
“The Five Aspects of Conduct” 五行

Introduction and Translation

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In 1973 a cache of silk manuscripts was discovered in Mawangdui 馬王堆 tomb number three in Hunan province 湖南省. This was the first extensive collection of silk manuscripts unearthed from such an early period: 168 BCE, during the Han 漢 dynasty (202 BCE – 202 CE).² Guodian village³ 郭店村 in the province of Hubei 湖北省 was the site of another exciting discovery⁴ in October of 1993. Here archaeologists uncovered a tomb they labelled M1 from 300 BCE in the pre-Qin 秦 state of Chu 楚 that contained texts written on 804 bamboo strips. These two tombs are separated by one of the most significant period-defining events in ancient history, Qin Shihuang's 秦始皇 unification of China. Excavated manuscripts now bridge this historic divide. Some are early editions of major works known from the received tradition. Others were previously unknown having been lost for over two millennia. Of the received texts, the Daodejing 道德經 has been translated into English based on each of the editions found in Mawangdui and Guodian⁵. The only other text that appears in both of these tombs is “The Five Aspects of Conduct”, which will be made widely available to an English speaking audience for the first time at the end of this article.

The discovery of multiple copies of texts indicates wide circulation. This is not surprising for the Daodejing, which continued to circulate widely through to the twentieth century. Based on recent excavations, it seems “The Five Aspects of Conduct” was of comparable import from the late Warring States through to the early Han. Furthermore, the interment of these two texts in both tombs must be more than coincidental. In Mawangdui, the two texts were written on a single piece of silk, which would facilitate reading them in tandem. This resulted in “The Five Aspects of Conduct” originally being entitled “The Ancient Lost Text

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² See Pian Yuqian and 駱守齋 and Duan Shuan 段書安, *Benshiji yilai chutu jianbo gaishu* 本世紀以來出土簡帛概述 (Taipei, 1999), pp. 32–42. For a discussion of an earlier, but much shorter silk text recovered from looters, see Li Ling and Constance A. Cook “Translation of the Chu Silk Manuscript,” in Constance A. Cook and John S. Major *Defining Chu* (Honolulu, 1999), pp. 171–176.

³ This town is in Jingmen municipality (荊門市), Shayang district (沙洋區), Sifang county (四方鄉).

⁴ Hubeisheng Jingmenshi Bowuguan 湖北省荊門市博物館, “Jingmen Guodian yihao Chumu” 荊門郭店一號楚墓, *Wenwu* 文物 (1997.7), pp. 35–48.

⁵ The following is not a comprehensive list. For translations based on Mawangdui: Victor H. Mair, *Tao Tè Ching, The Classic Book of Integrity and The Way* (New York, 1990); Robert G. Henricks, *Lao-Tzu Tè-Tao Ching A New Translation Based on the Recently Discovered Ma-Wang-tui Texts* (New York, 1989). For a translation based only on Guodian: Robert G. Henricks, *Lao Tzu's Tao Tè Ching, A Translation of the Startling New Documents Found at Guodian* (New York, 2000).

that Comes After Copy A of the Laozi” 老子甲本卷後古佚書.⁶ Finding these texts connected in this manner is surprising since “The Five Aspects of Conduct” is primarily concerned with the cultivation of humanity and righteousness, moral values that are prominent in the *Analects* 論語 and *Mencius* 孟子.

By avoiding the pitfalls that schools of thought pose for a careful analysis of excavated manuscripts we can begin to see through the clouds of the Han institutionalisation of Confucianism that has filtered our understanding of the formative period of Chinese political philosophy. According to Pang Pu 龐樸, the archaeological record shows that the transmitted text of the *Laozi* exaggerated the rancorousness of the debate with followers of Confucian ideas. In fact, the side-by-side discovery of a Confucian text with versions of the *Laozi* in both Mawangdui and Guodian indicates that in early China their ideas must have been seen as congruent. Recently excavated manuscripts have shown the *Laozi* developed alongside Confucian ideas,⁷ which implies that old notions of schools of thought are in need of being reconsidered.⁸

Guo Qiyong's 郭濟勇 work shows that Guodian has also changed our dating of the formation of the classics. Prior to these discoveries, it was believed that the classics were first grouped together in the Han Dynasty. The earliest citation for this had been the *Zhuangzi*'s 莊子 “Heavenly Revolutions” 天運 chapter that lists the *Book of Odes* 詩經, the *Book of Documents* 尚書, the *Book of Rites* 禮記, the *Book of Music* 樂經, the *Book of Changes* 易經, and the *Springs and Autumns* 春秋 which it labels the Six Classics 六經. The “All Under Heaven” 天下 chapter also lists these titles as a group, but does not refer to them as “The Six Classics”. Since the discovery of the “Liu De” 六德⁹ text at Guodian, we have learned that the classics were grouped together at least as early as the late Warring States period. This is much earlier than previously supposed, and means that Guodian has moved the date for the first grouping of the classics back to long before the Han Dynasty.¹⁰

Another example of Guodian contributing to our understanding of pre-Han intellectual history is the “Xing Zi Ming Chu” 性自命出, which provides new insight into the term “nature” 性. The later importance of this term to Neo-Confucianism resulted in considerable interest in understanding the landscape that might have contributed to its development in the *Mencius*. In the “Xing Zi Ming Chu”, we see that “Nature comes from mandate, mandate descends from heaven. The way begins with essence,¹¹ essence is born of nature”. 性自命出, 命自天降. 道始於情, 情生於性.¹² The important difference between this quotation and the later text of *Mencius* is the incorporation of “essence” into a discussion of the relationship between

⁶ Pang Pu 龐樸, *Boshu Wuxingpian Yanjiu* 帛書五行篇研究 (Wenlu Shushe 文魯書社, 1980).

⁷ Pang Pu 龐樸, “Gumu Xinzhi-Mandu Guodian Chujian” 古墓新知—漫談郭店楚簡, *Guodian Chujian Yanjiu*. *Zhongguo Zhaxue* 20 郭店楚簡研究《中國哲學》(1999.1), p. 8.

⁸ This perspective is supported by Kidder Smith in his analysis of categories of schools in the *Shiji* 史記. Kidder Smith, “Sima Tan and the Invention of Daoism, ‘Legalism,’ et cetera,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62.1 (2003.11), pp. 129–156.

⁹ Li Ling 李零, *Guodian Chujian Jiaoduiji* 郭店楚簡校讀記 (Beijing, 2002), pp. 130–138.

¹⁰ Guo Qiyong 郭濟勇, “Guodian Rujia Jian De Yiyi Yu Jiazhi” 郭店儒家簡的意義與價值, *Hubei Daxue Xuebao Zhaxue shehui Kexue Ban* (1999.2), pp. 4–6.

¹¹ My decision to translate this term as essence is based on the findings of Ding Sixin: Ding Sixin 丁四新 “On the Implications of ‘Qing’ in Guodian Slips”, *Modern Philosophy* 2003.04.

¹² Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian Jiaoduiji*, p. 105.

“nature” and “heaven”.¹³ It is interesting that “essence” forms a link with “nature” and the “way” since “essence” and “nature” are both discussed in *Mencius* 6A.6 and 6A.8. However, in the *Mencius* there is no mention of a relationship between the terms.¹⁴ Finally, “nature”, “essence”, and “heaven” are discussed in sorites, or linked arguments in “Xing Zi Ming Chu”, which is also the dominant rhetorical style in “The Five Aspects of Conduct”.

Background

The opening lines of the “The Five Aspects of Conduct” describe the process of internally cultivating humanity, righteousness, the rites, wisdom and sagacity, which are the five terms referred to in the title of the text. Each of the five parts of the process of self-cultivation is interrelated through webs of co-relationships that only become apparent through a careful analysis of the pervasively used rhetorical device of the sorites. For example, humanity, wisdom and sagacity appear in three parallel sorites from strips twelve to sixteen inclusive.¹⁵ Each sorites begins with changes in one’s thoughts (思 *si*) and ends with reference to having a jade-like countenance 玉色, or being like jade sounds 玉音. Although the use of sorites makes it difficult to penetrate too deeply into the exact details of what each process entails, what is being described is a process of internally developing moral traits that ultimately results in external manifestations, here described as jade-like. Jade refers to a person attaining the ritual importance of jade in a religious or ceremonial context. The significance of this is that the internal process of self-cultivation at the end of the sorites becomes visible and apparent to an outside observer. This shift from providing individual moral guidance to a broader social/governmental context marks the second major attribute of the text.

Strips thirty-seven to forty-one inclusive provide an example of how one can judge a legal case by applying humanity and righteousness. The text describes two choices: being lenient towards a person who has committed a relatively minor crime, or meting out capital punishment for a serious crime. The former is said to be the soft and is the method of humanity, while the latter is the hard or the method of righteousness. Based on the context provided in strips thirty-two to thirty-three inclusive, we can see that humanity’s association with the family¹⁶ might explain why minor crimes can be forgiven. The *Analects* 13.18 story of Upright Gong sets a precedent where certain crimes should be dealt with among family members to the exclusion of state involvement. The difference is that 13.18 does not mention humanity. Furthermore, the pairing of humanity and righteousness as contrasting sides of moral cultivation appears to be specific to Guodian texts and conspicuously absent in 13.18 or elsewhere in the *Analects*.¹⁷

¹³ Pang Pu 龐樸, “Kong Meng Zhi Jian” 孔孟之間, *Guodian Chujian Yanjiu. Zhongguo zhhexue* 20. 郭楚楠研究《中國哲學》(1999.1), p. 28.

¹⁴ Paul Goldin finds similarities in the understanding of *xing* 性 and *dao* 道 in the *Xunzi* and Guodian manuscripts such as “Xing Zi Ming Chu” and “Cheng Zhi Wen Zhi” 成之聞之. Paul Goldin, “Xunzi in the Light of the Guodian Manuscripts,” *Early China* 25 (2000) p. 123–124.

¹⁵ See translation at the end of this article, where strip numbers appear in black circles.

¹⁶ It specifically refers to relations among brothers, and loving one’s father.

¹⁷ This is important as “The Five Aspects of Conduct” manages to see criminal conduct as an avenue for the individual to apply self-cultivation to the society as a whole in that the implementing of punishment requires understanding humanity and righteousness. It might be possible to construct an argument that 13.18 is implying a broader context of self-cultivation by considering the context provided in *Analects* 1.2, where the family

Another text found in Guodian, “Liu De” 六德 section 7:2 also pairs humanity and righteousness in a manner similar to “The Five Aspects of Conduct”.

Humanity is family; righteousness is state. The rites and music are shared. The inner establishes the father, son, and husband. The outer establishes the ruler, minister and wife. The coarsest hemp cloth mourning attire and cane are for the father, for the ruler it is the same. The second degree of mourning attire of male hemp with hemmed borders is for elder and younger brothers, for the wife it is the same. For distant relatives you bare the left arm and remove the cap, for friends it is the same. For your father you cut off relations with the ruler, for the ruler you do not cut off relations with your father. For your older and younger brother you cut off relations with your wife, for your wife you do not cut off relations with your older and younger brother. For your clan you enfeeble your friends, for your friends you do not enfeeble your clan. People have six virtues, and three relations that are unceasing. In family matters, kindness hides righteousness. In state matters, righteousness cuts off kindness.

仁，內也。義，外也。禮樂，共也。內立父、子、夫也。外立君、臣、婦也。疏斬布經杖，為父也。為君亦然。疏衰齊牡麻經，為昆弟也。為妻亦然。袒免，為宗族也。為朋友亦然。為父絕君，不為君絕父。為昆弟絕妻，不為妻絕昆弟。為宗族疾朋友，不為朋友疾宗族。人有六德，三親不斷。門內之治恩掩義，門外之治義斬恩。¹⁸

The mourning rituals described in the above quotation are similar to those we find in the *Book of Rites* 禮記 and *Yili* 儀禮. The above “Liu De” quote is similar to “The Five Aspects of Conduct” in that inner cultivation of humanity in the family is followed by outer cultivation of righteousness in the state. The “Liu De” contrast is clearest in comparing the inner of father and son with the outer of ruler and minister. In “The Five Aspects of Conduct”, we see consecutive paragraphs ending with the following: “Loving your father and extending this to love others you are humane”. 愛父，其繼愛人，仁也。¹⁹ “Venerating the noble, those with rank, and elevating the good and wise, is righteousness”. 貴貴，其等尊賢，義也。²⁰ This pairing of humanity and righteousness in Guodian texts provides an excellent point of comparison with the *Analects* and *Mencius*.

Analects

In the *Analects*, we first encounter the idea that humanity is related to one’s family in Chapter 1:2: “Acting filial and fraternal are the roots of humanity” 孝弟也者。其為仁之本與。²¹ This passage understands humanity as a concept that one begins to learn as a child in the home through being filial.²² The appropriate treatment of parents and siblings establishes a precedent that

serves to establish morals that are then applied elsewhere. However, it is tenuous at best to argue that these two passages necessarily share the same perspective on the inner workings of human relations and that 1.2 must necessarily relate to 13.18. *Analects* 1.2 appears below in the section entitled “*Analects*.” 13:18, “The Duke of She told Confucius, ‘“In my country there is an upright man named Gong. When his father stole a sheep, he bore witness against him.’ Confucius said, ‘The upright men in my community are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this.’” *Wing-tsit Chan, A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, 1963), p. 41. 葉公語孔子曰：吾黨有自削者。其父攘羊。而子證之。孔子曰：吾黨之自者。異於是。父為子隱。子為父隱。直在其中矣。 Liu Baonan 劉寶楠 (1791–1855), *Lunyu Zhengyi* 論語正義 (Zhuzi Jicheng 諸子集成, ed.; Beijing, 1996), p. 291.

¹⁸ Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian Jiaoduiji*, pp. 131–132.

¹⁹ This is the end of paragraph nineteen.

²⁰ This is the end of paragraph twenty.

²¹ *Lunyu Zhengyi*, p. 4.

²² In exploring what this root entails, we must begin by answering what it means to be filial. The densest concentration of passages on this subject is 2:5–8. These passages include a variety of ways in which a child should

is continued when interacting in the community at large. In the above passage, humanity is fundamental to the process of self-cultivation, but the implications of what this process entails can be interpreted several ways. First, it is possible that humanity is the link that provides continuity from the smaller scale of learning appropriate behaviour in the family to the larger scale of practicing it in the community. Second, it is possible that humanity relates to either or both of the smaller and/or larger spheres of interaction. The third and most likely explanation is that the entirety of humanity is confined to neither of the above possibilities. Instead, what we see is that a combination of the above possibilities is a starting point for understanding humanity.

The implication of this third explanation is that *Analects* 1:2 reflects a similar type of morality as is seen in “The Five Aspects of Conduct”. Following one’s early education in morality at home, humanity should then be applied in the larger context of the society.²³ This understanding of humanity follows the “Liu De” passage where humanity is listed prior to righteousness implying an application in ever-widening circles, beginning with the family, and continuing with the state and/or empire. It is important to recognise, however, that a pairing of humanity with righteousness is completely absent in the *Analects* and represents an important difference in the understanding of self-cultivation.

Mencius

Mencius contains three passages that discuss humanity and righteousness in a manner similar to “The Five Aspects of Conduct” and “Liu De”. The first is 7A.15, which states that: “Loving parents is benevolence; respecting one’s elders is rightness”.²⁴ 親親，仁也。敬長，義也。²⁵ The relationship between humanity and a person’s parents in this passage can be seen as congruent with the above-mentioned *Analects* passage 1:2. In both instances, humanity is related to a person’s innermost circle of interaction, the family. This is followed by 7A.15, where righteousness is described as being related to respecting elders. By itself, the prospect of respecting elders is ambiguous as to the intended object of respect. There is no indication that respect in this passage might be intended as a concept that is confined to either one’s family, or a larger social sphere. The best way to understand what Mencius might mean by respecting elders in 7A.15 is to refer to similar passages for guidance.

In Mencius’s debate with Gaozi in 6A.4, we see the idea of respecting elders as referring to the respect of those outside of one’s family and even one’s state.

tend to the needs of a parent. This includes basic sustenance with a measure of reverence (2:7), ensuring they are free from concern (2:6), as well as sincere obedience both when they are present and after their departure (2:5, 8). This last point is clearly one that must be tempered by occasional chiding on the part of the child when the parent commits an error (4:18).

²³ It could be assumed that this broader application of humanity is accomplished through the learning of righteousness, but this passage contains no such reference. A thorough treatment of this subject can be found in Chong Kim-chong, “The Practice of Jen”, *Philosophy East and West* 49.3 (1999.7). Interestingly, Shun Kwong-loi’s treatment of humanity in the *Analects* focuses much less on passage 1:2, as he is much more interested in examining the relationship between humanity and the rites. Shun Kwong-loi, “Jen and li in the *Analects*”, *Philosophy East and West* 43.3 (1993.7).

²⁴ D. C. Lau, trans., *Mencius* vol. 2 (Hong Kong, 1984), p. 269.

²⁵ Jiao Xun 焦循(1763–1820), *Mengzi Zhengyi 孟子正義* (Zhuzi Jicheng 諸子集成, ed.; Beijing: Zhonghua, 1996), 7A.15 p. 530.

“Gaozi²⁶ said, ‘Why do you say,’ said Mencius, ‘that benevolence is internal and rightness is external?’ [Gaozi said,] ‘That man there is old and I treat him as elder. He owes nothing of his elderliness to me, just as treating him as white because he is white I only do so because of his whiteness which is external to me. That is why I call it external.’”²⁷

孟子曰：「何以謂仁內義外也？」曰：「彼長而我長之，非有長於我也。猶彼白而我白之，從其白於外也，故謂之外也。」²⁸

This is a problematic passage to use because Mencius is arguing against Gaozi. However, Mencius’s point of contention is not that Gaozi is incorrect, but rather that his statements represent a lesser understanding. In other words, Mencius’s view encompasses and expands upon Gaozi’s.²⁹ Based on this, it is possible that righteousness relating to the respect of elders in 7A.15 is similarly pertaining to those outside of the family.

Mencius 3A.4 also discusses righteousness in terms related to a larger social sphere:

This gave the Sage King further cause for concern, and so he appointed Hsieh as the minister of Education whose duty was to teach the people human relationships: love³⁰ between father and son, duty³¹ between ruler and subject . . .³²

「聖人有憂之，使契為司徒，教以人倫：父子有親，君臣有義 . . .」³³

In this passage, we can see that the rulers and ministers have different standards of conduct than fathers and sons. Righteousness is being distinguished as a term that corresponds to a broader societal level than the family.

The final examples are problematic as the distinctions between humanity and righteousness as a smaller and larger social segment are not consistent. *Mencius* 4A.27, states:

The content of benevolence is the serving of one’s parents; the content of dutifulness³⁴ is obedience to one’s elder brothers; the content of wisdom is to understand these two and to hold fast to them; the content of the rites is the regulation and adornment of them . . .³⁵

孟子曰：「仁之實，事親是也。義之實，從兄是也。智之實，知斯二者弗去是也。禮之實，節文斯二者是也。」³⁶

While humanity relates to a familial context in this passage, there is also a blurring of the previously observed distinctions between humanity and righteousness since both terms are here related to the family. One explanation for this is that the terms humanity and righteousness are complex concepts that comprise many variant attributes. Distinguishing righteousness and humanity as relating to larger and smaller social spheres is but one aspect of the meaning of these terms. This meaning is important for establishing a parallel with “The Five Aspects of Conduct”, but a large number of passages in the *Mencius*, use the terms humanity and righteousness as near equivalents.

²⁶ Lau uses Wade-Giles instead of pinyin.

²⁷ D. C. Lau, trans., *Mencius* vol. 2, p. 225.

²⁸ *Mengzi Zhengyi*, 6A.4 pp. 437–438.

²⁹ For a further discussion of this see Irene Bloom, “Mencian arguments on human nature”, *Philosophy East and West* 44.1 (1994.1), 10.

³⁰ The term that is translated “love” is actually the adverbial form of the noun “family”.

³¹ Righteousness.

³² D. C. Lau, trans., *Mencius* vol. 1, 107.

³³ *Mengzi Zhengyi*, 3A.4 p. 226.

³⁴ Righteousness.

³⁵ D. C. Lau, trans., *Mencius* vol. 1, 157.

³⁶ *Mengzi Zhengyi*, 4A.27 p. 313.

The usage of humanity and righteousness as rough synonyms can also be seen in 4A.20: “When the prince is benevolent, everyone else is benevolent; when the prince is dutiful,³⁷ everyone else is dutiful; when the prince is correct, everyone else is correct”.³⁸ [君仁莫不仁, 君義莫不義, 君正莫不正 . . .]³⁹ Here, humanity and righteousness do not imply any of the specific meanings discussed in previous passages. The terms must be seen as approximately equivalent because there is nothing to indicate how humanity and righteousness could be differentiated. Therefore, humanity and righteousness must represent general terms for proper behaviour in 4A.20. A second interpretation of this passage in the context of 7A.15 and 3A.4, could argue that Mencius intended the terms to be distinguished. If this were the case, the passage would understand the ruler as practicing both humanity and righteousness within his immediate family. The behaviour of the ruler within his family would then serve as an example for others in the empire. Through leading by example, the other members of the empire would then apply humanity and righteousness within their families because they had been influenced by the ruler’s behaviour.⁴⁰ Even if this were the case, 4A.20 still sees “humanity” and “righteousness” as terms that are highly similar because there are no details provided to distinguish them.

In conclusion, “The Five Aspects of Conduct” and “Liu De” use “humanity” in a similar manner to the *Analects*, but there is no crossover in the pairing of humanity with righteousness. *Mencius* contains a few passages that hint at a Guodian usage of humanity and righteousness, but there is no consistent pairing. Neither the *Analects* nor *Mencius* contains enough similarities in the usage of humanity and righteousness to demonstrate a close affinity with “The Five Aspects of Conduct”. It should be noted, that while early scholarship⁴¹ on the *Analects* often used the *Mencius* to explain difficult passages, recent scholarship has tried to treat texts more distinctly.⁴² Therefore, it is not surprising to conclude that the *Analects* and *Mencius* use humanity and righteousness in a manner distinct from “Five Aspects of Conduct” and “Liu De”.

Formation of “The Five Aspects of Conduct”

Although the two editions of “The Five Aspects of Conduct” are highly similar, their differences have prompted a debate as to the text’s original form. The first difference we notice between the Mawangdui and Guodian editions is actually the medium of choice employed in each tomb. The version of the text found in the Guodian tomb was written on 50 bamboo strips that measure 32–32.4 cm in length and are .45–.65 cm in width, being slightly sharpened on each end. The Mawangdui edition was written on silk. The substantial difference in the content of the texts is that the Mawangdui edition contains a Canon 經 (Jing) and an Explanation 說 (Shuo), while the Guodian edition contains only the Canon.⁴³

³⁷ Righteous.

³⁸ D. C. Lau, trans., *Mencius* vol. 1, 153–155.

³⁹ *Mengzi Zhengyi*, 4A.20 p. 309.

⁴⁰ This reading is an interpretation of 4A.20 in light of the general understanding of humanity and righteousness that is present in 4A.27.

⁴¹ According to Chong, this is at least as early as Zhuxi. Chong Kim-chong, “The Practice of Jen,” p. 299.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 298.

⁴³ The Canon is virtually identical between the two editions. The Explanation, as the name suggests, provides explanations for virtually every passage of the Canon.

Li Xueqin 李學勤 believes that because the Mawangdui tomb was closed roughly one hundred years after the Guodian tomb, the Explanation is the work of later commentators.⁴⁴ Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久 disagrees and argues that the Explanation must have been extant at the time of the Guodian tomb, but was omitted by the person who copied the text. His reasoning is that the Explanation was necessary for the Canon to be intelligible.⁴⁵ Both scholars could be correct if the Explanation was the work of a group in existence at the time of Guodian that did not write down their teachings until a short time before Mawangdui was closed.

Much of the disagreement over which edition came first is concerned with the question of the correct placement of two sections of the text that are ordered differently in the Mawangdui and Guodian editions. Therefore, the question of which edition came first is also an attempt to answer the question of which edition has the correct placement of these sections. If we number the strips based on their appearance in the Guodian edition, we find that the second half of strip twenty through to the first half of strip twenty-one is placed before strip twenty-three in Mawangdui.⁴⁶ Another important discrepancy between the two editions of the texts can be found in the Mawangdui version moving paragraphs nineteen through to twenty-one of the Guodian version⁴⁷ forward in the text to appear after paragraph thirteen.

Pang Pu attributes these differences to changes in understanding among the people who were responsible for copying the text. He believes that the placement of paragraphs in the Mawangdui edition indicates the text follows the order of humanity 仁, righteousness 義, the rites 禮, wisdom 智, sagacity 聖; he sees the order of paragraphs in the Guodian text as first emphasising sagacity and wisdom. From the logic and thematic development of the text, he feels the Mawangdui version is more reasonable and may represent the original order of the text.⁴⁸

The problem with Pang Pu's explanation is that depending on how one interprets lacunae, the Mawangdui version could appear to emphasise sagacity and wisdom more than the Guodian version. The second paragraph of the Mawangdui version contains a pair of mirroring sentences that discuss sagacity and wisdom.⁴⁹ In the Guodian version, the half of the mirrored sentences relating to wisdom is present, but that sentence relating to sagacity is entirely missing.⁵⁰ The absence of this sentence may simply be an oversight or copyist error in the Guodian edition or it may be seen as an indication that the pairing was deemed more important to the Mawangdui editors.

Xing Wen 邢文 and Liao Mingchun 廖名春 believe the Mawangdui edition represents a change in the proper order of the text. They feel the Guodian edition is more internally

⁴⁴ Li Xueqin 李學勤, "Jingmen Guodian Chujian zhong de Zisizi" 荆門郭店楚簡中的子思子, *Guodian Chujian Yanjiu. Zhongguo Zhaxue* 20 郭店楚簡研究《中國哲學》(1999.1), p. 77.

⁴⁵ Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, "Guodian Chujian 'Wuxing' Yanjiu Guodian Jian Yu Ruxue Yanjiu" 郭店楚簡《五行》研究 郭店簡與儒學研究, *Zhongguo Zhaxue* 21 中國哲學(2000), pp. 98–99.

⁴⁶ This is the section that begins "Not having been hearing you lack vision, no sagacity no ②① wisdom . . ." (不聽不明, 不聖不智, . . .) and runs to the end of paragraph eleven. These characters are then placed prior to the start of paragraph fifteen. The Guodian (GD) edition contains paragraph markers that are indicated by "■" in the translation below. For images of the strips see *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 (Peking, 1998).

⁴⁷ This is the section that begins "Your visage and countenance are mild and changeable." 顏色容貌溫變也. and runs from the top of strips 32 through bottom of strip 37.

⁴⁸ Pang Pu 龐樸, "Zhubo 'Wuxing' Pian Bijiao" 竹帛《五行》篇比較, *Guodian Chumu yanjiu. Zhongguo zhaxue* 20. 郭店楚簡研究《中國哲學》(1999.1).

⁴⁹ Ikeda Tomohisa, *Maōtai kanbo hakusho gogyōhen kenkyū*, p. 171.

⁵⁰ Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian Jiaoduiji*, p. 78.

consistent than the Mawangdui edition and therefore represents the earlier form of the text.⁵¹ They argue that the differences in the placement of sections are the work of later Mawangdui editors who changed the order of paragraphs nineteen to twenty-one of the Guodian text because they repeat and expand upon paragraphs twelve to fourteen.

Schools and Authors

Much of the recent scholarship on “The Five Aspects of Conduct” has been concerned with ascertaining whom might have written the text, and the current consensus is that Zisi 子思⁵² was the author. If we could be certain about what Zisi stood for philosophically, this would be a major contribution to scholarship. Instead, we have simply matched a text without an author to an author we know little about from sources that are pre-Han.⁵³

There are three ways that scholars⁵⁴ relate “The Five Aspects of Conduct” to Zisi. The first way relies on evidence found in Xunzi’s 荀子 Chapter “Contra Twelve Masters” *Fei shier zi*, where he criticises Mencius 孟子 and Zisi’s 子思 “*Wuxing*” 五行. The second relates to the appearance of two sentences in the Mawangdui Explanation that are attributed to Shizi 世子. The third reason cites the presence of other texts attributed to Zisi that were also found in the Guodian tomb, increasing the likelihood that “The Five Aspects of Conduct” was by the same author.

We will begin with reasons that relate to “Contra Twelve Masters”. The Tang 唐 Dynasty (618–907) scholar Yang Liang 楊涼⁵⁵ interpreted the characters “*Wuxing*” 五行 in this chapter as representing “humanity”, “righteousness”, “the rites”, “wisdom” and “living up to your words” 信.⁵⁶ Since the discovery of a text also entitled *Wuxing* in the Mawangdui tomb, Pang Pu has wondered if Yang Liang might have been wrong and that these characters actually refer to the title of the recently discovered text “The Five Aspects of Conduct” (*Wuxing*).⁵⁷ If this is the case, then we are now able to read a text that was singled out as a target for criticism in the *Xunzi*:

Some men follow the model of the Ancient Kings in a fragmentary way, but they do not understand its guiding principles. Still their abilities are manifold, their memory great, and their experience and knowledge both varied and broad. They have initiated a theory for which they

⁵¹ Xing Wen 邢文, “Chujian ‘Wuxing’ Shilun” 郭店楚簡《五行》試論, in *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*, eds. Sarah Allan and Crispin Williams in Early China Special Monograph Series 5 (Berkeley, 2000), p. 2; Liao Mingchun 廖名春 “Jingmen Guodian Chujian yu Xianqin Ruxue” 荆門郭店楚簡與先秦儒學, *Guodian Chujian yanjiu. Zhongguo zhexue* 20. 郭店楚簡研究《中國哲學》(1999.1), p. 46.

⁵² Zisi is believed to have been Confucius’s grandson and the founder of the school where Mencius received his education. Fung Yulan, *History of Chinese Philosophy* vol. 1 (Princeton, 1959), p. 107.

⁵³ Jiang Guanghui provides citations beginning with the *Hanshu Yiwenzhi* 漢書藝文志 where Zisi is listed as an author. Unfortunately, we have no idea what these texts were aside from their titles. Jiang Guanghui 姜廣輝, “Guodian Chujian Yu Zisizi – Jiantan Guodian Chujian Di Sixiangshi Yiyi” 郭店楚簡與子思子兼談郭店楚簡的思想史意義, *Guodian Chujian Yanjiu. Zhongguo Zhexue* 20 郭店楚簡研究《中國哲學》(1999.1), p. 82.

⁵⁴ Li Xueqin 李學勤, Liang Tao 梁涛, Jiang Guanghui 姜廣輝, Li Jinglin 李景林, and Liao Mingchun 廖名春 all believe that this text was written by Zisi 子思. Li Xueqin, “Jingmen Guodian Chujian zhong de Zisizi”; Liang Tao 梁涛, “Xunzi dui Simeng ‘Wuxing shuo’ de Pipan” 荀子對思孟“五行”說的批判, *Chinese Culture Research*, (Summer 2001); Jiang Guanghui, “Guodian Chujian Yu Zisizi – Jiantan Guodian Chujian Di Sixiangshi Yiyi”; Li Jinglin 李景林, “Boshu ‘Wuxing’ Shendu Xiaoyi” 帛書《五行》慎獨說小議, *Renwen Zazhi* 人文雜叢 (2003.6); Liao mingchun 廖名春, “Guodian Chujian Rujia Zhuzuo Kao” 郭店楚簡儒家著作考, *Kongzi Yanjiu* 孔子研究 (1998.3).

⁵⁵ Exact dates unknown.

⁵⁶ Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1918), *Xunzi Jijie* 荀子集解 (Zhuzi Jicheng 諸子集成, ed.; Beijing, 1996), “Fei Shier Zi” 非十二子, p. 59.

⁵⁷ Pang Pu 龐樸, “Simeng Wuxing Kao” 思孟五行新考, *Wenshi* 7 文史第七輯 (2001).

claim great antiquity, calling it the Five Processes theory [五行].⁵⁸ Peculiar and unreasonable in the extreme, it lacks proper logical categories. Mysterious and enigmatic, it lacks a satisfactory theoretical basis. Esoteric and laconic in its statements, it lacks adequate explanations. To give their propositions a cloak of respectability and to win respect and veneration from them they claim: “These doctrines represent the genuine words of the gentleman of former times. Zisi provided the tune for them, and Mencius harmonized it.” The stupid, indecisive, deluded Ru of today enthusiastically welcome these notions, unaware that they are false. They pass on what they have received, believing that, on account of these theories, Confucius and Zi-gong⁵⁹ would be highly esteemed by later generations. It is in just this that they offend against Zisi and Mencius.⁶⁰ 略法先王而不知其統。猶然而材劇志人。聞見雜博。案往舊造說。謂之五行。其僻違而無類。幽隱而無說。閉約而無解。案飾其辭而祇敬之。曰。此真先君子之言也。子思唱之。孟軻和之。世俗之溝瀆皆備嚙然不知其所非也。遂受而傳之。以為仲尼子游為茲厚於後世。是則子思孟軻之罪也。⁶¹

The opening sentence of the quotation states that “Some men follow the model of the Ancient Kings in a fragmentary way”, 略法先王而不知其統. Jiang Guanghui 姜廣輝 argues that here Xunzi is criticising Zisi for not knowing about the broader principle of succession that grew from Yao 堯 to Shun 舜 and Yu 禹. Jiang feels that Zisi is a proponent of the principle of abdicating the throne. His evidence for this claim is the Guodian text “Tang Yu Zhi Dao”, 唐虞之道 which he sees as supporting a king abdicating and then selecting a worthy person as a successor rather than passing his position down hereditarily.⁶²

Pang Pu concludes that the following sentence indicates that Xunzi is critical of “The Five Aspects of Conduct”: “They have initiated a theory for which they claim great antiquity” 案往舊造說. He states that this shows Xunzi was primarily displeased with Zisi, who culled his ideas from disparate ancient sources to establish a new paradigm for discussing virtues. Pang Pu then sees “Mysterious and Enigmatic” 幽隱 and “esoteric and laconic” 閉約 as being concerns relevant to Xunzi’s primary objection. This analysis seems rhetorically unproblematic as Pang Pu is simply assuming that the arguments are being presented in order of importance.⁶³

Regardless of the differing analyses that we find of “Contra Twelve Masters”, we can be certain that Xunzi is somehow displeased with what he terms Zisi, Mencius and *Wuxing*. Unfortunately, the text is not explicit in stating if Xunzi is referring to individuals, groups, texts, or even schools of thought, so we are left to wonder about the true target of his criticism. In my opinion, the question remains unresolved, as this is the only passage in which Xunzi addresses the subject.

Therefore, despite the best efforts of the scholarship discussed above, I feel we lack sufficient evidence to conclude that Xunzi believed that Zisi wrote “The Five Aspects of

⁵⁸ This is John Knoblock’s translation of what I translate as “The Five Aspects of Conduct”. John Knoblock, *Xunzi A Translation and Study of the Complete Work* vol. 1. (Stanford, 1988) p. 224.

⁵⁹ The text states that it is Ziyou, but there is disagreement as to the accuracy of this. *Ibid.*, p. 303 n. 50.

⁶⁰ An anonymous reader pointed out and I agree that it is surprising that Knoblock translates this as “offends against Zisi and Mencius.” It seems Xunzi is criticising Zisi and Mencius. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁶¹ *Xunzi Jijie*, “Fei Shier Zi” 非世兒, pp. 59–60.

⁶² Jiang Guanghui, “Guodian Chujian Yu Zisizi – Jiantan Guodian Chujian Di Sixiangshi Yiyi”, p. 82. I do not believe that “Tang Yu Zhidao” is advocating abdication as the text is actually in favour of government that incorporates the advantages of meritocracy (inherent in abdication) with aristocracy, which is established by hereditary transmission. A transcription of the text is available here: Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian Jiaoduj*, pp. 95–99.

⁶³ Pang Pu, “Simeng Wuxing Kao”.

Conduct”. I agree with Yameng Liu, who has also found only a loose overall connection between any of the twelve masters in Xunzi’s work. When discussing “Contra Twelve Masters”, Liu states that “The accusations are, rather, eclectically based and rhetorically charged labels pointing to only one thing in common among the critiqued: their doctrines all deviate, in one way or another, from Xunzi’s version of Confucianism”.⁶⁴

Returning to the second of three ways that scholars relate “The Five Aspects of Conduct” to Zisi, Li Xueqin believes that Shizi 申子 is important to our assessment of this issue. The characters “Shizi” appear in the Explanation of the Mawangdui edition of the text, and Li believes that Shizi was the author of the Explanation portion. Although there is only a very brief section of the text that is attributed to Shizi, there are no sections from other individuals. Li then argues that Shizi must have been Shishuo 申頌, a disciple of one of Confucius’s seventy students. The implication of one of Confucius’s seventy students having taught the one who wrote the Explanation to “The Five Aspects of Conduct” means to Li that the author of the Canon must have been a person of even greater stature, such as Zisi.⁶⁵

One problem with this theory is that if Shizi wrote the Explanation, there is a potential problem with the sequence of events. Naturally, the Canon portion of “The Five Aspects of Conduct” would have to have been written before Shizi could write his Explanation. However, Shizi is supposed to have died long before the 300 BC date of the Guodian tomb. If Shizi actually wrote the Mawangdui Explanation then it would have been a likely candidate for inclusion in Guodian. Li resolves this problem by assuming that Shizi’s writings could have been recorded and compiled after his death by his students in a similar manner as the *Great Learning* 大學, which is supposed to have been recorded by Zengzi’s 曾子 disciples.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, Li cites no evidence for this assumption so it should be treated as speculative at this juncture.

A comparison with other texts from Guodian forms the third method of arguing that “The Five Aspects of Conduct” should be associated with Zisi. “Black Robes” and “Duke Mu of Lu Asked Zisi” are clearly connected with Zisi, and these two texts share some similarities with “The Five Aspects of Conduct”. Our first evidence that Zisi wrote “Black Robes” comes from the “The Annals of Music” in the *Sui Dynastic History* 隋書 where three chapters of the *Book of Rites*: “‘Zhongyong’, ‘Biaoji’, ‘Fangji’, and ‘Ziyi’ are all parts of the ‘Zisizi’”. 《禮記：中庸》，《表記》，《坊記》，《緇衣》皆取《子思子》。Liang Tao 梁濤 cites the above passage and notes that the writing style is similar in the “Biaoji”, “Fangji” and “Black Robes”. They all use the format of “The Master Said . . .” 子曰 . . . and quote frequently from the *Book of Odes*, *Book of Documents*, *Book of Changes*, and *Springs and Autumns*. Among these texts, the *Book of Odes* is quoted more frequently than the rest.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Liu Yameng, “Three Issues in the Argumentative Conception of Early Chinese Discourse”, *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 46 (January 1996), p. 33.

⁶⁵ Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Cong Jianbo Yiji ‘Wuxing’ Tandai ‘Daxue’” 從簡帛佚籍《五行》談到《大學》, *Kongzi yanjiu* 孔子研究 (1998.3), pp. 50–51.

⁶⁶ He relies on the following dates: Confucius 551–479 BCE, Zengzi 505–436 BCE, Zisi 483–402 BCE, Mencius 390–305 BCE. He previously thought that Shizi may have lived during Mencius’s time but now believes he lived around 450 BCE. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶⁷ Liang Tao 梁濤, “Guodian Chujian Yu ‘Zhongyong’” 郭店楚簡與《中庸》, *Gongan Taida Lishixuebao* number 25 公案 台大歷史學報 (2000.6), p. 32.

“The Five Aspects of Conduct” is similar in that it favours quotations from the *Book of Odes*, but also contains important differences. First, it never uses the phrase “The Master said”. Second, it is more of a unified philosophical work than the “Black Robes”. Liang believes that one possible explanation for these discrepancies is that they might represent two phases in the development of the Zisi School. The earlier phase relied more on quoting and interpreting the words of Confucius while the later school developed its own philosophical treatises.⁶⁸

Liao Mingchun provides a physical analysis of the bamboo strips to support the association of “The Five Aspects of Conduct” with “Black Robes”. He finds that the shapes of the strips of “The Five Aspects of Conduct” and “Black Robes” are essentially the same. His conclusion is that this increases the likelihood that the texts were written by either the same individual, or individuals with a common background.⁶⁹

The final evidence of the ideas of Zisi being present in the Guodian tomb can be found in the title of the document “Duke Mu of Lu asked Zisi”. It is interesting that the connection between these Duke Mu of Lu and Zisi is also attested to in *Mencius* 6B6, where Chunyu Kun 淳于髡 states “In the time of Duke Mu of Lu, Gong Yizi was in charge of affairs of state, and Ziliu and Zisi were in office, yet Lu dwindled in size even more rapidly than before.”⁷⁰ 魯繆公之時。公儀子為政。子柳子思為臣。魯之削也滋甚。⁷¹

There are two problems with citing the presence of texts attributed to Zisi as evidence that “The Five Aspects of Conduct” should be related to the school of Zisi. First, there are texts attributed to many different authors in the tomb, and Zisi does not even constitute a majority. Second, the only text that “The Five Aspects of Conduct” has been consistently found next to is the *Laozi*, and the two texts were clearly not written by the same author.

The idea that there is even a separate school of Zisi thinking originates in the Xianxue 顯學 chapter of the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, where it states that in the generation after Confucius, the Confucian school split into eight parts.⁷² Pang Pu, for example, questions whether the number of eight should be taken literally.⁷³ We must be cautious about drawing conclusions about a Confucian school based on the *Hanfeizi* as one of the dominant themes in the text is the criticism of the Confucians for being unable to provide a unified voice. Instead, Hanfei says that all the Confucians and Mohists can provide is endless debates that distract the emperor.⁷⁴

If we do accept that there was a separate entity known as the Zisi School, the question of what distinguishes it from other Confucian schools remains at present unanswered. One way of ordering the schools is to group Mencius and Zisi together. As we discussed above, this grouping is the result of Mencius and *Wuxing* being criticised jointly in the *Xunzi*. The problem with this assumption is that we cannot be sure that the *Wuxing* mentioned

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

⁶⁹ Liao mingchun, “Guodian Chujian Rujia Zhuzuo Kao”, pp. 73, 82–83.

⁷⁰ D. C. Lau, *Mencius* vol. 2, p. 251.

⁷¹ *Mengzi Zhengyi*, 6B.6 p. 489.

⁷² Liang Tao 梁涛, “Simeng Xuepai Kaoshu” 四孟學派考述, *Zhongguo Zhixue Shi* 3 中國哲學學史 (2002). He quotes the following: “Therefore, after Confucius and Mozi, the Confucians split into eight and the Mohists split into three.” 故孔墨之後。儒分為八。墨離為三。 Wang Xianshen 王先謙 (1859–1922), *Hanfeizi Jijie* (Zhuzi Jicheng 諸子集成, ed.; Beijing: Zhonghua, 1996), “Xianxue” 顯學, p. 351.

⁷³ Pang Pu, “Kong Meng Zhi Jian”, p. 22.

⁷⁴ Wang Xianshen, *Hanfeizi Jijie*, p. 351.

in *Xunzi* is the same as the *Wuxing* found in Guodian and Mawangdui.⁷⁵ Prior to the rediscovery of “The Five Aspects of Conduct” there was disagreement as to how to interpret the *Wuxing* mentioned in *Xunzi*. Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) questioned Yang Liang’s standard interpretation since Yang’s fifth item “living up to your words” 信 is not often used by Mencius. However, Liang was confident that Yang Liang’s explanation of the other four items of humanity, righteousness, the rites, and wisdom were plausible since Mencius himself groups them together in Chapters 6A.6 and 7A.21.⁷⁶ The earliest mention of the term *Wuxing* is in the *Book of Documents* “The Speech at Kan” 尚書甘誓: “The prince of Hu wildly wastes and despises the five elements . . .”⁷⁷ 有扈氏威侮五行 . . . After the Guodian discovery, it seems that the *Wuxing* alluded to here are not the five elements or Five Phases *Wuxing* of metal, wood, water, fire, earth 金木水火土. Instead, the term *Wuxing* might represent five virtues.

In conclusion, it should be noted that there is not unanimous acceptance of the theory that the *Wuxing* of *Xunzi* refers to “The Five Aspects of Conduct”. One scholar who disagrees is Ikeda Tomohisa. He believes that “The Five Aspects of Conduct” is a mixture of ideas present in the *Mencius*, *Xunzi*, and elsewhere. Mencius’s work represents the “way of heaven”, which Ikeda argues is the result of emphasising inborn characteristics that we have received from heaven.⁷⁸ *Xunzi*’s work represents the “way of humans”, according to Ikeda, since it emphasises the impact of social forces on the development of good behaviour. Ikeda further argues that in *Mencius* 6A.15, the relationship between the mind and body is unclear. Commentators claim that this passage implies that the mind is in control of the body, but the text itself is open to interpretation. The difference that Ikeda sees in *Xunzi* is that the mind is clearly separate from the rest of the bodily organs and controls them.⁷⁹ In “The Five Aspects of Conduct”, Ikeda also sees the mind as being in control of the body, which he feels may have influenced *Xunzi*.⁸⁰

The above analysis has shown that the more nuanced approaches of Ikeda Tomohisa and Pang Pu provide valuable insight into the development of the ideas of Mencius, *Xunzi* and “The Five Aspects of Conduct”. Ikeda points out ways that these three texts have important similarities in their basic assumptions about self-cultivation while Pang questions some of ways that “The Five Aspects of Conduct” has come to be linked with Zisi.⁸¹ Further exploration of these connections will continue to enhance our understanding of the intellectual history of early China. Conversely, attempts to determine the author of “The Five Aspects of Conduct” prior to sorting through its philosophical implications seems problematic, as it is likely to limit the range of theories scholars are willing to consider as to how this text relates to others from Guodian. As has been stated, “The Five Aspects of

⁷⁵ In fact this is not attested to in traditional commentaries. Pang Pu, “Simeng Wuxing Kao”.

⁷⁶ Liang Qichao 梁啟超, “Yinyang Wuxing Shuo Zhi Laili” 陰陽五行說之來歷, *Yinbingshi Wenji* 欽定四庫全書 vol. 7.36 卷三十一六 (Taipei, 1970), pp. 47–64.

⁷⁷ James Legge, *The Chinese Classics The Shoo King* 尚書 vol. 3 (First edition Hong Kong, 1861–1873. Reprinted, Taipei, 1968), p. 153.

⁷⁸ This is evident in *Mencius* 7A.1.

⁷⁹ As examples, he cites: *Xunzi* 荀子, “Zhengming” 正名 and “Jiebi” 解蔽.

⁸⁰ Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, “Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu ‘Wuxingpian’ Suojiande Shenxin Wenti” 馬王堆漢墓帛書《五行篇》所見的身心問題, *Daojia Wenhua Yanjiu Number 3*. 道家文化研究 第三輯.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*; Pang Pu, “Simeng Wuxing Kao.”

Conduct” was found alongside the Laozi on two occasions. A search for further affinities between these two texts should provide fruitful and interesting results.

Guodian Version of “The Five Aspects of Conduct”

1. The five aspects of conduct are: When humanity forms within [your heart] it is called virtuous conduct. If [humanity] is not formed within it is called a mere act. When righteousness forms within [your heart] it is called virtuous ❶⁸² conduct. If [righteousness] is not formed within it is called a mere act. When ritual forms within [your heart] it is called virtuous ❷ conduct. If [ritual] is not formed within it is called a mere act. When wisdom forms within [your heart] it is called virtuous conduct. If it is not formed within it is called a mere act. When sagacity forms within [your heart] it is called virtuous ❸ conduct. If [sagacity] is not formed within it is called a mere act. ■

1. 行五: 仁形於內謂之德之行, 不形於內, 謂之行。義形於內, 謂之德之❶行, 不形於內謂之行。禮形於內, 謂之德之行, 不形於內謂之❷(行智形)於內, 謂之德之行, 不形於內謂之行。聖形於內, 謂之德❸之行, 不行於內謂之行。■

2. There are five aspects of virtuous conduct, that, when united, are called virtue itself. When only four of these actions are united it is called being adept [at virtue]. Adeptness is the way of humans ❹ while virtue is the way of heaven. If a noble man’s inner heart lacks concern, then he will lose his inner heart’s wisdom. If his inner heart lacks wisdom, his inner heart will lack ❺ happiness. If his inner heart lacks happiness, he will not be at ease. Not being at ease he will lack joy and without joy he will lack virtue. ■⁸³

2. 德之行五和, 謂之德, 四行和, 謂之善。善, 人❹道也。德, 天道也。君子無中心之憂則無中心之智, 無中心之智則無中心❺(之悅。無中心之悅, 則不)安。不安, 則不樂。不樂, 則無德。■

3. If someone forms the five aspects of conduct within his inner heart and at the appropriate time practices them ❻ he is said to be a noble man. When a gentleman has his goals set on the way of a noble man he is said to have the goals [appropriate to] a gentleman being adept [at virtue] but not practicing it, you will not make progress. Being virtuous but lacking ❼ a goal your [virtue] will not be completed. Being Wise but not thinking you will not comprehend. Thinking without clarity, you will not have keen insight. Thinking without extension, you will not comprehend. Thinking without lightness, [the five aspects of conduct] will not be formed. Not being formed you will not be at ease. Not being at ease you will not be joyous, not being joyous ❸ you will lack virtue. ■

3. 五行皆形於內, 時行❻之, 謂之君(子)。士有志於君子道, 謂之志。善弗為無近, 德弗❷志不成, 智弗思不得。思精不察, 思不長 [不得, 思不輕]⁸⁴ 不形。不形不安, 不安不樂, 不樂❸無德。■

4. Not being humane your thoughts will not be clear. Not being wise your thoughts will not be extended. No humanity and no wisdom: “When I do not see my lord, my sorrowful

⁸² Numbers in black indicate ends of strips. Items in [] brackets in the English translation are my interpolations, while parenthesis in the Chinese indicates lacunae in the text that Li Ling has amended. Except where noted, characters are based on the following transcription: Li Ling, *Guodian Chujiàn Jiaodui*, pp. 78–80.

⁸³ The Mawangdui (MWD) version contains the following line that is absent here from the GD version: “If a noble man’s inner heart lacks concern, his inner heart will lack sagacity. If his inner heart lacks sagacity, his inner heart will lack happiness. If his inner heart lacks happiness, he will not be at ease. Not being at ease he will lack joy and without joy he will lack virtue.” 君子無中心之憂, 則無中心之聖。無中心之聖, 則無中心之說。無中心之說, 則不安。不安則不樂。不樂則無德。 Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, *Maōtai kanbo hakusho gogyōhen kenkyū* 馬王堆漢墓帛書五行篇研究 (Tokyo, 1993), p. 171.

⁸⁴ This interpolation is based on the MWD version.

heart ⑨ cannot be agitated.”⁸⁵ Now that I have seen him, my heart cannot be happy.⁸⁶ “And I have seen him and I have observed him my heart will be ⑩ happy.”⁸⁷ This is what the above quotation means. If you are not humane, your thoughts will not be clear. If you are not sagacious, your thoughts will not be light. No humanity and no sagacity: ①① “While we do not see our husbands, our hearts must not be full of grief. Let us but see our husbands and our hearts will not rest.”⁸⁸

4. 不仁, 思不能精。不智, 思不能長。不仁不智。“未見君子, 憂心 ⑨ 不能憐憐; 既見君子, 心不能悅; 亦既見之, 亦既觀之, 我心則 ⑩ (悅),” 此之謂(也) 不仁, 思不能精。不聖, 思不能輕。不仁不聖。①① “未見君子, 憂心不能惻惻; 既見君子, 心不能降。■

5. Humane thoughts: [they] are clear; being clear ①② you will have keen insight; having keen insight you will be at ease; being at ease you will be gentle; being gentle you will be happy; being happy your demeanour is pleasant; having a pleasant demeanour you will be intimate; being intimate you will be loving; loving your countenance will be jade-like;⁸⁹ having a jade-like countenance you will be formed, being formed you will be humane.

■ ①③

5. 仁之思也精。精 ①② 則察, 察則安, 安則溫, 溫則悅, 悅則戚, 戚則親, 親則愛, 愛則玉色, 玉色則形。形則仁。

■ ①⑤

6. Wise thoughts: [they] are extended; having extended [your thoughts] you will comprehend; once you comprehend you will not forget; not forgetting you will have keen vision; having keen vision you will be able to perceive a good and wise person; being able to perceive a good and wise person you will have a jade-like countenance; having a jade-like countenance you will be formed; being formed you will be ①④ Wise. ■

6. 智之思也長, 長則得, 得則不忘, 不忘則明。明則見賢人, 見賢人則玉色, 玉色則形, 形 ①④ 則智。■

7. Sagacious thoughts: [they] are light; being light they form, forming they will not be neglected, not neglecting you will have keen hearing;⁹⁰ having keen hearing you will hear

⁸⁵ The GD version reads: “未見君子憂心不能憐憐既見君子心不能悅亦既見之亦既觀之我心則悅。” The last character is likely 悅 based on the MWD version and the received *Book of Odes*. However, the first part of the quote is significantly different and a deliberate misquotation. The received *Book of Odes* reads: “When I do not see my lord, my sorrowful heart is agitated” James Legge, *The Chinese Classics The She King* 詩經 vol. 4 (First edition Hong Kong, 1861–1873. Reprinted, Taipei, 1968), p. 23. 未見君子憂心憐憐亦既見之亦既觀之我心則悅 *Mao Shi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (Shisan Jing Zhushu edition; Taipei, 1960), p. 14. This means that without humanity and wisdom, your heart does not respond appropriately. This same passage can be found in the Hanshi Waizhuan 韓詩外傳 “Confucius said, “The superior man has three worries: That he does not know – can he not but worry? That he knows but does not study [what he knows] – can he not but worry? That he studies but does not practice what he has studied – can he not but worry? The Ode says, “When I have not yet seen the superior man, My sorrowful heart is very sad.” James Robert Hightower tr., *Han Shih wai chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), p. 26. 孔子曰: “君子有三憂: 弗知, 可無憂與? 知而不學, 可無憂與? 學而不行, 可無憂與?” 《詩》曰: “未見君子憂心憐憐。” Hanshi Waizhuan 韓詩外傳 *Sibu Congkan* vol. 4 四部叢刊初編縮本第4, p. 6.

⁸⁶ The MWD version includes the characters *Shiyue* 識日 prior to this quotation.

⁸⁷ There is no misquotation here. *Mao Shi Zhengyi*, p. 14. James Legge, *The She King*, pp. 23–24.

⁸⁸ This sentence is adapted from “While we do not see our husbands, our hearts must be full of grief. Let us but see our husbands and our hearts will rest.” James Legge, *The She King*, p. 264. 未見君子, 憂心惻惻; 既見君子, 我心則降。 *Mao Shi Zhengyi*, p. 168. This quote is a reversal of the correct response your heart should have in such a situation.

⁸⁹ The terms “yuse,” “yuyin,” “jingsheng,” and “yuzhen” 玉色, 玉音, 金聲, 玉辰 appear to have a similar meaning in this text. They roughly represent an external manifestation of a person’s internal virtue. Yuse, is found in the “Yuzao” 玉藻 chapter of the *Book of Rites*. All other citations I found for these terms are later.

⁹⁰ 聰 is translated keen hearing to highlight the contrast with 明 keen sight that is dominant in this text.

the way of the noble man; hearing the way of the noble man you will be like jade sounds; being like jade sounds you will be formed; being formed you will be 15 Sagacious. ■

7. 聖之思也輕，輕則形，形則不忘，不忘則聰。聰，則聞君子道，聞君子道則玉音，玉音則形，形15則聖。■

8. “If a good person is a noble man, his manner is unified.”⁹¹ Only after you are able to unify [your manner] can you be a noble man. Then you are always cautious when alone.

■ 16

8. “淑人君子，其儀官一也。”能為一，然後能為君子。[君子]慎其獨也。■ 16

9. “I looked until I could no longer see her and cried like rain.”⁹² “Only when you are able to display your wings unevenly”⁹³ do you understand the utmost sadness. A noble man is cautious when 17 alone. ■

9. “(瞻望弗及)，泣涕如雨。”能“差池其羽，”然後能至哀。君子慎其17(獨)也。■

10. Regarding a noble man’s being adept [at virtue], there is something that he takes as the beginning and something that he takes as the end. Regarding a noble man being virtuous, 18 there is something that he takes as the beginning but nothing that he takes as the end. One who has a bronze [bell] voice and jade vibrancy is a virtuous one.

10. (君)子之為善也，有與始，有與終也。君子之為德也，18(有與始，有與)終也。⁹⁴金聲而玉振之，有德者也。■

11. A bronze [bell] voice is adept [at virtue] while jade vibrancy is sagacious. Being adept [at virtue] is the way of humans 19 while being virtuous is the way of heaven. Only those who have virtue, can have a bronze [bell] voice and jade vibrancy. Not having keen hearing you will lack keen vision, no sagacity no 20 wisdom; no wisdom no humanity; without humanity you will not be at peace; without peace you will not be joyous; without joy you will lack virtue. ■

11. 金聲，善也。玉音，聖也。善，人19道也。德，天(道)也。唯有德者，然後能金聲而玉振之。不聽不明，[不明不聖]，不聖不20智，不智不仁，不仁不安，不安不樂，不樂無德。■

12. If you are not open to change you will not be happy; if you are not happy you will not have a pleasant demeanour; if you do not have a pleasant demeanour you will not be intimate; if you are not intimate, you will not love; if you do not love you will not be humane.

12. 不變不悅，不悅不戚，不戚不親，不親不愛，不愛不仁。■

13. If you are not upright you will not be steadfast, not being steadfast, you will not be courageous; not being courageous 21 you will not admonish not admonishing you will not act [appropriately], not acting [appropriately], you will not be righteous. ■

13. 不直不肆，⁹⁵不肆不果，不果21不簡，不簡不行，不行不義。■

⁹¹ *Mao Shi Zhengyi*, pp. 77–78. James Legge, *The She King* vol. 4, p. 42–43.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Since this interpolation is based on the MWD edition, my translation reflects the decision by Pang Pu and Ikeda Tomohisa that this should read 無與終 “nothing he takes as the end.” Pang Pu, *Boshu Wuxingpian Yanjiu*, p. 34. Ikeda Tomohisa, *Maotai kanbo hakusho gogyōhen kenkyū*, p. 237.

⁹⁵ The MWD version uses the character 逝 *zhi* instead of 肆 *si*. In Explanation 11 of the MWD version, *zhi* appears as follows: “One who excels is one who completes.” 逝者終之者也. Ikeda Tomohisa, *Maotai kanbo hakusho gogyōhen kenkyū*, p. 259.

14. If you do not keep the appropriate distance you will not be reverent; if you are not reverent, you will not be stern; if you are not stern you will not show honour, if you do not show honour you will not be polite; if you are not polite you will not [follow the] rites. ■

14. 不遠不敬, 不敬不嚴, 不嚴不尊, 不尊不恭, 不恭不禮。■

15. One who has never **22** heard the way of the noble man, is said not to have keen hearing. One who has never seen a good and wise person, is said not to have keen vision. If you hear the way of the noble man but do not know **23** it is the way of the noble man this is called not being sagely. If you see a good and wise person but you do not know he has virtue, this is called not being wise. ■ **24**

15. 未嘗**22**聞君子道, 謂之不聰。未嘗見賢人, 謂之不明。聞君子道而不知**23**其君子道也, 謂之不聖。見賢人而不知其有德也, 謂之不智。■**24**

16. Seeing something and knowing it is wisdom ; hearing something and knowing it is sagacity. Illustrating the illustrious is wisdom and the dread of majesty is sagacity. "Illustration of illustrious [virtue] is required below and the dread of majesty **25** is on high".⁹⁶ This is what is meant. ■

16. 見而知之, 智也。聞而知之, 聖也。明明, 智也, 赫赫, 聖也。"明明在下, 赫赫**25**在上," 此之謂也。■

17. Hearing the way of the noble man is having keen hearing; hearing something and knowing it is sagacity. Sages know the way of heaven **26**. Knowing something and putting it into practice is righteousness. Practicing something with the appropriate timing is virtue. Recognising a good and wise person is having keen vision. Recognising something and **27** knowing it is wisdom. Knowing and being at peace is humanity. Being at peace and reverential is [following the] rites. Where sagemess, wisdom, ritual and joy are born is the harmonious combination of the five **28** aspects of conduct. Being unified there is joy. If there is joy there is virtue and a state and its families can arise. King Wen's appearance was like this. "King Wen **29** was on high and shone brightly upon all under heaven."⁹⁷ This is what is meant by the above quote. ■

17. 聞君子道, 聰也。聞而知之, 聖也。聖人知天**26**道也。知而行之, 義也。行之而時德也。見賢人, 明也。見而知之, **27**智也。知而安之, 仁也。安而敬之, 禮也。聖, 知禮樂之所由生也, 五**28**(行之所和)也。和則樂, 樂則有德, 有德則邦家興。文王之示也如此。"文**29**(王在上, 於昭)於天," 此之謂也。■

18. Recognising something and knowing it is wisdom. Knowing and being at peace is humanity. Being at peace **30** and practicing it, you are righteous. Practicing it and being reverential [is to follow] the rites. Humanity, righteousness and the rites are what emerge when you unify the four aspects of conduct. Having harmonised **31** them you can bring together; when together you are adept [at virtue].

18. 見而知之, 智也。知而安之, 仁也。安**30**而行之, 義也。行而敬之, 禮。仁義, 禮所由生也。四行之所和也, 和**31**則同, 同則善。■

19. Your visage and countenance are mild and changeable. When using your inner heart to interact with others, you will be happy. When your inner heart is happy, and you influence **32** your brothers' behaviour you have a pleasant demeanour. Having a pleasant demeanour

⁹⁶ Mao Shi Zhengyi, p. 236. James Legge, *The She King* vol. 4, p. 432.

⁹⁷ Mao Shi Zhengyi, p. 235. James Legge, *The She King* vol. 4, p. 427.

and living up to your words you are intimate. Being intimate and affectionate you will be loving. Loving your father and extending this to love others you are humane.

19. 顏色容貌溫變也。以其中心與人交，悅也。中心悅游，遷^{③②}於兄弟，戚也。戚而信之，親[也]。親而篤之，愛也。愛父，其繼愛人，仁也。■

20. When your inner heart ^{③③} discriminates and is appropriately put into practice you are upright. If you are upright and transmit it to others you are steadfast. If you are steadfast and are not intimidated by those who are strong and powerful you are courageous. You should not ^{③④} allow lesser concerns to jeopardise greater concerns, thus you admonish. If there is a serious crime with a capital punishment, this is called acting [correctly]. Venerating the noble, those with rank, and elevating the good and wise, you are righteous. ■^{③⑤}

20. 中心^{③③}辯然，而正行之，直也。直而遂之，肆也。肆而不畏強禦，果也。不^{③④}以小道害大道，簡也。有人罪而人誅之，行也。貴貴，其等尊賢，義也。■^{③⑤}

21. When using your external heart to interact with others you [maintain the appropriate] distance. [Maintaining the appropriate] distance and being stern, is reverence. Being reverent, but not [overly] frugal or regulated this is stern. Being stern and having awe ^{③⑥} you venerate. Venerating you will not be arrogant and can revere. Revering and widely interacting with others is [to act in accordance with] the rites. ■

21. 以其外心與人交，遠也。遠而莊之敬也。敬而不懈，嚴也。嚴而畏^{③⑥}之，尊也。尊而不驕，恭也。恭而博交，禮也。■

22. Without admonishment you cannot act [appropriately]. Not being lenient you cannot have insight into the way ^{③⑦}. Meting out a capital punishment for a serious crime is admonishment. Issuing a pardon for an insignificant crime is being lenient. Not ^{③⑧} meting out a capital punishment for a serious crime is not acting [properly]. Not issuing a pardon for an insignificant crime you cannot have been insight into the way.

22. 不簡，不行。不^{③⑦}於道。有人罪而人誅之，簡也。有小罪而赦之，匿也。有人罪而弗^{③⑧}人誅也，不行也。有小罪而弗赦也，不辯於道也。■

23. Admonishment as a term is like remonstrating⁹⁸ ^{③⑨} that can only be applied to the great and rare cases. Leniency as a term is like being lenient for minor crimes⁹⁹ that can be applied to lesser and more common¹⁰⁰ cases. Admonishment is the method of righteousness. Leniency ^{④⑩} is the method of humanity. That which is hard¹⁰¹ is the method of righteousness, while that which is soft is the method of humanity. “He was

⁹⁸ Wei Qipeng feels that (lian) 練 should be (jian) 諫 and cites the *Zhouli* “Diguan” “Shuguan” 《周禮·地官·序官》 where the note states that (jian) 諫 means “to make upright having the justice of execution” 正行誅殺之義。Wei Qipeng 魏啟鵬, “Jianbo ‘Wuxing’ Jianshih” 簡帛《五行》箋釋, *Chutu Wenxian Yizhu Yanxi Congshu* 出土文獻學研究叢書 (Taipei, 2000), 44–45. In the MWD version, the character 賀: “Congratulations” appears. Ikeda Tomohisa, *Maotai kanbo hakusho gogyōhen kenkyū*, p. 419.

⁹⁹ Pang Pu states that the second *ni* (匿) should be pronounced *te*(4) 慝 meaning depraved or to do evil. In this case, due to the previous context it should refer to a *xiaozui* 小罪. Thus it means to be lenient for minor crimes. The evidence he cites for this meaning is Xunzi’s “Yuelunpian” 樂論篇 and “Tianlunpian” 天論篇 where commentators argue in both cases that *ni* 匿 should be *te* 慝. Pang Pu, *Boshu Wuxingpian Yanjiu*, p. 56 n. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Ikeda and Pang Pu agree that *yan* 晏 should mean rare and that *zhen* 慝 should be a contrasting term such as common. Ikeda Tomohisa, *Maotai kanbo hakusho gogyōhen kenkyū*, pp. 425–426 n. 14–15. Pang Pu 龐樸, “Zhubo ‘Wuxing’ Pian Jiaozhu Ji Yanjiu” 竹帛《五行》篇校注及研究, *Chutu Wenxian Yizhu Yanxi Congshu* Poog. (Wanjuanlou 萬卷樓, 2000), p. 71 n. 1, 3.

¹⁰¹ Li Ling transcribes “hard” 剛 as “strong” 強 here and in the quote that follows from the *Book of Odes*. In both cases, I follow the original Wenwu transcription of “hard,” which is also followed by Ikeda Tomohisa.

Li Ling, *Guodian Chujian Jiaoduji*, p. 80. *Guodian Chumu zhujian* (Peking: Wenwu, 1998) p. 154 n. 55. Ikeda Tomohisa 池田以久 “Kakuten sobo chikukan gogyō yakuchū” 郭店楚墓竹簡“五行”譯註, *Kakuten Sokan no shisōshi*

neither violent nor hasty neither hard nor soft.”¹⁰² This summarises what I am referring to 4 1. ■

23. 簡之為言也，猶練 3 9 也，大而晏者也。匿之為言也猶匿也，小而軫者也。簡，義之方也。匿，4 0 仁之方也。強，義之方。柔，仁之方也。“不強不練，不剛不柔，”此之謂 4 1 也。■

24. A noble man puts the great parts together. Those who are able to do this from beginning to end are noble men¹⁰³ those who cannot do this to the end can cease where they dwell. For the case of grave 4 2 and rare crimes, the noble man adopts [admonishment]. In the case of minor and common crimes, he adopts [leniency].

When pure sacrificial meats are offered by one who follows the way of the noble man he is called a good and wise person.¹⁰⁴ When you know a noble 4 3 man and recruit him, this is called respecting the good and wise. When you know [a noble man] and assign him duties, this is called respecting good and wise people. The latter is a gentleman respecting a good and wise person. ■¹⁰⁵ 4 4

24. 君子集大成。能進之為君子，弗能進之，各止於其表。大而 4 2 晏者，能有取焉。小而軫者，能有取焉。胥億億遠諸君子道，謂之賢。君 4 3 子知而舉之，謂之尊賢。知而事之謂之尊賢者也。前，王公之尊賢者也；後，上之尊賢者也。■

25. Ears, eyes, nose, mouth, hands and feet are the six that the mind employs. If the mind says yes¹⁰⁶ none dare not say yes. If it [says to] agree, none dare disagree. If it [says to] 4 5 advance none dare not advance. If it [says to] withdraw none dare not withdraw. If it [says to] go deep none dare not go deep. If it [says to] go shallow, none dare not go shallow. There is harmony there is equality; when there is equality there is adeptness [at virtue]. ■ 4 6

25. 耳口鼻手足六者，心之役也。心口唯莫敢不唯；若莫敢不諾；4 5 進莫敢不進；後莫敢不後；深莫敢不深；淺莫敢不淺。和則同同則善。■ 4 6

26. When you see something and understand it is called advancement. When you understand something from a metaphor it is called getting closer. When you understand something from a parable this is called making progress. 4 7 Only heaven knows the minute signs. “Shangdi is with you, have no doubts in your heart.”¹⁰⁷ That is the case referred to here. ■

teki kenkyū 郭店楚簡的思想史的研究第一卷 (Tōkyō : Tōkyō Daigaku Bungakubu Chūgoku Shisō Bunkagaku Kenkyūsisu 東京大學郭店楚簡研究會編, 1999), p. 42.

The MWD version also uses “hard” instead of “strong”. Ikeda Tomohisa, *Maōtai kanbo hakusho gogyōhen kenkyū*, p. 419.

¹⁰² This translation is based on the received ode translated by James Legge: 不誠不練不剛不柔 “He was neither violent nor remiss neither hard nor soft” Legge treats *qiu*(綽) as meaning *huan*(緩): remiss or slow. *Book of Odes* 詩經 James Legge, *The She King* vol. 4, p. 641. However, an unattributed note states that *qiu*(綽) should be *ji*(急) in haste, which is why the above translation was altered. *Mao Shi Zhengyi* p. 802.

¹⁰³ Ikeda cites various sources for the phrase “cease where they dwell.” First is “humanity has neighbours, righteousness has gates . . .” 仁有里義有門 . . . *Xunzi Jijie*, “Dalu Pian” 大略篇, p. 324. He also lists “In neighbourhoods, humanity is best. If you select not to dwell in a humane (neighbourhood) how can you be considered wise?” 里仁為美 擇不處仁，焉得知. *Lunyu Zhengyi*, 4.1, p. 74. Ikeda Tomohisa, *Maōtai kanbo hakusho gogyōhen kenkyū*, p. 450 n. 8. This line from *Analects* 4.1 is also quoted in *Mencius* 2A.7.

¹⁰⁴ This sentence is unclear.

¹⁰⁵ The MWD version reads: “前，王公之尊賢者也。後，上之尊賢者也”.

¹⁰⁶ Ikeda notes that the *Shuowen Jiezi* 《說文解字》 defines “wei” 唯 as “nuo” 諾. As both of these character appear one after another here the meaning of “wei” should be understood as yes or showing agreement. Ikeda Tomohisa, *Maōtai kanbo hakusho gogyōhen kenkyū*, p. 481 n. 6; Jiang Renjie 蔣人傑, *Shuowen Jiezi Jizhu* 說文解字集注 (Shanghai, 1996), Vol. 1 p. 256.

¹⁰⁷ Translation is based on James Legge. *Mao Shi Zhengyi*, p. 236. James Legge, *The She King* vol. 4, p. 463.

26. 口而知之，謂之進之。喻而知之謂之進之，譬而知之謂之進之，**4 7** 幾而知之，天也。“上帝臨汝，毋貳爾心，”此之謂也。■

27. Heaven gives to all of its people.¹⁰⁸ Close relations are what are bestowed upon all of its people. ■

27. 天施諸其人，天也。其**4 8**人施諸人，狎也。■

28. Those that hear the way and are happy are those that like humanity. Those that hear the way and are awed by it are those who are fond of **4 9** righteousness. Those who hear the way and are reverent are those who are fond of the rites. Those who hear the way and are joyous are those who like virtue. ■ **5 0**

28. 聞道而悅者，好仁者也。聞道而畏者，好**4 9**義者也。聞道而恭者，好禮者也。聞道而樂者，好德者也。■**5 0**

¹⁰⁸ In the MWD edition it reads: “天生諸其人” Heaven engenders greatly upon humans.