VARIETIES OF TEXTUAL VARIANTS: EVIDENCE FROM THE TSINGHUA BAMBOO-STRIP *MING XUN* MANUSCRIPT

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Abstract

Ming xun 命訓 is a text included among the Tsinghua University corpus of Warring States manuscripts and corresponds with a chapter by the same title in the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書. Although the manuscript and received text are quite similar, nevertheless there are numerous textual variants between them. This study provides examples of these variants, divided into five different categories: mis-writing or mis-copying; classifier variation; phonetic loans; graphic similarity; added or deleted text, as well as a sixth type of variant that might be termed "identical variants." The study also provides complete translations of both the manuscript and received text.

Introduction

The fifth volume of the Tsinghua (Qinghua 清華) University Warring States bamboo strips has just been published, with six new manuscripts.[1] As with the first four volumes of this corpus, these new manuscripts can only be described as of startling significance. They are, in the order in which they are presented in the volume: *Houfu* 厚父, which includes a passage quoted in the *Mencius* as coming from the *Documents* (*shu* 書),[2] and which has therefore been identified as a lost

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1. Qinghua daxue Chutu wenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin 清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心 ed., Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed.-in-chief, *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (Wu)* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡（伍） (Shanghai: Zhong Xi, 2015).

I am grateful to Christoph Harbsmeier, David Lebovitz, and Boqun Zhou, with whom I read this text and whose ideas inform much of the translation.

2. *Mengzi* 孟子, "Liang Hui Wang xia" 梁惠王下 (*Mengzi zhushu* 孟子注疏, *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏ed., 1815; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980), 2A.11 (2675) includes the following passage:

《書》曰：天降下民，作之君，作之師，惟曰其助上帝寵之。

The *Documents* says: "Heaven sent down the lower people and made for them rulers and made for them teachers, and said: 'Would that they help the Lord on High cherish them.'"

chapter of the *Shang shu* 尚書 or *Venerated Documents; Feng Xu zhi ming* 封許之命 or *The command establishing Xu*, which is an example of the *ming* 命 or "command" genre that is also represented in the *Shang shu*; **Ming xun* 命訓 or *The instruction on commands*, which corresponds closely with the chapter by that title in the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 or *Leftover Zhou documents*;[3] **Tang chu yu Tang Qiu* 湯處於湯丘 or *Tang resided at Tang Mound*, and **Tang zai Di Men* 湯在啻門 or *Tang was at the Di Gate*, both of which share formal features and both of which purport to be conversations between Tang 湯 (i.e., 唐), the founder of the Shang dynasty, and Yi Yin 伊尹, his counselor; and *Yin Gao Zong wen yu San Shou* 殷高宗問於三壽 or *Yin Gao Zong asked the Three Elders*, which purports to be a conversation between the Shang king Gao Zong 高宗 (i.e., Wu Ding 武丁) and three aged advisers, especially Peng Zu 彭祖.[4] Each one of these texts merits detailed study, and will surely be the topic of much discussion in the years to come.

In the present article, I propose to study just one of these manuscripts: the **Ming xun* or *The instruction on commands*. The manuscript is not titled, but the Tsinghua editors have given it the title because, as noted above, it

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Compare the following passage in the Tsinghua manuscript *Houfu* (strip #5):

古天降下民設萬邦作之君作之師佳曰其勸上帝嚳下民之匿

> In antiquity, Heaven sent down the lower people and set up the ten-thousand countries, and made for them rulers and made for them teachers, and said: "Would that that they help the Lord on High untangle the lower people's flaws."

Although the correspondence is not exact, it is certainly close enough to suggest the identity of the two passages. Since the *Houfu* purports to be a discussion between an unnamed king of the Xia dynasty and his minister Houfu 厚父, and shares both wording and tone with chapters in the received text of the *Shang shu*, it would seem to be a reasonable inference that it is the text quoted by the *Mencius.*

3. I here follow the recent Western practice of differentiating between manuscripts that are explicitly titled and those for which the modern editors have assigned the title by marking the latter type of title with an *-asterisk.

4. For *Houfu*, see *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (Wu)*, *shang* 上, 2–3 (full-size photographs), *shang*, 25–36 (enlarged photographs), *xia* 下, 109–16 (transcription and commentary by Zhao Ping'an 趙平安); *Feng Xu zhi ming: shang*, 4–5, *shang*, 37–44, *xia*, 117–23 (Li Xueqin); **Ming xun: shang*, 6–9, *shang*, 45–57, *xia*, 124–33 (Liu Guozhong 劉國忠); **Tang chu yu Tangqiu: shang*, 10–13, *shang*, 59–70, *xia*, 134–40 (Shen Jianhua 沈建華); **Tang zai Di Men: shang*, 14–17, *shang*, 71–83, *xia*, 141–48 (Li Shoukui 李守奎); *Yin Gao Zong wen yu San Shou: shang*, 18–21, *shang*, 85–105, *xia*, 149–60 (Li Junming 李均明).

corresponds quite closely with a chapter by that title in the received text of the *Yi Zhou shu*. The manuscript is written on fifteen bamboo strips, a complete strip being about 49 cm long by .6 cm wide, and originally bound with three binding straps. The text is virtually complete, and very clearly written in the script of the state of Chu 楚. Strips 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 14, and 15 are all broken at the top, with the loss of one or two characters each; strip 12 is broken at the bottom with the loss of probably three characters; and strip 14 is also broken in the middle with the loss of one other character. Other than the final strip (#15), the strips are numbered on the back, though the number on strip 4 is missing and the number on strip 12 would have come at the point at which the strip is broken and is thus missing. As are all of the Tsinghua manuscripts, the *Ming xun* is beautifully published, first with full-size color photographs, then with enlarged color photographs, followed by transcriptions and notes, and finally with a complete index of character shapes (*wenzi bian* 文字編). The Tsinghua editor of this manuscript is Liu Guozhong 劉國忠, a member of the editorial team assembled by the Center for the Study and Preservation of Excavated Manuscripts (Chutu wenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin 出土文獻研究與保護中心) of Tsinghua University.

The "Ming xun" chapter is the second text in the received text of the *Yi Zhou shu*, following immediately after "Du xun" 度訓 or "The instruction on degrees" and preceding "Chang xun" 常訓 or "The instruction on constancies." As Liu Guozhong points out in his prefatory remarks to the Tsinghua *Ming xun*, these three chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu* all share similar formats, wording, and philosophy. All three discuss heaven's giving birth to the people and the creation of "degrees" (*du* 度), primarily by "enlightened kings" (*ming wang* 明王). The texts are marked by explicit parallel structures, both in their overall argumentation and also at the level of the sentence, discussing how good order should be developed to the full (*ji* 極), but not made absolute, being flexible within certain constancies. As Liu Guozhong notes, all three texts are very much of a piece, and must have been composed at the same time. In the past, these three chapters were relatively neglected, and even suspected of being Han or later compositions. With the discovery of the Qinghua text of *Ming xun*, it is now clear that this one text, at least, dates no later than the fourth century B.C.E. It stands to reason that the other two texts should also date to the same period.

The three chapters "Du xun," "Ming xun" and "Chang xun" are not the only portion of the *Yi Zhou shu* that has been relatively neglected in Chinese textual scholarship. Indeed, the entire text has received less attention than it is due. Tradition holds that the *Yi Zhou shu* was originally a collection of seventy Zhou dynasty texts that Confucius left out (*yi* 逸) of his collection of the *Shang shu*, which is supposed to have

originally included exactly one hundred chapters. In the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 or "Record of arts and letters" chapter of the *Han shu* 漢書, the *Yi Zhou shu* (referred to as simply *Zhou shu* 周書) is listed together with the *Shang shu.* However, beginning with the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 or "Record of classics and texts" bibliography of the *Sui shu* 隋書, the title was relegated to the category "Miscellaneous Histories" (*za shi* 雜史). The oldest extant edition is a Yuan-dynasty edition of 1354, but this has rarely been seen in subsequent centuries. In the preface to the earliest critical edition, Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717–1795) cites seven different editions that he consulted, his base text being a Jiajing 嘉靖 era (1507–1567) text of a Zhang Nie 章檗, which is reproduced in the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition of the *Yi Zhou shu.* During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the *Yi Zhou shu* attracted attention from such notable scholars as Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744–1832), Ding Zongluo 丁宗洛 (1771–1841), Chen Fengheng 陳逢衡 (1778–1855), Tang Dapei 唐大沛 (fl. 1836), Zhu Youzeng 朱右曾 (1838 *jinshi*), Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908), and Liu Shipei 劉師培 (1884–1919), all of whom authored commentaries or critical textual studies.[5] Throughout most of the twentieth century, however, the text lapsed into obscurity again, with only certain chapters attracting attention.[6] More recently, Huang Huaixin 黃懷信 has produced both a modern translation and also a collected-commentaries edition that has now become a standard edition, at least in mainland China.[7]

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5. Lu Wenchao's critical edition, simply entitled *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, was originally published in his Baojingtang congshu 抱經堂叢書 (1786), and is reprinted in the Sibu beiyao 四部備要 edition. For the others, see Ding Zongluo 丁宗洛, *Yi Zhou shu guanjian* 逸周書管箋 (Haikang 海康: Yuyuan 迂園, 1825); Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Du Yi Zhou shu za zhi* 讀逸周書書雜志, in *Huang Qing jingjie xubian* 皇清經解續編 (Jiangyin 江陰: Nanjing shuyuan 南菁書院, 1888), *juan.* 209–12; Chen Fengheng 陳逢衡, *Zhou shu buzhu* 周書補注 (Jiangdu: 江都: Xiumei shan guan 修梅山館, 1825); Tang Dapei 唐大沛, *Yi Zhou shu fenbian jushi* 逸周書分編句釋 (Taibei: Xuesheng, 1969); Zhu Youzeng 朱右曾, *Zhou shu ji xun jiaoshi* 周書集訓校釋 (Jiading 嘉定: Guiyanzhai 歸硯齋, 1846); Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, *Zhou shu jiaobu* 周書斠補 (Rui'an 瑞安: Zhouqing 籀廎, 1900); Liu Shipei 劉師培, *Zhou shu buzheng* 周書補正, in *Liu Shenshu xiansheng yishu* 劉申叔先生遺書 4 vols. (1934–36; rpt. Taibei: Daxin, 1965), vol. 2, 867–933.

6. In 1976, Huang Peirong 黃沛榮 completed a Ph.D. dissertation entitled "*Zhou shu yanjiu*" 周書研究 (Taiwan University, 1976). For a brief introduction to the *Yi Zhou shu*, see Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley, CA: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993), 229–33. In English, the only monographic treatment to be accorded the *Yi Zhou shu* is Robin McNeal, *Conquer and Govern: Early Chinese Military Texts from the* Yizhou Shu (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), which provides a translation of five chapters of the text (chapters 6–10).

7. Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, *Yi Zhou shu jiaobu zhuyi* 逸周書校補注譯 (Xi'an: Xibei daxue, 1996); Huang Huaixin, Zhang Maorong 張懋鎔, and Tian Xudong 田旭東, *Yi Zhou shu huijiao jizhu* 逸周書彙校集注 (rev. ed. Shanghai: Shanghai, Guji 2007).

The *Ming xun text, whether of the Tsinghua manuscript or as a chapter of the Yi Zhou shu, is a very tightly structured essay, discussing the methods and aims of governance. It can be divided into three major sections. The first section enumerates six general methods or tools of governance: "commands" (ming 命), "good fortune" (fu 福), "misfortune" (huo 禍), "shame" (chi 恥) or "disgrace" (chou 醜),[8] "rewards" (shang 賞), and "punishments" (fa 罰). According to the text, if these six tools are correctly implemented then "the degrees of good order will reach to the limit" (du zhi yu ji 度至于極). However, the second section introduces a complication: deliberately pushing these methods to their limit produces a counter-effect, which results in disorder. The third section then provides a still more detailed list of twelve ways in which the ruler interacts with the people: "soothing" (fu 撫), "harmonizing" (he 和), "gathering" (lian 斂), "entertaining" (yu 娛), "instructing" (xun 訓), "teaching" (jiao 教), "governing" (zheng 正), "mobilizing" (dong 動), "encouraging" (quan 勸), "terrifying" (wei 畏), "looking upon" (lin 臨), and "putting in motion" (xing 行), as well as the means that he uses to do so: "generosity" (hui 惠), "equality" (jun 均), "sorrow" (ai 哀), "joy" (le 樂), "ritual" (li 禮), "government" (zheng 政), "tasks" (shi 事), "awards" (shang 賞), "punishments" (fa 罰), "centeredness" (zhong 中), and "balance" (quan 權), working forward and backwards and then forward again through these lists, counseling their implementation, but always in moderation. Much of the advice to avoid extremes will be familiar from other Warring States philosophical works. For instance, the superior is advised "to harmonize them (i.e., the people) with equality" (he zhi yi jun 和之以均), but "equality is not identical" (jun bu yi 均不一), for "if equality is identical then it is not harmonious" (jun yi bu he 均一不和). This is similar to the dictum in the Analects of Confucius "to harmonize but not to treat as the same" (he er bu tong 和而不同). Being "centered" (zhong) and being "balanced" (quan) are particularly emphasized as the most important of these means.

While the Tsinghua *Ming xun manuscript and the Yi Zhou shu "Ming xun" chapter are extremely similar, such that there can be no doubt that they are simply two versions of a single text, a comparison of the two texts reveals numerous variant readings. Liu Guozhong argues that the variants show the received text to be decidedly corrupt, and it is hard to disagree with this appraisal. I am well aware that much recent scholarship argues that it is misguided to prefer one variant to another.[9] However,

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8. As will be noted below (n. 12), whereas the manuscript writes chi 恥 "shame," the received text systematically writes chou 醜 "disgrace."

9. For perhaps the most eloquent statement of this argument, see Bernard Cerquiglini, Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philology (Paris: Éditions du

not all variants are created equal. It is clear that over the course of the two or more millennia of the text's transmission, one or probably more than one copyist or scribe did not fully understand the fine points of the text, and introduced any number of errors into it. Indeed, it is not altogether surprising that the received text of the "Ming xun" text should have been relatively neglected throughout history; it simply does not read as well as it should. However, the Tsinghua manuscript shows that the text was once quite precise and quite subtle.

To demonstrate the advantages of the manuscript probably requires a complete translation of the text, preferably also comparing it with the received text. I will do this, providing complete translations of both versions of the text (as well as a separate "structured" translation that I hope will reveal some of the internal structure of the text). However, in the hope of drawing some more general conclusions concerning the process of textual transmission in traditional China, I will precede these translations with a consideration of the varieties of variants found in the two texts.

Some problems in the received text had already been identified by earlier scholars (though some of their suggestions have also proven to be wrong). But many others have come to light only with the appearance of the Tsinghua manuscript. In addition to shedding important light on this one text, the differences between the Tsinghua *Ming xun* and the received "Ming xun" provide excellent illustrations of the many different varieties of textual variants found in all received Chinese texts, and thus can have a more general significance as well. In this article, I propose to examine five different types of variants found in the Tsinghua *Ming xun* and the received "Ming xun" text. I will give two examples of each: simple writing or copying errors; classifier variation; phonetic loans; variants caused by graphic similarity; and the addition or deletion of words, sometimes apparently for the purpose of making an intended reading more explicit. I will also include one pseudo-variant, which may be even more illustrative of editorial practices, both traditional and modern. In most cases (though not necessarily in all), it seems certain, as suggested by Liu Guozhong, that the reading of the Tsinghua manuscript is preferable to that of the received text in

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Seuil, 1989). I myself have made a similar argument with respect to variants in the *Zhou Yi* 周易 or *Zhou Changes* and its tradition; see Xia Hanyi 夏含夷, "Jianlun 'Yuedu xiguan': Yi Shangbo *Zhou Yi Jing* gua wei li" 簡論"閱讀習慣"：以上博《周易·菉》卦 为例, *Jianbo* 简帛 4 (2009), 385–94.

the *Yi Zhou shu*.[10] Most of these variants were doubtless caused simply by the vagaries of traditional textual transmission, exacerbated in the case of the *Yi Zhou shu* by its non-canonical status and relative neglect by serious editors. However, some seem to have been deliberate attempts to "improve" the text.

Between the Tsinghua **Ming xun* and the received text of the "Ming xun" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*, there are of course numerous more or less incidental variants for which a systematic critical edition would need to account, but which will have to pass more or less undiscussed here. These include the systematic variation between the manuscript's *cai* 才 and the received text's *zai* 在 in the sense of "in" or "at," between the manuscript's *ru* 如 and the received text's *ruo* 若 in the sense of "if," or the manuscript's *wang* 亡 and the received text's *wu* 無 in the sense of "there is none."[11] Other occasional variants that do not seem to affect the sense of the text are between the manuscript's *nai* 乃 and the received text's *ze* 則 in the sense of "then" (as seen on strip #8), or between the manuscript's *jue* 乒 "their; those" and the received text's *ci* 此 "these" (strip #10). The difference between the manuscript's negative *fu* 弗 and the received text's *bu* 不 on strip #8 might be more important, but this variation is extremely common in excavated manuscripts and the present example does not shed any additional light on the usage of the two negatives. I will also not discuss cases of the presence or absence of the pronoun *qi* 其 (e.g., on strips ##7 and 8) or of the particles *yi* 矣 (strip #8) or *ye* 也 (e.g., in the received text corresponding to strip #8). Nor will I discuss the systematic variation between the manuscript's *chi* 恥 "ashamed" and the received text's *chou* 醜 "disgraced,"[12] or between such synonymous locutions

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10. An anonymous referee for *Early China* objects to any notion of text criticism that prefers one variant over another. Conceptually interesting though such an objection may be—especially for temporally parallel texts—it has been well documented for centuries that when texts are transmitted by scribal copying, variants are almost invariably introduced into the copies. It seems worthwhile studying how these variants may have been produced.

11. The variation between *wang* 亡 and *wu* 無 is common in Chinese excavated texts. Indeed, many readers simply read 亡 as *wu*, and unproblematically transcribe it as 无 or 無. The **Ming xun* manuscript may offer some support for this reading practice. On strip #11, there is a passage written as 扜之以季, but read, primarily on the basis of the received text, as *fu zhi yi hui* 撫之以惠 "soothe them with generosity." If 扜 is indeed to be read as *fu* 撫 "to soothe," then it would demonstrate phonetic contact between 亡 and *wu* 無.

12. *Chi* 恥 "ashamed" and *chou* 醜 "disgraced" are synonyms, and the variation between them does not influence the meaning, at least very much. It is, however, interesting to note that in the "Chang xun" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*, the "six limits" (*liu ji*

as the manuscript's *tong sang* 痛喪 "to be pained by mourning" and the received text's *wu si* 惡死 "to hate death" (strip #4). Instead, I hope that the variations I propose to examine will have more general implications.

In the examples examined below, "T" represents the "Tsinghua" manuscript, while "Y" represents the "*Yi Zhou shu*" received text. For the manuscript, I provide two transcriptions, the first, "T1," a direct transcription that attempts to reflect exactly what is written, and the second, "T2," an interpretive "exploded" reading, which is that which the Tsinghua editor adds in parentheses. I include the punctuation given by the editor. I indicate in parentheses the number of the strip on which the text in question is found. Below these two transcriptions, I give the corresponding text in the *Yi Zhou shu*, as found in the *Sibu congkan* edition of the text. I provide punctuation for this text as well, to make the reading easier to follow, though it was not originally punctuated. I also provide English translations of both the manuscript and received text. I highlight the variation in question with underlining in the Chinese and by italics in the English. I have strived to render the variants explicit in both translations. For the complete context of both versions of the text, see the complete translations given in the Appendices to this article.

Variety 1: Mis-Writing or Mis-Copying

The first example seems to be a case of simple mis-writing or mis-copying on the part of the manuscript scribe. The second example seems to be a simple case of transposition, in which the received text has copied a passage from another portion of the text and inserted it in place of an original passage.

EXAMPLE 1

T1:　　天古卲命以命力曰　　　【10】

T2:　　天故昭命以命力（之）曰

Y:　　明王是故昭命以命之曰：

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六極) are enumerated as "command" (*ming* 命), "hearing" (*ting* 聽), "good fortune" (*fu* 福), "awards" (*shang* 賞), "misfortune" (*huo* 禍), and "punishment" (*fa* 罰). In his critical edition, Lu Wenchao emended *ting* 聽 to *chou* 醜, presumably on the basis of other usage throughout this and the other two related chapters. Now with the corresponding word in the **Ming xun* manuscript being *chi* 恥,written as 佴, it seems possible to explain this variant: some early version of the "Chang xun" chapter doubtless also read either 佴 or, more likely 恥, and the "ear signific" caused this to be mistaken for *ting* 聽.

T: Heaven therefore made radiant the mandate in order to command *power* saying:

Y: Enlightened kings for this reason made radiant the mandate in order to command *them* saying:

"To command power" (*ming li* 命力) makes no sense in the context. For this reason, the Tsinghua editor places the pronoun *zhi* 之 "them" in parentheses after *li* 力 in his transcription, indicating that he understands the graph to be mis-written. Of course, his understanding is doubtless influenced by the received text, which does indeed have a *zhi* 之 after the verb *ming* 命. The editor adds a note in which he remarks simply enough that he suspects that *li* is an error. In the manuscript, *li* is written 力, which is not particularly graphically similar to *zhi*, written on the same strip as 之. Nevertheless, although the stroke order is certainly different, perhaps the two characters are similar enough in shape to cause them to be mistaken. Of course, it is also possible that this was just a slip of the brush. In any event, the reading of the received text certainly seems preferable here.

EXAMPLE 2

T1:   福录才人﹦能居女不居而圣義則厇至于亟   【2】

T2:   福祿在人，人能居，如不居而重義，則度至于極。

Y: 福祿在人。能無懲乎？若懲而悔過，則度至于極。

T: Good fortune and riches depend on men. Can men reside in them (i.e., can men be content with them)? If they do not reside in them and yet take seriously propriety, then degrees will reach to the limit.

Y: Good fortune and riches depend on men. *Can they be without warning? If they are warned and regret mistakes,* then degrees will reach to the limit.

The sentence immediately after this in the manuscript text reads (again marking variants vis-à-vis the received text):

T1:   或司不義而墜之褙﹦悠在人﹦囗母謹虘女謹而悆悠則厇至于亟﹂
       【2–3】

T2:   或司不義而降之禍。禍過在人。人囗毋懲乎？如懲而悔過，則度至于極。

Y: 夫或司不義而降之禍，在人。能無懲乎？若懲而悔過，則度至于極。

T: [The Overseer of Virtue] also oversees impropriety and sends down on it misfortune. *Misfortune and mistakes* depend on men. [Can] men be

without chastisement? *If* they are chastised and regret mistakes, then degrees will reach to the limit.

Y: [The Overseer of Virtue] also oversees impropriety and sends down on it misfortune, *which* depends on men. Can men be without chastisement? *If* they are chastised and regret mistakes, then degrees will reach to the limit.

Whereas in this subsequent sentence, "chastisement" (*cheng* 懲) and "regretting mistakes" (*hui guo* 悔過) are directly related to the "misfortune and mistakes" (*huo guo* 禍過) that "depend on men" (*zai ren* 在 人), they have nothing to do with "good fortune and riches" (*fu lu* 福 祿), the topic of the former sentence. For this reason, Tang Dapei 唐大 培 (fl. 1836) had already suggested in his *Yi Zhou shu fenbian jushi* 逸 周書分編句釋 that the two phrases highlighted above were corrupt, having been copied from the following sentence. The manuscript confirms that he was quite right in his intuition, and presents us with a better reading of this passage.[13]

Variety 2: Classifier Variation

The next examples are both simple cases of the addition or not of a classifier, in this case a distinction between *zhong* 中 "centered" and *zhong* 忠 "loyal," the latter differentiated by the addition of a "heart" signific. A similar case perhaps of classifier variation is discussed below as a case of a pseudo-variant in Example 11.

EXAMPLE 3

T1:   盥之以中   【12】

T2:   臨之以中

Y: 臨之以忠

T: look upon them with *centeredness*

Y: look upon them with *loyalty*

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13. Tang Dapei, *Yi Zhou shu fenbian jushi*, 24. Actually, the manuscript itself seems slightly incorrect here, in that it seems to be missing a question particle *hu* 乎 at the end of the phrase *ren neng ju* 人能居 "can mankind be content?" While it is the case that question particles are not essential in rhetorical questions such as this, that *hu* occurs in the following four parallel questions in the text strongly suggests that it should occur here as well. A very similar phrase, *min neng ju hu* 民能居乎 "can the people be content?," appears in the "Du xun" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu; Yi Zhou shu*, 1.1b.

EXAMPLE 4

T₁:　中不忠　　【12】

T₂:　中不忠

Y:　忠不忠

T:　*centeredness* is not loyal

Y:　*loyalty* is not loyal

Although in the first of these two cases either reading is perfectly possible grammatically, either "look upon them (i.e., the people) with centered-ness" or "look upon them with loyalty," conceptually the manuscript reading would seem to be preferable. Much of the discussion in this chapter, and especially that in the section immediately preceding that in which these examples are found, revolves around the desirability of not going to excess. Being "centered" would seem to be consistent with this. Moreover, *zhong* 忠 "loyalty" is a desired attribute of the people, but not of the superior who here "looks upon" (*lin* 臨) the people. The logic of this seems to be confirmed in the second case: "loyalty is not loyal" seems to be nonsensical, whereas "*centeredness* is not loyal" is not only a striking sort of wordplay (one might be tempted to translate "centeredness is not self-centered," but English "self-centered" has a different sense from *zhong* 忠), but also constitutes a philosophically interesting statement.

Variety 3: Phonetic Loans

The next two examples are both cases of phonetic loans, one of the more common sorts of variation in Chinese texts of all periods. The first example comes from the same strip as the two examples examined above, and would seem to illustrate the same sort of wordplay on the part of the *Ming xun* author.

EXAMPLE 5

T₁:　正之以政　　【12】

T₂:　正之以政

Y:　震之以政

T:　*govern* them with government

Y:　*shake* them with government

Although "govern them with government" sounds almost tautological in English, in Chinese the expression sounds quite eloquent. Moreover, the author of the *Ming xun* seems to be using the language here in the same way he used the phrase "centeredness is not loyal"

(*zhong bu zhong* 中不忠) above. The variant in the received text, *zhen* 震, apparently a phonetic loan for *zheng* 正 (*zheng* 正 had an archaic pronunciation of something like *teŋ, while *zhen* 震 had an archaic pronunciation something like *(m-dən[14]), has such meanings as "to shake; to rattle (both literally and figuratively); to bestir; to inspire." In English, many of these meanings sound like they would be appropriate functions for "government." However, while I would not want to be categorical about this, in Chinese texts of this period *zhen* as a transitive verb is not usually attributed to government.

EXAMPLE 6

    T1:   遥祭<u>皮豪</u>   【9】

    T2:   淫祭<u>皮家</u>

    Y: 淫祭则<u>罷家</u>

    T: sacrificing excessively will *ruin* their households

    Y: sacrificing excessively *then* will *quit* their households

This phrase comes in the context of doing various activities to excess. The fuller context reads as follows:

    T1:   亟褐则民<u>_槀_</u>民槀则遥<u>_祭_皮豪</u>▙   【8–9】

    T2:   極禍则民<u>畏</u>，民<u>畏</u>则淫祭，淫祭 罷家。

    Y: 極禍则民<u>鬼</u>，民<u>鬼</u>则淫祭, 淫祭则<u>罷家</u>。

    T: If misfortune is pressed to the limit, then the people will *be terrified*, and if the people are terrified then they will sacrifice excessively, and sacrificing excessively will ruin their households.

    Y: If misfortune is pressed to the limit, then the people will turn *to ghosts*, and if the people *turn to ghosts* then they will sacrifice excessively, and sacrificing excessively *then* will quit their households.

Kong Chao 孔晁 (fl. c. C.E. 265), the earliest commentator on the *Yi Zhou shu*, commented on the line *yin ji ze ba jia* 淫祭则罷家 "sacrificing excessively then will quit their households":

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14. For these pronunciations, see Axel Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to* Grammata Serica Recensa (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2009), 138, 328. Whereas the archaic pronunciations are quite distinct, the respective medieval pronunciations became much closer: according to Schuessler, *zheng* 正 had a later Han pronunciation something like *tśeŋ, while *zhen* 震 had a medieval pronunciation perhaps like *tśjen (as given for 振). This perhaps suggests that the variant entered the text sometime after the Han dynasty.

罷弊其財且無禍也。

Exhaust their resources hoping not to have misfortune.[15]

Clearly, this is more or less what the sentence means. 罷, normally read *ba* and meaning "to quit, to stop" or *bi* "to scatter," also has a reading of *pi* meaning "tired, worn-out; weak; defeated," and it is this latter reading that later editors of the *Yi Zhou shu* have generally adopted, both in Kong Chao's commentary and in the main text. It is also the reading that Liu Guozhong adopts for the 皮 of the manuscript. This is a reasonable, but not a necessary, reading. Perhaps an easier reading of the manuscript character would be as the protograph of *po* 破 "to smash, to ruin" or of *pi* 披 "to split; to break off": i.e., "ruin their households," as I translate it.

Variety 4: Graphic Similarity

The fourth type of variant that I propose to discuss involves differences that develop from graphic similarity between two characters. Again, I will give two examples of this type of variant. I would suggest that both of them derive from serious misinterpretations of the underlying text.

EXAMPLE 7

T1:　夫民生而佢不明𡳾以明之能亡佢厝　　【3】

T2:　夫民生而恥不明，上以明之，能亡恥乎？

Y:　夫民生而醜不明，無以明之，能無醜乎？

T:　When the people from birth are *ashamed* of not being enlightened, and *superiors* because of this enlighten them, can they be *without shame*?

Y:　When people from birth are *disgraced* by not being enlightened, and *there is nothing* with which to enlighten them, can they be *without disgrace*?

Although this passage includes three important lexical variants—*chi* 恥 "ashamed" vs. *chou* 醜 "disgraced," *shang* 上 "superior" vs. *wu* 無 "there is nothing," and *wang* 亡 "there is none" vs. *wu* "there is none"—I will focus here only on the variation between *shang* 上 "superior" vs. *wu* 無 "there is nothing." The focus of the *Ming xun manuscript, just as it is the focus of the "Ming xun" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*, and also the related "Du xun" and "Chang xun" chapters, is the methods by which

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15. Lu Wenchao emended the apparently meaningless *qie* 且 here to read *ji* 冀 "to hope for," an emendation accepted by all subsequent editors; for Lu's emendation, see *Yi Zhou shu* (Sibu beiyao ed.), 1.3b.

government can bring about good order. Elsewhere in the text, *shang* 上 is used several times in the sense of political "superiors" (e.g., on strips 4, 8 and 9), and the passage here would seem to make it the responsibility of these superiors to enlighten the unenlightened people. The reading of the received text misses this sense entirely. Moreover, not only is it not consistent with this overall philosophical position, but it is also not very interesting philosophically; after all, if the people are disgraced from birth by not being enlightened, and if there is truly no means to enlighten them, then how indeed could they be without disgrace!

It would seem that the commentary of Kong Chao was based on a text that read more or less as does the manuscript:

> 不謂醜者，若道上為君。

> It does not put this in terms of the disgraced ones, but seems to speak of the superior being the lord.

The only apparent explanation for Kong Chao's mention of a "superior" (*shang* 上) in his comment is that this word was in the text on which he was commenting.

While of course there is no graphic similarity between *shang* 上 and *wu* 無, this variant masks what must have been a different variant earlier in the transmission of the text. *Shang* 上, whether written as 𠄟 (transcribed by the Tsinghua editors as 𠄠) as here,[16] or as 𠄟 as elsewhere in Warring States manuscripts,[17] is strikingly similar to *wang* 亡, written as 𠃜 in Warring States manuscripts. As noted above (n. 11), Chinese readers routinely read 亡 as *wu* and often simply write the character as 無. Some copyist at some point in time must have seen 𠄟 and understood it as 𠃜, and sometime later some other copyist transposed this *wang* 亡 into the *wu* 無 of the received text.

EXAMPLE 8

A sentence found on strip #8 includes several variants of various kinds. One of these seems to be based on an underlying graphic similarity between *yi* 弋, read by the Tsinghua editor as the protograph of *dai* 代 "to substitute," and *jie* 誡 "to warn."

T1:   丞命則民陵乏乃宼命以弋亓上刭於躙矣   【8】

T2:   極命則民墮乏， 乃曠命 以弋其上， 殆於亂矣。

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16. Elsewhere in the manuscript (e.g., at strip #8), *shang* is written simply as 𠄟, i.e., 上. It is unclear to me whether the different orthography carries any semantic distinction.

17. For this form of *shang* 上, see Gao Ming 高明 and Tu Baikui 涂白奎, eds., *Guwenzi leibian* 古文字類編 (2nd rev. ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji, 2008), 367.

Y: 極命則民墮，民墮則曠命，曠命以誡其上，則殆於亂。

T: If commands are pressed to the limit, then the people will let them fall
      away and then lay waste to the commands in order to *replace* their
      superiors, and will be endangered by chaos *indeed*.

Y: If commands are pressed to the limit, then the people will let them fall,
      and if *the people let them fall* then they will lay waste to the commands,
      and laying waste to the commands will *warn* their superiors, *then* they
      will be endangered by chaos.

Yi 弋 is written in the manuscript as 弋. This could easily have been read
by any copyist as *ge* 戈 "dagger-axe," regularly written as 戈 in Warring
States manuscripts, and interpreted as the protograph for either *jie* 戒 "to
put on guard" (written in Warring States manuscripts as 戒), or that in
turn as the protograph for the *jie* 誡 "to warn" of the received text.[18]
Once again we have a case of graphic similarity leading to an almost non-
sensical received reading. Whereas it is easy to see why the people
"replacing" (*dai* 代) their superiors would be perceived to run the
danger of chaos, it is very hard indeed to see why their "warning" (*jie*
誡) their superiors should do so. The difference between 弋 and 戈 is
tiny, but the significance for the text is great. We have here a classic dem-
onstration of the Chinese proverb *cha zhi hao li, shi zhi qian li* 差之毫厘，
失之千里 "missing it by an inch and losing it by a thousand miles."

Variety 5: Added or Deleted Text

The final variety of variants that I propose to discuss involves additional
material found in the received text vis-à-vis the manuscript. While of
course there is no way to be sure of what the underlying cause of
such additions may have been, context may allow some explanation
to be divined.

EXAMPLE 9

T1:   女又俚而互行則厃至于亟   【三】

T2:   如有恥而恆行， 則度至于極。

Y: 若有醜而競行不醜，則度至于極。

T: If they have *shame* and *constantly behave*, then degrees will reach to the
      limit.

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18. For these forms of *ge* 戈 and *jie* 戒, see Gao Ming and Tu Baikui, *Guwenzi leibian*,
619 and 213.

Y: If they have *disgrace* and *insistently* practice *not being disgraced*, then degrees will reach to the limit.

T1:   福莫大於行   【10】

T2:   福莫大於行

Y: 福莫大於行<u>義</u>

T: Of good fortune there is nothing greater than behaving.

Y: Of good fortune there is nothing greater than practicing *propriety.*

These two passages, from different portions of the text, both feature the word *xing* 行, and the parallels between them—both in the manuscript and in the received text—show that the writer or editor was intending an emphatic sense for the word. *Xing* is, of course, a very common verb, with both intransitive and transitive uses, in addition to several nominal uses as well. The normal intransitive use of *xing* is "to walk" and many related senses, while the transitive use normally means "to put into motion, to put into practice" as well as many related senses. In the first passage of the manuscript above, *xing* is an intransitive verb, but it surely does not mean just "to walk." Instead, it must mean something like "to behave," i.e., "to behave properly," an unusual but not wholly unattested meaning.[19] In the second example, this verbal sense has been nominalized into "behaving" or "good behavior." In the received text, however, both cases of *xing* have been turned into transitive verbs ("to practice, to put into practice")

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19. For similar examples, see *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 "Yin" 隱 3:

君義，臣行，父慈，子孝，兄愛，弟敬，所謂六順也。

The lord being proper, the minister behaving, the father being loving, the son being filial, the older brother being caring, and younger brother being respectful are what are called the six compliances.

See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zheng yi* 春秋左傳正義 (*Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經註疏 ed., 1815; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980), 3.22 (1724). See also *Lunyu* 論語, "Wei Ling Gong" 衛靈公 (*Lunyu zhushu* 論語注疏, [*Shisan jing zhushu* ed.], 15.61 [2517]):

子張問行。子曰：「言忠信，行篤敬，雖蠻貊之邦，行矣。言不忠信，行不篤敬，雖州裏，行乎哉？

Zi Zhang asked about (good) behavior. The Master said: "If one speaks loyally and credibly and one behaves generously and respectfully, then even abroad in the countries of the barbarians it certainly counts as good behavior. If one does not speak loyally and credibly and one does not behave generously or respectfully, then even at home would it count as good behavior?

I am grateful to Christoph Harbsmeier for suggesting these parallels.

by the addition of direct objects (*bu chou* 不醜 "not being disgraced" and *yi* 義 "propriety"). It would seem that some editor of the received "Ming xun" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* regarded the intransitive usage of *xing* as incorrect or incomplete. The meaning is essentially the same as "to behave oneself," but in these passages the received text has taken an interesting idiosyncrasy of the text and transformed it into a fairly pedestrian platitude.

It would seem that the intransitive usage of *xing* in the sense of "to behave oneself" was usually a characteristic of the author of the *Ming xun text. It appears also in two other sentences of the text, one of which is preserved essentially without change in the received text, and one of which is completely changed.

T₁: 正人亡亟則不﹦鳴﹦則不行   【6】

T₂: 正人亡極則不鳴，不鳴則不行。

Y: 正人無極則不信，不信則不行。

T: If in governing men there are not limits, then they will not be sincere, and if they are not sincere then they will not behave.

Y: If in governing men there are not limits, then they will not be sincere, and if they are not sincere then they will not behave.

T₁: 弗智則不行   【8】

T₂: 弗知則不行

Y: 不知則不存

T: If they do *not know it*, then they will not *behave*.

Y: If *ignorant*, then they will not *survive*.

On the other hand, there is another occurrence of the verb *xing* that comes just two sentences after this last example. In this case, it is the manuscript that adds a word causing *xing* to have a transitive use in the sense "to put into effect," though this sense is masked to some extent by a preposing of the object *wei* 韋 "disobedience."

T₁: 亟福則民﹦祿﹦迁﹦善﹦韋則不行   【8】

T₂: 極福則民祿，民祿 迁善，迁善 韋則不行。

Y: 極福則民祿，民祿則干善, 干善 則不行。

T: If good fortune is pressed to the limit, then the people will be enriched; if the people being enriched strive for goodness, then in striving for goodness *disobedience* will not be put into practice.

Y: If good fortune is taken to the limit, then the people will be enriched, and if the people being enriched *then* strive for goodness, then in striving[20] for goodness will not behave.

As can be seen here, the received text does not include the word *wei* 韋, doubtless to be understood as *wei* 違 "to disobey; disobedience." If this sentence were viewed in isolation, the reading of the manuscript would doubtless be preferable; it would serve as an exhortation toward goodness: good fortune enriches the people, which encourages them to improve themselves and not to disobey their superiors. However, this conclusion is out of place in the immediate context of the text, which presents a series of counter-effects that are not desirable. The sentences immediately before and after read as follows:

T1:   亟命則民陵乏乃室命以弋亓上刢於𨷖矣   【8】

T2:   極命則民墮乏，乃曠命以代其上，殆於亂矣。

Y: 極命則民墮，民墮則曠命，曠命以誡其上，則殆於亂。

T: If commands are pressed to the limit, then the people will let them fall *away* and then lay waste to the commands in order to *replace* their superiors, and will be endangered by chaos *indeed*.

Y: If commands are pressed to the limit, then the people will let them fall, and *if the people let them fall then they will lay* waste to the commands, and laying waste to the commands will *warn* their superiors, then they will be endangered by chaos.

T1:   亟褐則民＿𥃈＿則遥＿祭＿皮豪 ▄   【8–9】

T2:   極禍則民鬼，民鬼則淫祭，淫祭則罷家。

Y: 極禍則民鬼，民鬼則淫祭，淫祭則罷家。

T: If misfortune is pressed to the limit, then the people will *be terrified*, and if the people are *terrified* then they will sacrifice excessively, and sacrificing excessively will *ruin* their households.

Y: If misfortune is pressed to the limit, then the people will *turn to ghosts*, and if the people *turn to ghosts* then they will sacrifice excessively, and sacrificing excessively then will *quit* their households.

It can be seen from these sentences that the conclusions to the sentences are all negative, and so should be as well in the sentence in question here. This is indeed the reading of the received text, which does not

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20. For *gan* 干 "to strive," here, some editions of the received text write *yu* 于 "in," which however hardly makes any sense in the context.

include the word *wei* "disobedience," and so the verb *xing* has to be intransitive, meaning "to behave": "in striving for goodness (the people) will not behave." It is curious that the manuscript mistakes this usage, but it is a clear mistake.

EXAMPLE 10

> T1: 賞莫大於壤　　【11】
>
> T2: 賞莫大於讓
>
> Y: 賞莫大於信義，讓莫大於賈上
>
> T: Of awards there is nothing greater than *yielding*;
>
> Y: Of awards there is nothing greater than trust and propriety. Of yielding there is nothing greater than buying superiors.

Here some editor of the received text has attempted to correct what he apparently perceived to be a flaw in the text, but in doing so shows that he did not understand the underlying logic of the text. Both the *Ming xun* and "Ming xun" texts are organized in groups of six, and stress this enumeration, as also in the sentence immediately following this one, by referring to "these six things" (*ci liu zhe* 此六者). It is clear throughout the text that these six things are "commands" (*ming* 命), "good fortune" (*fu* 福), "misfortune" (*huo* 禍), "shame" (*chi* 恥) or "disgrace" (*chou* 醜), "rewards" (*shang* 賞), and "punishments" (*fa* 罰).[21] However, in this section of the text (text found on strips ##8–11), only five of these topics conclude with the formula "of X there is nothing greater than Y" (X *mo da yu* 莫大於 Y); the first sentence, dealing with "commands," has a different structure. Some editor must have counted these five "of X there is nothing greater than Y" sentences, and thought that five cannot equal six. He must also have thought that a sentence such as "of awards there is nothing greater than yielding" does not make sense, and so added a different attribute to "awards" (*shang* 賞). But in doing this, he misunderstood the relationship between "awards" and "yielding." Text on strip #9, essentially identical in the received text, shows this:

> T1: 亟賞則民賈＝亓＝上＝則亡＝壤＝則不川　　【9】
>
> T2: 極賞則民賈其上，賈其上則 亡讓，亡讓則不順。
>
> Y: 極賞則民賈其上，賈其上則民無讓，無讓則不順。

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21. These "six limits" (*liu ji* 六極) are also enumerated, in a slightly different order, in the "Chang xun" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*; see, above, n. 12.

T: If awards are pressed to the limit, then the people will buy their superiors, and if they buy their superiors then there will be no yielding, and if there is no yielding then they will not be compliant.

Y: If awards are pressed to the limit, then the people will buy their superiors, and if they buy their superiors then the people will have no yielding, and if there is no yielding then they will not be compliant.

The reason that "yielding" is so important in relation to "awards" is because it is a counter-indication that can occur when "awards" are taken too far.

Whoever introduced this error into the received text then went on to compound his error by inventing a wholly new category to the set of six means of governance: "yielding" (*rang* 讓). In doing so, he made matters much worse by adding "of yielding there is nothing greater than buying superiors" (*rang mo da yu gu shang* 讓莫大於賈上), which of course would have been anathema to the author of the *Ming xun.*

Variety 6: A Pseudo-Variant

EXAMPLE 11

The final example is a seemingly simple case of classifier variation, between *dai* 殆 "danger" and *shi* 始 "beginning," both of which derive from the protograph *tai* 台. However, it reveals much about the editorial process. After listing six examples of excesses in government (excessive "commands" [*ming* 命], "wealth" [*fu* 福], "misfortune" [*huo* 禍], "shame" [*chi* 恥], "awards" [*shang* 賞], and "punishments" [*fa* 罰]), the text relates these to governance:

T1:   凡坙六者正之所㣆   【10】

T1:   凡坙六者，正之所殆。

Y: 凡此六者，政之始也。

T: All of *those* six things are what *endanger governance*.

Y: All of *these* six things are the *beginnings* of *government*.

It is easy to see, especially in context, that these six excesses "endanger" government, and it is not easy to see how they could be the "beginnings" of government. Indeed, already in the late eighteenth century Lu Wenchao wordlessly emended the *shi* 始 "beginning" of his source text to read *dai* 殆 "danger," and this emendation has been accepted by all subsequent editors, including now also the Tsinghua editor Liu Guozhong. In a note (n. 25), he says "Checked against the manuscript text, Lu's emendation is correct, and the manuscript text 㣆 should

also be read as *dai* 殆." Reasonable though this emendation seems at first reading, the evidence from the manuscript is by no means so conclusive. Elsewhere in the Tsinghua manuscripts, 㠯 is routinely used to write the word *shi* 始 "beginning," and based on present evidence is never elsewhere used to write the word *dai* 殆 "danger." What is more, on strip #8 of *Ming xun*, there is what seems to be an unmistakable use of the word *dai* 殆 "danger," and there the graph is written with a "heart" signific:, i.e., 怠. This does not mean that 㠯 here could not also be read as *dai* "danger," but any editor should be explicit about his reasoning for doing so. On the other hand, if the manuscript's 㠯 is in fact to be read as *shi* 始, and given that prior to Lu Wenchao's emendation all versions of the received text read *shi* 始, we might also ask whether these six excesses could be construed as having led to governance in the first place. I think it would not be too hard to develop a political philosophy in which the existence of these problems was viewed as the catalyst for the establishment of government. This is perhaps a chicken-and-egg type of question, and thus an excellent example of how variants can enter into a text.

Conclusion

The *Yi Zhou shu* has, truly, long been a "left-over" text, throughout the last two thousand or more years having been little read and even less esteemed. The publication in 2010 of the first volume of the Tsinghua University manuscripts provided evidence that at least some texts included in the received text of the *Yi Zhou shu* were already in circulation in the Warring States period, and may well have been regarded as having the same status as texts included in the *Shang shu*. That volume included three separate texts that can be identified with chapters in the *Yi Zhou shu:* **Huang men* 皇門 or *August Gate*, which corresponds with the *Yi Zhou shu* chapter by that title; *Zhai Gong zhi gu ming* 祭公之顧命 or *The Duke of Zhai's Retrospective Command*, which corresponds with the "Zhai Gong" 祭公 or "Duke of Zhai" chapter; and **Cheng wu* 程寤 or *Cheng Awakening*, only the title of which is preserved in the received *Yi Zhou shu* but for which there are numerous medieval quotations that correspond with the Tsinghua manuscript.[22] The **Ming xun* manuscript included in Volume 5 of the Tsinghua manuscripts presents yet another indication of the importance of these texts. **Ming xun* almost

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22. Qinghua daxue Chutu wenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin 清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心 ed., Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed.-in-chief, *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (Yi)* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡（壹） (Shanghai: Zhong Xi, 2015): *Cheng wu: shang*, 6–7, 47–51, *xia*, 135–41; *Huang men: shang*, 18–21, 87–96, *xia*, 163–72; *Zhai Gong zhi gu ming: shang*, 22–25, 99–113, *xia*, 173–79.

certainly cannot boast the sort of pedigree of either *Huang men* or *Zhai Gong zhi gu ming*, both of which may well be authentic texts of the Western Zhou period,[23] and it does not provide any new historical information. However, it is not for those reasons uninteresting. The text as found in the manuscript is a very tightly argued essay, and will surely repay close reading for greater understanding of Warring States political philosophy. Its relationship with the received chapter "Ming xun" will also repay close reading, as I have attempted to demonstrate above, for the varieties of ways in which Chinese texts can be changed in the course of traditional transmission.

Appendix 1

The Complete Text of the Tsinghua University Manuscript *Ming xun* 命訓, in Literal and Exploded Transcription, Together with the Received Text of the "Ming Xun" 命訓 Chapter of the *Yi Zhou Shu* 逸周書, with Complete Translations.

The following translation of the *Ming xun* 命訓 text is presented according to the fifteen strips of the Tsinghua (Qinghua) University 清華大學 manuscript of the text.[24] The Tsinghua editor of this text is Liu Guozhong 劉國忠, and the presentation of the text follows his transcriptions, both the literal and the interpretive "exploded" transcriptions. The first line (T1, T standing for Tsinghua) provides a literal transcription, which seeks to present the text as it appears in the manuscript, without addition or deletion. The only punctuation in this line is that found in the manuscript itself, which consists of two types: ◣, usually indicative of a sentence break, and ■, which serves as a sort of comma (there is also the standard ligature mark, ₌, used throughout Chinese manuscripts). These punctuation marks are not used systematically. The second line (T2) provides Liu Guozhong's interpretive transcription, whether I follow it explicitly or not. Liu punctuates his transcription, and I follow his punctuation for the most part. The third

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23. For a study arguing that the "Zhai Gong" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* may well derive from the Western Zhou period, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, "Texts Lost in Texts: Recovering the 'Zhai Gong' Chapter of the *Yi Zhou Shu*," in *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture: Festschrift in Honour of Christoph Harbsmeier on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Christoph Anderl and Halvor Eifring (Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 2006), 31–47.

24. Qinghua daxue Chutu wenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin 清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心 ed., Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed.-in-chief, *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (Wu)* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡（伍） (Shanghai: Zhong Xi, 2015), *shang*, 6–9 (full-size photographs), *shang*, 45–57 (enlarged photographs), *xia*, 124–33 (transcription and notes).

line (Y, standing for *Yi Zhou shu*), presented in a smaller typeface, provides the text of the "Ming xun" 命訓 chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 as found in the Sibu congkan 四部叢刊 edition of the text (a photo reprint of the Ming Jiajing-era text of a Zhang Nie 章蘗). I provide modern punctuation for this text, which was originally unpunctuated. The fourth line provides a translation of the manuscript text (T), while the fifth line (again presented in a smaller typeface) provides a translation of the received text (Y). I should note that while my translations are very much informed first by Liu Guozhong's commentary and also by the various commentaries on the received "Ming xun," I do not follow them in all respects. Thus, the translation does not invariably accord with the transcription. I should note too that in the translations, I have strived to reflect any differences between the two texts, even at the expense of a smooth reading. Appendix 2 reproduces just the English translation, arranged according to paragraphs. I hope this arrangement will render the structure of the text easier to follow.

T1:　　□生民而成大命₌司惪正以禬福立明王以慾之曰大命有棠少命
　　　　日₌成₌則敬又尚則寏₌以敬命則戹【一】

T2:　　□生民而成大命，命司德正以禍福，立明王以訓之曰：大命有
　　　　常，少命日成，日成則敬，有尚則廣，廣以敬命，則度

Y:　　　天生民而成大命，命司德正之以禍福，立明王以順之，曰：大命有常，小
　　　　命日成，成則敬，有常則廣，廣以敬命，則度

T:　　　[Heaven] gave birth to the people and completed the great mandate, commanding the Supervisor of Virtue to govern with misfortune and good fortune, and to establish enlightened kings to instruct them, saying: "The great mandate has constancy and the minor mandates are daily completed. Being daily completed, they are respected; having constancy, it is expansive. Being expansive and thereby respecting the mandates, then degrees

Y:　　　Heaven gave birth to the people and completed the great mandate, commanding the Supervisor of Virtue to govern them with misfortune and good fortune, and to establish enlightened kings to make them compliant, saying: "The great mandate has constancy and the minor mandates are daily completed. Being completed they are respected; having constancy, it is expansive. Being expansive and thereby respecting the mandates, then degrees

T1:　　□□叚夫司惪司義而易之福₌祿在人₌能居女不居而坴義則戹至于
　　　　叚或司不義而墜之禬₌怸才人₌【二】

T2: □□極。夫司德司義而賜之福。福祿在人，人能居？如不居而重
義，則度至于極。或司不義而降之禍。禍過在人，人

Y: 至于極。夫司德司義而賜之福祿，福祿在人，能無懲乎？若懲而悔過，則
度至于極。夫或司不義而降之禍，在人，

T: [will reach to] the limit. The Overseer of Virtue oversees propriety
and awards it good fortune. Good fortune and riches depend on
men. Can men reside in them (i.e., can men be content with
them)? If they do not reside in them and yet take seriously propri-
ety, then degrees will reach to the limit. [The Overseer of Virtue]
also oversees impropriety and sends down on it misfortune.
Misfortune and mistakes depend on men. [Can] men

Y: will reach to the limit. The Overseer of Virtue oversees propriety and
awards it good fortune and riches. Good fortune and riches depend on
men. Can they be without warning? If they are warned and regret mistakes,
then degrees will reach to the limit. And then it oversees impropriety and
sends down on it misfortune, which depends on men.

T1: □母諲厝女諲而愻悠則厎至于亟◣夫民生而佢不明圥以明之能亡
佢厝女又佢而互行則厎至于【三】

T2: □毋懲乎？如懲而悔過，則度至于極。夫民生而恥不明，上以明
之，能亡恥乎？如有恥而恆行，則度至于

Y: 能無懲乎？若懲而悔過，則度至于極。夫民生而醜不明，無以明之，能無
醜乎？若有醜而競行不醜，則度至于

T: be without chastisement? If they are chastised and regret mistakes,
then degrees will reach to the limit. When the people from birth
are ashamed of not being enlightened, and superiors because of
this enlighten them, can they be without shame? If they have
shame and constantly behave, then degrees will reach to

Y: Can men be without chastisement? If they are chastised and regret mis-
takes, then degrees will reach to the limit. When people from birth are dis-
graced by not being enlightened, and there is nothing with which to
enlighten them, can they be without disgrace? If they have disgrace and
insistently practice not being disgraced, then degrees will reach to

T1: 亟◣夫民生而樂生毃上以毃之能母懽厝女懽以忠訏則厎至于亟◣夫
民生而痌死喪上以喿之能母恣【四】

T2: 極。夫民生而樂生毃，上以毃之，能毋勸乎？如勸以忠信，則度
至于極。夫民生而痌死喪，上以畏之，能毋恐

Y: 極。夫民生而樂生，無以穀之，能無勸乎？若勸之以忠，則度至于極。夫民生而惡死，無以畏之，能無恐

T: the limit. When the people from birth enjoy fresh grain, and superiors use it to pay them, can they be without encouragement? If they are encouraged with loyalty and sincerity, then degrees will reach to the limit. When the people from birth are pained by death and mourning, and superiors use these to terrify them, can they be without fear?

Y: the limit. When the people from birth enjoy life, and there is nothing with which to pay them, can they be without encouragement? If they are encouraged with loyalty, then degrees will reach to the limit. When people from birth hate death, and there is nothing with which to terrify them, can they be without fear?

T1:   虗女忎而承孝則丮至于亟六亟既達九迀具寋達道̲天以正̲人̲莫女又亟道天莫女亡亟道天又亟則不̲橐̲【五】

T2:   乎？如恐而承教，則度至于極。六極既達，九迀具塞，達道道天以正人。正人莫如有極，道天莫如亡極。道天有極，則不威，不威

Y: 乎？若恐而承教，則度至于極。六極既通，六間具塞，通道通天以正人。正人莫如有極，道天莫如無極。道天有極則不威，不威

T: If they are fearful and receive teaching, then degrees will reach to the limit. The six limits all being attained, and the nine strivings all being blocked, one attains the Way and follows heaven to govern men. In governing men, there is nothing as good as having limits; in following heaven, there is nothing as good as being without limit. If in following heaven there are limits, then it will not be terrifying, and if it is not terrifying

Y: If they are fearful and receive teaching, then degrees will reach to the limit. The six limits all being attained, and the six gaps all being blocked, one penetrates the Way and penetrates heaven in order to govern man. In governing men there is nothing as good as having limits; in following heaven there is nothing as good as being without limit. If in following heaven there are limits, then it will not be terrifying, and if it is not terrifying

T1:   則不卲正人亡亟則不̲鸣̲則不行夫明王卲天訐人以丮攻̲隓以利之事身̲橐天則丮至于丮夫天🔲道三【六】

T2:   則不昭。正人亡極，則不鸣，不鸣則不行。夫明王昭天信人以度功，功地以利之，事身人畏天，則度至于極。夫天道三

Y: 則不昭。正人無極則不信，不信則不行。明王昭天信人以度功地以利之，
      使信人畏天，則度至于極。夫天道三，

T: then it will not be radiant. If in governing men there are not limits,
      then they will not be sincere, and if they are not sincere then they
      will not behave. If enlightened kings cause heaven to be radiant
      and man to be trustworthy to work by degrees, and to work the
      land to benefit them, causing sincere men to be terrified by
      heaven, then degrees will reach to the limit. The ways of heaven
      are three,

Y: then it will not be radiant. If in governing men there are not limits, then
      they will not be sincere, and if they are not sincere, then they will not
      behave. If the enlightened kings cause heaven to be radiant and man to
      be trustworthy to work the land by degrees to benefit them, causing
      sincere men to be terrified by heaven, then degrees will reach to the
      limit. The ways of heaven are three,

T1:   人道三天又命又福有褙人又俚又市冒又釱戈以人之俚尚天之命◣以
      亓市冒尚天之福◣以亓釱戈尚天之褙口【七】

T2:   人道三。天有命，有福、有禍。人有恥，有市冕、有斧鉞。以人之
      恥尚天之命、以其市冕尚天之福、以其斧鉞尚天之禍，口

Y: 人道三。天有命，有禍、有福，人有醜，有緋繶、有斧鉞。以人之醜當天之
      命、以緋繶當天之福、以斧鉞當天之禍，六

T: and the ways of man are three. Heaven having a mandate, there is
      good fortune and there is misfortune. Men having shame, there are
      kneepads and caps and there are axes and halberds. Taking men's
      shame to match heaven's mandate, taking their kneepads and caps
      to match heaven's good fortune, and taking their axes and halberds
      to match heaven's misfortune, … [there are six]

Y: and the ways of man are three. Heaven having a mandate, there is misfor-
      tune and there is good fortune. Men having disgrace, there are kneepads
      and caps and there are axes and halberds. Taking men's disgrace to match
      heaven's mandate, taking kneepads and caps to match heaven's good
      fortune, and taking axes and halberds to match heaven's misfortune, there
      are six

T1:   方三述亓亟鼠弗智則不行亟命則民陵乏乃宲命以弋亓上剶於矙矣亟
      福則民︱录︱迁︱善︱韋則不行亟褙【八】

T2:   方三述，其極一。弗知則不行。極命則民墮乏，乃曠命以代其上，
      殆於亂矣。極福則民祿，民祿迁善，迁善韋則不行。極禍

Y:　方三述，其極一也。不知則不存。極命則民墮，民墮則曠命，曠命以誡其
　　上，則殆於亂。極福則民祿，民祿則干善，干善則不行。極禍

T:　recipes and three methods, but their limit is all [one:] the same. If they do not know it, then they will not behave. If commands are pressed to the limit, then the people will let them fall away and then lay waste to the commands in order to replace their superiors, and will be endangered by chaos indeed. If good fortune is pressed to the limit, then the people will be enriched, and if the people being enriched strive for goodness, then in striving for goodness disobedience will not be put into practice. If misfortune is pressed to the limit,

Y:　recipes and three methods, but their limit is all [one:] the same. If ignorant, then they will not survive. If commands are pressed to the limit, then the people will let them fall, and if the people let them fall then they will lay waste to the commands, and laying waste to the commands will warn their superiors, then they will be endangered by chaos. If good fortune is pressed to the limit, then the people will be enriched, and if the people being enriched then strive for goodness, then in striving for goodness they will not behave. If misfortune is pressed to the limit,

T₁:　則民⸗橐⸗則逄⸗祭⸗皮豪◣亚佴則民⸗止⸗則瘍⸗人⸗則不羽亚賞則民
　　賈⸗亓⸗上⸗則亡⸗壞⸗則不川亚罰則民多⸗虙⸗則【九】

T₂:　則民鬼，民鬼則淫祭，淫祭則罷家。極恥則民枳，民枳則傷人，傷
　　人則不義。極賞則民賈其上，賈其上則民無讓，無讓則不順。極罰
　　則民多詐，多詐則

Y:　則民鬼，民鬼則淫祭，淫祭則罷家。極醜則民叛，民叛則傷人，傷人則不義。
　　極賞則民賈其上，賈其上則民無讓，無讓則不順。極罰則民多詐，多詐則

T:　then the people will be terrified, and if the people are terrified then they will sacrifice excessively, and sacrificing excessively will ruin their households. If shame is pressed to the limit, then the people will revolt, and if the people revolt then they will harm others, and in harming others then they will not be proper. If awards are pressed to the limit, then the people will buy their superiors, and if they buy their superiors then there will be no yielding, and if there is no yielding then they will not be compliant. If punishments are pressed to the limit, then the people will have many wiles, and with many wiles then

Y:　then the people will turn to ghosts, and if the people turn to ghosts then they will sacrifice excessively, and sacrificing excessively then will then quit their

households. If disgrace is pressed to the limit, then the people will revolt, and
if the people revolt then they will harm others, and in harming others then
they will not be proper. If awards are pressed to the limit, then the people
will buy their superiors, and if they buy their superiors then there will be
no yielding, and if there is no yielding then they will not be compliant. If pun-
ishment is pressed to the limit, then the people will have many wiles, and
with many wiles then

T1:   不＿忠＿則亡遝凡乎六者正之所㠯▬天古卻命以命力曰大命殊罰少
      命＿身福莫大於行▆禔莫大於遥祭佪莫大於【十】

T2:   不忠，不忠則亡復。凡乎六者，正之所殆。天古昭命以命力曰：大
      命世罰，小命命身。福莫大於行。禍莫大於淫祭。恥莫大於

Y: 不忠，不忠則無報。凡此六者，政之始也。明王是故昭命以命之曰：大命世
      罰，小命罰身。福莫大於行義。禍莫大於淫祭。醜莫大於

T: they will not be loyal, and not being loyal then they will be without
      returns. All of those six things are what begin governance. Heaven
      therefore made radiant the mandate in order to command them
      saying: The great mandate for generations punishes; the minor man-
      dates command the person. Of good fortune there is nothing greater
      than behaving. Of misfortune there is nothing greater than excessive
      sacrifice. Of shame there is nothing greater than

Y: they will not be loyal, and not being loyal then they will be without repay-
      ment. All of these six things are the beginnings of governance. Enlightened
      kings therefore made radiant the mandate in order to command them
      saying: The great mandate for generations punishes; the minor mandates
      punish the person. Of good fortune there is nothing greater than practicing
      propriety. Of misfortune there is nothing greater than excessive sacrifice.
      Of disgrace there is nothing greater than

T1:   瘍人▄賞莫大於壤▄罰莫大於多慮是古明王奉此六者以牧薑民＿甬不
      失扡之以季和之以均鞃之以哀吳之以樂【十一】

T2:   傷人。賞莫大於壤。罰莫大於多詐。是古明王奉此六者以牧萬民，
      民用不失。撫之以季、和之以均、鞃之以哀、娛之以樂、

Y: 傷人。賞莫大於信義。讓莫大於賈上。罰莫大於貪詐。古之明王，奉此六
      者，以牧萬民，民用而不失。撫之以惠、和之以均、斂之以哀、娛之以樂、

T: harming others. Of awards there is nothing greater than yielding. Of
      punishments there is nothing greater than many wiles. This is why
      enlightened kings uphold these six things in order to shepherd the
      myriad people, and the people are thereby not lost. Soothe them

with generosity, harmonize them with equality, gather them with sorrow, entertain them with joy,

Y: harming others. Of awards there is nothing greater than trust and propriety. Of yielding there is nothing greater than buying superiors. Of punishment there is nothing greater than coveting wiles. Antiquity's enlightened kings upheld these six things in order to shepherd the myriad people, and the people used them and were not lost. Soothe them with generosity, harmonize them with equality, gather them with sorrow, entertain them with joy,

T₁: 侉之以豊教之以致■■正之以政童之以事■■懽之以賞■■槑之以
罰㇐靈之以中■行之以尙＿不韇中不忠罰□□□【十二】

T₂: 訓之以禮、教之以藝、正之以政、動之以事、勸之以賞、畏之以
罰、靈之以中、行之以尙。尙不法、中不忠、罰□□□

Y: 慎之以禮、教之以藝、震之以政、動之以事、勸之以賞、畏之以罰、臨之以
忠、行之以權。權不法、忠不忠、罰不服、賞

T: instruct them with ritual, teach them with the arts, govern them with government, move them with work, encourage them with awards, terrify them with punishments, look upon them with centeredness, and mobilize them with balance. Balance is not legalistic, centeredness is not loyal, punishments are .. .. .. [not submissive, awards]

Y: caution them with ritual, teach them with the arts, shake them with government, move them with work, encourage them with awards, terrify them with punishments, look upon them with loyalty, and mobilize them with balance. Balance is not legalistic, loyalty is not loyal, punishments are not submissive, awards

T₁: 不從袋■■事不譖■■正不成致不淫■■豊又峀樂不繡哀不至均不鼠季
必㇒＿凡此勿㞢尙之櫊也季而不㞢＿人不殑 【十三】

T₂: 不從勞、事不譖、正不成、藝不淫、禮有時、樂不繡、哀不至、均
不一、惠必忍人。凡此物㞢尙之屬也。季而不忍人，人不殑

Y: 不從勞、事不震、政不成、藝不淫、禮有時、樂不滿、哀不至、均不壹、惠
不忍人。凡此物攘之屬也。惠而不忍人，人不勝

T: are not loosely praised, work is not toilsome, governance is not complete, the arts are not excessive, the rites are timely, joy is not extended, sorrow is not pervasive, equality is not identical, and generosity must be tolerant of others. All of these belong to the category of the balance of things. Being generous but not being tolerant of others, others will not overcome

Y: are not loosely praised, work does not shake, governance is not complete, the arts are not excessive, the rites are timely, joy is not full, sorrow is not pervasive, equality is not identical, and generosity is not tolerant of others. All of these belong to the category of seizing things. Being generous but not being tolerant of others, others will not defeat

T1:   □□不智死均一不和哀至則匱樂繡則亡豊□□則不貴敆遥則割于材正成則不長事譽則不攻以賞從裻＿而不至以【十四】

T2:   □□不智死、均一不和、哀至則匱、樂繡則亡、禮□□則不貴、藝淫則害于才、正成則不長、事譽則不攻。以賞從勞，勞而不至。以

Y: 害，害不如死，均一則不和，哀至則匱，樂滿則荒，禮無時則不貴，藝淫則害于才，政成則不長，事震則寡功。以賞從勞，勞而不至。以

T: .. .. will not know death. When equality is identical it is not harmonious. If sorrow is pervasive then it is lacking. If joy is extended then it is lost. If the rites .. .. then they are not honored. If the arts are excessive then they harm the talents. If governance is complete then it does not grow. If work is toilsome then it is not effective. Using awards to praise loosely, the praise will not be pervasive. Using

Y: harm, and harm is not as bad as death. If equality is identical, then it is not harmonious. If sorrow is pervasive then it is lacking. If joy is full then it is lost. If the rites do not have timeliness then they are not honored. If the arts are excessive then they harm the talents. If governance is complete then it does not grow. If work shakes then it is little effective. Using awards to praise loosely, the praise will not be pervasive. Using

T1:   □□備＿而不釽以中從忠則尚＿不㔟中以峕從攟則行＿不必攟＿以智尚＿以智散＿以智訋＿以智夊▙【十五】

T2:   □□備，備而不釽。以中從忠則尚，尚不必中。以峕從法則行，行不必法。法以智尚，尚以智微，微以智始，始以智終。

Y: 法從中則賞，賞不必中。以權從法則行，行不必以知權。權以知微，微以知始，始以知終。

T: .. .. submission, the submission will not be sharp. Using centeredness to loosen loyalty then there will be promotions, but the promotions will not necessarily be centered. Using balance to loosen the law then there will be good behavior, but the good behavior will not necessarily be lawful. Through the law know balance, through balance know the fine points, through the fine points know the beginning, and through the beginning know the end.

Y: the law to loosen centeredness there will be awards, but the awards will not
      necessarily be centered. Using balance to loosen the law then there will be
      good behavior, but the good behavior will not necessarily be used to know
      balance. Through balance know the fine points, through the fine points
      know the beginning, and through the beginning know the end.

Appendix 2

Structured Translation of the Tsinghua University Manuscript *Ming Xun*

[Heaven] gave birth to the people and completed the great mandate, command-
ing the Supervisor of Virtue to govern with misfortune and good fortune, and to
establish enlightened kings to instruct them, saying:

> The great mandate has constancy and the minor mandates are daily com-
> pleted. Being daily completed, they are respected; having constancy, it is
> expansive. Being expansive and thereby respecting the mandates, then
> degrees 【1】 [will reach to] the limit.

> The Overseer of Virtue oversees propriety and awards it good fortune.
> Good fortune and riches depend on men. Can men reside in them (i.e.,
> can men be content with them)? If they do not reside in them and yet
> take seriously propriety, then degrees will reach to the limit.

> [The Overseer of Virtue] also oversees impropriety and sends down on it
> misfortune. Misfortune and mistakes depend on mankind. [Can] men
> 【2】 be without chastisement? If they are chastised and regret mistakes,
> then degrees will reach to the limit.

> When the people from birth are ashamed of not being enlightened, and
> superiors because of this enlighten them, can they be without shame? If
> they have shame and constantly behave, then degrees will reach to the
> limit.

> When the people from birth enjoy fresh grain, and superiors use it to pay
> them, can they be without encouragement? If they are encouraged with
> loyalty and sincerity, then degrees will reach to 【3】 the limit.

> When the people from birth are pained by death and mourning, and super-
> iors use these to terrify them, can they be without fear? 【4】 If they are
> fearful and receive teaching, then degrees will reach to the limit.

The six limits all being attained, and the nine strivings all being blocked, one
attains the Way and follows heaven to govern men. In governing men, there is
nothing as good as having limits; in following heaven, there is nothing as good
as being without limit. If in following heaven there are limits, then it will not be
terrifying, and if it is not terrifying 【5】 then it will not be radiant. If in governing

men there are not limits, then they will not be sincere, and if they are not sincere then they will not behave. If enlightened kings cause heaven to be radiant and man to be trustworthy to work by degrees, and to work the land to benefit them, causing sincere men to be terrified by heaven, then degrees will reach to the limit.

The ways of heaven are three, 【6】 and the ways of man are three. Heaven having a mandate, there is good fortune and there is misfortune. Men having shame, there are kneepads and caps and there are axes and halberds. Taking men's shame to match heaven's mandate, taking their kneepads and caps to match heaven's good fortune, and taking their axes and halberds to match heaven's misfortune, .. [there are six] 【7】 recipes and three methods, but their limit is all [one:] the same. If they do not know it, then they will not behave.

If commands are pressed to the limit, then the people will let them fall away and then lay waste to the commands in order to replace their superiors, and will be endangered by chaos indeed.

If good fortune is pressed to the limit, then the people will be enriched, and if the people being enriched strive for goodness, then in striving for goodness disobedience will not be put into practice.

If misfortune is pressed to the limit, 【8】 then the people will be terrified, and if the people are terrified then they will sacrifice excessively, and sacrificing excessively will ruin their households.

If shame is pressed to the limit, then the people will revolt, and if the people revolt then they will harm others, and in harming others then they will not be proper. If awards are pressed to the limit, then the people will buy their superiors, and if they buy their superiors then there will be no yielding, and if there is no yielding then they will not be compliant.

If punishments are pressed to the limit, then the people will have many wiles, and with many wiles then 【9】 they will not be loyal, and not being loyal then they will be without returns.

All of those six things are what begin governance. Heaven therefore made radiant the mandate in order to command them saying: The great mandate for generations punishes; the minor mandates command the person.

Of good fortune there is nothing greater than behaving; of misfortune there is nothing greater than excessive sacrifice.

Of shame there is nothing greater than 【10】 harming others. Of awards there is nothing greater than yielding. Of punishments there is nothing

greater than many wiles.

This is why enlightened kings uphold these six things in order to shepherd the myriad people, and the people are thereby not lost. Soothe them with generosity, harmonize them with equality, gather them with sorrow, entertain them with joy, 【11】 instruct them with ritual, teach them with the arts, govern them with government, move them with work, encourage them with awards, terrify them with punishments, look upon them with centeredness, and mobilize them with balance.

Balance is not legalistic,
centeredness is not loyal,
punishments are .. .. .. [not submissive,
awards] 【12】 are not loosely praised,
work is not toilsome,
governance is not complete,
the arts are not excessive,
the rites are timely,
joy is not extended,
sorrow is not pervasive,
equality is not identical,
and generosity must be tolerant of others.

All of these belong to the category of the balance of things.

Being generous but not being tolerant of others, others will not overcome 【13】 .. .. will not know death.

When equality is identical it is not harmonious.
If sorrow is pervasive then it is lacking.
If joy is extended then it is lost.
If the rites .. .. then they are not honored.
If the arts are excessive then they harm the talents.
If governance is complete then it does not grow.
If work is toilsome then it is not effective.
Using awards to praise loosely, the praise will not be pervasive.
Using 【14】 [the law to loosen] .. .. submission, the submission will not be sharp.
Using centeredness to loosen loyalty then there will be promotions, but the promotions will not necessarily be centered.
Using balance to loosen the law then there will be good behavior, but the good behavior will not necessarily be lawful.

Through the law know balance, through balance know the fine points, through the fine points know the beginning, and through the beginning know the end. 【15】

異文分類:以清華簡《命訓》為例

夏含夷

提要

《命訓》屬於清華大學所藏戰國竹書,與《逸周書·命訓解》相應。雖然簡文和傳文基本相似,但是兩文之間也含有相當多的異文。本文將異文分成五個類別:寫錯或抄錯的異文、不同部首的異文、音同或音近假借字、形近字訛的異文、增減的文字,還介紹另外一種異文,可以稱作"同文 的異文"。本文還附加清華簡《命訓》和《逸周書·命訓解》的英文譯文.

Keywords: Tsinghua manuscripts, textual criticism, variants, *Yi Zhou shu*, scribal copying
清華簡、文獻批評、異文、《逸周書》、抄寫文化