其	御	之手曰	曩	之唱善者皆欲	若	魚者也						
Yulan:	魚	車	塞	塗	章	撫	其	仆	曰	曩	之唱善者皆欲	此	魚	也	固	辭	不	受

16.34 YQS: null :: R, Yulan: 車 *chē* < **k-lha* ‘cart’ :: ShY: 乘 *shèng* < **m-ləŋh* ‘chariot’.

Vacant variation. R, Yulan: 車 ‘cart’ :: ShY: 乘 ‘chariot’ is lexical variation between synonyms.

16.35 R: 塗 [*tú* < **lâ* ‘smear’] :: ShY, Yulan: 途 *tú* < **lâ* ‘road’. Graphic variation.

16.36 R, ShY: 撫其御之手 “(Zhang) held his driver’s hand” :: Yulan: 章撫其仆 “Zhang laid

his hand on his driver.” Lexical variation.

In a different section in the Yulan, the “division on human affairs,” where the same account is included, the parallel line is identical with R and ShY: 撫其御之手. It seems that the composers of Yulan were not consistent when citing from the same texts in different sections. There are about four graphs missing on this strip. Based on the matching texts in R and ShY, four words are supplemented in YQS: 魚塞塗撫其御之手 “The fish filled [the road]. [Zhang held his driver]’s hand.”

16.37 YQS: 襄 [xiāng < *snaŋ ‘remove’] :: ShY, Yulan: 曩 nǎng < *nâŋ? ‘earlier time’.

Graphic variation.

16.38 YQS, ShY: 若 ruò < *nak ‘this kind of’ :: Yulan: 此 cǐ < *tshe? ‘this’.

Lexical variation between synonyms.

16.39 YQS, ShY: 者 zhě ‘nominalizer’ :: Yulan: null. Vacant variation.

No significant difference in meaning between the three texts.

16.40 YQS, ShY: null :: Yulan: 固辭不受 “(Zhang) insisted to decline and not accept the fish.”

Vacant variation. This is the end of the passage in “the section on fish” in the Yulan, concluding with Xian Zhang turning down the fish. His further comment on Yanzi and toadying officials is not relevant to “fish” and this is probably why it is not included in this passage from “the section on fish.” The same account in “the section on human affairs” records the Xian Zhang’s following discussion on remonstrance, and is cited for comparison.

	41	42	43 44	45	46	47
YQS:	昔者晏子辭賞	以正君故過	不奔	今諸臣由吏	以弋利故出質	而昌善若出一口
R:	昔者晏子辭黨	以正君故過	失不掩之	今諸臣諛	以干利	
ShY:	昔者晏子辭賞	以正君故過	失不掩	今諸臣諂諛	以干利故出質	而唱善如出一口
Yulan:	昔者晏子辭賞	以正君故過	失不掩	今諸臣諂諛	以干利	

16.41 YQS: 辭賞 :: R: 辭黨 :: ShY, Yulan: 辭賞 ‘decline award’. Graphic variation.

YQS: 辭 *cí* < **s-lə* :: R, ShY, Yulan: 辭 *cí* < **s-lə* ‘decline’. Graphic variation.

YQS, ShY, Yulan: 賞 *shǎng* < **hjaŋʔ* ‘award’ :: R: 黨 [*dǎng* < **tāŋʔ* ‘category’].

Graphic variation. They are in the same *xiesheng* series.

16.42 YQS: 過 ‘fault’ :: R, ShY, Yulan: 過失 ‘fault and mistake’. Lexical variation. This variant does not make a significant difference in the meaning of the texts, but stylistically and prosodically the two-word phrases in R, ShY, Yulan: 過失 resonates better with 辭賞 ‘decline award’ and 正君 ‘correct one’s lord’ in the previous sentence.

16.43 YQS: 弇 *yǎn* < **ʔamʔ* ‘conceal’ :: R, ShY, Yulan: 掩 *yǎn* < **ʔamʔ* ‘cover up’.

Graphical variation between synonyms.

16.44 YQS, ShY, Yulan: null :: R: 之 pronoun. Vacant variation.

16.45 YQS: 𠂔𠂔 *chǎn yú* ‘flatter and fawn’ :: R: 諛 *yú* ‘fawn’ :: ShY, Yulan: 諛諛 *chǎn yú* ‘flatter and fawn’.

YQS: 𠂔 :: ShY, Yulan: 諛 *chǎn* < **rhamʔ* ‘flatter’. Graphic variation. See 16.27.

YQS: 𠂔 [*yú* < **jo* ‘tie’] :: ShY, Yulan: 諛 *yú* < **jo* ‘fawn’. Graphic variation.

16.46 YQS: 弋 *yì* < **lək* ‘seize’ :: R, ShY, Yulan: 干 *gān* < **kân* ‘seek’. Lexical variation between synonyms.

16.47 YQS, ShY: 故出質而昌(ShY: 唱)善若(ShY: 如)出一口 “Therefore when you missed the target the shouting of plaudits was like coming out of one mouth” :: R, Yulan: null. Vacant variation.

YQS: 昌 :: ShY: 唱 are graphic variation, see 16.3.

YQS: 若 ‘as if’ :: ShY: 如 ‘be like’ are lexical variation, see 16.10.

48

49

50

YQS: 今所以補 君未見於眾而受若魚 是反 晏子之義 而順 凶與之欲也

R: 吾若受 魚 是反 晏子之義 而順 諂諛之欲

ShY: 今所 輔于君未見于眾 而受若 魚 是反 晏子之義 而順 諂諛之欲也

Yulan: 吾若受 魚 是反 晏子之義 而順 諂諛之欲

16.48 YQS: 今所以補君未見於... “Now what was used to benefit my lord is not seen by...” ::

ShY: 今所輔于君未見于眾 “Now what I assisted my lord with is not seen by others” :: R,

Yulan: null. Vacant variation.

YQS: 補 *bǔ* < *Cə-p’a? ‘mend’ :: ShY: 輔 *fǔ* < *ba? ‘assist’. Lexical variation. These two words have shared phonetic and are close in both meaning and graph. Which word is closer to the common source cannot be determined.

About seven graphs missing after YQS: 於. The missing text is supplemented based on the parallel in ShY.

16.49 ShY: 而受若魚 “(with premise that my merits are invisible to others and) accept the fish”

R, Yulan: 吾若受魚 “If I accept the fish”. Lexical variation.

Together with 16.48, R and Yulan are less detailed than ShY.

16.50 YQS: ...晏子之義而順凶與之欲也 “...the Propriety of Yanzi and conform to the desires

of the flattering and fawning” :: R, ShY, Yulan: 是反晏子之義而順諂諛之欲(/R: 也) “This is to oppose the Propriety of Yanzi and to conform to the desires of the flattering and fawning.”

YQS: 凶與 :: R, ShY, Yulan: 諂諛 ‘flatter and fawn’. Graphic variation. See 16.27 and 16.45.

YQS and ShY both have final continuative aspect marker 也 while R and Yulan do not. This is vacant variation.

	51	52	53
YQS:	固辭	而弗受	公曰 紂章之廉 晏子之 ...
R:	固辭魚	不受	君子曰 弦章之廉 晏子之遺行也
ShY:	固辭魚	不受	君子曰 弦章之廉 乃晏子之遺行也
Yulan:	固辭魚	不受	君子曰 弦章之廉 晏子之遺行也

16.51 YQS: 固辭而弗受 “insisted to decline and did not accept it” :: R, ShY, Yulan: 固辭魚不受 “insisted to decline the fish and not accept (it).” Lexical variation.

16.52 YQS: 公 ‘Commonlord (Jing)’ :: R, ShY, Yulan: 君子 ‘lordling’. Lexical variation.

16.53 YQS, R, Yulan: null :: ShY: 乃 ‘indeed’. Vacant variation.

ShY: 弦章之廉乃晏子之遺行也 “The incorruptibility of Xian Zhang indeed resembles Yanzi’s past merits.”

Edited transcription and translation

晏子沒十有七年，公飲諸大夫酒公射出質堂上昌善若出一口。公組色大息蕃弓矢。紂（弦）章入，公曰章自吾失晏子於今十有七年，未嘗聞吾不善。今射出質，昌善者若出一口。紂章合曰，此諸臣之不肖也。智不足以智君之不善，勇不足以犯君之顏，此諸臣之不肖也。然而有一焉。臣聞斥汙食黃其身黃，食青其身青。君其有食乎凶人之言與？公曰善。紂章出。自海入魚五十乘，以賜紂章。章歸，魚塞塗。撫其御之手曰，襄之昌善者皆欲若魚者也。昔者晏子辭賞以正君，故過不弇。今諸臣凶與以弋利故出質而昌善若出一口。今所以補君未見於眾而受若魚是反晏子之義而順凶與之欲也。固辭而弗受。公曰紂章之廉晏子之...

After Yanzi had been dead for seventeen years, the Commonlord was treating all his ministers with wine. When the Commonlord shot an arrow but missed the target, the ministers in the hall shouted out plaudits as if they were out of a single mouth. The Commonlord became irritated

and gave a deep sigh, and then he put away his bow and arrows. Xian Zhang entered. The Commonlord said, “Zhanag, since I lost [Yanzi] it has been seventeen years up to now. I have never heard about my improper deeds. Now my shot missed the target, and the shouts of plaudits are like having come out of a single mouth!” Xian Zhang responded, “This is the unworthiness of your officials. Their wisdom is not sufficient to know their lord’s improper deeds; their courage is not sufficient to not confront their lord to his face. This is the unworthiness of your officials. But there is one thing in this. When an inchworm eats yellow its body turns yellow; when it eats green its body turns green. Has my lord taken in the words of sycophants?” The Commonlord said, “Good.” Xian Zhang went out. The lord requested fifty carriages of fish from the sea and then granted them to Xian Zhang. Zhang departed. The fish blocked [the road. He held his driver’s] hand and said, “Those who shouted plaudits earlier would all long for these fish. In the past, Yanzi declined awards to rectify our lord, therefore the faults of the lord were not concealed. Now all the ministers are flattering and fawning to seek benefit, therefore when the shot missed the target they shouted plaudits as if they came out of one single mouth. Now what was used to benefit my lord is not seen by [the others, but I accepted these fish. This is opposing] the Propriety of Yanzi, but following the desires of the sycophants.” Xian Zhang insisted on declining the fish and did not accept them. The Commonlord said, “The incorruptibility of Xian Zhan is Yanzi’s...”

Discussion

Among the five texts, YQS shows a closer relation with Qun and ShY than with R and Yulan. In Qun, only the conversation between the lord and Xian Zhang is available. The narratives on awarding Xian Zhang the fish and on Xian Zhang declining it are not included. That is probably because Qun is a collection compiled for the sovereign to learn how to be a good monarch and the discussions from a subject’s perspective are therefore not included. Nevertheless three significant variants, 16.19-20, 16.28 and 16.17, show that Qun and YQS probably belong to a common textual lineage.

Table 2.8 Significant variants in YQS Account Sixteen

16.19 16.20	<p>YQS, Qun: null :: R, ShY: (ShY: 臣聞之) 君好之則臣服之, 君嗜之則臣食之 “(ShY: I have heard that) If a lord is fond of something his subjects will submit to it. If a lord finds something tasty his subjects will feed it to him” :: Yulan: 臣聞君好臣服, 君嗜臣食 “I have heard that when a lord is fond of something his subjects will submit to it. When a lord finds something tasty his subjects will feed it to him.”</p>
16.28	<p>YQS, Qun, Yulan: null :: R: 吾不食諂人以言也 “I will not take the words of the toadying people anymore.” :: ShY: 今日之言章為君我為臣 “As for the conversation today, Zhang is my lord, and I am the subject.”</p>
16.17	<p>YQS: 彥隹 :: Qun: 顏 yán < *<i>ɳrân</i> ‘face’ :: ShY: 顏色 yán sè < *<i>ɳrân</i> *<i>srək</i> ‘face and countenance’ :: R, Yulan: null (the whole line is absent).</p>

In 16.19 and 16.20, the entire line shared by R, ShY and Yulan is absent from YQS and Qun. This variant suggests that YQS and Qun probably have derived from one common source in which this line is not available. 16.28 is a similar vacant variant. In 16.17, YQS and Qun are graphic variation. Their differences from ShY, R and Yulan are lexical and vacant variation. The three variants discussed above separate YQS and Qun from all the other texts and suggest that they have a shared source.

YQS and ShY are fairly close too. Since both the Yanzi text and ShY are accredited to Liu Xiang, it is highly likely that the same source was used in fixing the Yanzi text and in editing ShY.

YQS differs from all the extant texts in six places, 16.18, 16.34, 16.42, 16.46, 16.51 and 16.52. None of them provides conclusive evidence that can be used to determine whether YQS is earlier than other texts.

R matches ShY and differs from all other texts in several places (16.20, 16.24), but over all R and Yulan show a closer relation than with other texts. There are seven sentences shared by all other texts but are absent from R and Yulan: 16.10-12, 16.13-18, 16.47, 16.48-49. According to the Qing textual critics who fixed the extant edition of YZCQ, the text after 公曰章 “The Commonlord said, Zhang...” (Where the lord started to lament Yanzi) is missing from various versions of received R (see note 16.18). The critics have claimed that they used the matching text in Yulan to supplement what is missing in R. (*Jishi*, 521) The similarity between Yulan and R is obvious as the vacant variants between them and other texts suggest, but Yulan and R do not always match. In 16.27, 16.28 and 16.37-39, R differs from all the other texts.

This Yanzi account is included in three different sections in the Yulan. The citations from Yanzi texts do not always seem consistent. For instance, when there is overlap and the same sentence is cited in its different sections, there are discrepancies (16.24). Some variants between Yulan and YQS, Qun, ShY also suggest that when the compilers of Yulan were copying from the Yanzi texts, it was not a careful word-by-word replication. In 16.3, the text in Yulan differs from all other texts and does not make good sense. Overall Yulan is more cursory than all other texts, see examples in 16.4 and 16.8. The study of the variants between Yulan and other Yanzi accounts resonates with John Haeger’s diagnosis of Yulan that its compilation was more of an inattentive process of mechanical copying from other collectanea with minimal supervision than a careful establishment of a brand new *leishu* citing directly from (or at least checking) the extant editions of various works. (Haeger 1968)

Chapter Three: Three Warring States Manuscripts of the Shanghai Museum Collection

3.1 “Jing gong nüe” 景公瘧 “Commonlord Jing suffered from malaria”

3.1.1 Transcription and Translation

This manuscript is self-titled with “Jing gong nüe” 景公瘧 (Commonlord Jing suffered from malaria) written on the back of the second strip. In this account Lord Jing blamed his invocator and scribe for his suffering from malaria and intended to execute them. Yanzi persuaded his lord that punishing was of no use. Instead he suggested that the lord should make amends with his governing to appeal to both his people and the spirits to recover from the ailment. This episode is recorded in both the “inner” and “outer” chapters, YZCQ 1.12 (*Jishi*, 42) and 7.7 (*Jishi*, 446), and in the *Zuozhuan* (Yang Bojun 1981, 1415 [Zhao 20]).

Although the two YZCQ accounts are recording the same episode, they do not have many matching lines and have probably derived from different sources. The account from the “outer chapters” (YZCQ 7.7) is almost identical with the *Zuozhuan* version (abbreviated as ZZ hereafter) and they most likely have derived from a common source. In 3.1.1 an annotated transcription and translation of the Shanghai Museum manuscript “Jing gong nüe” (abbreviated as M in the discussion) is provided. In 3.1.2 the variants among “Jing gong nüe” and the three matching received accounts are discussed.

“Jing gong nüe” has thirteen strips (see the photographs of individual strips in Appendix). All of them seem to have broken into three parts (top, middle, bottom) with all the bottom pieces missing. Strips five and eleven only have the middle parts remaining, and strip six only has the top part. A complete strip would be around fifty-five cm long and would have about fifty-five graphs.

Many uncertainties arise in both combining pieces into one single strip and in ordering the strips due to the fact that about one third of the strips are lost and every single strip is incomplete. Many scholars have arranged the strips in an order different from the editor, Pu Maozuo 濮茅左. (Liu Jianmin 劉建民 2009, 26-30) What makes some of the arguments in ordering strips particularly speculative is that quite often the matching passages in the received texts are used as the basis, but “Jing gong nüe” appears to be quite different from the three received versions in both plot and wording. In my annotated transcription and translation I tentatively follow Liang Jing’s ordering. The numbers of the strips were originally assigned by the editor when the material was published. They are used for the convenience of discussion especially in making references to other scholars’ works. This is how Liang Jing (2010) has arranged the thirteen strips:

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 6, 8, 11, 10, 12, 13.

Title (strip two, verso)

Transcription

競¹公瘡² 𠂇³

Transcription

景公瘡

Notes

1. The posthumous name of Commonlord Jing of Qi is conventionally written as 景 *jǐng* < **kraŋʔ*. M: 競 [*jìng* < **graŋh* ‘strive’] and R: 景 are graphic variation.

2. One of the attested forms of *niüè* < **ɲauk* ‘malaria’ (瘧) is 瘧 (*Shuowen* 155a). M: 瘧 differs from 瘧 only in having an additional mouth component at the bottom. The adding or removing of the mouth component is one of the common free variations observed in early writing. (He Linyi 何琳儀 2003, 217)

3. The symbol 丿 sometimes appears at the end of a syntactic unit in manuscripts. It is rare to have it after the title of a manuscript. The exact function of this symbol is not clear.

Strip One

Transcription

齊競公瘡¹ 瘧² 叟戢 不已割疾² 與梁丘廬³ 言於公曰 瘧尚帛甚媠⁴ 於瘧先君之量矣 瘧珪⁵ 大於瘧先君之...

Edited text

齊景公疥且瘧，逾歲不已。裔款與梁丘據言於公曰：吾幣帛甚美於吾先君之量矣，吾珪璧大於吾先君之...

Translation

Commonlord Jing of Qi had scabies and was suffering from malaria. The diseases did not go away even after a year. Yi Kuan together with Liangqiu Ju said to the Commonlord: “Our ceremonial gifts for the spirits are much finer compared with the standard of the previous lords. Our fine jade *gui* and *bi* surpass that of previous lords...



Notes

1. The graph 瘡 is not attested in the standard writing system. The matching word in all the three received texts, YZCQ 1.12, 7.7 and ZZ, is 疥 *jiè* < **krêts* ‘scaly disease.’ M: 瘡 and R: 疥 are graphic variation. Chen Huiling 陳惠玲 (2007) points out that many skin ailments including the ‘scabby disease’ *jiè* are believed related to bugs according to the Tang medical

manual (*Qian jin yi fang* 千金翼方), and this could be the reason the bug component 虫 is included in 瘡.

2. M: 割瘵 is one of Lord Jing's officials. In the received texts this name is written as YZCQ 1.12: 會譴 and YZCQ 7.7, ZZ: 裔款. M: 割 *gē* < **kât* :: 會 *huì* < **gôts* :: 裔 *yì* < **lats* are graphic variation. The initial of 裔 **l-* is not directly compatible with the velars in 割 and 會, but their finals are very close to each other (they are all words of the OC *yue* 月 rhyme group). Since this is a case of variation of writing the same name, I will take it as graphic variation despite the difference in initials. This variation suggests that there is some kind of alternation between velars initials and **l-* that is not completely understood.


M: 瘵 (with 卷 *juǎn* < **kon?* ['roll'] as its possible phonetic) :: 譴 *qiǎn* < **khen?* :: 款 *kuǎn* < **khwân?* are all OC *yuan* 元 rhyme group words. Graphic variation.

3. M: 梁丘虛 is written as Liangqiu Ju 梁丘據 in received texts. He was the Grand Master (大夫) of Qi and was a trusted vassal of Lord Jing. Chen Wei (2007a) points out that 梁 is the common way to write *liáng* < **raŋ* 'bridge' (梁) in the Chu manuscripts. The graph  (虛) also appears in bronze inscriptions. Zhu Dexi 朱德熙 and Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 (1975, 75) read it as *jù* < **ga?* 'a supportive wooden part of instrumental bells,' and transcribe it as 虞 or 虞. M: 虛 (虞) *jù* < **ga?* and R: 據 *jù* < **kah* are graphic variation. On strips nine and thirteen in the same name it is written as 莖 ( strip nine). 莖 is probably a graphic variant of 虛.

4. The graph 媠 appears in in the *Laozi* A of Guodian manuscripts (strip fifteen) and is read as *měi* < **mui?* 'beautiful' (美). *Měi* makes good sense here. M: 吾幣帛甚媠於吾先君之量矣

“Our ceremonial gifts (for the spirits) are much finer compared with the standard of the previous lords.”

The editor (Pu Maozuo 2007, 165) reads 媿 as *bèi* < **bâ?* ‘double’ (倍) based on the matching texts in the YZCQ 2.12: 犧牲珪璧, 莫不備具, 數其常多先君桓公, 桓公一則寡人再 “The sacrificial animals and fine jade *gui* and *bi* are always fully prepared. They often surpassed what Commonlord Huan had offered. If Commonlord Huan had done it once, I would do it **twice**.” The problem with the proposal of the reading 甚媿(倍)於 is that no obvious graphic or textual connection can be found between 媿 and 倍, and also it is grammatically odd with the intensifier *shèn* 甚 modifying *bèi* ‘double’ (倍).

5. The editor takes the right part of  as 呆, and reads the graph as *bǎo* < **pû?* ‘treasure’ (寶). (Pu Maozuo 2007, 166) He Youzu 何有祖 (2007b) argues that right part is actually a reduced form of 辟, and the word intended is *bì* < **pek* ‘circular jade insignium’ (璧). The matching word in YZCQ 2.12 is 珪璧 ‘fine jade *gui* and *bi*.’ I agree with He Youzu’s reading.

Strip Two (*recto*)

Transcription

公瘡廔瘡夔戠不已是瘡亡¹良祝史也瘡斂²政³者祝史公罌頁⁴倉⁵之尚⁶狀是瘡所竟於汝也盍政之二子⁷祭⁸糶

Edited text

公瘡且瘡, 逾歲不已, 是吾無良祝史也。吾欲誅諸祝史。”公舉首答之: “倘然, 是吾所望於汝也。盍誅之。”二子泣, 將...

Translation

My lord had scabies and was suffering from malaria. The diseases did not go away after a year. This is because we lack a good invocator and a good scribe. We want to propose an execution for the invocator and scribe.” The Commonlord raised his head and responded to them: “If that is the case, this is what I count on you. Why not kill them?” The two wept and was about to...

Notes

1. The graph 亡 seems to be added after this line was copied since it was written in much smaller size than the other graphs and with a symbol _— under it. The symbol _— is probably a mark indicating this editorial activity. It does not have to be the ligature symbol as the editor suggests.
2. The graph 斂 is an unfamiliar character. The editor reads it as yù < *lok ‘desire’ (欲) based on the context. (Pu Maozuo 2007, 168) In the Chu manuscripts, yù ‘desire’ is often written as 谷, for example 谷 in *Laozi* A of Guodian manuscripts (strip five). The left part of 斂 is closer to 兑 than 谷, but no words in the *duì xiesheng* series seems fit contextually. 斂 yù ‘desire’ (欲) could be a graphic error.
3. The editor reads the graph 斂 as zhū < *tro ‘kill; punish’ (誅) and provides examples where 斂 stands for zhu ‘kill’ in the Guodian and Baoshan manuscripts. (Pu Maozuo 2007, 168) The most likely phonetic of 斂, 豆 dòu < *dôh, is phonologically close to zhū < *tro ‘kill; punish.’ On strip three, this same word (as suggested by the context) is written as 斂 with a 戈. The free alternation between the two semantic classifiers 攴 and 戈 is not uncommon in the early writing. (He Linyi 2003b, 232).
4. He Youzu (2007a) reads 擧頁 as jǔshǒu 擧首 ‘raise the head.’ The graph 擧 is not attested in standard writing, but appears in many Chu manuscripts to stand for the word jǔ < *kla? ‘raise.’ (Teng Rensheng 2008, 132-134) In early writing both 頁 and 首 could stand for ‘head.’

5. The graph 倉 stands for *dá* < **tâp* ‘respond’ (答). In the YQS manuscripts, all the words *dá* are written as 合. See note 1.6 of YQS.
6. The graph 尚 *shàng* < **daŋh* probably stands for *tǎng* < **thaŋʔ* ‘if’ (倘), and the phrase 尚狀 (倘然) could mean “if so.” (Fan Guodong 凡國棟 2007)
7. The editor punctuates after 二子 and reads the sentence as 誅之二子 “blame (execute?) it on these two” and takes “these two” as the invocator and scribe. (Pu Maozuo 2007, 168) Liu Jianmin 劉建民 (2009, 9) argues that 二子 belongs to a separate sentence and could refer to Yi Kuan 裔款 and Liangqiu Ju 梁丘據.
8. The graph 漿 is not attested in standard writing. Liu Jianmin (2009, 9) suggests the word intended is *qì* < **rǎps* ‘weep’ (泣). If 及 *jí* < **gǎp* is the phonetic of 漿, phonologically 漿 is very close to **rǎps* ‘weep’ (泣). Liu Jianmin suggests that 二子漿(泣) means that Yi Kuan and Liangqiu Ju were crying because the lord had been sick for an extended period. This is the end of the extant part of strip two; the bottom part of the strip is missing. Liu’s suggestion is speculative due to incomplete context. I tentatively follow Liu’s interpretation.

Strip three

Transcription

是言也¹高子國子²倉曰身為新或可悉安³是信虞亡良祝史公盍誅之女子夕二大夫⁴退公內女子而告之若丌告高子國子...

Edited text

是言也。高子國子答曰：“身為親或何愛焉？是信吾無良祝史。公盍誅之？”晏子夕，二大夫退。公入晏子而告之，若其告高子國子...

Translation



...this conversation. Gaozi and Guozi responded: “Your body is the dearest thing to you, why care about the invocator and scribe? Your sickness is indeed due to the fact that we lack a good invocator and a good scribe. Why not execute them?” Yanzi was paying a visit at sunset. The two masters withdrew. The Commonlord took Yanzi in and told him as his telling Gaozi [and Guozi]...

Notes





1. The first three words 是言也 seem to be part of what the lord said to Gaozi and Guozi and what they were responding to on this strip. Liu Jianmn (2009, 4) supplies the missing words for the bottom part of strip two as an attempt to reconstruct the plot of this narrative but not to reconstruct the exact words: 二子泣, 將[誅諸祝史。高子國子入, 公告二大夫以] ^{end of strip two} 是言也 “The two swept and was about to [blame it on the invocator. Gaozi and Guozi entered. The Commonlord told the two masters about] the conversation.”¹⁹
2. Gaozi 高子 and Guozi 國子 are both ministers of Qi. In another YZCQ account (6.7) the lord asked them and Yanzi to describe a wound on his back. Yanzi’s response turned out to be much more refined and sophisticated than that of Gaozi and Guozi. The lord criticized these two for being vulgar and dull. Similar to this account, Gaozi and Guozi together with Yi Kuan and Liangqiu Ju are depicted as villains providing advices opposite to those from Yanzi.
3. The editor understands the sentence as 身為新(薪)或可悉(懊)安(焉) “When their bodies turn into firewood, they may feel regretful about it.” Chen Wei (2007a) suggests 悉 stands for ài < *ʔǎs ‘care for’ (愛). The graph 悉 is registered in the *Shuowen* (219a) as an alternative form of

¹⁹ Liu Jianmn (2009, 30-33) argues that *zhū* 誅 means ‘criticize’ instead of ‘execute,’ and *zhù shǐ* 祝史 is not a combination of two official titles but referring to one position and one person. His arguments are reflected in my translation of his discussion.

愛. In the Guodian strips, a similar graph with variations occur in several manuscripts. For

instance,  in the “Ziyi” 緇衣 (strip twenty five),  in *Laozi A* (strip thirty six). Dong Shan 董珊 (2007b) reads this line as 身為親或何愛焉 “Your body is the dearest thing to you, why care about the invocator and scribe?” If taken this way Gaozi and Guozi were urging the lord to execute his two officials. I tentatively follow Dong Shan’s interpretation.

4. The editor understands the sentence as 女(晏)子夕(惜)二大夫 “Yanzi has sympathy for the two masters (the invocator and the scribe).” He (2007, 170) reads 夕 $xī < *s-jak$ as $*sak$ ‘care about’ (惜). Chen Wei (2007a) suggests 夕 means ‘pay evening respects at court’ (similar to $cháo < *drau$ 朝 ‘pay morning respects at court’). Following Chen Wei’s interpretation, 二大夫 refers to Gaozi and Guozi, which makes much better sense in this paragraph.

The graph  appears in the Shanghai museum strips collection more than sixty times. (Li Shoukui 李守奎 2007, 366) The words intended are usually $ān < *ʔān$ 安 ‘settled’ or $yān < *ʔān$ 焉 ‘how.’ The stroke(s) under 女 takes different forms and in all cases seems to be mark attached to 女. I follow the transcription in the *Wenzi bian*. Here  stands for $yān < *ʔāns$ 晏. Boltz (2003, 109) proposes a set of words with 女 being the possible phonetic as a case of polyphone. He makes a note of $ān < *ʔān$ (安) in early writing with the addition of an extra stroke, just like  in the Shanghai museum strips. He interpretes it as in origin a graphic depiction of a ‘mat’ one settles on ($yán < *gran$ 筵 or $jian < *ʔsians$ 薦) and also as a phonetic determinative specifying the $*ʔ(r)an$ pronunciation of 女. The graph  also stands for $yān < *ʔān$ 焉 ‘therein’ in strip six.

Strip four

Transcription

屈^{end of strip three}木¹為成于宋王命屈木昏軹武子之行安文子²會曰夫子吏丌厶吏聖獄於晉³𠄎情而不愈³吏丌厶祝史進...

Edited text

“屈木為成于宋，王命屈木問范武子之行焉。文子答曰：‘夫子使其私吏聽獄於晉邦，數情而不偷，使其私祝史進...’

Translation

[Qu] Mu created the covenant in Song. The king (of Chu) requested Qu Mu to ask about the deeds of Fan Wuzi there. Wenzhi responded: “When the master sent his private officials to handle the legal cases at the national court of Jin, they displayed all the facts and were not resigned to circumstances. When he sent his private invocators and scribes to present...”

Notes

1. As a name 屈木 appears both at the beginning of strip four and in the sentence immediately follows. The graph 屈 is added based on the context. Qu Mu (d. 545) was the Prime Minister of Chu. He is also referred to as 屈建 (in YZCQ, ZZ) and 子木 in early texts.

2. Fan Wuzi 軹(范)武子 (ca. 632-589) is also referred to as Fan Hui 范會, Shi Hui 士會, and Sui Hui 隨會. He was a renowned worthy vassal of Jin. Wenzhi 文子 or Zhao Wu 趙武 (d. 541 BC) was the head of the Zhao lineage of Jin. Wenzhi is his posthumous title.

3. The phrase M: 𠄎情而不愈 corresponds to YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ: 竭情無私 “scrutinize all the facts and show no selfishness.” Liu Jianmin (2009, 11) argues that M: 𠄎 stands for *jié* < **gat* ‘exhaust’ (竭). The problem with this reading is that both the initial and final of the phonetic 甫 *fū* < **pa?* [‘great’] are generally considered incompatible with velar initial **g-* and final **-t*. Zhang Chongli 張崇禮 (2007b) suggests that the word intended is *fū* < **pha* (敷) and the

meaning is ‘fully report.’ The general sense of *fū* 敷 is ‘display, lay out,’ so *fū qíng* 敷情 could mean ‘display/exhaust all the facts.’ I think Zhang’s reading is better.

Both Dong Shan (2007c) and Zhang Chongli (2007b) suggest 愈 stands for *tōu* < **lhô* ‘perfunctory’ (偷). Zhang Chongli cites a line from the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語, 法無私而令不偷(偷) “Laws are free from unfairness and orders tolerate no slackness” to support his reading. The context of the line cited from the *Kongzi jiayu* is very similar to M: 豐(敷)情而不愈 ‘exhaust all the facts and allow for no nonchalance.’

Strip Five

Transcription

...¹思聖²外內不廢可因於民者丌祝史之為丌君祝敎³也正...

Edited text

... 思聖, 外內不廢, 可因於民者, 其祝史之為其君祝敎也, 正...

Translation

...sage. Not neglect duties inside or outside. As for those who can rely on people, when their invocators and scribes invoke and exorcise for their lords, straighten...

Notes

1. Both the top and bottom parts of strip five are missing. In the received texts, after Yanzi discussed the good deeds of Fan Wuzi, he moved on to the different results invocations would have brought on a worthy lord and a wanton lord. The discussion on Fan Wuzi seems missing in M. Based on the fact that the passage discussing the worthy Fan Wuzi in the received texts has sixty-four characters, Liu Jianmin believes that there is a strip missing between strips four and five.

2. The meaning of 思聖 is not clear. The editor transcribes the first graph as 思 $s\bar{i} < *sə$ ‘reflect.’ It is probably not accurate because the top part of this graph is not 田, but a component with 口 and 千. He Youzu (2007a) reads 思聖 as 愠聖, Liu Jianmin (2009, 12) reads it as 溫聖. But they do not provide precise definitions of the phrases. Also graphically the component inside 口 is clearly 千 not 人. The matching text in YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ is 若有德之君外內不廢 ‘Like a lord with meritorious capabilities who will not neglect duties both inside and outside’ :: M: ... 思聖外內不廢. M: ... 思聖 matches 有德之君. There is no satisfactory reading of the graph 思 yet.

3. The graph 敎 conventionally stands for two words, $duó < *lôt$ ‘seize’ or $duì < *lôts$ ‘respond.’ In the Baoshan divination manuscripts, 敎 means ‘practice a ceremonial exorcism’ (strip 200). M: 祝敎 ‘invoke and exorcise’ is used in the same way as 敎 in the Baoshan manuscripts.

Strip Steven

Transcription

其祝史之為其¹君祝敎毋²專青忍臯³虐則言不聖青不隻女川言奔亞虐則志遂敢於史者古
 丌𠄎史製蔑⁴崙折祝之多墨言⁵...

Edited text

其祝史之為其君祝敎, 如敷情認罪乎, 則言不聽, 情不獲; 如順言掩惡乎, 則恐後誅於史者。
 故其祝史制蔑, 轉折祝之, 多迂言...



Translation

[When his invocator and scribe are on behalf of their] lord invoking and exorcising, if they display all the facts and acknowledge the crimes, their words will not be listened and the true situation will not be acquired; if they only present the agreeable speeches and suppress the wrong doings then they will be afraid of being criticized by later scribes. Therefore his

invocator and scribe ...(?) They talked in a roundabout way when invoking for him and there were many circumlocution speeches...

Notes

1. In this paragraph Yanzi seems to discuss the dilemma of invocators and scribes when serving a wanton lord. Both Liang Jing (2010, 74) and Liu Jianmin (2009, 4) supply 其祝史之為其 before 君祝敬 based on context. I follow their suggestions.

2. Fan Guodong (2007) suggests that 毋 (*wú* < **mo* ‘do not’) is a graphic error for 女 and the word intended is *rú* < **na* ‘if’ (如). The basis of his hypothesis is that this strip probably has two parallel structures 毋(如)... 則... 如... 則... and the first 如 () was mistakenly written as 毋 () due to graphic similarity. Fan also uses the matching passages in the received texts to support his reading. All the matching passages in the three received texts have parallel structures although the wording is quite different from M.

YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ:

其祝史薦信，是言罪也；其蓋失數美，是矯誣也。

If his invocators and scribes present the truth, they will be reporting his faults. If they mistakenly enumerate good points, they will be distorting the facts and being deceptive.

YZCQ 1.12

且夫祝直言情，則謗吾君也；隱匿過，則欺上帝也。

Furthermore if the invocator directly reports the facts he is slandering our lord, if he conceals your faults he is deceiving the Lord on High.

I agree with Fan. M: 毋(女=如)尊(敷)青(情)忍(認)臯(罪)，則言不聖(聽)青(情)不隻(獲) “If they do not report all the facts and acknowledge the wrongful conduct (of the lord), then their words cannot be heard and the facts are not known (to the spirits).”

3. 專(敷)青(情)忍(認)臯(罪) ‘report all the facts and acknowledge the wrongful conduct.’ On strip four, the phrase *fū qíng* 豐(敷)情 means ‘display all the facts.’ The graphs 專青 here probably stand for the same words and have the same meaning. Liu Jianmin (2009, 14) reads 忍臯 as *rèn zuì* < **nəns* **dzúu?* (認罪) ‘acknowledge the wrongful conduct.’ I follow his reading. 敷情認罪 “display the true facts and acknowledge the wrongful conduct” is in contrast with the phrase in the following line 川(順)言奔(掩)亞(惡) “(the invocator and scribe) only present the agreeable speeches and cover up the wrong doings.”

4. 製蔑: Meanings of 製 (*jì* < **tsih* ‘cut out’) and 蔑 (*miè* < **mêt* ‘destroy’) are not clear. M: 故其祝史製蔑, 崙(轉)折祝之, 多壘(迂)言... “Therefore his invocator and scribe...(?) They talked in a roundabout way when invoking for the lord and the invocation was full of circumlocution.” The graph 崙 (*duān* < **tôn* ‘tip’) could stand for *zhuǎn* < **tron* ‘turn around’ (轉). *Zhuǎn zhé* 崙(轉)折 ‘roundabout (in speech)’ corresponds to *yú yán* 壘(迂)言 ‘circumlocution.’

6. The graph 壘 stands for *yú* < **ɣwa* ‘indirect’ (迂). (Ni Weichun 2009, 174) *Yú yán* 迂言 means ‘circumlocution.’ *Yú* < **ŋo* 禺 is an OC *hou bu* 侯部 word, *yú* < **ɣwa* 迂 is in the *yu bu* 魚部. Much evidence indicates the contact between those two rhyme groups. In early texts, there are also cases of words with 于 and 禺 as phonetics used interchangeably, for instance, 宇 and 寓. (Gao Heng 1989, 826) ‘Circumlocution’ *yú yán* 迂言 corresponds to the matching texts in YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ, 進退無辭則虛以成媚 “If the invocator and scribe come and go without proper words, their speeches will be empty and turn into flattery.”

Strip Nine

Transcription

明惠躋行勿而崇者也非為散玉肴生也¹今內寵又割疾外_二又梁丘瑩³繁恚⁴公退武夫亞聖人⁵播盈藏篤⁶史⁷...

Edited text

明德觀行，物而崇者也，非為美玉肴牲也。今內寵有裔款，外亦有梁丘據營誑。公納武夫惡聖人，播盈藏篤，使...

Translation

(The spirits) discern the meritorious capabilities of you and observe your practices. The reason a pernicious thing arose and became a malevolent influence is not relevant to our offerings of fine jade and high quality animals (but to your own behaviors). Now your majesty has Yi Kuan as a favored vassal inside and outside you also have Liangqiu Ju who is hoaxing and deceiving. My lord welcomes martial-types but despises the sages; showed off self-complacency and put away sincerity and made...

Notes

1. 明惠(德)躋(觀)行，勿(物)而崇者也，非為散(美)玉肴生(牲)也“(The spirits) discern your meritorious capabilities and observe your practices. The reason a pernicious thing arose and became a malevolent influence is not relevant to our offerings of fine jade and high quality animals.”

Liang Jing (2007) and Chen Wei (2007b) understand 勿 [*wù* < **mət*] as *wù* < **mət* ‘pernicious things’ (物). Chen Wei cites from early texts to argue that it is very common to use *wù* 物 to refer to spirits that cause trouble for human beings. For example, an account in the *Shiji* (45.2785) records, (長桑君)乃出其懷中藥予扁鵲, “飲是以上池之水, 三十日當知物矣”“(Master Changsang) took out the medicine out of his pocket and gave it to Bian Que, ‘take this with the water from the upper pond. In thirty days you should be able to know about *wù*.’”

According to the *Suoyin*, the medicine can make Bian Que see things common people cannot see and *wù* here means “ghostly existence.” *Shiji* (45.2786) Chen Wei also cites Sun Yirang’s 孫詒讓 notes on *Feng su tong yi* 風俗通義 (second century AD) in which Sun points out that “in ancient books ghosts and evil spirits are often called *wù*” 書多謂鬼魅為物. I follow Chen Wei’s interpretation.

2. The editor understands the symbol after the graph 外 as a repetitive mark and 外₌ stands for 外外, but no interpretation of the meaning of this line is provided. He Youzu (2007a) argues that the symbol in 外₌ is a reduplication mark and 外₌ stands for 外夕 and the phrase intended is 外亦. The graph 夕 [*xī* < **s-jak* ‘evening’] is often found to be used for *yì* < **jak* ‘also’ (亦).

He Youzu provides an example of the same name written as 夕姑 in the *Shiji* and as 亦姑 in the *Hanshu* to support his reading. This interpretation makes much better sense than the editor’s reading: 今內寵有裔款, 外亦有梁丘據 “Now (your majesty) have Yi Kuan as a favored vassal inside and outside you also have Liangqiu Ju.” Yi Kuan and Liangqiu Ju appear in YZCQ accounts several times. They are characterized as “favored vassals” *bi dai fu* 嬖大夫. Their specific official posts are not clear.

3. The last character in the name Liangqiu Ju is written as 𡗗. See note three of strip one.

4. Fan Changxi (2007) reads 𡗗 as *yíng kuáng* < **ʔweŋ* **kwaŋh* ‘coaxing and deceiving’ (營誑). 𡗗 is registered in the *Shuowen* (205b) as an ancient form of 狂 *kuáng* < **gwaŋ* [‘violent’] and here is used to write *kuáng* < **kwaŋh* ‘deceiving’ (誑).

5. 公退(內)武夫亞(惡)聖人 “My lord welcomes martial-types but despises the wise individuals.” Li Tianhong (2008) reads 退 *tùi* < **thūs* [‘withdraw’] as *nà* < **nəp* ‘bring in’ (內),

納). There are cases of 退 and 內/芮 used interchangeably in received texts. (Gao Heng 1989, 547) Their compatibility may not be obvious in Schuessler’s OC reconstruction. Baxter’s OC for 退 *tui* is **n̥ʰəp-s*, which is very close to **nəp* 納. On many occasions recorded in YZCQ, Lord Zhuang and Lord Jing were criticized by Yanzi for their favoring of the martial-types fighters (*yǒng lì zhī shì* 勇力之士, *yǒng lì* 勇力, *wǔ fu* 武夫). For example, in YZCQ 7.19 及莊公陳武夫, 尚勇力...而嬰不能禁, 故退而桡處 “When it came to the time of Commonlord Zhuang, he liked to display the forceful fighters and valued the muscular powers...Ying was not able to stop it, and he therefore retreated and stayed away from the court.” In the *Hanshu* (56.2495), Dong Zhongshu’s discussion on *wǔ fū* 武夫 also supports the supposition that they are not a particularly favorite type of people, 五伯比於他諸侯為賢, 其比三王, 猶武夫之與美玉也 “The five *bo* are worthy compared with other various Marklords, but when compared with the three kings, it is like comparing the forceful fighters to fine jade.” The phrase *wǔ fū* 武夫 here in M probably has a negative connotation too. Also, *wǔ fu* and *shèng rén* 聖人 is a contrast between the unworthy and the worthy ones. Li Tianhong’s reading makes good sense contextually.

6. Zhang Chongli (2007d) understands 番(播)淫(盈)壑(藏)菴(篤) as “show off self-complacency and put away sincerity.” In a matching line between the received *Laozi* and Guodian manuscripts (*Laozi* A, strip sixteen), we have a graphic variant of R: 盈 :: M: 淫 *yíng* < **leŋ* ‘full’. The word intended here is probably *yíng* ‘self-complacence’ (盈) too.

The graph 萑 is not attested, but a character in the same *xiesheng* series 簍 is registered in the *Shuowen* (111a) as an alternative form of writing *dǔ* < *tūk ‘thick’ (篤). The word *dǔ* 萑 ‘thick; sincerity’ and *yíng* 溱 ‘full; self-complacency’ are used as opposites here.

Fan Guodong (2007) reads 番溱壑萑 as 播溱藏篤 “spread wantonness and put away sincerity.”

Fan Changxi (2007) reads it as 蕃逞藏篤 “increase self-indulgence and put away sincerity.” I

take *yíng* 溱(盈) ‘fill to the fullest extent’ and *dǔ* 萑(篤) ‘thick; sincerity’ as a complementary pair and follow Zhang Chongli’s reading.

Strip Six

Transcription

忘矣而湯清者與尋蕙稟女¹今君之貪昏苛慝²甬韋³...

Edited text

亡矣，而湯清者與得萬福焉。今君之貪昏苛慝，辟違...

Translation

...has died out, but the ones who report the true facts will participate in receiving ten thousands of blessings from it. Now my lord is greedy, fatuous, harsh and wicked, biased and going against...

Notes

1. 忘矣而湯清者與尋(得)蕙(萬)稟(福)安(焉): The meaning of the first part of this line, 忘矣而湯清者 is obscure partially because of the fragmentary context. The corresponding passage in YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ is:

若有德之君，外內不廢，上下無怨，動無違事，其祝史薦信，無愧心矣。是以鬼神用饗，國受其福，祝史與焉。其所以蕃祉老壽者，為信君使也，其言忠信于鬼神。

When a lord has meritorious capabilities, he will not neglect duties both inside and outside, people with both high and low status would hold no resentment, and none of his actions would go against proper affairs. When his invocators and scribes set out the reliable accounts to the spirits they would do so without compunction. Therefore the ghosts and spirits will enjoy the offerings and **the state receives their blessings**. The invocators and scribes are contributing to this. The reason the invocators and scribes can bring numerous blessings and longevity to the state is that they serve as the ministers of the honest lords and their speeches are trusted by the ghosts and spirits.

R: 國受其福 “the state receives their blessings” is similar to M: 與得萬福 “jointly receive ten thousands of blessings” in wording.

Pu Maozuo (2007, 177) interprets 忘 [wàng < *maŋ-s ‘forget’] as wáng < *maŋ ‘die out’ (亡) and speculates that 亡矣 ‘has died out’ is referring to King Jie 桀. He interprets 湯清 as “(King) Tang’s governing is fair.” Li Tianhong (2008) interprets 湯清 as yáng qǐng (揚請) with the meaning of “state and report (facts).” I tentatively follow Li Tianhong’s reading.

2. The phrase 𪚩匿 (苛慝) *kē tè* < *gâi *nhâk means ‘harsh and vicious.’ (Pu Maozuo 2007, 170)

3. The graph 𪚩 appears in strip one standing for *bì* < *bets ‘offering of silk’ (幣). If 𪚩韋 is similar to 貪昏苛慝 “greedy and fatuous, harsh and vicious” in structure and meaning, 𪚩韋 could mean ‘divergent and deviating’ (辟違).

In the discussion of the inappropriate actions of a lord, YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ has:

其適遇淫君, 外內頗邪, 上下怨疾, 動作辟違, 從欲厭私...

If they (invocators and scribes) happen to have a wanton lord whose state is both fairly malignant outside and inside, where people at both high and low positions are resentful and infirm. **His measures and actions are divergent and alienating people at all levels.** He follows his desires and indulges himself in private interests...

He Youzu (2007b) was the first scholar to suggest to read 尙韋 as *pì wéi* 辟違. He tries to reconcile the OC of *bì* < **bets* 尙 and *pì* < **phek* 辟 by providing examples that suggest the contact and interchangeability between 敝 and 辟 in early texts. In Baxter's OC reconstruction of words with **-ik* and **-ek*, he suggests a development of **-k* > **-t* for some cases based on etymological and graphic evidence, which could explain the **-k* verse **-t* discrepancy here. (Baxter 1992, 234-41).

Strip Eight

Transcription

虞為亡戕_ 祝亦亡噬_¹ 今新登思吳守之² 蕞梁史斂守之³ 山替史奠守之⁴ 舉肆為欽⁵ 約挾者
 闡 縛維者 甞⁶ 眾...

Edited text

詛為無傷，祝亦無益。今薪蒸使虞守之，澤梁使斂守之，山林使衡守之，舉邦為禁，約挾諸關，縛纓諸市。眾...



Translation

Imprecations bring no harms, by the same token invocations bring no benefits. Now the firewood resources are trusted exclusively to the foresters; garths are all trusted to fish wardens; and mountains and woods are all trusted to the nature conservation officials. The whole state becomes a forbidden place. Restrict and confine people at the passes, fetter and repress them in the markets. The masses...

Notes

1. 虞為亡戕_ 祝亦亡噬_ : In YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ the matching line is 祝有益也, 詛亦有損 “If invocation has benefits, by the same token imprecation can bring impairment.” YZCQ 1.12: 若以為有益, 則詛亦有損也 “If you think (invocations) are beneficial then by the same token imprecations can bring impairment.”

M: 𩇑 stands for *zǔ* < **tsrah* ‘imprecation’ (詛). In strip ten the same word is written as 祖 [*zǔ* < **tsâ?* ‘ancestor’]. The graph 𩇑 stands for *shāng* < **lhaŋ* ‘harm’ (傷). (Chen Wei 2007a) It is a synonym to R: ‘harm’ 損.

Liu Jianmin (2009, 16) transcribes  as 嗑 [*yì* < **ʔek* ‘throat’] based on the *zhouwen* 籀文 form of 嗑 in the *Shuowen* (30b) , and reads it as *yì* < **ʔek* ‘benefit’ (益).

The two symbols in this line are probably punctuation marks. This symbol sometimes appears at the end of a grammatical unit and functions like a comma or period. Its significance remains unclear.

2. 今新(薪)登(蒸)思(使)吳(虞)守之: Now the firewood resources are trusted exclusively to the foresters. The matching text in YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ is 藪之薪蒸, 虞候守之 “Now the firewood from the wildness are trusted exclusively to the foresters.”

The phrase *xīn zhēng* 薪蒸 means ‘firewood.’ M: 新 *xīn* < **sin* [‘new’] 登 *dēng* < **tāŋ* [‘arise’] :: R, ZZ: 薪 *xīn* < **sin* ‘firewood’ 蒸 *zhēng* < **tāŋ* ‘twigs of firewood’ are graphic variation.

M: 思 *sī* < **sə* [‘think’] :: R: 使 *shǐ* < **srə?* ‘command’ are graphic variation. There are many cases of using 思 to stand for *shǐ* ‘make’ (使) in manuscripts.²⁰

M: 吳 [*wú* < **ŋwâ* ‘name of a state’] :: YZCQ, ZZ: 虞 *yú* < **ŋwa* ‘forester’ are graphic variation.

3. 蕀(澤)梨(梁)史(使)鮫守之 “Fish garths are trusted to fish wardens.” YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ have 澤之萑蒲, 舟鮫守之 “The vines of ponds are guarded by waterway officials.”

²⁰ See Meng Pengsheng 2005 and Shen Pei 2005. Shen Pei discusses *sī* 思 in both oracle bone inscriptions and Chu manuscripts. He argues that 思 can stand for *shǐ* ‘make’ (使).

The graph 藿 [zé < *drak ‘a kind of vine’] stands for zé < *drak ‘marsh’ (澤). The graph 梨 appearing on strip one stands for liáng (梁) in the surname Liangqiu 梁丘. Here liáng 梨(梁) means ‘beam.’ The phrase zé liáng 澤梁 means ‘fish weir.’

The graph 史 [shǐ < *srəʔ ‘scribe’] stands for shǐ < *srəʔ ‘command’ (使), same as the line immediately after. In the previous parallel sentence, 思 is used in the matching position to stand for the word shǐ 使.

M: 鮫 [yú < *ŋa ‘fishing’] matches YZCQ, ZZ: 舟鮫 zhōu jiāo < *tu *krâu ‘waterway officials.’

In this context M: 鮫 probably refers to the waterway officials as the matching word in received texts suggest. Liu Jianmin (2009, 16) points out that Zhuang Shuzu and Duan Yucai argue that 鮫 in ZZ is a graphic error for 𩺰 yǔ < *ŋaʔ ‘fish farming.’²¹ In the early writing, 又 and 攴/支 are often used confused with each other. M: 鮫 suggest that Zhuang Shuzu and Duan Yucai are probably right.

4. 山替史奠守之 “The mountains and woods are trusted to foresters.” The matching line in the YZCQ and ZZ is 山林之木衡鹿守之 “The trees in the mountains are trusted exclusively to the nature conservation officials.” The graph 替 stands for lín < *rəm ‘forest’ (林). The 口 at the bottom of 替 is one of the components added or removed relatively freely in the Warring States writing. (He Linyi 2003b, 217)

The graph 奠 is not attested in standard writing. The match phrase in R is *hénglù* 衡鹿 ‘nature conservation officials.’ According to the *Shuowen* (94a), 衡 is derived from 角 and 大, and *xíng*

²¹ Also see Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 1981, 1417.

行 is the phonetic. Its *guwen* 古文 form is 𣎵. M: 奠 is probably one of the early forms of 衡 *héng* ‘forest guardian.’

5. Yang Zesheng 楊澤生 (2007) reads 欽 [*qīn* < **khām* ‘respect’] as *jìn* < **krāms* ‘prohibit’ (禁). Previously, Yanzi was discussing that all the natural resources were controlled exclusively by the authority, and 舉邦為禁 “The whole state becomes a forbidden place” fits into this context well.

6. 約夾(挾)者(諸)闡(關)縛維者(諸)𨾏(市) “Restrict and confine people at the passes, fetter and repress them in the markets.” Pu Maozuo (2007, 182) reads 約夾 *yuē jiā* < **ʔiauk *krêp* as *yāo xié* < **ʔiau *gêp* ‘coerce’ (要挾). Shen Pei (2007a) reads it as 約挾 *yuē xié* < **ʔiauk *gêp* ‘restrict and confine.’ Shen Pei’s reading is better since *yāoxié* 要挾 as a phrase was uncommon in received texts even till the Medieval period.

Chen Wei (2007a) reads 闡(串 *chuàn* < **krôns* [‘bunch’] is most likely the phonetic) as *guān* < **krôn* ‘pass’ (關). YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ have 偏介之關暴征其私 “At the passes close to the capital, (the government) taxes people mercilessly.” M: 約夾(挾)者(諸)闡(關) “Make restrictions and confines at passes” has a similar sense.

The graph 維(雁 *yàn* < **ʔrâns* [‘wild goose’] is probably the phonetic) is not attested in standard writing. Chen Wei (2007a) and Dong Shan (2007a) suggest that the word intended would be *yīng* < **ʔeŋ* ‘cap ribbon’ (纓). Phonologically *yàn* < **ʔrâns* and *yīng* < **ʔeŋ* are not compatible, so *yīng* 纓 is probably not the best candidate. Shen Pei (2007a) reads 維 as *àn* < **ʔâns* ‘repress’ (按). *Yàn* < **ʔrâns* 雁 and *an* < **ʔâns* 按 are both OC *yuan bu* 元部 words, and

they are phonologically compatible. The phrase *fù àn* 縛按 ‘tie up and repress’ is a coordinate structure like the parallel in the previous line *yuē xié* 約挾 ‘restrict and confine.’

The graph 𡗗 is very similar to the typical way of writing *shì* < *dət? ‘market’ (市) in the State of Qi. For example, 𡗗. (Qiu Xigui 1992, 459) The component 貝 in 𡗗 is identified as a distinct orthographic feature to write *shì* ‘market’ in the Qi region. Based on this observation Li Tianhong (2008) suggests that this manuscript could be a text originally circulated in the State of Qi and then copied to Chu.

Ni Weichun (2009, 204) points out that in early texts, *guān* ‘pass’ 關 and *shì* ‘market’ 市 are often used together. For example, in the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, 關市無索 “There are no charges at passes and markets,” is just like how the two words are used in the parallel sentences in this manuscript. In the *Mengzi* (SSJ, 2678), there is a passage discussing the same topic as in the manuscript, 昔者文王之治岐也...關市譏而不征, 澤梁無禁, 罪人不孥 “In the past when King Wen was governing Qi...the officials only oversaw the passes and markets but did not collect taxes. There were no restrictions in fishing, and the family of the guilty ones will not be punished.”

Strip eleven

Transcription

...丌其左右相弘¹自善曰盍必死愈為樂屠²古死丌廾至可急...

Edited text

...其左右相頌自善曰：‘蓋必死，愈為樂乎？故死期將至，何仁...

Translation

...his followers praise and esteem each other, saying: one will inevitably die presumably should we indulge in creature comforts ever more? Therefore when death is approaching, why should one behave humanely...

Notes

1. Chen Wei (2007a) reads 弘 as *sòng* < **s-loŋh* ‘praise’ (頌) and thinks 相頌 ‘praise one another’ is close in sense to the phrase immediately after, *zì shàn* 自善 ‘be nice to themselves.’

Dong Shan (2007a) finds a passage with similar wording in YZCQ 1.8:

景公信用讒佞，賞無功，罰不辜。晏子諫曰：“臣聞明君望聖人而信其教，不聞聽讒佞以誅賞。今與左右相說頌也，曰：‘比死者勉為樂乎！吾安能為仁而愈黥民耳矣！’故內寵之妾迫奪于國，外寵之臣矯奪于鄙...

Commonlord Jing trusted and used slandering and unworthy official, rewarded the ones with no merits and punished the innocent people. Yanzi remonstrated: “I heard that a bright lord respects the worthy and believes their teachings, he does not listen to the slandering and flattering ones in deciding execution and reward. **Now they join one another in taking delight in and praising each other**, and say: ‘The dying ones should make every effort to enjoy themselves. How could I be humane and just do better than the prisoners!’ Therefore the favorite concubines take forcefully whatever they want in the capital, the court favorites seize by arrogating court orders in the outer areas...”

The highlighted sentence “take delight in and praise each other” 相說頌 matches M: 相頌自善 “praise and esteem each other” well.

2. 盍(蓋)必死愈為樂(乎) “One will inevitably die presumably should we indulge in creature comforts ever more?”

He Youzu (2007c) suggests 必 [*bì* < **pit* ‘inevitably’] stands for *bǐ* < **pi?* ‘reach’ (比) as the matching word in YZCQ 1.8 cited in the previous note suggest, and *bǐ sǐ* 比死 means ‘approach death.’ The phrase *bǐ sǐ zhě* 比死者 ‘the one who is dying’ also appears in the *Mengzi* (SSJ,

2670), 願比死者一洒之 “I wish the dying one (King Liang Hui) will wipe all the shames away.”

Phonologically M: 必 *bì* < **pit* ‘necessarily’ and R: 比 *bǐ* < **pi?* ‘reach’ are not compatible.

Also, M does not have the nominalizer 者 after 必死 and this makes a difference in syntax from the two received texts.

The first graph 盍 [*hé* < **gâp* ‘why not’] probably stands for *gài* < **kâps* ‘presumably’ (蓋).

Gài bì sǐ 盍(蓋)必死 means “one will inevitably die presumably.”

Strip Ten

Transcription

之臣出喬於鬻¹自古蚤²△西琴晉³△東刀人婁多已⁴是皆貧枯約疇瘡⁵夫婦皆祖一丈夫藝
尋之尚三布之玉⁶唯是夫...

Edited text

之臣出喬於鄙。自姑尤以西,聊攝以東,其人數多已,是皆貧苦約病,夫婦皆詛,一丈夫執
尋之幣,三布之玉,唯是夫...

Translation

...officials went out and forged court orders in the outer areas. From the west of Gu and Yóu to the east of Liáo and Shè, people who lived there have been numerous. They are all poor, bitter, impoverished and sick. Husbands and wives are both imprecating. One man holds ceremonial silk of one *xún* long and three cloth wrappers of jade. Only this man...

Notes

1. ...之臣出喬(矯)於鬻(鄙) “... officials went out to arrogated the court orders in the outer

areas.” YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ have 內寵之妾肆奪于市,外寵之臣僭令於鄙 “The favorite

concubines take whatever they want from the market, the court favorites override the orders in

the outer areas.” Its second part matches M. Another YZCQ account (1.8) has a paragraph

similar to the line under discussion, 內寵之妾迫奪于國, 外寵之臣矯奪于鄙 “The favorite concubines take forcefully whatever they want in the capital, the court favorites seize by forging court orders in the outer areas.”

The graph 喬 [*qiáo* < **gau* ‘high’] stands for *jiǎo* < **kau?* ‘bend, fake’ (矯). In both M and YZCQ 1.8 *jiǎo* 矯 means ‘forge orders of the lord.’ Another well-known example of *jiǎo* used in this sense is probably the passage in the *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 (*SSJ*, 2260 [Xi 33]), (弦高) 矯以鄭伯之命而犒師焉 “(Xian Gao) pretended to have the order of Zheng Bo to reward the (Qin) troops with food and drink there.”

Lǐ 𡩺 ‘a pavilion in Nanyang (in modern Henan province)’ is registered in the *Shuowen* (134a). The graph is only different from 𡩺 in the arrangement of 里 and 邑. The editor reads 𡩺 as *bǐ* < **prə?* ‘border town’ (鄙) as the matching word in the received texts suggest. The possible phonetic of 𡩺, 里 *lǐ* < **rə?* [‘village’] is compatible with **prə?* > *bǐ* 鄙. We also have words with 里 as phonetic in the Mawangdui manuscript matching 鄙 in the received *Laozi*. For *Laozi* chapter twenty 我獨頑似鄙 “I alone seem dull and incapable,” the manuscript has 𡩺. (Gao Heng 1989, 399).

2. *Gū* 古 and *yóu* 蚤 are both place names in Qi. The received texts have *gū yóu* 姑尤. The graph 蚤 appears in many excavated texts. For example, Qiu Xigui (1990, 52) thinks 蚤 in the oracle bone inscriptions as an early form of *sāo* < **sū* ‘scratch’ (搔). In the “Zun de yi” of Guodian manuscripts (strip twenty nine), 蚤 is read *yóu* < **wə* ‘mail post’ (郵). Chen Jian (2004, 138) reads 蚤 in the Wangshan Chu manuscripts as *yóu* < **wə* ‘mistake’ (尤). The matching line

in the received texts suggests that 蚤 could stand for *yóu* < *wə ‘place name’ (尤). The possible phonetic of 蚤, 又 *yòu* < *wəh [‘also’] is phonologically compatible with *yóu* < *wə 尤.

3. 聊攝: both words are place names. All three received texts have *liáo shè* 聊攝 in the matching lines. M: 聊 *liáo* < *riú :: R: 聊 *liáo* < *riú are graphic variation. Xu Zaiguo (2007) argues that 攝 is an alternative form of 翬 (*nǐ* < *ηəʔ [‘flourish’]). M: 攝 *ηəʔ :: R: 攝 *nhep > *shè* are probably graphic variation. (Liu Jianmin 2009, 18)

4. 兀人婁(數)多已 “The number of them has been great.” YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ have 聊攝以東, 姑尤以西, 其為人也多矣 “From the east of Liao and She to the west of Gu and You, people who lived there have been numerous.” In YZCQ 1.12, 此其人民眾矣 “This area has been heavily populated.”

5. 貧拊約疇瘠夫婦皆祖 “(People) are poor, bitter, impoverished and sick. Husbands and wives are both imprecating.” YZCQ 7.7 and ZZ have 民人苦病, 夫婦皆詛 “People are bitter and sick. Husbands and wives are both imprecating.” YZCQ 1.8 has similar wording, 民愁苦約病 “People are anxious, bitter, impoverished and sick.”

The graph 拊 probably stands for *kǔ* < *kâʔ ‘bitter’ (苦). 疇 is not attested in the standard writing system. The editor reads it as *diào* < *tiâukh ‘mentally deranged’ (癡). Zhang Chongli (2007c) reads 疇 as *ruò* < *niauk ‘weak’ (弱). Chen Jian (2008, 173) suggests that 疇 was probably mistakenly added by a copier and was not in the original line. Without 疇, M: 貧拊 (苦)約瘠(病) matches YZCQ 1.8 愁苦約病. A four-syllable phrase with words of similar meanings is also a stylistically common rhythmic structure in Classical Chinese. The 疇 shares

the same phonetic with the word immediately before it (約) and shares the same semantic with the graph after it (瘡). This could be a copyist mistake. I follow Chen Jian's suggestion.

6. 三布之玉 'three cloth wrappers of jade.' The exact meaning of 布 (*bù* < **pâh* 'cotton') in this context is not clear. I tentatively understand it as a way to wrap the precious jade and *bù* serves as a measure word paralleling the preceding phrase, 尋之幣(幣) 'ceremonial silk offering of one *xún* in length.'

Li Tianhong (2008) suggests 布 **pâh* stands for *chǐ* < **thak* 'foot (in measurement)' (尺).

Phonologically *bù* 布 and *chǐ* 尺 are not compatible and this reading remains highly speculative if not impossible.

Strip Twelve

Transcription

二夫可不受皇¹ 玼² 則玼未與昏³ 公勞⁴ 遲⁵ 笞⁵ 曰善才⁶ 廋子^{6 break} 晏子是壤⁷ 迥⁷ 之言⁸
也祭正⁹ 不隻崇¹⁰ 至於此神見廋¹⁰ 逕暴¹⁰...

Edited text





二夫何不受殃? 嬰則未得與聞。”公強起, 違席, 曰: “善哉吾子... 晏子是襄桓之言也! 祭貞不獲崇, 以至於此。神見吾淫暴...”

Translation

How can these two not suffer from calamity? I have never got to hear a thing like that.” The Commonlord tried to get up and turned away from the mat, saying: “Well said, my master... Yanzi. This is the teaching of Lord Xiang and Huan! It is all because the ceremonies and divination did not get the malevolent influence and I ended up being sick like this. The spirits saw me wanton and violent...”

Notes

1. The graph 皇 [huáng < *wâŋ ‘sovereign’] can stand for many different words in early manuscripts, for example, it can stand for kuàng < *hwaŋh ‘how much the more’ (況) in the “Zi yi” 緇衣 (strip forty six), for kuáng < *kwaŋh ‘deceive’ (誑) in the “Zhong xin zhi dao” 忠信之道 (strip three) and for héng < *gwrâŋ ‘traverse’ (橫) in the “Min zhi fu mu” 民之父母 (strip six). (Bai Yulan 白於藍 2008, 280) None of them seems to fit the context in this passage. Liu Jianmin (2009, 23) proposes to read it as yāng < *ʔaŋ ‘calamity’ (殃) and supports it with many examples of shòu yāng 受殃 ‘suffer from calamity’ used as a common phrase in early texts. I tentatively follow Liu Jianmin’s reading. *Er fu* 二夫 could refer to Yi Kuan and Liangqiu Ju.

2. The graph  (嬰) stands for yīng < *ʔeŋ (嬰), Yanzi’s given name. He Youzu (2007b) thinks the right part of this graph is actually 晏. Yàn as part of the name is written as  (女, strip three) or  (晏, strip twelve) in this manuscript. The right part of  has 女 at the bottom and a component like a circle at the top. I transcribe it as 嬰 with a mouth like component on top of 女 and read it as yīng (嬰).

3. The symbol after 昏 is a punctuation mark commonly seen in manuscripts. See note strip eight note one.



4. Li Tianhong (2007c) suggests that the graph 違 stands for wéi < *wəi ‘turn away from’ (違). She gives an example of the phrase wéi xí ‘leave the mat’ in YZCQ (6.24): 晏子違席而對曰 “Yanzi left the mat and responded.” The phrase bì xí 避席 or wéi xí 違席 means ‘stand up and turn away from one’s mat’ as a gesture of being polite and humble.

5. The graph 筓 stands for *xí* < **s-lak* 'mat' (席). Pu Maozuo (2007, 187) points out that this graph also appears in the Baoshan manuscripts (strip 262) and the Guodian “Cheng zhi wen zhi” (strip thirty-four). In the dictionary *Zheng zi tong* 正字通 (the seventeenth century A.D., 厂 *bu*.209a), a graph 𦉳 is listed as an ancient form of *xí* ‘mat’ (席). 石 *shí* < **dak* [‘stone’] is probably the phonetic of *xí* < **s-lak* ‘mat’ in both 筓 and 𦉳.

6. He Youzu (2007b) suggests the incomplete graph under 虞 is 子. The phrase *wǔ zǐ* 虞(吾)子 ‘my master’ is an idiomatic way to address an respectful one. The strip is broken after the graph 子. The editor believes there is no graph missing between the two pieces he puts together. Li Tianhong (2009) marks the two pieces as 12A and 12B to indicate that there might be graphs missing between them and the context is incomplete. I put ... after 虞子 to suggest the same possibility.

7. Guo Yongbing 郭永秉 (2007) transcribes the two graphs as 壤迥 and reads it as *xiāng huán* < **snaŋ* **wân* Lord Xiang (r. 698-686) and Lord Huan of Qi (r. 685-643) 襄桓. *Xiāng* 襄 and

its *xiesheng* series are usually written as 襄, for example 叢 (“Yu cong IV” 語叢四, strip

twenty-three) in the Guodian strips. The graph  in this manuscript seems to be less complex but closer to the earlier bronze and seal inscriptions of 襄/壤, for example  (He Linyi 1998, 688-690).

A potential problem with Guo’s reading is that as precedent lords of Qi, Lord Xiang and Lord Huan had very different reputations. Lord Huan was often praised for his military and political merits that had made Qi the strongest of all the states during his reign. Lord Xiang is not as

celebrated as Lord Huan in early texts including YZCQ. His most well known episode is probably his committing adultery with his sister even after she was married to Lu. Ni Weichun (2009, 312-315) points out that it is suspicious to pair Lord Xiang and Lord Huan together. Guo Yongbing interprets the line as 晏子: “是襄桓之言也!” Yanzi (said): “This is the teaching of Lord Xiang and Huan!” I tentatively take Guo’s suggestion of reading 壤迥 as 襄桓, but will understand that this line is still part of Lord Jing’s comment instead of Yanzi’s words.

8. He Youzu (2007a) reads 隻 (*zhī* < **tek* [‘single’]) as *huò* < **wâk* ‘catch’ (獲). Dong Shan (2007a) interprets *huòsui* 獲祟 as ‘capture the malicious forces.’ Liu Jianmin (2009, 23) cites an example of *désui* 得祟 used as a fixed expression in the *Lun heng* 論衡 to support this reading, 不脩其行而豐其祝, 不敬其上而畏其鬼, 身死禍至, 歸之於祟, 謂祟未得。得祟脩祀, 禍繁不止, 歸之於祭, 謂祭未敬 “One does not cultivate his own actions but enriches the invocation, not respect his superiors but holds the spirits in awe. When he is dying and the calamity comes, he attributes it to malicious forces and says that the malicious forces are not captured. After capturing the malicious forces, he refines ceremonial sacrifices. If his calamities amplifies and do not stop, he attributes it to rituals and says that rituals have not showed adequate respect yet.”

9. The graph 正 (*zhèng* < **teŋh* [‘correct’]) stands for *zhēn* < **treŋ* ‘divination’ (貞). (Shen Pei 2007a) On both this strip and strip thirteen *zhēn* 正(貞) ‘divination’ is either used together with *jì* 祭 ‘ceremony’ or in a parallel position with 祭, which suggests that 正(貞) is some ceremonial activity.

10. Dong Shan (2007a) argues the graph 逕 is an error and the word intended is *yín* < **lām* ‘wanton’ (淫). He provides an example of a place name Tuyin 徒淫 inscribed on two weapons

of from Qin, but in the *Hanshu* he believes the same name was mistakenly written as Tujing 徒經 due to graphic similarity between 淫 and 經. He Youzu (2007a) suggests that the incomplete graph after 逕 is probably 暴. If he is right, *yín* 淫 and *bao* 暴 ‘violent’ are common words used in the discussion of the lords with disgraceful reputations. I follow Dong Shan and He Youzu’s suggestions.

Strip Thirteen

Transcription

青祭與正女子辭公或謂之女子許若命割疾不敢監祭梁丘廬不敢監正旬又五公乃出見折¹

Edited text

請祭與貞。晏子辭。公或謂之，晏子許諾。命裔款不敢監祭，梁丘據不敢監貞。旬又五，公乃出見折。

Translation

(The lord) asked (Yanzi) to supervise ceremonies and divination. Yanzi declined. The Commonlord talked to him again. Yanzi agreed to take it. The lord demanded that Yi Kuan dare not to supervise the ceremonies, and Liangqiu Ju not supervise divinations. After fifteen days, the Commonlord came out and saw the malevolent spirit (and recovered).

Notes

1. Li Tianhong (2007c) proposes that 折 (*zhé* < **tet* [‘bend’]) could be read as *quán* < **tshon* ‘recover from illness’ (痊) or *quān* < **tshon* ‘make amends’ (愼) as the matching line in YZCQ 1.12 suggests, 改月而君病愼 “The next month the lord recovered from the sickness.” If we follow Li’s reading, the sentence becomes 公乃出見, 折(痊) “The Commonlord then came out and recovered.” If 見 stands for *xiàn* < **gêns* ‘appear’ (現), stylistically *chū* 出 ‘come out’ and *xiàn* 現 being used together is redundant.

Most scholars read 見折 as a phrase. Chen Huiling (2007) reads 見折 as *shì zhé* 視折 ‘inspect the illness/complaints of the commoners.’ She cites from the *Liji* (*SSJ*, 1373) to support this reading: 命理瞻傷察創, 視折審斷; 決獄訟, 必端平 “In caring for lives one should look at injuries, check wounds, inspect illness and prudently make decisions; in judging legal cases one must be impartial and fair.” Chen Huiling (2007) interprets 見折(視折) as a gesture of the improved government of the lord.

Shen Pei suggests reading 折 (*zhé* < **tet* [‘bend’]) as *lì* < **rats* ‘malevolent spirits’ (厲). The motivation behind his reading seems to be that *jiàn lì* 見厲 ‘see malevolent spirits’ as a phrase could mean that the culprit causing one’s ailment is seen/identified. Shen Pei argues that it is recorded in early texts that to cure illness rituals and divinations are usually held to identify the malevolent influence and then one can get rid of it. In this context *jiàn lì* could mean that after the proper rituals and divinations were performed, the *wù* 物 (‘pernicious things’) is identified, the lord therefore recovered. The OC of 折 *zhé* < **tet* and *lì* < **rats* (厲) do not fit very well.

Su Jianzhou 蘇建洲 (2007) attempts to resolve this problem by interpreting *jiàn lì* 見厲 as *lì xiàn* 厲現 ‘the malevolent spirit shows up’ and he also thinks this phrase implies that the lord recovered. Classical Chinese grammar does not typically allow for the flexibility in word order as he suggests. I tentatively follow Shen Pei’s reading.

Edited transcription and translation of “Jing Gong nüe”

景公瘧

齊景公疥且瘧，逾歲不已。裔款與梁丘據言於公曰：“吾幣帛甚美於吾先君之量矣，吾珪璧大於吾先君之...公疥且瘧，逾歲不已，是吾無良祝史也。吾欲誅諸祝史。”公舉首答之：“倘然，是吾所望於汝也。盍誅之。”二子泣，將誅諸祝史。高子國子入，公告二大夫以是言也。高子國子答曰：“身為親或何愛焉？是信吾無良祝史。公盍誅之？”晏子夕，二大夫退。公入晏子而告之，若其告高子國子...“屈木為成于宋，王命屈木問范武子之行焉。文子答曰：‘夫子使其私吏聽獄於晉邦，數情而不偷，使其私祝史進...思聖，外內不廢，可因於民者，其祝史之為其君祝啟也，正...其祝史之為其君祝啟，如數情認罪乎，則言不聽，情不獲；如順言掩惡乎，則恐後誅於史者。故其祝史制蔑，轉折祝之，多迂言...明德觀行，物而崇者也，非為美玉肴牲也。今內寵有裔款，外亦有梁丘據營誑。公納武夫惡聖人，播盈藏篤，使...亡矣，而湯清者與得萬福焉。今君之貪昏苛慝，辟違...詛為無傷，祝亦無益。今薪蒸使虞守之，澤梁使斂守之，山林使衡守之，舉邦為禁，約挾諸關，縛按諸市。眾...其左右相頌自善曰：‘蓋必死，愈為樂乎？故死期將至，何仁...之臣出裔於鄙。自姑尤以西，聊攝以東，其人數多已，是皆貧苦約病，夫婦皆詛，一丈夫執尋之幣，三布之玉，雖是夫...二夫何不受殃？嬰則未得與聞。’公強起，違席，曰：“善哉吾子...晏子，是襄桓之言也！祭貞不獲祟，以至於此。神見吾淫暴...”...請祭與貞。晏子辭。公或謂之，晏子許諾。命裔款不敢監祭，梁丘據不敢監貞。旬又五，公乃出見折。

“Commonlord Jing suffered from malaria”

Commonlord Jing of Qi had scabies and was suffering from malaria. The diseases did not go away even after a year. Yi Kuan together with Liangqiu Ju said to the Commonlord: “Our ceremonial gifts for the spirits are much finer compared with the standard of the previous lords. Our fine jade *gui* and *bi* surpass that of previous lords...My lord had scabies and was suffering from malaria. The diseases did not go away after a year. This is because we lack a good invocator and a good scribe. We want to propose an execution for the invocator and scribe.” The Commonlord raised his head and responded to them: “If that is the case, this is what I count you on. Why not kill them?” The two wept and was about to...this conversation. Gaozi and Guozi responded: “Your body is the dearest thing to you, why care about the invocator and scribe? Your sickness is indeed due to the fact that we lack a good invocator and a good scribe. Why not execute them?” Yanzi was paying a visit at sunset. The two masters withdrew. The Commonlord took Yanzi in and told him as his telling Gaozi [and Guozi]... “[Qu] Mu created

the covenant in Song. The king (of Chu) requested Qu Mu to ask about the deeds of Fan Wuzi there. Wenzhi responded: “When the master sent his private officials to handle the legal cases at the national court of Jin, they displayed all the facts and were not resigned to circumstances. When he sent his private invocators and scribes to present...(?) sage. Not neglect duties inside or outside. As for those who can rely on people, when their invocators and scribes invoke and exorcise for their lords, straighten...[When his invocator and scribe are on behalf of their] lord invoking and exorcising, if they display all the facts and acknowledge the crimes, their words will not be listened and the true situation will not be acquired; if they only present the agreeable speeches and suppress the wrong doings then they will be afraid of being criticized by later scribes. Therefore his invocator and scribe ...(?) They talked in a roundabout way when invoking for him and there were many circumlocution speeches...(The spirits) discern the meritorious capabilities of you and observe your practices. The reason a pernicious thing arose and became a malevolent influence is not relevant to our offerings of fine jade and high quality animals (but to your own behaviors). Now your majesty has Yi Kuan as a favored vassal inside and outside you also have Liangqiu Ju who is hoaxing and deceiving. My lord welcomes martial-types but despises the sages; showed off self-complacence and put away sincerity and made...has died out, but the ones who report the true facts will participate in receiving ten thousands of blessings from it. Now my lord is greedy, fatuous, harsh and wicked, biased and going against...Imprecations bring no harms, by the same token invocations bring no benefits. Now the firewood resources are trusted exclusively to the foresters; garths are all trusted to fish wardens; and mountains and woods are all trusted to the nature conservation officials. The whole state becomes a forbidden place. Restrict and confine people at the passes, fetter and repress them in the markets. The masses...his followers praise and esteem each other, saying: one will inevitably die presumably should we indulge in creature comforts ever more? Therefore when the death is approaching, why should one behave humanely...officials went out and forged the court orders in the outer areas. From the west of Gu and You to the east of Liao and She, people who lived there have been numerous. They are all poor, bitter, impoverished and sick. Husbands and wives are both imprecating. One man holds ceremonial silk of one *xún* long and three cloth wrappers of jade. Only this man...How can these two not suffer from calamity? I have never got to hear a thing like that.” The Commonlord tried to get up and turned away from the mat, saying: “Well said, my master...Yanzi. This is the teaching of Lord

Xiang and Huan! It is all because the ceremonies and divination did not get the malevolent influence and I ended up being sick like this. The spirits saw me wanton and violent...” (The lord) asked (Yanzi) to supervise ceremonies and divination. Yanzi declined. The Commonlord talked to him again. Yanzi agreed to take it. The lord demanded that Yi Kuan dare not to supervise the ceremonies, and Liangqiu Ju not supervise divinations. After fifteen days, the Commonlord came out and saw the malevolent spirit (and recovered).

3.1.2 Yanzi *chunqiu* 1.12, 7.7 and *Zuozhuan* “Zhao 20”

Before moving on to the discussion of variants among “Jing gong nüe,” the two YZCQ accounts, and ZZ, the translation of the received texts is provided. The ZZ account is almost identical with YZCQ 7.7. The discussion of their variants follows the translation of YZCQ 7.7.

(1) Translation of YZCQ 1.12 and 7.7

YZCQ 1.12, 景公病久不愈欲誅祝史以謝晏子諫

“Commonlord Jing suffered from disease for a long time and was not recovering. He wanted to execute the invocator and the scribe as a means to expiate the cause. Yanzi remonstrated.”

景公疥且瘡，期年不已。召會譴，梁丘據，晏子而問焉，曰：寡人之病病矣，使史固與祝佗巡山川宗廟，犧牲珪璧，莫不備具，數其常多先君桓公，桓公一則寡人再。病不已，滋甚，予欲殺二子者以說于上帝，其可乎？會譴，梁丘據曰：可。晏子不對。公曰：晏子何如？晏子曰：君以祝為有益乎？公曰：然。若以為有益，則誣亦有損也。君疏輔而遠拂，忠臣擁塞，諫言不出。臣聞之，近臣嘿，遠臣瘖，眾口鑠金。今自聊攝以東，姑尤以西者，此其人民眾矣，百姓之咎怨誹謗，誣君于上帝者多矣。一國誣，兩人祝，雖善祝者不能勝也。且夫祝直言情，則謗吾君也；隱匿過，則欺上帝也。上帝神則不可欺；上帝不神祝亦無益。願君察之也。不然，刑無罪，夏商所以滅也。公曰：善解余惑，加冠。命會譴毋治齊國之政，梁丘據毋治賓客之事，兼屬之乎晏子。晏子辭，不得命。受，相退。把政，改月而君病悛。公曰：昔吾先君桓公以管子為有力，邑狐與穀，以共宗廟之鮮，賜其忠臣，則是多忠臣者。子今忠臣也，寡人請賜子州款。辭曰：管子有一美，嬰不如也，有一惡，嬰不忍為也，其宗廟之養鮮也。終辭而不受。

Commonlord Jing had scabies and was suffering from malaria. The diseases did not go away for a year. The lord summoned Hui Qian, Liangqiu Ju and Yanzi and asked them about it, saying: "My illness has been really bothering me. I sent Scribe Gu to go with Invocator Tuo around all the mountains, rivers, ancestral temples and altars. The sacrificial animals and fine jade *gui* and *bi* are always fully prepared and have often surpassed what Commonlord Huan had offered in number. If Commonlord Huan had done it once, I would do it twice. My illness does not end but becomes even worse. I want to execute these two officials to please the Lord on High. Is this acceptable?" Hui Qian and Liangqiu Ju said: "Yes." Yanzi did not respond. The Commonlord said: "Yanzi, what do you think?" Yanzi said: "Does my lord think invocation is beneficial?" The Commonlord said: "I think so." "If you think invocation is beneficial then by the same token imprecation will result in harm. My lord you distance yourself from the good assistants and become estranged from constructive critics. The loyal vassals are blocked up and no criticism is forthcoming. I have heard that if the close vassals are silent and distanced vassals are muted then public clamor can melt metals. Now the area from the east of Liao and She to the west of Gu and You has been heavily populated. Criticisms, resentments, defamations and slanders from these commoners and their imprecation of you to the Lord on High have been numerous. If the whole state is imprecating but only two people are invoking, then even a good invocator cannot succeed. At the same time if the invocator directly reports the facts he will be slandering our lord, but if he conceals your faults he is deceiving the Lord on High. If the Lord on High is divinely prescient, he cannot be deceived; if the Lord on High is not divinely prescient, invocation has no benefits. I request my lord to look into this. If it is not as I said, and a lord can just punish the innocent, that is how Xia and Shang came to their demise." The Commonlord said: "You are good at disabusing me of confusions. I will commend you!" He ordered Hui Qian not to be in charge of the governing of the state of Qi, ordered Liangqiu Ju not to be in charge of the diplomatic affairs, but entrusted these duties all to Yanzi. Yanzi declined but he was not allowed to do so. He accepted it and then Yanzi and the lord withdrew from each other. Yanzi took over the government. The next month the lord recovered from the sickness. The Commonlord said: "In the past, our late Commonlord Huan regarded Guanzi as meritorious. He granted the cities of Hú and Gǔ to Guanzi to provide living animals for ancestral temples and altars. When Commonlord Huan rewarded his loyal officials, this produced more loyal officials. You are a

loyal official of the present. I propose to award you with Zhōukuan.” Yanzi declined saying: “Guanzi had one strong point and I am not as good as him. He also had one weakness but I am not willing to bear to do that. It was that he provided the living animals to the ancestral temples and altars.”²² Eventually Yanzi declined and did not accept it.

(2) Translation and discussion of YZCQ 7.7 and *Zuozhuan* “Zhao 20”

YZCQ 7.7, 景公有疾梁丘據裔款請誅祝史晏子諫

“Commonlord Jing suffered from diseases. Liangqiu Ju and Yi Kuan suggested executing the invocator and the scribe. Yanzi remonstrated.”

(All the textual variants between ZZ and YZCQ 7.7 are numbered, underlined and discussed after the translation of YZCQ 7.7).

(1)景公疥遂疔，期而不瘳。諸侯之賓，問疾者多在。(2)梁丘據裔款言於公曰：吾事鬼神，豐於先君有加矣。今君疾病，為諸侯憂，是祝史之罪也。諸侯不知，其謂我不敬，君盍誅於祝固史嚚以辭賓。公說，告晏子。晏子(3)對曰：日宋之盟，屈建問范會之德於趙武，趙武曰：(4)夫子家事治，言於晉國，竭情無私，其祝史祭祀，陳言不愧；其家事無猜，其祝史不祈。建以語康王，康王曰：神人無怨，宜(5)天子之光輔五君，以為諸侯主也。公曰：據與款謂寡人能事鬼神，故欲誅于祝史，子稱是語何故？對曰：若有德之君，外內不廢，上下無怨，動無違事，其祝史薦信，無愧心矣。是以鬼神用饗，國受其福，祝史與焉。其所以蕃祉老壽者，為信君使也，其言忠信於鬼神。其適遇淫君，外內頗邪，上下怨疾，動作辟違，從欲厭私，高臺深池，撞鐘舞女，斬刈民力，輸掠其聚，以成其違，不恤後人，暴虐淫縱，肆行非度，無所還忌，不思謗讟，不憚鬼神，神怒民痛，無悛於心。其祝史薦信，是言罪也；其蓋失數美，是矯誣也。進退無辭，則(6)虛以成媚，是以鬼神不饗，其國以禍之，祝史與焉。所以天昏孤疾者，為暴君使也，其言僭慢于鬼神。公曰：然則若之何？對曰：不可為也。山林之木，衡鹿守之；澤之萑蒲，舟鮫守之；藪之薪蒸，虞候守之；海之鹽蜃，祈望守之。縣鄙之人，入從其政；偏介之關，暴征其私；承嗣大夫，彊易其賄；布常無藝，徵斂無度；宮室日更，淫樂不違；內寵之妾肆奪于市，外寵之臣僭令於鄙。私欲養求，不給則應。民人苦病，夫婦皆詛。祝有益也，詛亦有損。聊攝以東，姑尤以西，其為人也多矣。雖其善祝，豈能勝億兆人之詛。君若欲誅於祝史，修德而後可。公說，使有司寬政，毀關去禁，薄斂已責，(7)公疾愈。

Commonlord Jing had scabies and then developed into a kind of malaria. After a period of time he did not get well. Many Marklords sent visitors to express their concerns for his illness. Liangqiu Ju and Yi Kuan said to the Commonlord: “Our offerings to the ghosts and spirits

²² Wu Zeyu (*Jishi*, 67) thinks that the sentence “He (Guanzi) provided the living animals to the ancestral temples and altars” 其宗廟之養鮮也 was annotation but mixed into the main text.

have become more substantial than those that the previous lords have offered. Now you are suffering from illness and the various Marklords have become concerned. This is the fault of the scribe and invocator. If the various Marklords do not know this, they will probably say we are not respectful to the spirits. Why don't you propose an execution for Scribe Gu and Invocator Qi to appease to our visitors?" The Commonlord was pleased and he told Yanzi about it. Yanzi responded: "At the time of the covenant of Song, Qu Jian asked Zhao Wu about the meritorious capabilities of Fan Hui. Zhao Wu said: 'The master put everything in his household in order. When he discussed the state affairs he tried his best without any selfishness. When his invocators and scribes performed sacrifices they reported fully and had nothing to be ashamed of. There was no discord in his household and his invocators and scribes did not need to pray.' Jian told King Kang (of Chu) about it. King Kang said: 'If neither the spirits nor the people had resentment, given the brightness of the son of Heaven, it is appropriate that he assisted the five lords, who all thereby became leaders of the various Marklords.'"²³ The Commonlord said: "Ju and Kuan said I am capable in serving the ghosts and spirits. Therefore they propose an execution for the invocator and scribe. Why are you referring to this conversation?" Yanzi responded: "When a lord has meritorious capabilities, he will not neglect duties inside or outside, people with both high and low status would hold no resentment, and none of his actions would go against proper affairs. When his invocators and scribes set out the reliable accounts to the spirits they would do so without compunction. Therefore the ghosts and spirits will enjoy the offerings and the state receives their blessings. The invocators and scribes are assisting with this. The reason the invocators and scribes can bring numerous blessings and longevity to the state is that they serve as the ministers of an honest lord and their speeches are trusted by the ghosts and spirits. Sometimes they happen to have a wanton lord whose state is fairly indecent both outside and inside, whose people with both high and low status resentfully criticize his rule, and his measures and actions are biased and alienating people at all levels. The wanton lord follows his wishes and indulges himself, he builds high terraces and deep pools, enjoys striking musical bells and dancing girls. He chops away at and mows down people's energies and confiscates and takes their assets leading to their alienation. He shows no concern for the later generations. He is violent,

²³ The five Jin lords are Lord Wen (r. 636-628), Lord Xiang (r. 627-621), Lord Ling (r. 620-607), Lord Cheng (r. 607-600) and Lord Jing (r. 599-581).

vicious, wanton and indulgent, and he does whatever he wants to violate the rules with no prospect and fear of consequence. He does not think about being criticized or detested, nor does he show fear of ghosts and spirits. The spirits become angry and people are suffering, but he has no intention to make amends. If his invocators and scribes present the truth, they will be reporting his faults. If they mistakenly enumerate good points, they will be distorting the facts and cheating. They come and go without proper words, and their speeches become empty and seek flattery. Therefore the ghosts and spirits will not take their offerings, and the state will suffer because of it. The invocators and scribes are also assisting this. The reason a lord is suffering from premature death, confusing old age, orphanage and disability is that the invocators and scribes serve a vicious lord, and their speeches are deceitful and insulting to the ghosts and spirits. The Commonlord said: "How should I deal with it then?" Yanzi responded: "You cannot execute the invocator and scribe. The trees in the mountains are entrusted exclusively to the nature conservation officials. The vines of ponds are trusted exclusively to waterway officials. The firewood from the wildness is entrusted exclusively to the foresters. Salt and shellfish from the sea are entrusted exclusively to marine officials. You force the people in the suburbs and outskirts come in to serve the government; at the passes close to the capital, you tax people ruthlessly; you forcefully reduce the heritages of grand masters; hold no standard in arranging routines; put no limit in collecting taxes; you change palaces and buildings every day, and wanton entertainments are never refuted. The favorite concubines take whatever they want from the market, the court favorites override the orders in the outer areas. Whenever selfish desires and growing requests are not fulfilled, they will respond to get what they want. People are suffering great pains, and both the husband and wife are imprecating my lord. If invocations have benefits, by the same token imprecations have disadvantages. The area from the east of Liao and She to the west of Gu You has been heavily populated. Although your officials are good at invoking, how could they win over the imprecations of millions of people? You want to propose an execution for the invocator and scribe to cure your disease, but actually by cultivating your meritorious capabilities it will achieve what you want." The Commonlord was pleased. He ordered officials to loosen the government restrictions, take away the barriers and remove prohibitions, reduce taxes and put an end to people's debts. The Commonlord then recovered from the illness.

Textual variants between YZCQ 7.7 and Zuozhuan “Zhao 20”

(1) YZCQ 7.7: 景公 ‘Commonlord Jǐng’ :: ZZ: 齊侯 ‘Marklord of Qi’.

YZCQ and ZZ were allegedly composed by scholars from Qi and Lu respectively. This lexical variant probably reflects the different editorial perspectives of their editors.

(2) YZCQ 7.7: null :: ZZ: 與 ‘join together’. Vacant variation.

ZZ: 梁丘據與裔款 ‘Liangqiu Ju joined together with Yi Kuan’

(3) YZCQ 7.7: 對 ‘respond’ :: ZZ: null. Vacant variation.

(4) YZCQ 7.7: null :: ZZ: 之. Vacant variation.

The modifier extender 之 in ZZ is does not change the meaning of the sentence. ZZ: 夫子之家事治 “The master’s household is in good order”.

(5) YZCQ 7.7: 天子 ‘son of Heaven’ :: ZZ: 夫子 ‘master’. Lexical variation.

This variant could be a graphic error due to the similarity between 天 and 夫. The intended word is probably *tiān* 天 since in the sentence YZCQ: 宜天子之光輔五君 “(Fan hui) is suited to the brightness of the son of Heaven and he assisted five of the lords.” *Tiānzi zhī guāng* 天子之光 ‘the brightness of the son of Heaven’ as a phrase appears in other early texts. For instance, in the “Hong fan” 洪範 of *Shangshu* (SSJ, 193), 以近天子之光 “get close to the brightness of the son of Heaven.” The graph 夫 in ZZ is a probably a copyist mistake.

(6) YZCQ 7.7: 虛以成媚 “(Their speeches) will be empty and **turn into** flattery” :: ZZ: 虛以求媚 “(Their speeches) will be empty and **aim to** flatter”. YZCQ 7.7: 成 *chéng* < **deŋ* ‘become’ ::

ZZ: 求 *qiú* < **gu* ‘seek’ are lexical variants. ‘Aim to flatter’ *qiú mèi* 求媚 seems to be a common expression in early texts. For instance, in the *Guoyu* 國語 (*Sibu congkan* edition, “Jin yu” 7.8a), 其臣競諂以求媚 “His vassals compete to toady aiming to flatter;” in ZZ (Yang Bojun 1981, 804 [Cheng 2]) (鄭人) 欲求媚於晉 “(Zheng people) wanted to ingratiate themselves with Jin.” The phrase *chéng mèi* 成媚 in YZCQ on the other hand is not a common phrase. By the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*, YZCQ: *chéng mèi* 成媚 is probably the original.

(7) YZCQ 7.7: 公疾愈 The Commonlord recovered from the disease :: ZZ: null.

Vacant variation. YZCQ 7.7 provides how the problem presented at the beginning of this account was resolved, which makes this account a complete story. The lack of this clarification in ZZ may reflect the difference in authorial intent and style between YZCQ and ZZ. All the YZCQ accounts are independent self-contained narratives of Yanzi, while in the ZZ materials from different sources are used and woven together in chronological order as a historical record. The editors of YZCQ might have attended to the overall structure particularly the completeness of each account more carefully than the editors of the ZZ.

In Zheng Liangshu’s (2000, 29-30) study of the textual relation between YZCQ and ZZ, he believes that in this particular case the relation of the two accounts cannot be determined since they are too similar to each other. From the seven variants discussed above, at least (5) and (6) provide unambiguous evidence suggesting that YZCQ is the original and ZZ is the derived. Since ZZ probably has derived from YZCQ 7.7, in the discussion of the variants between “Jing gong nüe” and received texts, only the two YZCQ accounts will be considered.

(3) “Jing gong nüe” and YZCQ 7.7, 1.12

For the convenience of discussion, the three accounts are divided into three sections for comparison: the cause of the event, the remonstrance, and the recovery.

Table 3.1.1 “Jing gong nüe”: The cause, the ailment and the proposal

M: “Jing gong nüe”	YZCQ 7.7	YZCQ 1.12
<p>齊景公疥且癘，逾歲不已。裔款與梁丘據言於公曰：吾幣帛甚美於吾先君之量矣，吾珪璧大於吾先君之...公疥且癘，逾歲不已，是吾無良祝史也。吾欲誅諸祝史。公舉首答之：倘然，是吾所望於汝也。盍誅之。二子泣，將誅諸祝史。高子國子入，公告二大夫以是言也。高子國子答曰：身為親或何愛焉？是信吾無良祝史。公盍誅之？</p>	<p>景公疥遂瘡，期而不瘳。諸侯之賓，問疾者多在。梁丘據裔款言於公曰：吾事鬼神，豐於先君有加矣。今君疾病，為諸侯憂，是祝史之罪也。諸侯不知，其謂我不敬，君盍誅於祝固史嚚以辭賓。公說，告晏子。</p>	<p>景公疥且癘，期年不已。召會譴，梁丘據，晏子而問焉，曰：寡人之病病矣，使史固與祝佗巡山川宗廟，犧牲珪璧，莫不備具，數其常多先君桓公，桓公一則寡人再。病不已，滋甚，予欲殺二子者以說于上帝，其可乎？會譴，梁丘據曰：可。</p>

M is more complex than YZCQ 7.7 and 1.12 by having Gaozi and Guozi besides Yi Kuan and Liangqiu Ju in the conversation of proposing an execution for the invocator and scribe. Also, in M the lord does not sound as determined as in the YZCQ accounts in executing of the scribe and the invocator. In M, Yi Kuan and Liangqiu Ju first brought this up to him, the lord then sought Gaozi and Guozi’s opinion, but he still seemed not absolutely unwavering on this matter. He later turned to Yanzi for more confirmation. In 7.7 when Yi Kuan and Liangqiu Ju proposed to execute the scribe and the invocator, the lord became immediately “pleased” with this arrangement. In 1.12 it was the lord himself who brought up this proposal.

One of the variants that worth noting are the names of the scribe and the invocator.

M: 祝史 invocator and scribe :: 7.7: 祝圉史囂 Scribe Gù and Invocator Qì :: 1.12: 史圉, 祝佗
Scribe Gù, Invocator Tuó.

The YZCQ accounts make it clear it were two officials with their names provided. M is ambiguous since 祝史 could be one official title as Liu Jianmin (2009, 30-33) argues. He points out that scribes were in charge of not only record keeping but also calendars and ceremonies, and there is an overlap in responsibilities between scribes and invocators. Therefore this is probably why 祝史 later became the title of one position.

Liu Jianmin believes that 祝史 in M is actually one title and one official instead of two. Because there is no paragraph explicitly suggesting or supporting this interpretation, and also, both the YZCQ accounts make it clear it were two officials, I will take 祝史 as two different titles.

II. Yanzi's remonstrance

I divide this part into three sections A, B, C, and D for the convenience of discussion. See the table on the next two pages. Matching texts are highlighted in bold font. Part A is Yanzi's discussion on the famous worthy master Qu mu of Chu. He was attempting to show that whether a state receives blessing or not lies in the conduct of the lord but not in the invoking skills of the specialist. Yanzi also pointed out that a wanton lord would put his invocators and scribes in a dilemma to reinforce that fact that it was the conduct of the lord that mattered. This discussion is not present in 1.12, but in its last paragraph (part D) Yanzi also addressed this dilemma and argued that only worthy conduct can lead to rewarding invocation.

Table 3.1.2 “Jing gong nüe”: Yanzi’s remonstrance

“Jing gong nüe”	YZCQ 7.7	YZCQ 1.12
<p style="text-align: center;">A</p> <p>晏子夕，二大夫退。公入晏子而告之，若其告高子國子...“屈木為成于宋，王命屈木問范武子之行焉。文子答曰：‘夫子使其私史聽獄於晉邦，數情而不偷，使其私祝史進... 恩聖，外內不廢，可因於民者，其祝史之為其君祝敬也，正...其祝史之為其君祝敬，如數情認罪乎，則言不聽，情不獲；如順言掩惡乎，則恐後誅於史者。故其祝史制蔑，轉折祝之，多迂言...明德觀行，物而崇者也，非為美玉肴牲也。</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">A</p> <p>晏子對曰：日宋之盟，屈建問范會之德於趙武，趙武曰：夫子家事治，言於晉國，竭情無私，其祝史祭祀，陳言不愧；其家事無猜，其祝史不祈。建以語康王，康王曰：神人無怨，宜天子之光輔五君，以為諸侯主也。公曰：據與款謂寡人能事鬼神，故欲誅于祝史，子稱是語何故？對曰：若有德之君，外內不廢，上下無怨，動無違事，其祝史薦信，無愧心矣。是以鬼神用饗，國受其福，祝史與焉。其所以蕃祉老壽者，為信君使也，其言忠信於鬼神。其適遇淫君，外內頗邪，上下怨疾，動作辟違，從欲厭私，高臺深池，撞鐘舞女，斬刈民力，輸掠其聚，以成其違，不恤後人，暴虐淫縱，肆行非度，無所還忌，不思謗讟，不憚鬼神，神怒民痛，無悛於心。其祝史薦信，是言罪也；其蓋失數美，是矯誣也。進退無辭，則虛以成媚，是以鬼神不饗，其國以禍之，祝史與焉。所以天昏孤疾者，為暴君使也，其言僭慢于鬼神。</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p>今內寵有裔款，外亦有梁丘據營誑。公納武夫惡聖人，播盈藏篤，使...亡矣，而湯清者與得萬福焉。今君之貪昏苛慝，辟違... 詛為無傷，祝亦無益。</p>		<p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p>晏子不對。公曰：晏子何如？晏子曰：君以祝為有益乎？公曰：然。若以為有益，則詛亦有損也。君疏輔而遠拂，忠臣擁塞，諫言不出。臣聞之，近臣嘿，遠臣瘖，眾口鑠金。</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">C</p> <p>今薪蒸使虞守之,澤梁使斂守之,山林使衡守之,舉邦為禁,約挾諸關,縛纓諸市。眾...其左右相頌自善曰:‘蓋必死,愈為樂乎?故死期將至,何仁...之臣出喬於鄙。自姑尤以西,聊攝以東,其人數多已,是皆貧苦約病,夫婦皆詛,一丈夫執尋之幣,三布之玉,雖是夫...二夫何不受殃?嬰則未得與聞。’</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">C</p> <p>公曰:然則若之何?對曰:不可為也。山林之木,衡鹿守之;澤之萑蒲,舟鮫守之;藪之薪蒸,虞候守之;海之鹽蜃,祈望守之。縣鄙之人,入從其政;偪介之關,暴征其私;承嗣大夫,彊易其賄;布常無藝,徵斂無度;宮室日更,淫樂不違;內寵之妾肆奪于市,外寵之臣僭令於鄙。私欲養求,不給則應。民人苦病,夫婦皆詛。祝有益也,詛亦有損。聊攝以東,姑尤以西,其為人也多矣。雖其善祝,豈能勝億兆人之詛。君若欲誅於祝史,修德而後可。</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">C</p> <p>今自聊攝以東,姑尤以西者,此其人民眾矣,百姓之咎怨誹謗,詛君于上帝者多矣。一國詛,兩人祝,雖善祝者不能勝也。</p>
		<p style="text-align: center;">D</p> <p>且夫祝直言情,則謗吾君也;隱匿過,則欺上帝也。上帝神則不可欺;上帝不神祝亦無益。願君察之也。不然,刑無罪,夏商所以滅也。</p>

In part B, M: *jīn* 今 ‘now’ indicates that the focus of discussion shifts to the villainous officials used by his lord. In 1.12, the names of these officials are not mentioned. In this part Yanzi also called his lord’s attention to complaints and imprecations as well as to invocation in 1.12 and M.

Part C is the only section we have several matching lines in all three accounts. In a paragraph where M has all one-syllable words for the title of court officials YZCQ 7.7 has two-syllable words: M: 虞 :: YZCQ: 虞候, M: 衡 :: YZCQ: 衡鹿, M: 斂 :: YZCQ: 舟鮫. The variants in each case both refer to the same kind of natural source officials, but YZCQ reflects a preference for two-syllable words over single syllable words. This is probably due to the proliferation of two-

syllable words during late Warring States period to Han. (Dong Xiufang 2011, 38) See discussion in notes three and four of strip eight.

Part D in YZCQ 1.12 resonates to some discussions in part A in M and YZCQ 7.7 but without making any historical references.

III. The remorse and recovery

Table 3.1.3 “Jing gong nüe”: The remorse and recovery

M: “Jing gong nüe”	YZCQ 7.7	YZCQ 1.12
<p>公強起，違席，曰：“善哉吾子… 晏子，是襄桓之言也！祭貞不獲祟，以至於此。神見吾淫暴…” …請祭與貞。晏子辭。公或謂之，晏子許諾。命裔款不敢監祭，梁丘據不敢監貞。旬又五，公乃出見折。</p>	<p>公說，使有司寬政，毀關去禁，薄斂已責，公疾愈。</p>	<p>公曰：善解余惑，加冠。命會譴毋治齊國之政，梁丘據毋治賓客之事，兼屬之乎晏子。晏子辭，不得命。受，相退。把政，改月而君病悛。</p> <p>公曰：昔吾先君桓公以管子為有力，邑狐與穀，以共宗廟之鮮，賜其忠臣，則是多忠臣者。子今忠臣也，寡人請賜子州款。辭曰：管子有一美，嬰不如也，有一惡，嬰不忍為也，其宗廟之養鮮也。終辭而不受。</p>

The passage in YZCQ 7.7 is the briefest among the three. M and YZCQ 1.12 are similar in both reporting that Yanzi was trusted with great responsibilities and the villains were distanced, and that as the result of the amends made the lord recovered. When discussing the reassignment of official duties, in M only ceremonies and divinations are mentioned, which are directly relevant to the lord’s ailment. In YZCQ 1.12 the duty reassigned to Yanzi includes all the most

important responsibilities in governing. The last paragraph in YZCQ 1.12 also compares Yanzi to Guanzi, while in M the narrative does not go beyond the recovery of the illness itself.

M, YZCQ 7.7, and 1.12 have probably derived from three separate sources. But from their similarity in plot and the matching paragraphs we can propose that the compilers of the three accounts were probably drawing on many same raw materials. The matching paragraphs in part C particularly suggest that these passages were used like building blocks from a repertoire shared by different compilers, and the formation of early texts is in nature very composite.

3.2 “Lu bang da han” 魯邦大旱 “The great drought in the State of Lu”

The manuscript “Lu bang da han” 魯邦大旱 “The great drought in the State of Lu” includes two conversations on drought relief, one between Confucius and Lord Ai and one between Confucius and his disciple Zigong. (Ma Chengyuan 2002, 203-210) Confucius proposed both performing rituals and improving government for drought relief, but Zigong argued that the former did not make sense and was of no use. This manuscript has a total of six strips. Three of them are fragmentary (strips one, two and five). A complete strip is about 55.4 cm long and has about 51 graphs (strip three, for example). In this chapter after the textual study of “Lu bang da han” and the matching passage in YZCQ (1.15), we will discuss the significance of different drought relief methods in early China.

3.2.1 Transcription and Translation

Strip one

Transcription

魯邦大旱哀公謂孔子¹子不為我圖²之²孔子會曰邦大旱毋乃避³者型與惠⁴唯...


Edited text

魯邦大旱, 哀公謂孔子: 子不為我圖之? 孔子答曰: 邦大旱, 毋乃失諸刑與惠乎? 唯...



Translation

The State of Lu had great drought. Commonlord Ai said to Confucius: “Will you deal with it for me?” Confucius responded: “When a state has great drought, would it not be due to the neglect of one’s duty in dispensing punishments and rewards? Only by...


Notes

1.  stands for Kongzi 孔子. The symbol $_$ at the lower right corner is a ligature marker. This marker indicates that two graphs are combined together usually sharing a stroke or component. The component 子 in the picture stands for both the component 子 in 孔 and the graph 子 as a self-stand character. The other component that looks like 卜 standing above 子 is probably the right part of 孔. (Pu Maozuo 2002, 67)

2. 子不為我圖(圖)之 “Will you not plan it for me?”

The graph  probably stands for $w\check{o} < *ŋâi?$ (我). Graphically it differs from the typical way that $w\check{o}$ is structured in the Chu manuscripts, for instance,  (*Laozi* A, strip thirty-one), but contextually a first person pronoun makes perfect sense here.

The graph 圖 is not attested in the standard writing system. In this manuscript it probably stands for the $tú < *dâ$ ‘scheme’ (圖). $Zhě < *ta?$ 者 is probably the phonetic. When making a plea, expressions such as 願子圖之 “Would you plan it for me?” (*Shiji* page) or 王其圖之 “Your Majesty should plan against it” (*Zhanguo ce*) are common in early texts.

3. The graph  probably stands for $shī < *lhit$ ‘lose’ (失). This graph appears in the Guodian *Laozi* manuscripts (for instance, *Laozi* A, strip eleven and *Laozi* B, strip six), and the matching received texts suggest that the word intended is $shī < *lhit$ ‘lose’ (失). For the paleographical study of this graph, see Zhao Ping’an 趙平安 (2000), “Zhanguo wenzi de 遊 yu jiaguwen 葵 wei yi zi shuo” 戰國文字的“遊”与甲骨文“葵”為一字說.

4. The symbol \perp seems to function as a punctuation mark at the end of a grammatical break. Its exact function is not clear. This mark also appears on strip four.

Strip two

Transcription

之可在孔_二曰_一𠄎民智_二敎之事_一崇_一¹也不智型與惠_二²女毋恣珪璧幣帛於山川政莖與_一惠

Edited text



之何哉? 孔子曰: 庶民知敎之事鬼也, 不知刑與德。如毋愛珪璧幣帛於山川, 政型與_一德...

Translation


...what can I do about this?” Confucius said: “The common people know about using the exorcism ceremony to serve spirits, but they do not know about the matter of punishment and reward. If we do not spare *gui* and *bi* jade and fine silk in making sacrifice to the mountains and rivers, fix the right balance of punishment and [reward] ...”



Notes


1. 𠄎(庶)民智(知)敎之事崇(鬼) “The masses know about using exorcisms to serve the ghosts.”

The editor transcribes  as 視. The word *shì* < **gi?* ‘look at’ 視 is usually written as  (*Laozi*

A, strip two) in the Chu manuscripts, without the deity classifier compared with the later

standard way of writing it. Huang Dekuan 黃德寬 (2003) argues that the top part of  is not 見 and the word intended is actually *guǐ* < **kwəi?* ‘ghosts’ (鬼). He points out that this character is

very similar to  *wèi* < **ʔuih* ‘hold in awe’ 畏 (*Laozi* B, strip five) and  *wēi* < **ʔui* ‘awe-

inspiring’ 威 (“Min zhi fumu,” strip eight). The editor of the *Wenzi bian* also reads  as *guǐ*

‘ghosts’ (鬼) and notes that the top part of 鬼 is 白 but in this case it is confused with 目. (Li

Shoukui, 2007, 439)

The graph 𠄎 is not attested in stand writing. The context 𠄎民 suggests that 𠄎 could stand for *shù* < **lhakh* ‘numerous’ (庶). There are many examples in early texts that show the frequent interchangeability between *shí* < **dak* 石 and *shù* < **lhakh* 庶. For instance, in the *Shuowen* (255a), 拓或從庶 “*Tuo*, is in some cases derived from *shù* (phonetic).” The editor provides more examples of 石 and 庶 alteration in the note (Mang Chengyuan 2002, 205-206).

The graph 敝 appears in “Jing gong nüe” (strip six) and probably means ‘ceremonial exorcism.’

2. 型(刑)與惠(德) ‘punishment together with reward.’ The word *de* 惠/德 is often translated into ‘virtue’ or ‘inner power.’ The basic sense of *de* usually involves a reciprocal behavior or exchange. In this context, *de* is used together with *xing* 型(刑) ‘punishment’ and means ‘reward.’ *Xing* and *de* are complementary methods of governing. The word *xíng* < **gêŋ* ‘punishment’ is also written as 莖 on this same strip.

Strip three

Transcription

出遇子貢曰賜¹而昏壘迢之言毋乃謂丘之會非與²子貢曰否也³虛子女⁴命刀與⁴女夫政莖與惠以事上天此是才⁵女天⁶毋悉圭璧

Edited text

出遇子貢。曰：賜，尔聞巷路之言毋乃謂丘之答非歟？子貢曰：否也，吾子如重命其與！若夫政刑與德以事上天，此是哉。若夫毋愛珪璧

Translation

(Confucius) went out and encountered Zigong. He said: “Ci, as you hear the discussions in the alleys and roadways, wasn’t it that they think my response (to the lord) was wrong?” Zigong said: “No. My master does join those who take commands seriously! As for fixing the right

balance of punishments and reward to serve the grand Heaven, it is right. As for sparing no *gui* and *bi* fine jade

Notes

1. Zigong 子贛/貢/贛 (520-466) is Confucius' disciple. His name is Duanmu Ci 端木賜. He is referred to as *ci* 賜 in the *Analects*. The graph 贛 is attested in the *Shuowen* (130b): 贛,賜也

‘Gòng means bestow.’ This character also appears in the Baoshan manuscripts (贛, strip 175), and the editors read it as *gòng* < **kôŋh* (貢) ‘pay tribute.’ (*Baoshan Chu jian*, 58, note 480)

Chen Jian (2007) proposes that *gòng* < **kôŋh* 贛 originally had the meaning of both ‘bestow’ and ‘pay tribute’ and that this two directions of transfer was narrowed to only ‘bestow’ from a superior to an inferior after the graph 貢 (*gòng* < **kôŋh* ‘pay tribute’) was created to assume the other direction of ‘giving’ exclusively.

2. 嚮(巷)迺(路)之言 ‘the discussions in the alleys and roadways.’ The editor points out that the graph 嚮 appears in the *Zhouyi* and “Ziyi” of the Shanghai museum strips collection, and is read *xiàng* < **grôŋh* ‘alley’ (巷) as the matching received texts suggest.

會 stands for *dá* < **tâp* ‘respond’ (答). Also see “Jing gong nüe” strip two, note five and YQS note 1.6.

3. The graph 戩 is not attested in standard writing. The editor reads it as *yě* < **lai?* ‘final particle’ (也). His basis seems to be that 戩 is a graphic variant of 毆 (*yì* < **ʔas*), and 毆 is an equivalent of *yě* 也 in early texts such as the *Zu Chu wen* 詛楚文. Also see note two of strip six. The phrase 否戩(也) “no” is Zigong’s response to Confucius’ inquiry.

He Linyi (2003a) reads 𣪠 as $yī < *ʔə$ (繫). $Yī$ 繫 is a phrase-initial particle, similar to pre-classical copula *wéi* 惟 ‘It is the case that...’ (Kroll 2015, 541) Yu Zhihui 俞志慧 (2003) reads 𣪠 as $yì < *ʔək$ ‘or’ (抑). All three readings are possible. I will tentatively follow the editor’s interpretation.

4. 虛(吾)子女(如)𣪠(重)命兀(其)與 “Would my master join those who take commands seriously?”

I read 𣪠命 as *zhòng mìng* 重命 ‘attach importance to the command (of one’s lord).’ The graph 𣪠 has appeared in other Chu manuscripts. For example, in the “Zun deyi” (*Guodian Chumu zhujian*, 174, strip thirty nine), Chen Wei reads it as *dòng < *dôŋʔ* ‘move’ (動). The phonetic 童 [*tóng < *dôŋ* ‘kids’] is compatible with *zhòng < *dronʔ* ‘give weight to’ (重). *Zhòng mìng* 重命 ‘pay attention to command’ here means taking the command of alleviating the drought seriously. In the *Hanfei zi* (“Liu fan” 六反, 302), *zhòng mìng* is used in a similar way: 重命畏事, 尊上之民也, 而世少之曰怯懾之民也 “Those who are giving weight to the commands and holding (the official) affairs in awe are the people who respect their superiors, but the world despises them and calls them people of fears and dread.”

5. The short horizontal symbol under 在 is probably a punctuation mark. Also see strip one, note four.

6. The graphs 女天 probably stand for 若夫 to introduce a contrasted topic ‘(but) as for...’

女(若)夫政埜(刑)與惠以事上天, 此是才(哉), 女(若)天(夫)毋悉(愛)圭璧幣帛於山川, 毋乃不可 “As for fixing the right balance of punishment and reward to serve the grand Heaven, it is

right. But as for sparing no *gui* and *bi* fine jade and fine silk for the spirits of the mountains and rivers, this would probably not be acceptable.

The graph 女 [*nǚ* < **nra?* ‘woman’] stands for *ruò* < **nak* ‘like; compare with’ (若). The graph after the second 女(若), 天, is probably an error for 夫 due to graphic similarity.

Strip four

Transcription

幣帛於山川毋乃不可 ㄥ 夫山石 厶 為膚 木 厶 為民 女 天 不 雨 石 將 燹 ㄥ¹ 木 將 死 天 欲 雨 或 甚 於 我
或 必 恃 乎 名 乎² 夫 川 水 厶 為 膚 魚 厶

Edited text

幣帛於山川，毋乃不可。夫山石以為膚，木以為民，如天不雨，石將焦，木將死。其欲雨或甚於我，或必恃乎名乎？夫川水以為膚，魚以

Translation

(As for sparing no *gui* and *bi* fine jade ^{end of strip three}) or fine silk in making sacrifice to the mountains and rivers, this would probably not be acceptable. Mountains take rocks as their skin, take trees as their people. If it does not rain, the rocks will dry out, and the trees will die. Their longing for rain may be stronger than us, do they supposedly have to depend on the shouting of their names in a ceremony? Rivers take water as their skin, take fish

Notes

1. The graph 燹 is attested in the *Shuowen* (209a) as an allograph of 焦 *jiāo* < **tsau* ‘burn.’ The two symbols on this strip ㄥ are probably punctuation marks. See note five of strip three.

2. 或必恃(乎)名(乎) “Do they supposedly have to depend on the shouting of their names in a ceremony?”

Both the editor and Liu Lexian (2003) interpret *míng* 名 as ‘the names of the deities.’ I understand it as the shouting of the names of the deities in a ceremony in this context.

The editor reads 或 [*huò* < **wək*] as *hé* < **gâi* ‘what; why’ (何). Phonologically their OC are not compatible. Examples of using 或 to stand for *hé* < **gâi* ‘what; why’ (何) are rare in early texts. Also, *huò* 或 ‘in some case’ could imply uncertainty just as the same word is used in the previous sentence. Together with the intensifier 必 ‘necessarily’ and the final interrogation particle 乎, 或必...乎 “May it have to...?” could be a rhetorical question Zigong posted to Confucius.

Strip five

Transcription

為民女天不雨水將涸¹魚將死其欲雨或甚於我或必恃乎名乎?孔子曰:於乎²...

Edited text

為民,如天不雨,水將涸,魚將死。其欲雨或甚於我,或必恃乎名乎?孔子曰:於乎...

Translation

(Rivers take water as their skin, take fish^{end of strip four}) as their people. If it does not rain, water will dry up and the fish will die. Their longing for rain may be even stronger than ours, do they supposedly have to depend on the shouting of their names in a ceremony?” Confucius said: “Alas!..

Notes

1. The graph 沽 *gū* < **kâ* [‘sell (liquor)’] stands for *hé* < **gâk* ‘dry’ (涸).
2. The graph 乎 appears in many manuscripts in the Shanghai museum Chu strip collection. (Li Shoukui 2007, 65 and 265) Quite often it is found to stand for the final particle *hu* 乎. This strip is broken after 乎 and may have about twenty graphs missing.

Strip six

Transcription

公剗不餒¹初飮肉在毆亡女戾民可₋²



Edited text

公豈不飽梁食肉哉也! 無如庶民何!

Translation

...Will not the Commonlord feast on grain and gobble meat? There is nothing he can do about the common people.

Notes

1. The graph  is transcribed as 飯 in the *Wenzi bian*. ((Li Shoukui 2007, 274) The right part of this graph is not 反 (, *Laozi* A, strip twenty-two), but 支. I follow the editor's transcription and reading to take it as 餒 *bǎo* < **prû?* 'eat one's fill; be full (of food)' (飽). *Pū* < **pôk* 支 is probably the phonetic. There are cases of alternation between *pū* < **pôk* 支/卜 and *bāo* < **prû* 包 in received texts. (Gao Heng 1989, 365) For instance, in the *Shuowen* (60b) 鞞, 从革包聲, 讀若朴 "Páo is derived from *gě* (leather) with *bāo* as its phonetic. It is pronounced as *pǔ*."

2. 毆(也): *yì* 毆 is often considered an equivalent of the final particle 也. To combine the final particles *zai* 哉 and *ye* 也 in a question is not uncommon. For example, in the *Kongzi jia yu* 孔子家語 (19.125), 子路曰學豈益哉也? "Zilu said: 'How does study have any benefit?'"

The horizontal line after the last graph 可 probably indicates that this is the end of this account.

Transcription and Translation of the “Lu bang da han”

魯邦大旱，哀公謂孔子：子不為我圖之？孔子答曰：邦大旱，毋乃失諸刑與惠乎？唯...之何哉？孔子曰：庶民知斂之事鬼也，不知刑與德。如毋愛珪璧幣帛於山川，政刑與德...出遇子貢。曰：賜，尔聞巷路之言毋乃謂丘之答非歟？子貢曰：否也，吾子如重命其與！若夫政刑與德以事上天，此是哉。若夫毋愛珪璧幣帛於山川，毋乃不可。夫山石以為膚，木以為民，如天不雨，石將焦，木將死。其欲雨或甚於我，或必恃乎名乎？夫川水以為膚，魚以為民，如天不雨，水將涸，魚將死。其欲雨或甚於我，或必恃乎名乎？孔子曰：於乎...公豈不飽粱食肉哉也！無如庶民何。

The State of Lu had a great drought. Commonlord Ai said to Confucius: “Will you deal with it for me?” Confucius responded: “When a state has a great drought, would it not be due to the neglect of one’s duty in dispensing punishments and rewards? Only by...” “What can I do about this?” Confucius said: “The common people know about using the *dui* exorcism ceremony to serve spirits, but they do not know about the matter of punishments and rewards. If we do not spare the *gui* and *bi* jade or the fine silk in making sacrifice to the mountains and rivers, fix the right balance of punishments and [rewards]...” Confucius went out and encountered Zigong. He said: “Ci, as you hear the discussions in the alleys and roadways, wasn’t it that they refer to my response (to the lord) as being wrong?” Zigong said: “No. My master does join those who take commands seriously! As for fixing the right balance of punishments and rewards to serve the grand Heaven, it is right. As for sparing no *gui* and *bi* jade or fine silk in making sacrifice to the mountains and rivers, this would probably not be acceptable. Mountains take rocks as their skin, take trees as their people. If it does not rain, the rocks will dry out, and the trees will die. Their longing for rain may be even stronger than ours. Do they supposedly have to depend on the ritual shouting? Rivers take water as their skin, take fish as their people. If it does not rain, water will dry up and the fish will die. Their longing for rain may be even stronger than ours. Do they supposedly have to depend on the ritual shouting?” Confucius said: “Alas!...” Will not the Commonlord feast on grain and gobble meat? There is nothing he can do about the common people.”

3.2.2 Yanzi chunqiu 1.15

The conversations between Confucius and his lord and his disciple recorded in this manuscript are not found in any received texts. According to the *Chunqiu* Chronicle, the rain-making *yu* 雩 ceremony was performed in 480 B.C. in the State of Lu, which could be taken as an indication that there was a drought that year. That was only one year before Confucius died in 479 B.C. YZCQ 1.15 is the only received account that has matching paragraphs with the “Lubang da han,” but the conversation is between Yanzi and Lord Jing not Confucius and Zigong. Yanzi argued in this account that instead of making offerings to the spirits of the mountains and rivers, his lord should expose himself corporally in the wildness to evoke sympathy from the higher power to bring rain. This account is titled “Commonlord Jing wanted to make offerings to Mount Ling and the Earl of the River to request rain, Yanzi remonstrated” 景公欲祠靈山河伯以禱雨晏子諫. The YZCQ account is translated in its entirety below. The highlighted passage is the parallel with “Lu bang da han.”

齊大旱逾時，景公召群臣問曰：天不雨久矣，民且有饑色。吾使人卜，云，祟在高山廣水。寡人欲少賦斂以祠靈山，可乎？”群臣莫對。晏子進曰：“不可。祠此無益也。夫靈山固以石為身，以草木為髮，天久不雨，髮將焦，身將熱，彼獨不欲雨乎？祠之無益。”公曰：“不然，吾欲祠河伯，可乎？”晏子曰：“不可。河伯以水為國，以魚鱉為民，天久不雨，泉將下，百川竭，國將亡，民將滅矣，彼獨不欲雨乎？祠之何益？”景公曰：“今為之柰何？”晏子曰：“君誠避宮殿暴露，與靈山河伯共憂，其幸而雨乎！”于是景公出野居暴露。三日，天果大雨，民盡得種時。景公曰：“善哉！晏子之言，可無用乎，其維有德。”

Qi had great drought. It had extended for an unusually long time. Commonlord Jing summoned the assemblage of officials and asked: “It has been a long time since it did not rain. People also have hungry looks. I had someone make a divination about it. They said the baleful influence is located in the high mountains and wide rivers. I want to reduce taxes, and in the same way to make offerings to Mount Ling, is it acceptable?” None of his officials responded. Yanzi advanced and said: “We cannot do this. To make offerings to these spirits has no benefit. **Mount Ling definitely takes rocks as his body, takes grasses and trees as his hair. It does**

not rain for a long time, the hair will burn, the body will get hot. Is he the only one who does not want the rain? Making offerings to him has no benefit.” The Commonlord said: “If we do not do that, I want to make offerings to the Earl of the River, is this acceptable?” Yanzi said: “We cannot do this. The Earl of the River takes water as the state, takes fish and turtles as his people. It does not rain for a long time, springs will become low, hundreds of rivers will dry up and his state would have perished and people would have died out. Is he the only one who does not want the rain? What is the benefit in making offerings to them?”

Commonlord Jing said: “So what should we do about it?” Yanzi said: “If my lord conscientiously avoids palaces and mansions to expose yourself corporally outside and suffer together with Mount Ling and the Earl of the River, may it become fortunate and rain! ” Commonlord Jing then went out to stay in the wildness and exposed himself corporally. After three days, it indeed rained heavily and people were able to take full advantage of the planting season. Commonlord Jing said: “Wonderful! How could Yanzi’s words not be useful? It is nothing but his meritorious capabilities!”

Parallel between “Lu bang da han” and Yanzi chunqiu 1.15

The highlighted paragraph in the Yanzi episode matches strips four and five of “Lu bang da han.” The most significant difference between them in context is that it was Yanzi who pointed out that rituals were useless to relieve drought while in the “Lu bang da han” it was Zigong who was arguing with Confucius that he should not have suggested rituals to Lord Ai in drought relief.

The discussion in this section is an attempt to examine the significant textual variants and determine the relation of the two passages. The paragraph is divided into seven parts (A, B, C, D, E, F, G) for the convenience of discussion.

Table 3.2 The matching passage between “Lu bang da han” and *Yanzi chunqiu* 1.15.

“Lu bang da han” (strips four, five)	YZCQ 1.15
A 夫山石以為膚，木以為民	A 夫靈山固以石為身，以草木為髮
B 如天不雨，石將焦，木將死。	B 天久不雨，髮將焦，身將熱。
C 其欲雨或甚於我，或必恃乎名乎？	C 彼獨不欲雨乎？祠之無益。
D	D 公曰：不然，吾欲祠河伯，可乎？晏子曰：不可。
E 夫川水以為膚，魚以為民	E 河伯以水為國，以魚鱉為民
F 如天不雨，水將涸，魚將死。	F 天久不雨，泉將下，百川竭，國將亡，民將滅矣。
G 其欲雨或甚於我，何必恃乎名乎？	G 彼獨不欲雨乎？祠之何益！

A

M: 夫山石以為膚，木以為民 “Mountains take rocks as their skin, take trees as their people” ::

YZCQ: 夫靈山固以石為身，以草木為髮 “Mount Ling surely takes rocks as his skin, takes grass and trees as his hair.”

M: 山 ‘mountain (in general)’ :: YZCQ: 靈山 ‘Mount Ling (also called Mount Penglai)’

M: 木 ‘tree’ :: YZCQ: 草木 ‘grass and tree’.

YZCQ: 靈山 is more specific than M: 山. In style, many disyllabic phrases in YZCQ match single syllable words in M. Besides those two just mentioned we also have M: 川 ‘river’ ::

YZCQ: 河伯 ‘Earl of the River’ and M: 魚 ‘fish’ :: YZCQ: 魚鱉 ‘fish and turtle’ in line E. Both

M: 木, 川 and YZCQ: 草木, 魚鱉 refer to the plants and marine creatures in general. These

variants do not make a significant difference in meaning, but they make a difference in

rhetorical style. The proliferation of disyllabic words and phrases starts to become markedly

noticeable from the late Warring States period. (Dong Xiufang 2011) This preference in

disyllabic phrases in the received YZCQ could be a reflection of this development.

In M, the rocks and trees are compared to “skin” and “people” of mountains. In YZCQ they are compared to “body” and “hair.” “Body” and “hair” in the latter belong to the same general physical category, while M: “skin” is body part and “people” is a political entity. In this sense, the metaphors in YZCQ are semantically more uniform and politically more sophisticated than M. The same difference between the two texts can also be found in line E, with in M, water and fish being compared to “skin” and “people” again and in YZCQ they are being compared to “state” and “people.”

B

M: 如天不雨, 石將焦, 木將死 “If it does not rain, the rocks will dry out, trees will die” ::

YZCQ: 天久不雨, 髮將焦, 身將熱 “If it does not rain for a long time, its hair will burn, its body will get hot.”

In YZCQ the metaphor of comparing rocks and trees to a person’s hair and body is continued in this line, “its hair will burn, its body will get hot.” In M, the metaphor established in the previous line is not used, but the wording is similar to that of YZCQ.

C and G

M: 其欲雨或甚於我, 或必恃乎名乎? “Their longing for rain may be even stronger than us, do they supposedly have to depend on the name shouting in a ceremony?” :: YZCQ: 彼獨不欲雨乎, 祠之無益 “Do they on their own not want the rain? Making offerings to them has no benefit.”

In both texts the speakers are arguing that the mountains and rivers are also in great need of the rain themselves and therefore making offerings to them to request rain does not make sense.

Line G is basically a repetition of C, except that the second sentence in YZCQ is 祠之何益

“What is the benefit of making offerings to them?”

YZCQ is more straightforward and thus easier to understand than M. This variant can exclude the possibility of M being derived from YZCQ.

D

M: null :: YZCQ: 公曰: 不然, 吾欲祠河伯, 可乎? 晏子曰: 不可 “The Commonlord said: ‘If we do not do that, I want to make offerings to the Earl of the River, is this acceptable?’ Yanzi said: ‘We cannot do this.’”

In YZCQ, Lord Ai’s inquiries consist of two parts, first about performing rituals to the deities of Mountain Ling, then to the Earl of the River. Line D is a natural break and transition to the second part of this consultation. In M, it seems that Zigong articulated the whole paragraph to argue with his master without pausing.

E

M: 夫川水以為膚, 魚以為民 “The rivers take water as their skin and take fish as their people” ::

YZCQ: 河伯以水為國, 以魚鱉為民 “The Earl of the River takes water as the state, takes fish and turtles as his people.”

The variants in this line are very similar to those of line A. The metaphor of comparing water and fish and turtles to “state” and “people” in YZCQ is more consistent than the metaphor in M.

F

M: 如天不雨, 水將涸, 魚將死 “If it does not rain, the water will dry up, the fish will die” ::

YZCQ: 天久不雨, 泉將下, 百川竭, 國將亡, 民將滅矣 “If it does not rain for a long time, the

springs will become low, the hundreds of rivers will dry up and his state would have perished and people would have died out.”

The metaphor established in the previous line is continued in YZCQ, “the state would have perished and people would have died out” as in line B. YZCQ is slightly more elaborate than M with 泉將下百川竭 “the springs will become low, the hundreds of rivers will dry up.”

Although similar in overall structure and wording, the variants in the matching paragraphs in M and YZCQ suggest that YZCQ is more polished and straightforward than M in style and meaning, and that M and YZCQ probably have developed independently from the common source they have derived.

3.2.3 “Ritual Exposure” and “Good Governance” as Methods for Relieving Droughts in Early China

Three alternatives in alleviating droughts are discussed in the “Lu bang da han” and YZCQ 1.15: (i) make sacrifices to the deities of mountains and rivers, (ii) “fix the right balance between punishments and rewards” to improve government, (iii) the ruler himself performs a ritual exposure to evoke sympathy in Heaven to receive rain. All three approaches are recorded to have been widely practiced for drought relief in early China. In this section we will explore each of the three methods and the religious and philosophical ideologies reflected in them.

At the beginning of both texts, making offerings to the deities of mountains and rivers is the first remedy brought up. In the “Lu bang da han” it seems that it was Lord Ai who called forth using rituals to alleviate droughts. His words were missing from the manuscript due to the fragmentation of the strips, but Confucius’ response to his request, “the common people know

about using the *dui* exorcism ceremony to serve spirits, but they do not know about the matter of punishments and rewards,” suggests that the lord was probably worrying that if no ceremonies were performed for the deities his people would remain perturbed. This conversation suggests that for relieving drought making offerings to the nature deities was a widely practiced custom with a well-established folk basis.

In YZCQ, the diviner identified the “baleful influence” that had caused the drought as located in the mountains and rivers. Lord Jing then decided immediately to make offerings to Mount Ling and the Earl of the River to appease them. We know from the “Lu bang da han” that in a ritual such as this fine jade and silk would be used to serve the spirits of mountains and rivers. Besides material goods, dances and ritual performances are also recorded in the received texts as an essential part of a rain-making ceremony. The two ceremonies known as *yu* 雩 and *yong* 禳 are often associated with seeking rain.²⁴

Offering sacrifices and rituals to the nature deities as a way to mitigate drought is strongly opposed in both “Lubang da han” and YZCQ. In the “Lubang da han” Confucius suggested that his lord should fix the problems in governing as a response to the drought irrespective of whether or not rituals to nature deities should be performed at all. His approach was a compromise between the two, but he wanted to direct his lord’s attention to improving government instead of focusing on performing rituals. Zigong strongly disapproved of this position; he believed that making offerings was inadvisable. Yanzi also opposed offering sacrifices to the nature deities to relieve drought for the same reason that Zigong opposed it.

²⁴ For example, the *yu* was recorded to be performed in 567 and 564 in the *Chunqiu* [Xiang 5 and 8]; the *yong* was performed in 548 [Zhao 1].

The matching passage of the two texts explains the rationale that Zigong and Yanzi share in their argument. Both of them viewed the natural world as a parallel to human society instead of as a higher order people should appeal. Rocks, trees, water and fish are compared to the body parts and subordinates of the mountains and rivers. Zigong and Yanzi argued that the natural world was suffering just as the human society was and therefore the nature deities had no power to either initiate or lessen the drought. From these two accounts we can conclude that nature deities were once the object to appeal to in relieving drought, but by the time of mid Warring States period this belief and practice was no longer taken for granted but became the target of criticism. Zigong and Yanzi share the same ground when criticizing this nature deity approach, but they also differ in what methods they think advisable in dealing with drought.

Zigong argued that Confucius should not compromise and that improving government was the only proper way to relieve drought. This “better government” approach in dealing with natural disasters is widely discussed in received texts. For instance, in a well-known episode of rain-making in the *Zuozhuan* (Yang Bojun 1981, 639 [Xi 21]), Zang Wenzhong 臧文仲 (d. 617) advised his lord not to burn shamans and emaciated persons as part of rain-making sacrifice but to “repair the outer and inner walls of the city, reduce consumption and cut back on expenditures, devote yourself to agriculture and promote sharing.”²⁵ Zang Wenzhong’s practical

²⁵夏, 大旱。公欲焚巫尪。臧文仲曰: 非早備也。修城郭, 貶食省用, 務穡勸分, 此其務也。巫尪何為? 天欲殺之, 則如勿生; 若能為旱, 焚之滋甚。公從之。是歲也, 饑而不害。“In the summer there was a great drought. The Commonlord wanted to burn shamans and emaciated persons. Zang Wenzhong said: ‘This is not the proper way to prepare for a drought. Repair the outer and inner walls of the city, reduce consumption and cut back on expenditures, devote yourself to agriculture and promote sharing. These are the necessities to get prepared. How could shamans and emaciated persons have caused it? If Heaven desires to kill them, then it would have not given them life. If they were capable of causing drought, then burning them will make it worse. Commonlord Xi followed this advice. That year the state suffered from starvation but not real injury.’” The translation of this

measures brought positive outcomes, 是歲也, 饑而不害 “That year the state suffered from starvation but not real injury.” The efforts addressed to the human world did not avert the drought but effectively reduced the suffering of the people.

In the late Warring States period classic work *Xunzi* (third century B.C.) examples of the sagacious kings such as Yu and Tang are used to promote the idea that good governance can greatly mitigate a drought.²⁶ But at the same time the usefulness of ceremonies in accommodating the popular expectations is recognized, even as it is also made clear that the rituals themselves could not bring rain. This position is well explained in the passage in the chapter “Tian lun” 天論 (“Discussion of Heaven”) in the *Xunzi* with specific reference to drought relief:

雩而雨, 何也? 曰: 無何也, 猶不雩而雨也。日月食而救之, 天旱而雩, 卜筮然後決大事, 非以為得求也, 以文之也。故君子以為文而百姓以為神。以為文則吉, 以為神則凶也。

“If one performs the *yu* rain-making ceremony and it rains, what does this mean?” The reply: “This does not mean anything. It is the same as raining without performing the *yu* ceremony. When the sun or the moon goes into eclipse, people perform a rescue for it. When there is a drought, people perform the *yu* ceremony. Before we make decisions on important matters, we first crack (bones and shells) or make milfoil divinations. It is not the case that we depend on those practices to obtain what we seek. Rather, we do it in order to give them an attractive outward appearance. Therefore a junior lord takes it to be a matter of outward appeal, but the

passage together with that of the *Xunzi* are adapted from Csikszentmihalyi’s unpublished manuscript, “Views about the efficacy of offerings for rain and the Shanghai manuscript ‘Lu bang da han’” with revision. The belief that shamans and emaciated people can cause drought can be traced back to the oracle bone records of Shang. See “Shuo bu ci de fen wu wang yu zuo tu long” 說卜辭的焚巫尪與作土龍, (*Qiu Xigui xueshu wen ji* 裘錫圭學術文集, 2012), 194-205.

²⁶ Csikszentmihalyi’s unpublished manuscript “Views about the efficacy of offerings for rain and the Shanghai manuscript ‘Lu bang da han.’”

common people take it to be a matter of spirits. If one takes it to be a matter of cultural patterns, it is auspicious. If one takes it to be a matter of the spirits, it is inauspicious.”²⁷

According to the *Xunzi*, the ceremonies and divinations themselves do not solve any real problems. Instead, they are only measures to create an appealing appearance for many customs and therefore to maintain them. Common people do not know this and think the ceremonies performed for the deities help to achieve what they seek, but the elites should know that one couldn't rely on ceremonies to avert calamities such as a drought. This passage is an explicit explanation of the two separate beliefs, the folk belief and the elite one. The position in the *Xunzi* is that the two traditions can compromise but ceremonies should not be considered as being able to bring about a response to human requests.

This *Xunzi* passage resonates well with Confucius' position in the “Lubang da han.” When Confucius said “the common people know about using the *dui* ceremony to serve spirits, but they do not know about punishment and reward” (strip two), this is exactly the same kind of attitude *Xunzi* has on the matter of ceremony and government. In practice, Confucius took a compromise position: fixing the problems in governing as an attempt to relieve the drought, at the same time observing the customs and performing ceremonies to appease common people. Zigong was much more radical than his teacher on this matter and conformed totally with the elite approach by totally abandoning ceremonies in drought relief.

Yanzi's advice on drought relief presents a different approach. He advised the lord of Qi to expose himself corporally in the wilderness for three days, and it eventually brought rain. His suggestion of corporal exposure performed by a lord is another well-documented practice in

²⁷ Based on Knoblock's translation with revisions. *Xunzi jijie* 17.316; cf. Knoblock v.3, 19.

rain-making through Chinese history. Yanzi suggested “if my lord conscientiously wants to give up the comfort of palaces and mansions to expose yourself ritually outside and suffer together with Mountain Ling and the Earl of the River, may it become fortunate and rain! ” The details of this ritual exposure are not discussed in the YZCQ. The corporal exposure the lord practiced is probably a highly ritualistic ceremony, and it is most likely a gesture of giving up his own comfort to suffer together with his people and demonstrating his sincerity to plea to Heaven for rain.

Corporal exposure as a magical operation in bringing rain in ancient China is well examined in anthropological studies such as E.H. Schafer’s (1951) “Ritual exposure in ancient China.” Schafer examines many incidents of a ruler using ritual exposure for drought relief from the earliest time to mediaeval period. He also notes that complete or partial exposure of one’s body is not only performed for rain seeking, it is also a common practice in other customary rites such as a funeral ceremony. The belief in the spiritual power of nudity has a long tradition in both Chinese and western cultures. One of the examples he drew for comparison with the Chinese practice is that in the classical Mediterranean world, naked feet sometimes substituted for naked body with similar ritual meaning. The political meaning behind the ritual exposure in the YZCQ account seems to be that the ruler himself has to take personal responsibility of calamities and that he needs to demonstrate concern for his people and respond to Heaven directly.

Yanaka Shinichi 谷中信一 (2004) compares the two different approaches of relieving drought in the “Lu bang da han” and YZCQ and argues that the concept of “punishment and reward” in “Lu bang da han” is a relatively new political theory in the Warring States period, and the ritual exposure practice is already outdated at the time. Based on this judgment he suggests that “Lu

bang da han” is composed later than the Yanzi account. The problem with this argument is that the development of political and religious ideologies is usually not linear. As Schafer’s study has documented, although it sounds primitive, the tradition of ritual exposure was still frequently practiced even up to the medieval period, and it is not a practice only limited to the early periods or to aboriginal cultures. Using philosophical inclination to determine the relation among different texts is often very risky. In the textual study of the matching passage in “Lu bang da han” and Yanzi chunqiu, we have demonstrated that it is unlikely that either text had copied from the other. They probably have derived from a common source and then developed independently.

The common ground the “Lu bang da han” and YZCQ share in drought relief is probably that a ruler should play an active role in dealing with it, by either improving his governing or by sacrificing his own comforts to appeal to Heaven. Passively expecting the deities to respond to his imprecations by simply making an offering to them does not work. The similar advocate of calling upon the noble class to vigorously participate in political and public affairs is probably not unfamiliar to the readers of the Warring States period texts.

3.3 “Zhao wang hui shi” 昭王毀室 “King Zhao demolished his palace”

3.3.1 Transcription and Translation

The manuscript “Zhao wang hui shi” 昭王毀室 “King Zhao demolished the palace” is a narrative with a motif of “(a lord) demolishing a palace to allow for a commoner’s joint burial of his parents” which is also found in received texts such as YZCQ 2.20, 7.11 and *Liji* 3.3.

This manuscript has no title. “Zhao wang hui shi” is the title given by the editor, Chen Peifen 陳佩芬 (2004). It has five strips. Overall this account is relatively complete. Strips three and four are broken and might have several graphs missing at the end. On the last strip, after the end of “Zhao wang hui shi,” a new account starts. It is another narrative about King Zhao, “Zhao wang yu Gong Zhisun” 昭王與龔之雎 “King Zhao and Gong Zhisun.” The fact that both accounts are episodes about King Zhao is probably the reason they are copied continuously on the same strip.

Strip one

Transcription

邵王¹為室於死沮之澹²室既成廼裕³之王戒邦夫以飲⁴既⁵智祭⁵之王內廼裕又一君子殄備⁶曼廷⁷廼適閨⁸雎人⁸止之曰

Edited text

邵王為室於死沮之澹，室既成，將落之。王誡邦大夫以飲酒。既警示之，王入。將落。有一君子喪服闋廷，將適閨。雎人止之曰


Translation


King Zhao built a palace at the bank of the backwater of the Ju River. Right after the palace was finished, (the king) was about to perform the consecration ceremony for it. The king admonished the Grand Masters of the state not to indulge in drinking wine. After the king cautioned and notified the officials, he entered (the palace) and was about to perform the


consecration ceremony. There was a junior lord in mourning attire who intruded into the court and was about to come to the *gui* gate. The keeper of the *zhi* gate stopped him and said

Notes

1. The posthumous name of King Zhao of Chu (re. 515-489) is written as 昭 *zhāo* < **tiau* [‘bright’] in received texts such as the “Chu shi jia” 楚世家 chapter of the *Shiji*. M: 邵 [*shào* < **dauh* ‘eminent’] and *Shiji*: 昭 are graphic variation with shared phonetic.

2. 死泚(沮)之澹(澹) ‘the bank of the backwater of the Ju River.’ The graph  is one of the typical ways to write the word *sǐ* < **si?* ‘die’ (死) in Chu manuscripts. (Li Shoukui 2007, 213) Huang Ren’er 黄人二 (2008, 462) argues that this graph stands for *zhāng* < **taŋ* ‘Zhang River’ (漳). His basis is that the graph 死 probably stands for the word *zàng* < **tsâŋh* ‘bury’ (葬), and **tsâŋh* 葬 ‘bury’ and **taŋ* 漳 are phonologically compatible. The Zhang River is very close to the capital of Chu. It is often mentioned together with the Ju River 沮/睢 as one of the lands where the Chu ancestors inhabited in early texts. For instance, 宅兹泚(沮)章(漳) “(Our ancestors) built houses and settled at the Ju river and Zhang river areas.” (Song Huaqiang 宋華強 2010, 441) The problem with reading 死 as **taŋ* (漳) is that the OC of **si?* 死 and **taŋ* 漳 are not even close. Also, the graph 葬 in early writing does not have the 死 component either.

Zang ‘bury’ is usually written as  in the Warring States manuscripts, for instance (“Rong cheng shi,” strip thirty-three). Its phonetic is probably 𠂔 *chuáng* < **dzraŋ* [‘bed’].

Phonologically there is no basis to read  as *zhāng* < **taŋ* ‘Zhang River’ (漳), although it is an appealing candidate contextually.

The editor reads the graph 澁 as *xǔ* < **sraʔ* ‘abundant’ (澁), but does not provide a meaningful interpretation of the sentence. The same graph appears three times in the bamboo strips discovered in Geling 葛陵. In all three cases, 澁 stands for the name of the river, *jǔ* < **tsa* (沮). (Zhang Xinjun & Zhang Shengbo 2008, 184) Meng Pengsheng (2005) reads the next graph 澹 as *hǔ* < **hŋâʔ* ‘river bank’ (澹 or 澹), with 虍 *hǔ* < **hlâʔ* [‘tiger’] as the phonetic. *Sǐ shuǐ* 死水 might refer to ‘water that does not flow.’ The phrase 死澁(沮)之澹(澹) probably means ‘the bank of the backwater of the Ju River.’

3. Meng Pengsheng (2005) reads the graph 裕 as *luò* < **râk* ‘consecration ceremony performed when a palace is built’ (落). This reading makes perfect sense in the context. This *luò* ceremony followed immediately after King Zhao’s palace was built. 裕 and 落 have shared phonetic 各 *gè* < **kâk*. The deity classifier 示 of 裕 conveys the ritual nature of the consecration ceremony.

4. 王戒(誠)邦夫_一以飲_一 “The king admonished the Grand Masters of the state not to indulge in drinking wine.” The symbol _一 after 夫 and 飲 is a ligature mark. This mark implies that two graphs are written as one character and usually share a component they both have. 夫_一 is 大夫 ‘Grand Master’ and 飲_一 is 飲酉(酒) ‘drink wine.’

In the “Jiu gao” 酒誥 chapter of the *Shang Shu* 尚書, the Zhou nobles were warned that they should be restrained in consuming wine and that they could only drink on occasions such as a ritual ceremony. Drinking wine was probably expected during the *luo* consecration ceremony,

so the King of Chu was warning his vassals that they should not over drink.

5. Scholars have proposed several possible readings for 𠄎条. Zou Junzhi 鄒濬智 (2005, 44-45) reads it as 行裕(落) “perform the consecration ceremony.” Both Dong Shan (2005) and Qiu Dexiu 邱德修 (2005) read it as 釁落 “perform the blood sacrifice and consecration ritual.” Liu Hongtao (2006) reads it as 請落之 “(ritual officials) asked the king to perform the consecration ceremony for the palace.”

The graph 𠄎 stands for *jīng* < **kreŋ* (荊) in the “Rongcheng shi” 容成氏 (𠄎, strip twenty-six); and stands for *xíng* < **gêŋ* ‘the *xingyi* 刑夷 month in the Chu calendar’ (刑) in the Baoshan strips (𠄎, strip 197). Phonologically, none of these words proposed, *xíng* < **grâŋh* ‘carry out’ 行, *xìn* < **həns* ‘sacrifice sealed with blood’ 釁 or *qǐng* < **tshəŋ?* ‘request’ 請 are compatible with **g(k)eŋ*.

Most scholars read 条 as *luò* < **râk* (裕/落). They take the top component of this graph as a reduced form of 各. From the context we know that 𠄎条 happens between the king’s admonition on drinking wine and the consecration ceremony. 王戒邦大夫以飲酒, 既𠄎条之, 王入, 將落 “The king admonished the Grand Masters of the state not to indulge in drinking wine. After...the King entered and was about to perform the *luo* consecration ceremony.” The graphs 𠄎条 could stand for *jǐng* < **kreŋ?* *shì* < **gih* ‘caution and notify’ (警示). *Jǐng* means ‘warn’ 警, 戒也 (*Shuowen* 38). The phrase *jǐng shì* 警示 can be found in the *Shi ming* 釋名 (200 A.D., the *Sibucongkan* edition, 7.25), 爵室...如鳥雀之警示也 “*Jué shì* (as part of a boat)...is like birds and sparrows being alert and cautious.” In the context of this manuscript, 既𠄎条(警

示)之, 王入, 將落 “Right after (the king) cautioned and notified his officials (about drinking wine). The King entered and was about to perform the *luo* consecration ceremony” fits well.

6. The editor reads 𣦵備 as *sāng fú* < **sâŋ* **bək* ‘mourning garment’ (喪服). The graph 𣦵 is not attested in standard writing. The component 芒 *máng* < **mâŋ* [‘awn’] is most likely the phonetic. The editor points out that 備 is the registered *guwen* form of 服 in the *Shuowen* (176a). Both 備 *bèi* < **brək*h [‘complete’] and 服 are found to be used interchangeably in early texts to stand for the word **bək* ‘garment.’ (Zhang Jiling 2007, 50)

7. Liu Hongtao (2007) reads 𣦵 [man < **mâns* ‘extended’] as *lán* < **rân* ‘enter a palace without permission’ (闌). The graph 闌 is not used in the standard writing anymore. In the *Shuowen* (249), 闌, 妄入宮掖也, 从門繼聲, 讀若闌 “*Lán* means entering the side gate of a palace without permission. It is derived from *mén*, and *luán* is the phonetic. It is pronounced *lán*.” Liu Hongtao cites many examples in the Han texts to show that *lán* 闌 is used as a common verb with the meaning of ‘enter/exit a palace or pass without official permission.’ Phonologically 𣦵 **mâns* and 闌 **rân* are compatible. Contextually “entering a palace without permission” is exactly the word expected here. Right before the ceremony for the new palace, a man in mourning attire intruded the court of the palace (*lán tíng* 闌廷) without permission and was stopped by the gate keeper.

8. The phrase *shì guī* 逝閨 means ‘arrive at the *guī* gate.’ The graph 逝 is not attested in the standard writing system, but it is a common word meaning ‘arrive’ in many Chu manuscripts. (Zhang Jiling 2007, 51-52) The phonetic is most likely 石 *shí* < **dak*. In transmitted texts, this

word is often written as 適 *shì* < **tek* or 蹠 *zhí* < **tak*. *Guī* 閨 means ‘interior or secondary door leading to inner apartments.’

9. Most scholars agree that the phrase 糴人 refers to some kind of gatekeeper of the palace, but suggest different readings for the graph 糴. Meng Pengsheng (2005) suggests that 糴 stands for *sì* < **s-ləh* (寺), and *sì rén* 寺人 are eunuchs serving as messengers in a palace or court. Wei Yihui 魏宜輝 (2005) reads 糴 as *hūn* < **hmân* (閽), and *hūn rén* 閽人 are the gatekeepers in a king’s palace according to the “Tian guan” 天官 chapter of the *Zhou li* 周禮. Phonologically, neither **s-ləh* 寺 or **hmân* 閽 is not perfectly compatible with 稚 *zhì* < **dri?* [‘young’]. Zheng Yushan 鄭玉珊 (2005) points out that *zhì mén* 雉門 is one of the five gates of a king’s palace, and she proposes that *zhì rén* 糴(雉)人 is the keeper of the *zhì* gate. This reading fits the context well. According to the reconstruction of early palaces by Qing scholars based on received texts, the *zhì* gate is a pass connected to the court (*ting* 廷). The figure below is an abbreviated illustration of the building structure of early imperial palaces adapted from Huang Ren’er’s (2008, 465) paper.

lu qin (“the grand dwelling palace” 路寢)

] the *lu* gate [

(路門)

] the *ying* gate [

(應門)

] **the *zhi* gate** [

(雉門)

court (*ting* 廷)

] the *ku* gate [

(庫門)

] the *gao* gate [

(皋門)

In the manuscript the person in mourning garments “intruded into the court without permission” and then the gatekeeper at *zhì*, the *zhì rén* 雉(雉)人, stopped him.

10. The symbol = in 止_ is a ligature mark. 止_ stands for 止之 ‘stop him.’ The words 止 (*zhǐ* < *təʔ) and 之 (*zhī* < *tə) are close both graphically and phonologically.

Strip two

Transcription

君王台內室君之備不可么進不止_曰少人之告繆¹ 酒劇於含日² 尔必止_少_人³ 酒酌寇⁴ 雉
人弗敢止_至

Edited text


“君王始入室，君之服不可以進。”不止。曰：“小人之告^纒將斷於今日。尔必止小人，小人將召寇。”雉人弗敢止。至




Translation

The lord just entered the palace. Your (mourning) attire is not suitable to get in.” (He) did not stop, and said: “My reporting of...will be cut off today. If you have to stop me, I will summon the bandits.” The keeper of the *zhì* gate did not dare to stop him. (He) arrived at

Notes



1. The graph  (纒) is not attested in the standard writing system. The editor transcribes it as

. Yang Zesheng 楊澤生 (2005) identifies 夔 as the phonetic of this word and reads it as *biǎn* < **prams* ‘bury’ (窆). *Gào biǎn* 告窆 means ‘inform (relatives and acquaintances) the date of the burying.’ Zou Junzhi (2005, 47) reads  as *xǐng* < **senʔ* ‘inspect’ (省). Phonologically **senʔ* 省 and *shēng* < **sren* 生 are compatible (with the assumption that 生 is the phonetic of ). Zou Junzhi interprets *gào xǐng* 告省 as ‘report (one’s) case.’ There are two concerns with his interpretation. First, there is no precedent identified to use the two words together meaning ‘report a case’ in early texts. Second, if **sren* ‘inspect’ (省) is the word intended, as a high frequency word why is it written in this very complex way? The graph remains as an unsolved problem.

2. 剗(斷)於舍(今)日 “It will be cut off today.” According to the *Shuowen* (300a) 剗 is the *guwen* 古文 form of *duàn* < **tônʔ* ‘cut off; settle a lawsuit’ (斷). In the Chu legal manuscripts discovered at Baoshan, 剗 means ‘settle a lawsuit’ (strip seventeen). *Duàn* 斷 here could mean

‘cut off; determine’ and it may refer to some burial procedure in this context. The exact meaning of this line is not clear.

3. The symbols after the two words 少 = 人 = are repetition marks. They suggest the same phrase 少人(小人) is repeated once.

4. The phrase 訇(召)寇(寇) probably means ‘summon bandits.’ The invader in mourning garments was threatening the gatekeeper that he would summon bandits to attack the palace if he was not allowed to enter. The graph 訇 is not commonly used in early texts. Yu Zhihui 俞志慧 (2005) reads 訇 [*diào* < **tiâu*kh ‘take’] as *zhāo* < **drauh* ‘summon’ (召) and provides four examples of *zhāo kòu* 召寇 ‘summon bandits’ used as a phrase in early texts to support this reading. For instance, in the *Xunzi*, 聚斂者, 召寇, 肥敵, 亡國, 危身之道也 “To (over-)collect and gather wealth is the way to provoke bandits, strengthen the rivals, perish one’s own state and endanger oneself.” (*Xunzi jijie*, 5.154)

Strip 3

Transcription

閔 𠂔 命 尹 墜 眚¹ 為 見 日² 告³ 僕 之 母 辱^(break) 君 王 不 狀⁴ 僕 之 父 之 骨 才 於 此 室 之 階 下 僕 將 壇 塈⁵
亡 老...

Edited text


閔。𠂔令尹陳眚為視日，告：“僕之母辱君王，不幸僕之父之骨才於此室之階下，僕將壇塈亡老...

Translation

(He arrived at) the *gui* gate. The commander of the divination ceremony, Chen Xing, served as the presiding officer. (The intruder) reported: “I would not bring any insult to our lord. Unfortunately the bones of my father are under the steps of this palace. I would build an alter for my deceased parents...”

Notes

1. *Lìng yǐn* 命(令)尹 ‘chief governor’ as an official title at Chu is commonly seen in transmitted and excavated texts. The graph 𠄎 appears many times in the Baoshan legal manuscripts, often combined with official titles such as *yǐn* 尹 and *lìng shǐ* 令史. Based on the documents from Baoshan Fan Changxi (2005) proposes that *bǔ* 𠄎 is probably a legal institution, and officials working at *bǔ* can submit and report lawsuits to the *yǐn* ‘governor’ 尹 or the king. I translate *bǔ lìng yǐn* into “commander of the divination ceremony.” Most scholars take the phrase after *bǔ lìng yǐn* 𠄎令尹, Chen Xing 陳省, as the name of the official.

2. The graph  stands for *shì* < *gi? ‘look’ (視). The term *shì rì* 視日 appears in the Baoshan legal manuscript six times. There are two kinds of interpretations of *shì rì*. Some scholars interpret it as a respectful way to address a superior such as the *zuǒ yǐn* 左尹 ‘Governor on the left’ (Tan Buyun 譚步雲), the king (Jia Jidong 賈繼東) or the court officials (Chen Weizhan 陳炜湛). The second interpretation of *shì rì* is that it is an official title (Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, Teng Rensheng 滕壬生, Huang Xiquan 黃錫全). (Zhang Jiling 2007, 85-42)

Fan Changxi (2005) argues that *shì rì* is a legal term in the Baoshan manuscripts, referring to the presiding officer of a given case. When it was the king of Chu who was supervising the case

the *shì rì* was referring the king; when it were other officials *shì rì* was referring to these presiding officers. Fan's reading of the line in this manuscript is 讎命尹陳耆為視日 “The commander of the ceremony divination ceremony, Chen Xing, served as the *shì rì*.”

In his earlier study of the Baoshan manuscripts, Chen Wei takes *shì rì* as the way to address the king of Chu, after the “Zhao wang huishi” was published he also identifies that *bǔ lìng yǐn* and the *shì rì* are the same person, but he suggests that *shì rì* is not the presiding officer of a lawsuit; instead, their responsibility is to report cases directly to the king. They are messengers for the king. (Chen Wei 2005)



Both hypotheses make good sense in the context in this manuscript, but the terse context of the manuscript does not allow us to elaborate with confidence what duty *shì rì* is associated with exactly. I tentatively follow Fan's interpretation and translate *shì rì* into ‘the presiding officer (of a case).’

3. The word *gào* 告 here is probably more of legal term meaning ‘report a case’ than just ‘tell.’

In the Baoshan legal manuscript, 僕不敢不告於視日 “I do not dare to not report to the presiding officer” seems to be a formulaic line appearing at the beginning and the end of several reports of lawsuits by plaintiffs. So *gào* here is probably a term meaning ‘report a case to an authority.’ We have noticed that when the intruder talked to the gatekeeper he referred to himself as *xiao rén* ‘the petty one;’ when he encountered the *bǔ lìng yǐn* and started to state his plea, a more formal self-deprecatory expression, *pǔ* 僕 (僕) ‘I, the servant,’ was used.

4. The editor transcribes 𨾏 as 𨾏 and reads it as *nì* < **ɲrak* ‘go against’ (逆) and notes that *bú nì* 不逆 is sort of a modest expression without providing a clear definition. Chen Jian (2005)

transcribes it as 𤝵 and reads it as *xìng* < **grêŋʔ* ‘fortunate’ (幸). The word *xìng* ‘fortunate’ (幸)

is written as  (*Qin jian wenzibian* 秦簡文字編, 749) or  (Mawangdui, strip 247) in the

writing of Qin and early Han. Chen Jian identifies the top top as 犬 and the bottom part as the same as the left component of 𤝵. In the *Shuowen* (214) *xìng* ‘fortunate’ (幸) is written as 𤝵.

Chen Jian believes that 夭 and 𠂔 are actually graphic confusions with 犬 and 𦍋. Chen Jian

reads the line under discussion as 僕之母(毋)辱君王, 不幸僕之父之骨在於此室之階下 “I would not bring humiliation to our lord. Unfortunately the bones of my father are under the steps of this palace.”

Scholars such as Liu Lexian (2005) also take *mǔ* 母 ‘mother’ at face value. He reads the line as

僕之母辱^(break)...君王不逆僕之父之骨在於此室之階下 “My mother brings humiliation

to...Our lord did not anticipate my father’s bones were under the steps of this palace.” This strip

is pieced together from two fragments. The first piece ends with 辱. Liang Jing (2006) also

believes there are probably words missing between 辱 and 君. I tentatively follow Chen Jian’s reading.

5. The editor reads 𤝵 [*tán* < **lâm*, if 炎 is taken as the phonetic] as *dàn* < **lâmʔ* ‘eat’ (啖) and interprets it as “offering food to the deceased in a ceremony.” Liu Lexian (2005) reads it as *yǎn* < **ʔamʔ* ‘cover’ (掩). Phonologically the initials of **ʔamʔ* 掩 and **lâm* 𤝵 are not compatible.

Meng Pengsheng (2005) reads it as *dàn* < **lâmʔ* ‘the ritual at the end of the mourning’ (禫). He provides many examples of words with 𦍋 and 炎 as phonetics used interchangeably, and notes that the *dàn* 禫 ritual is usually performed twenty seven months after the burial, and it is the

official ending point of mourning and indicates that the family of the deceased will resume their routine life after this ritual. If the word intended here is *dàn*, it implies that all the ritual ceremonies for the mother of the intruder are performed except for the last *dàn* ritual. On strip four, the man in the mourning attire requested to put his father and his mother's remains together. There is a possibility that he sees this as the last chance to reburial his mother with his father before the mourning for his mother officially ends. But this is just a speculation without knowing all the ritual procedures of a reburial in detail.

Another possibility to take 埙 at face value. The graph 埙 is an alternative form of *tán* < **dân* 'altar' (壇). The phrase 埙亡老 could mean 'build an altar for my deceased parents.'

Strip four

Transcription

以僕之不尋并僕之父母之骨亼自博¹ 讎命尹不為之告君不為僕告僕將召寇讎命尹為之告...

Edited text

以僕之不得并僕之父母之骨，私自祔。”讎令尹不為之告君。“不為僕告，僕將召寇。”讎令尹為之告...

Translation

...Since I cannot put my parents' bones together, I will bury them together without permission." The commander of the divination ceremony did not report for him. "If you do not report this for me, I will summon bandits." The commander of the divination ceremony reported it for him...

Notes

1. The editor reads 博 as *fū* < **pha* 'spread widely' (敷) but provides no interpretation of the sentence. Shan Yuchen 單育辰 (2008) reads it as *fū* < **boh* 'bury the recently deceased with

the ancestor' (祔). The phonetics 付 and 專 are often found in graphs that stand for the same words. (Gao Heng 1989, 365-368) *Fù* 祔 fits the context well.

Strip five

Transcription

曰廋不暫兀尔墓₁ 尔古須₂ 既落₃ 安從事王遲尻₄ 於坪滿₅ 以夫₆ 飲₇ 於坪滿₈ 因命至俑₉ 毀₁₀ 室₁₁

Edited text

曰：“吾不知其尔墓。尔姑須。既落，焉從事。”王徙居於坪滿，卒以大夫飲酒於坪滿。因命掙墉毀室。

Translation

(The king) said: “I did not know about your grave. You just wait for a moment. After the *luo* consecration ceremony is finished, you can carry out your business.” The king moved to Pingman, and eventually drank with the masters at Pingman. He then ordered people to pull down the walls and demolish the palace.

Notes

1. The editor reads 墓 as *zàng* < **tsân* ‘bury.’ Meng Pengsheng (2005) identifies 莫 [*mò* < **mâkh*] as the phonetic and reads the graph as *mù* < **mâkh* ‘grave’ (墓).

The symbols _ after 墓 and after 坪滿 on this strip probably function as punctuation marks.

Also see note on this symbol on strip eight in the “Jing gong nùe.”

2. The editor reads 古須 as 古鬚 *gǔ xū* < **kâ?* **sno* and interprets it as ‘at an advanced age.’

Meng Pengsheng (2005) reads it as 姑須 *gū xū* < **kâ* **sno* ‘wait for the time being.’ Meng’s reading and interpretation make good sense in the context.

3. The graph 裕 is probably a variant of *luò* ‘the consecration ceremony’ (落). The same word is written as 裕 on strip one.

4. The editor reads the graph 逡 as *xǐ* < **se?* ‘move’ (徙). A similar graph 逡 (𨔵, Baoshan, strip 250) appears in the Baoshan and Guodian manuscripts, and the words intended all seem to be *xǐ* (徙). (Liu Zhao 2008, 97)

The graph 厖 is usually read as *jū* < **ka* ‘stay at’ (居) or *chǔ* < **k-hla?* ‘dwell’ (處). The editor suggests reading 逡厖 as *xǐ jū* 徙居 ‘change the dwelling.’

5. The editor interprets 俑 *yǒng* < **loŋ?* [‘grave figure’] as the name of a person or an official title, which has no direct support in the context. Chen Jian reads it as *yōng* < **loŋ* ‘hired labor’ (傭), and interprets the phrase *zhì yōng* 至(致)傭 as ‘gather hired labor.’ Zhang Chongli (2007a) interprets *zhì yōng* 致傭 as ‘send grave figures as gift (to the intruder).’ Zhao Yuansu 趙苑夙 (2013, 20-21) reads 至傭 as *zhì yōng* < **trit *loŋ* 搥墻 ‘pound/strike the walls.’ All three readings are possible. The last one fits in the context most naturally, and I therefore follow Zhao’s reading.

6. The symbol _ at the end the sentence seems to mark the end of this account. After this mark a new account about King Zhao starts.

Transcription and Translation of the “Zhao wang hui shi”

邵王為室於死沮之澣，室既成，將落之。王誠邦大夫以飲酒。既警示之，王入。將落。有一君子喪服闋廷，將適閨。雉人止之曰：“君王始入室，君之服不可以進。”不止。曰：“小人之告^繆將斷於舍日。尔必止小人，小人將召寇。”雉人弗敢止。至閨。讎令尹陳嘗為視日，告：“僕之毋辱君王，不幸僕之父之骨才於此室之階下，僕將壇亡老...以僕之不得并僕之父

母之骨，私自祔。” 讎令尹不為之告君。“不為僕告，僕將召寇。” 讎令尹為之告... 曰：“吾不知其尔墓。尔姑須。既落，焉從事。” 王徙居於坪藹，卒以大夫飲酒於坪藹。因命搥墉毀室。

King Zhao built a palace at the bank of the backwater of the Ju River. Right after the palace was finished, (the king) was about to perform the consecration ceremony for it. The king admonished the Grand Masters of the state not to indulge in drinking wine. After the king cautioned and notified the officials, he entered (the palace) and was about to perform the consecration ceremony. There was a junior lord in mourning attire who intruded into the court and was about to come to the *gui* gate. The keeper of the *zhi* gate stopped him and said: “The lord just entered the palace. Your (mourning) attire is not suitable to get in.” (He) did not stop, and said: “My reporting of...will be cut off today. If you have to stop me, I will summon the bandits.” The keeper of the *zhi* gate did not dare to stop him. (He) arrived at the *gui* gate. The commander of the divination ceremony, Chen Xing, served as the presiding officer. (The intruder) reported: “I would not bring any insult to our lord. Unfortunately the bones of my father are under the steps of this palace. I would build an altar for my deceased parents...since I cannot put my parents’ bones together, I will bury them together without permission.” The commander of the divination ceremony did not report for him. “If you do not report this for me, I will summon bandits.” The commander of the divination ceremony reported it for him...(The king) said: “I did not know about your grave. You just wait for a moment. After the consecration ceremony is finished, you can carry out your business.” The king moved to Pingman, and eventually drank with the masters at Pingman. He then ordered people to pull down the walls and demolish the palace.

3.3.2 *The Motif of “demolishing palace for joint burial” and Yanzi chunqiu 2.20, 7.11 and Liji*

3.3

The motif of someone’s parent happening to be buried under a lord’s palace is a common theme that is not only seen in the “Zhao wang hui shi” but also found in received texts such as

YZCQ 2.20, 7.11 and *Liji* 3.3.²⁸ A discussion of this literary motif will follow the translations of these three accounts.

(1) *Yanzi chunqiu* 2.20

景公路寢臺成逢于何願合葬晏子諫而許 “The terrace of the grand residential palace of Commonlord Jing was finished. Feng Yuhe requested to have a joint burial of his parents. After Yanzi remonstrated, the lord granted it.”

景公成路寢之臺，逢于何遭喪，遇晏子于途，再拜乎馬前。晏子下車挹之，曰：“子何以命嬰也？”對曰：“于何之母死，兆在路寢之臺牖下，願請命合骨。”晏子曰：“嘻！難哉！雖然，嬰將為子復之。適為不得，子將若何？”對曰：“夫君子則有以，如我者儕小人，吾將左手擁格，右手捫心，立餓枯槁而死，以告四方之士曰：‘于何不能葬其母者也。’”晏子曰：“諾。”遂入見公，曰：“有逢于何者，母死，兆在路寢，當如之何？願請合骨。”公作色不說，曰：“古之及今，子亦嘗聞請葬人主之宮者乎？”晏子對曰：“古之人君，其宮室節，不侵生民之居。臺榭儉，不殘死人之墓，故未嘗聞諸請葬人主之宮者也。今君侈為宮室，奪人之居，廣為臺榭，殘人之墓，是生者愁憂，不得安處，死者離易，不得合骨。豐樂侈遊，兼傲生死，非人君之行也。遂欲滿求，不顧細民，非存之道。且嬰聞之，生者不得安，命之曰蓄憂；死者不得葬，命之曰蓄哀。蓄憂者怨，蓄哀者危，君不如許之。”公曰：“諾。”晏子出，梁丘據曰：“自昔及今，未嘗聞求葬公宮者也，若何許之？”公曰：“削人之居，殘人之墓，凌人之喪而禁其葬，是于生者無施，于死者無禮。詩云：‘穀則異室，死則同穴。’吾敢不許乎？”逢于何遂葬其母路寢之牖下，解衰去絰，布衣滕履，元冠芘武，踊而不哭。蹙而不拜，已乃涕洟而去。

Commonlord Jing finished building the terrace of the grand residential palace. Feng Yuhe had a funeral at that time.²⁹ Feng encountered Yanzi on the way. He bowed twice before Yanzi's horse. Yanzi got off the chariot, hands clasped and said: "What can I do for you?" Feng responded: "My mother died. Her burial site is under the terrace window of the grand residential palace. I wish you could ask on my behalf to put my parents' bones together." Yanzi said: "Oh! This would be difficult! Even so I will convey this back to the lord for you. If it is simply impossible, what will you do?" Feng responded: "If it is a junior lord he must

²⁸ Dong Shan first identifies these three paragraphs in YZCQ and *Liji*. See Dong Shan 2005.

²⁹ Feng Yuhe 逢于何 as a person is not found in other early texts.

have some means to manage it, for a trivial person like me I will grasp the hearse-coffin handles with my left hand, beat my chest with my right hand; I will stand and starve myself until I am desiccated and dried out to death. By doing this I am telling the scholars of the four quarters that Yuhe cannot bury his mother.” Yanzi said: “I agree.” Then he went inside to meet Commonlord Jing and said: “There is a man called Feng Yuhe. His mother died. Her burial site is under the grand residential palace. What should we do about this? Could you allow him to put the bones of his parents together?” The Commonlord changed his complexion and became unhappy. He said: “From antiquity till now, have you ever once heard of asking to bury someone under a lord’s palace?” Yanzi responded: “As for the rulers in the past, their palaces and dwellings were modest and they did not trespass on the residences of the living; their terraces and pavilions were restrained and they did not destroy the graves of the dead. Therefore requesting to bury someone under the palace of a lord has never been heard of. Now my lord establishes extravagant palaces and buildings, appropriates people’s residences to expand your terraces and pavilions, and destroys people’s graves. This brings worries and concerns to the living so that they cannot live in peace, and keeps the dead separated and apart so that they cannot be buried together. To be excessive in pursuing pleasures and entertainments, overbearing with both the living and the dead, this is not proper for a sovereign. To follow one’s desires and indulge every yearning without considering the masses this is not the way to sustain one’s state. Moreover I have heard that when the living cannot pass their days in comfort, we call this ‘allowing the grief to grow;’ when the dead cannot be buried properly, we call this ‘allowing the sorrow to grow.’ Allowing the grief to grow leads to resentment; allowing the sorrow to grow leads to insecurity. I would suggest my lord to grant it.” The Commonlord said: “Granted.” Yanzi went out. Liangqiu Ju said: “From the past till now, I have never heard of people asking to bury somebody under a lord’s palace. Why did you grant it?” The Commonlord said: “If we cut back people’s residences, destroy people’s graves, interfere with people’s funerals and forbid their burials, this is not showing compassion to the living, nor ceremony to the dead. The *Odes* says: ‘when alive, we stay in different houses. When dead, we share the same grave.’ How dare I not grant it? Feng Yuhe then buried his mother under the window of the grand residential palace. He took off his mourning garment, removed his mourning cap. In his plain clothes, straw sandals and purple

cap with violet sash, Feng did the ritual hopping but did not cry out loud. He did the ceremonial side stepping but did not bow. After that he then sobbed and left.

(2) *Yanzi chungiu* 7.11

景公臺成盆成适願合葬其母晏子諫而許 “The terrace of Commonlord Jing was finished.

Pencheng Kuo requested to have a joint burial of his mother with his father. Yanzi remonstrated the lord and was granted.”³⁰

景公宿于路寢之宮，夜分，聞西方有男子哭者，公悲之。明日朝，問于晏子曰：“寡人夜者聞西方有男子哭者，聲甚哀，氣甚悲，是奚為者也？寡人哀之。”晏子對曰：“西郭徒居布衣之士盆成适也。父之孝子，兄之順弟也。又嘗為孔子門人。今其母不幸而死，祔柩未葬，家貧，身老，子孺，恐力不能合祔，是以悲也。”公曰：“子為寡人弔之，因問其偏柩何所在。”晏子奉命往弔，而問偏之所在。盆成适再拜，稽首而不起，曰：“偏柩寄于路寢，得為地下之臣，擁札摻筆，給事宮殿中右陛之下，願以某日送，未得君之意也。窮困無以圖之，布唇枯舌，焦心熱中，今君不辱而臨之，願君圖之。”晏子曰：“然。此人之甚重者也，而恐君不許也。”盆成适蹶然曰：“凡在君耳！且臣聞之，越王好勇，其民輕死；楚靈王好細腰，其朝多餓死人；子胥忠其君，故天下皆願得以為子。今為人子臣而離散其親戚，孝乎哉？足以為臣乎？若此而得祔，是生臣而安死母也；若此而不得則臣請輓尸車而寄之于國門外宇雷之下，身不敢飲食，擁轅執輅，木乾鳥栖，袒肉暴骸，以望君愍之。賤臣雖愚，竊意明君哀而不忍也。”晏子入，復乎公，公忿然作色而怒曰：“子何必患若言而教寡人乎？”晏子對曰：“嬰聞之，忠不避危，愛無惡言。且嬰固以難之矣。今君營處為游觀，既奪人有，又禁其葬，非仁也；肆心傲聽，不恤民憂，非義也。若何勿聽？”因道盆成适之辭。公喟然太息曰：“悲乎哉！子勿復言。”適使男子袒免，女子髮笄者以百數，為開凶門，以迎盆成适。适脫衰經，冠條纓，墨緣，以見乎公。公曰：“吾聞之，五子不滿隅，一子可滿朝，非適子耶！”盆成适于是臨事不敢哭，奉事以禮。畢，出門，然後舉聲焉。

³⁰ Pencheng Kuo 盆成适 as a name also appears in the *Mengzi* (15.75): 盆成括仕於齊。孟子曰：“死矣盆成括！”

Pencheng Kuo served as an official in Qi. Mengzi said: “Pencheng Kuo has already been dead!”

The last graphs of the names in YZCQ (适 *kuò* < **kwât* ‘fast’) and in the *Mengzi* (括 *kuò* < **kwât* ‘bind’) could be graphic variation. But the two names cannot be referring to the same person since Yanzi (d. 500) lived in the sixth century B.C., while Mengzi (372- 289) was active during the second half of the fourth century B.C., and the gap between them is more than a hundred years. The Pencheng Kuo appearing in the two texts is either a coincidence of two people having the same name or is suggesting that one of the texts has been influenced by the other in the course of transmission.

Commonlord Jing stayed over at the grand residential palace. At midnight he heard a man crying in the west. The Commonlord was moved by this. The next day at court, he asked Yanzi: “I heard a man crying in the west during the night. His voice was very sad, his emotion was very grievous. Why was this happening? I felt sad for him.” Yanzi responded: “It was Pencheng Kuo who is a simple scholar without official status living in the western district of the city. He is a filial son to his father, an obedient younger brother to his elder brothers. He had also been Confucius’ student. Now his mother has unfortunately passed away. She has not been buried yet with her late husband. His circumstances are poor. He himself is aged but his children are still young. He was worried that he had no means to bury his mother with his father. Because of this he was grieved.” The Commonlord said: “Please express my condolences to him for me, and then ask where the father’s grave is located.” Yanzi accepted the instruction to go to pay condolences and asked where his father’s grave was located. Pencheng Kuo bowed again, his head touched the ground and did not get up and said: “The grave was attached to the grand residential palace, and my father was able to become the servant of our lord underground. He was surrounded by documents, grasped writing brushes and served under the right hand steps of the palace.³¹ I wish to send my mother off one of these days, but have not yet received permission of our lord. I am poor and have no means to deal with it. My lips are as coarse as cloth, my tongue is as stiff as a stick. My belly is filled with burning desire. Now you do not feel dishonored and come to me, I beg you to help me to deal with it.” Yanzi said: “I understand. This is a really important matter to everyone, but I am afraid our lord may not allow it.” Pencheng Kuo said in a very irritated way: “It is all up to our lord. Moreover I have heard that the King of Yue favored bravery, his people took death lightly; King Ling of Chu favored a slim waist, his court had many starving people; Zixu was loyal to his lord, the sub-celestial realm all wanted to have him as son.³² Now I am serving as people’s subject and son, but my parents are set apart, how is this filial? Can I claim myself to

³¹ This passage means that since his father’s grave was covered right under the palace, the late father then was still serving the lord after his death. “He was surrounded by documents, grasping writing brushes” could be sarcasm.

³² The last unit in this parallel passage is probably a textual corruption. Wang Niansun (*Dushu zazhi*, YZCQ 2.22b) pointed out that in the “Qin ce” of the *Zhanguo ce* a similar passage can be found: “Ziwu was loyal to his lord, the sub-celestial realm all wanted to have him as vassal. Xiaoji cared about his parents, the sub-celestial realm all wanted to have him as son” (子胥忠其君，天下皆欲以為臣；孝己愛其親，天下皆欲以為子). Wang argued that the two sentences in bold font might have been missing from the original Yanzi text. Liu Shipai agreed and used the Yanzi text cited in the encyclopedia *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 to support Wang’s emendation. (*Jishi*, 461)

be a servant of our lord? If as what was said and I get to bury my parents jointly, then this will revive me and comfort my deceased mother. If not, I would request to pull the coffin carriage and put it under to the eave outside the state gate. I would not dare to drink or eat, but stand between the harness pulls and grasp the carriage bar. I will dry up like a piece of wood with birds perching on me, expose my flesh and bare my skeleton to provoke my lord to pity on me. Although your unworthy servant is surely stupid, I privately expect that our perceptive sovereign would feel sorry for me and would not be able to bear this.” Yanzi entered and reported back to the Commonlord. The Commonlord changed his complexity angrily and became irritated, saying: “Why are you so concerned about this kind of statement and presume to persuade me?” Yanzi responded: “I have heard that if an advisor is loyal he will not avoid taking risks, if a lord really is caring he will not find the speech distasteful. I surely understand this would be a difficult situation. Now my lord built residential palace for the purpose of recreation and pastime. Right after appropriating people’s possessions you forbid their burial. This is not humane. You unbridle your desires and refuse to take advice, show no pity on people’s concerns. This is not proper behavior. Why don’t you want to listen?” Then Yanzi stated Pencheng Kuo’s plea. The Commonlord heaved a great sigh and said: “How greatly sad! You do not have to say more.” Then he sent hundreds of men with their upper body uncovered and women with burial hairstyle and opened special funeral gate in order to receive Pencheng Kuo. Kuo took off the mourning garment, put on the formal cap and blackened its rim to meet with the Commonlord.³³ The Commonlord said: “I have heard that five people cannot fill up a corner but one could fill up the whole court. Isn’t it you?” Pencheng Kuo thereupon did not dare to cry when carrying out his burial. He did everything in accordance with the rites. When he finished, he went out the gate and then rose up his voice to cry there.

Accounts 7.11 and 2.20 have very similar storyline: someone’s mother just passed away; in order to bury the mother with the father jointly, the filial son had to request permission from the lord to carry out the rituals at the lord’s palace. Both accounts can be roughly divided into three parts, (1) the filial son’s confiding his problem to Yanzi; (2) Yanzi’s remonstrance to Lord Jing; (3) the burial at the palace. There are no matching passages between these two accounts. The

³³ The significance of “blacken the edge of the cap” remains unclear. It seems to be way of decorating the cap to make it suitable for a formal ceremonial occasion.

son who requested the joint burial was Feng Yuhe in 2.20, and in 7.11 it was Pencheng Kuo. As with other episodes in the YZCQ, the time of the event was not recorded. The historical authenticity of these two accounts can probably never be verified. Most likely they are not two independent events recorded separately but two literary creations based on the same story motif.

In the establishment of Yanzi as a persuasive advisor, 2.20 is more effective than 7.11. In 2.20 Yanzi's remonstrance is much more elaborate than that of 7.11. Also, the conversation between Liangqiu Ju and the lord recorded in 2.20 further demonstrates that the lord was seriously aware of the problem of his palace trespassing people's graves after speaking with Yanzi. In 7.11 the story and the language overall are much more colorful than those of 2.20, but Yanzi's persuasion is fairly short and brief. In projecting the image of being a wise advisor, 2.20 is more successful and that is probably part of the reason 2.20 was selected into the core "inner chapters," and 7.11 was included in the "outer chapters" as a reduplicated account of 2.20.

(3) *Liji* 3.3

季武子成寢，杜氏之葬在西階之下，請合葬焉。許之入宮而不敢哭。武子曰：‘合葬，非古也。自周公以來未之有改也。吾許其大而不許其細，何居？’命之哭。

Ji Wuzi had his residential palace finished. The grave of the Du family was located under the western stairs and so the son of the Du family requested a joint burial for his parents there. He was allowed to enter the palace but did not dare to cry. Wuzi said: "Burying (one's parents) together is not an ancient tradition. There is no case of changing it since the time of Duke Zhou. If I allow the joint burial but do not allow the ritual details, what would be the point?" He allowed Du to cry.

Ji Wuzi (d. 535) was a noble of the state of Lu. At the end of the two Yanzi accounts the filial sons did not cry out loud during the burial in order to show respect for the lord. In this *Liji*

narrative, Ji Wuzi's comment reveals that he not only allowed the burial but also had critical reflections on the tradition of joint burial itself.

Together with the “Zhao wang hui shi” we have four accounts sharing the same motif of requesting joint burial under a lord's palace. This motif conveys the message that a worthy lord should be modest in building palaces and show real care and respect for his people. Comparing with the three received texts, the focus of the manuscript seems to be the bravery of the intruder, the generosity and aplomb of King Zhāo in responding to this incident. The measures King Zhao took to accommodate the request for a joint burial is the most extreme among the four accounts—he had the newly built palace demolished.

Chapter Four: Conclusion

4.1 The Formation and Circulation of Early Yanzi Lore

The YQS manuscripts predate by about one hundred years the time when the official version of YZCQ was fixed by Liu Xiang. The comparison of the eight YQS accounts with the received YZCQ in chapter two shows that the manuscript versions and the received text are fairly close to each other and have probably devolved from a common source. The strong resemblance between the manuscripts and the transmitted YZCQ suggests two things. First, some Yanzi anecdotes that are in very similar form to the transmitted ones were in wide circulation about a century before Liu Xiang's well-known collation; and from early Western Han to the time Liu Xiang fixed the official text of YZCQ, many Yanzi narratives did not go through significant alterations. Second, Liu Xiang's editorial work seems to have been kept to a minimal level; no significant rewriting or revisions were involved at the level of individual accounts. The examination of variants between the YQS manuscripts and the YZCQ also indicates that all eight accounts appear to be closer to the common source both the manuscripts and their received counterparts have devolved from, which is consistent with the fact that the YQS manuscripts were not only compiled earlier than the established YZCQ but also are free from later revisions.

The title of this text, *Yanzi chunqiu*, makes it sound like one of the annalistic historical works such as the *Chunqiu* 春秋 or a discussion of historical events from the personal perspective such as the *Lüshi chunqiu* 吕氏春秋. Because it exclusively consists of short stories about Yanzi not arranged in any chronological way, YZCQ differs from both types of stereotypical “chunqiu”

works in content and format, but resembles historical romance and folklore accounts in many ways. Historical romance and folklore are often found to circulate and have been transmitted in a less controlled tradition than the philosophical classics, due to the fact that they tend to evolve to a profusion of variable forms. (Reynolds&Wilson 2013, 238) The resemblance between the YQS manuscripts and the received YZCQ suggests that the textual tradition of Yanzi lore had become fairly stable about a century before the official edition of the YZCQ was fixed. No earlier Yanzi tales that present the same level of resemblance to the received text as the YQS accounts do have been discovered so far. The three Shanghai museum manuscripts reflect an otherwise unknown early stage of Yanzi lore before it had become fixed in transmitted texts.

The Warring States manuscript “Jing gong nüe” records the same story found in two different accounts in the YZCQ. The fact that at least two versions of the same story were available to Liu Xiang and that he kept both them in the official edition of the YZCQ suggests that this must have been a very popular story at the time, a likelihood that is further supported by the discovery of the “Jing gong nüe” manuscript. The “Jing gong nüe” strips were written in a script typical to the ancient Chu region and have most likely come from a tomb in the Chu region. Li Tianhong points out that the word *shì* < *dǎ? ‘market’ (市) is written in a distinct orthographic style (甞) of the State of Qi and suggests that “Jing gong nüe” could be a text originally circulated in Qi and then copied to Chu (note six of strip eight). That a Yanzi tale has been discovered in Chu shows the spreading and popularity of the Yanzi stories in southern areas far away from Qi, which was probably the birthplace of most Yanzi anecdotes.

The other two Warring States manuscripts “Lu bang da han” and “Zhao wang hui shi” only have a shared paragraph or theme with YZCQ accounts. In the “Lu bang da han” Confucius’ disciple Zigong proposed that a ruler should fix the problems in governing to cope with natural

disasters such as a drought but not rely on performing rituals to spirits. In the matching account in the YZCQ, Yanzi has a similar position. In their reasoning, Zigong and Yanzi used the same analogy to argue that it did not make sense to appeal to natural deities. The analogy of comparing the natural world to the body parts and people of the natural deities presents a figurative image and a very strong argument that making offerings to the deities is irrational. We cannot verify whether Zigong and Yanzi actually said what was reported in anecdotes such as those, but the analogy shared by both texts suggests that it must have been a remarkably favorable and popular argument among scholars since the late Spring and Autumn period, and so also must have been the political ideology behind it. “Zhao wang hui shi” and the related passages in the YZCQ and *Liji* do not have matching words, but provide another example of a common identifiable theme shared by different texts. In all three passages, a lord allowed a commoner either to bury his parents together, one of whom was buried under the lord’s palace, or to perform burial rituals in his palace. What is reflected in this plot design is a common expectation that a lord should show concern for the need of his people.

Both the YQS manuscripts and the three Shanghai museum strips illustrate the composite nature of early Chinese texts. By examining the matching parts between the early manuscripts and their counterparts in the *Yijing*, *Laozi* and *Liji*, Boltz (2005) proposes that pre-Han texts tend to be structurally composite and that individual authorship and integral, structurally homogenous texts are the exception rather than the rule when working with early Chinese texts, both excavated and transmitted. The sixteen YQS accounts match passages in all different eight sections in the received YZCQ without apparent order. Individual anecdotes such as the YQS accounts seem to serve as part of a textual reservoir like building blocks from which the received YZCQ has been compiled. The three Shanghai museum strips suggest that not only the

individual paragraph-length textual units are movable and can be assembled into lengthy, essay-like texts, but that literary themes and motifs are also transferable and can be adapted into different texts.

4.2 Applying Textual Criticism to Early Chinese Texts

In the study of “Applying Stemmatology to Chinese Textual Traditions” Wojciech Jan Simson (2002) takes issue with the manifest lack of critical method in dealing with different editions of early Chinese texts. He points out that in the Chinese tradition for “what would seem to be the equivalent of western textual criticism, we find lengthy catalogues of different types of scribal errors with numerous but often far-fetched examples, the sources of which often remain unrevealed.” (Simson 2002, 589) Therefore there are no explicit rules to discern right from wrong when presented with textual variants. This difference in methodology is probably to a certain extent a reflection of the difference in the concepts of transmission and in the editorial attitudes of the Western and Chinese traditions. Susan Cherniack (1994) contrasts the Western absolutely negative view on changes made to a text, changes that are viewed as both intrinsic and incurable, to the comparatively more tolerant Chinese view on unsanctioned alterations to a text, which are seen as personal and correctable. By examining what is discussed on Confucius’ involvement with different classics Cherniack points out that “the Chinese understanding of transmission includes a concept of collaborative authorship that is excluded from the modern Western term.” (Cherniack 1994, 17) Boltz’s (forthcoming) argument resonates with Cherniack’s understanding of Chinese authorship from the empirical evidence of early discovered manuscripts that “pre-imperial Chinese texts were not composed all at once as single works, each by a single author, but seem rather to have evolved over time through a process of

accretion, loss and perhaps rearrangement of individual passages of diverse origins.” Paul Fischer (2008) uses the term “polymorphous” to present a similar vision on the formation and transmission of early texts in his examination of Chinese authentication studies (辨偽學).

Different historical contexts of text formation give rise to different editorial attitudes toward texts and different methodologies. Anything comparable to the ambiguity in authorship and compositional process distinctive of early Chinese texts was rare in the Western classical tradition. The parallels among different versions of texts probably cannot be viewed as different editions of the same single text in the Chinese tradition. This is due not only to the fact that they were most likely assembled and edited from diverse sources by different compilers but also to the fact that the specific social contexts and functions associated with a given text would be fairly different. Fischer uses the writings of the “masters” (*zhu zi* 諸子) to illustrate the general problem with authorship and authenticity of early Chinese texts. He points out that most likely the disciples produced multiple expressions of a single discourse with their master, and “multiple scribes with various motivations producing multiple versions for multiple recipients each with their own particular goals.” To various scribes, “getting the point across” rather than later concerns of a professional author’s “intellectual property” was the general atmosphere within which they produced texts. Therefore “[i]n view of the compositional vagaries and authorial uncertainties characteristic of many early Chinese texts, their transmission is said to be *irresolute* and does not lend itself to any definitive stemmatic representation or codification.” (Fischer 2008, 1-2)

The goal of textual criticism is the restoration of the original form (intended by its author) of a text. A tree diagram that reflects the genealogical relations of available witnesses is usually established to rule out later variants and restore the text as closely as possible to the form that

they originally had. In my examination of the textual variants among different Yanzi texts, I was not attempting a stemmatic representation of various witnesses, but some of the basic rules in stemmatology still prove to be relevant and useful. For instance, in establishing a stemma, errors and omissions are given special attention in grouping texts into the same line of transmission or separating them into different lineages. This proves to be an effective rule in determining the relation among matching passages (account sixteen). Also, when the reading in an independent branch of the tradition (in my case the excavated manuscripts) agrees with that of other branches (the received texts), the archetype is reconstructed as this agreed reading. In my study, reconstructing an Ur-text is not my concern, but when the reading in the manuscripts agrees with that of one of the received texts, it is reasonable to determine that these two texts are closer to the common source than all the witnesses have derived from the readings in other witnesses.

In the comparison study of manuscripts and received texts, we sometimes see comments such as “the meaning in the strip manuscript is better than that of the received text” 簡本較傳世本義長 or the other way around. For example, in the note for the first chapter of the *Laozi* in *Beijing daxue cang Xi Han zhushu er* 北京大學藏西漢竹書貳 (2012, 144), the editor compares the received *Laozi* (R) and the two Mawangdui *Laozi* and the strips from Western Han strips Beijing University recently received.

R: 故常無欲 以觀其妙 常有欲 以觀其 徼
恒无欲也以觀其眇 恒有欲也以觀其所噉 (Mawangdui *Laozi* A)
恒无欲也以觀其眇 恒有欲也以觀其所僥 (Beijing University *Laozi* strips)

R: “Therefore if regularly has no desire one sees what is hidden, if regularly has desire one sees the outline.”

For the word R: *jiào* < **kiâuh* ‘limit, outline’ 徼 both the Mawangdui *Laozi* and Beijing University *Laozi* strips have 所敎/僥 ‘what one seeks’ (the editor’s interpretation). The editor comments that the meaning in the manuscripts “is better than that of the received version” (較傳世本義長). “Better” here could mean making better sense in the context or being more refined than the received version. Since the basis of this judgment is not provided, “a better meaning” sounds very impressionistic and does not inform us the nature of this variant and how it might have arisen, nor the relation among different versions reflected in this variation. The discrimination between variant readings then falls easily to a primarily personal preference. In the case of the *Laozi*, which has various historical editions and rich commentarial traditions, for problems such as the example discussed here many different interpretations have been suggested as the “correct reading” or “better reading.” The ones presented here are only one of the many variants and proposals. The fact that the ambiguity of the writing system and to a certain extent classical Chinese grammar allow for many different interpretations for words and punctuation certainly makes it challenging to determine the textual relation among various versions; a call for general guidelines and methods in studying textual variant is in great need. Many of the methods and practices in textual criticism have proved to be relevant and useful. In my study of the Yanzi texts I find the fundamental principle of textual criticism, *lectio difficilior potior*, is often very helpful. It provides a relatively easy and reliable tool to discern readings that are equally acceptable in respect of the sense and the linguistic usage. The conclusion I reach in an account by applying *lectio difficilior potior* is usually consistent with the conclusions generated by other methods and the overall evaluation of the different texts.

While general principles are undoubtedly needed and of great use, “specific problems have an unfortunate habit of being *sui generis*, and similarly it is rare to find two manuscript traditions

which respond to exactly the same treatment.” (Reynolds&Wilson 2013, 241) No single rule including *lectio difficilior potior* or a combination of different methods can always generate a desirable answer to all the textual variants. Every problem that presents itself to the textual critic must be regarded as potentially unique. As the late textual critic Alfred Edward Housman (1859-1936) has said, textual criticism is purely a matter of reason and of common sense that requires a combination of science and art. (Carter ed. 1961, 132)

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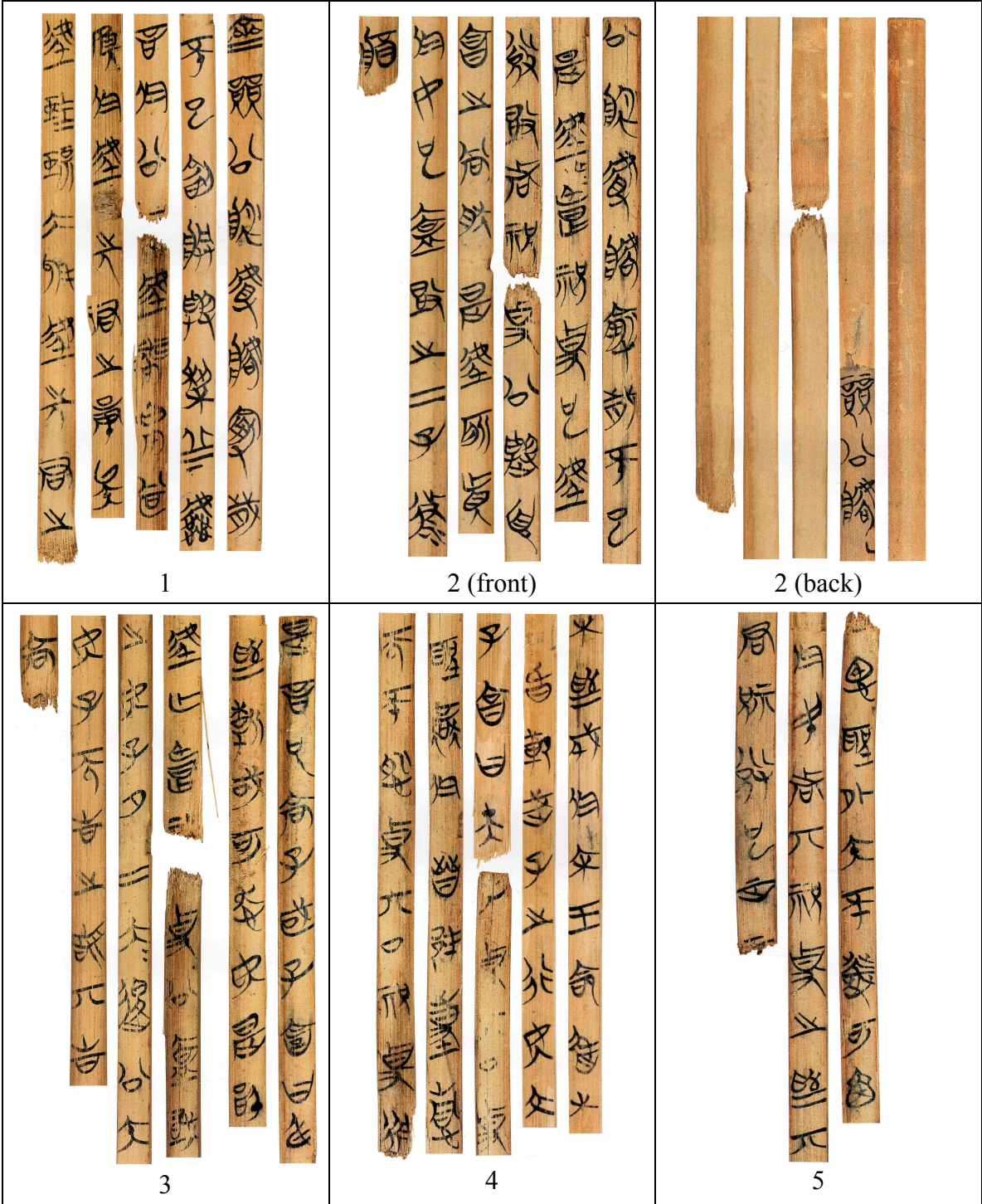
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Appendix: Photographs of the Three Warring States Manuscripts of the Shanghai Museum Collection

Photographs of the “Jing gong nüe” manuscript are reproductions of pages seventeen to thirty from the *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu liu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書六 (2007). Photographs of the “Lu bang da han” manuscript are reproductions of pages fifty one to fifty six from the *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu er* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書二 (2002). Photographs of the “Zhao wang hui shi” manuscript are reproductions of pages thirty three to thirty seven from the *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu si* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書四 (2004).

One numbered photograph is one bamboo slip, enlarged and arranged to fit in one page.

Photographs of the “Jing gong nüe” manuscript



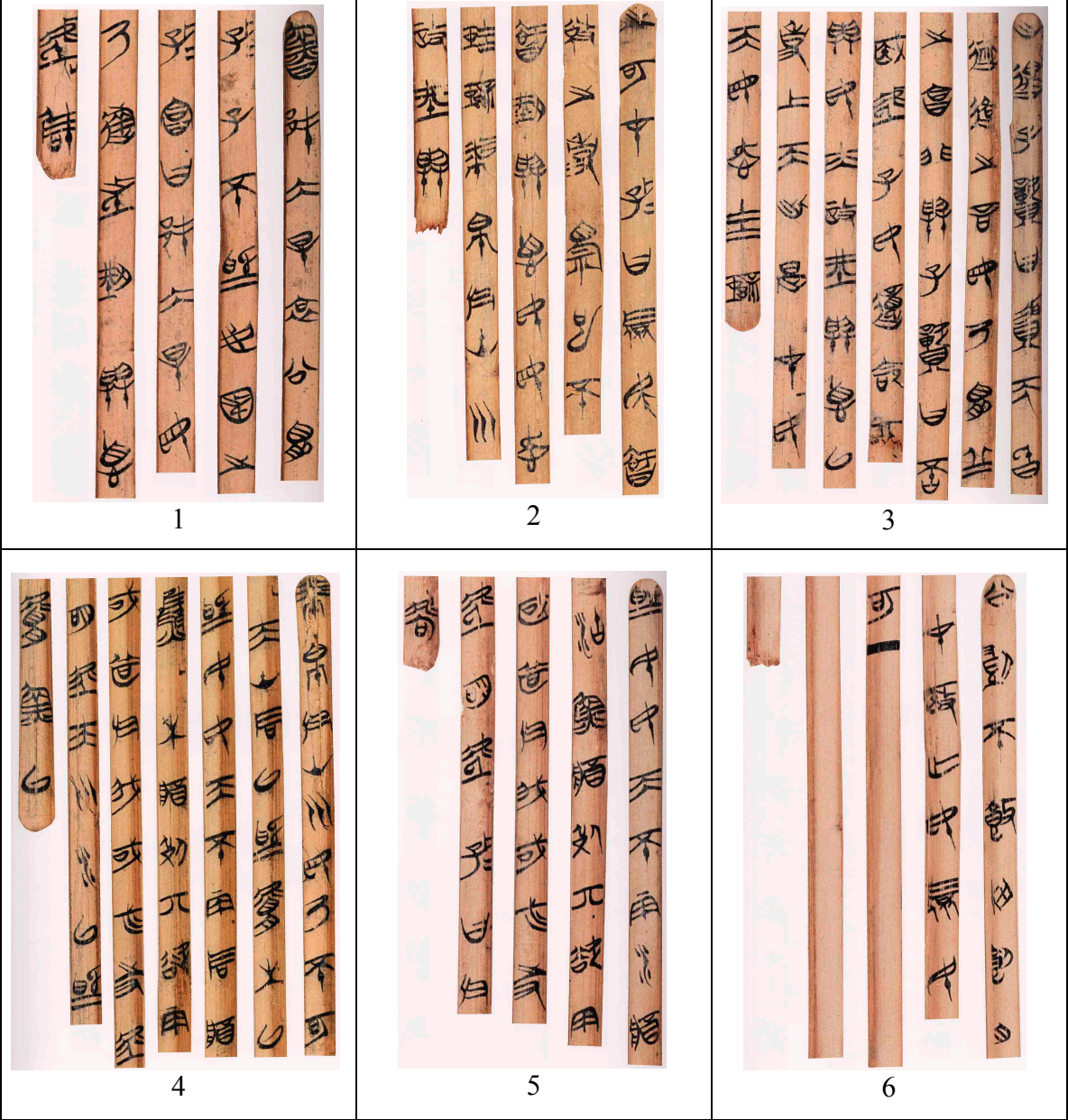
Photographs of the “Jing gong nüe” manuscript (continued)



Photographs of the “Jing gong nüe” manuscript (continued)



Photographs of the “Lu bang da han” manuscript



Photographs of the “Zhao wang hui shi” manuscript

