AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE GUODIAN LAOZI

by

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Abstract

This thesis is focused on the recently discovered archeological text called the Guodian Laozi (also known as the Dao De Jing). The Guodian edition is the oldest known copy of the text, and it is surprisingly different from the received edition. It is ostensibly ‘incomplete’ and confusingly ‘disordered.’ Many ‘characteristic’ themes are absent. The majority of the material is focused on rulership, but it is not discussed in traditional terms or sequence. In addition, previously-unseen material, called Taiyishengshui or ‘The Great One Gives Birth to Water,’ was appended to it, which included a previously unseen cosmology. Scholarly debate continues as to the nature and purpose of both the Taiyishengshui and the Guodian Laozi as a whole.

This thesis ties together archeology, philosophy, history, and cognitive science to support the idea that the Guodian Laozi was meant to be a tool for rulership, and specifically used for instructing the crown prince Qingxiang of Chu, who was preparing to assume the throne near the end of the Warring States. Since the dominant theme of the Guodian Laozi appears to be rulership, I developed a new lens through which to read it, based on the embodied experience of Verticality, which includes the entailments of power and authority.

Section 1 introduces the text and explains why the Guodian Laozi is considered such an extraordinary find. Section 2 discusses the theories proffered by various scholars as to why the Guodian Laozi was found in such an unexpected state, and gives evidence for why the Taiyishengshui should be considered an integral part of the text. Section 3 explicates my own theory as to the nature of the Guodian Laozi, and shows how the dating of the material, as well as the philosophical contents of the material, support that thesis. In Section 4, I employ conceptual metaphor theory and blending theory to create a new lens through which to read the Guodian Laozi. In Section 5, I apply the new lens to the text, showing that this new lens reflects the philosophical contents of the Guodian edition better than the more traditional lens of yin and yang.
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1 Introduction

The discovery of the archeological text called the Guodian Laozi 郭店老子 (also known as the *Dao De Jing* 道德經) echoed through scholarly circles around the world. The Laozi 老子 is one of the foundational texts of Daoism, and has long held a position of respect not only among Daoism’s twenty million followers, but also among academic scholars and the lay public of many nations, who look to it for wisdom and insight on many levels. Finding an edition of the text some one hundred and fifty years older than any extant version sparked the curiosity of many. Would this edition correspond to the received edition? What new insights could be gleaned from an edition so much older than any other? Scholars hoped to finally be able to answer questions as to authorship and historicity, as well as gain insight on various textual matters. However, as scholars studied the text, they did not come up with many answers—instead they only came up with more questions.

To the delight of some scholars and the chagrin of others, the Guodian edition of the Laozi was surprisingly different from the received edition. It was not only a challenge to the traditional form and format of the received text; it was a challenge to the traditional category of ‘Daoism.’ To date, only a couple of tentative translations have been attempted, and scholarly debate continues as to the nature and purpose of the text.¹

This thesis ties together archeology, philosophy, history, and cognitive science to support the idea that the Guodian Laozi was meant to be a tool for rulership, and specifically used for instructing the crown prince Qingxiang of Chu, who was preparing to assume the throne near the end of the Warring States. The archeological dating of the Guodian tomb, as well as the

¹ Although the Chu script bamboo text has been transcribed into ‘modern’ classical Chinese several times, and certain lines translated into English in scholarly articles, the only full English translation published to date has been Robert G. Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching: A Translation of the Startling New Documents at Guodian* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). Henricks himself describes his translation as ‘tentative.’
tentative dating of key philosophical ideas, both point to this reign period. The philosophical themes within both the Guodian Laozi and the rest of the Guodian collection also match the political situation facing prince Qingxiang.

By determining that the Guodian Laozi is quite different than the received edition, in form, content, and perhaps even purpose, I was led to reading it through different eyes. The received Laozi has traditionally been read through the lens of dichotomy, driven by the prominence of yin and yang metaphorical entailments, which have been traditionally seen as the set of all complementary opposites. However, since the contents of the Guodian Laozi do not seem to correspond very well to the received Laozi, I believe the Guodian Laozi should be read through a different lens—one more suited to its contents and themes. After recognizing ‘rulership’ as the dominant theme of the text (and of the Guodian collection as a whole), I was able to develop a new lens through which to read the Guodian Laozi, based on the embodied experience of Verticality, which includes the entailments of status, power, and leadership. This new lens not only retains the relevant entailments of the yin-yang metaphor, but it goes much farther in explaining the terms and images present in the Guodian edition of the text, and allows the reader to see how almost every verse in the text relates to rulership.

In the following sections of the Introduction, I will introduce the Guodian edition of the text and explain why the Guodian Laozi is considered such an extraordinary find. Next, I will do a survey of the field and discuss the theories proffered by various scholars as to why the Guodian Laozi was found in such an unexpected condition, and give evidence for why the material titled Taiyishengshui should be considered an integral part of the Guodian Laozi text. Once that foundation is laid, I will explicate my own theory as to the nature of the Guodian Laozi, and show how the dating of the material, as well as the philosophical contents of the material,
support that thesis. Finally, I employ conceptual metaphor theory and blending theory to create a new lens through which to read the Guodian *Laozi* and apply the new lens to the text. I intend to show that this new lens reflects the philosophical contents of the Guodian edition better than the more traditional lens of *yin* and *yang*.

1.1 The Background of the Guodian Find

The 1993 discovery of sixteen philosophical texts in a tomb near Guodian 郭店 village in Hubei 湖北 province stirred the hearts and minds of scholars all over the world. In some ways, it was a very ordinary tomb; in other ways, it is quite unique. The tomb is part of the Jishan 紀山 tomb complex, which is a collection of approximately 300 tombs arranged into twenty-odd ‘clan’ cemeteries. Archeological evidence suggests that the complex was the burial site for the Warring States Chu 楚 state capital of Ying 郢, located just nine kilometres to the south.2 The tomb had no clear identifying marks or dates on it, and so was simply named “*Guodian yi hao Chumu*” 郭店一號楚墓 “Guodian Tomb Number One” by excavators. Far from exceptional, the only attention this seemingly ordinary tomb received—until 1993—had been to level its burial mound in order to plant crops on top of it.

In 1993, after grave robbers broke into the tomb and left it open to the elements, the Jingmen City Museum 荊門市博物館 ordered a full recovery of all objects left in the tomb. At that time, based on its style and contents, the tomb was tentatively dated to the middle of the Warring States period, and it was proposed by some scholars that the occupant could likely have

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been a tutor to the crown prince of Chu 楚, primarily based on an engraved cup found inside.\(^3\) As I will discuss, ongoing questions regarding the possible dating and occupant of this tomb could play a key role in understanding its unusual contents.\(^4\)

Along with the various pottery, bronzes, weapons, and other personal items that were ignored by the grave robbers, the excavators found 804 bamboo strips. These strips were in remarkably intact condition, although covered in mud and jumbled into random piles by water that had entered the tomb.\(^5\) The strings binding the strips together into bundles had completely rotted away, and it took a meticulous effort by the Jingmen Museum to both restore the strips and


\(^4\) According to Paul Goldin (“Xunzi in Light of the Guodian Manuscripts,” *Early China* 15 (2000): 113–146), the identity of the deceased is unclear; the suggestion that he may have been a tutor to the Crown Prince of the state of Chu has been challenged. According to Xing Wen (in Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 245–246), Cui Renyi was the first to suggest that the tomb occupant was a tutor to the crown prince of the Eastern Palace, even though he read the cup’s inscription as merely 東宮之杯 (the Eastern Palace’s cup). Li Xueqin said it should be read as 東宮之師 (the Eastern Palace’s teacher), and that other circumstantial evidence, e.g. the dove-headed staffs and the formatting of the Yu cong books found in the tomb, confirm that the occupant was a teacher. Many scholars at the Dartmouth conference agreed the tomb occupant was likely a tutor of the Eastern Palace. However, Li Ling challenged Li Xueqin at the International Symposium on the Chu Slips from Guodian (1999), and agreed with Cui Renyi that the inscription should be read as 東宮之杯. Though, contrary to Cui Renyi, he thereby concluded that the occupant was not a teacher. See Li Ling 李零, “Guodian Chujian yanjiu zhong de jige wenti: Meiguodamushi xueyuan Guodian Chujian guoji xueshu yantaohui luwenji 郭店楚簡研究中的幾個問題: 美國達慕思學院郭店楚簡國際學術研討會論文集 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin, 2000), 47–49. Peng Hao concluded that the tomb occupant may have simply been a member of a prominent aristocratic family. Peng Hao 彭浩, “Guodian yihao mu de niandai yu jieyou Laozi de jiegou” 郭店一號墓的年代與簡本老子的結構, *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究 17 (1999), 15. As will become clear by the Conclusion of this thesis, I believe it is very likely that the tomb occupant was the tutor to King Qingxiang of Chu. However, even if the occupant is somehow later proven to not be a teacher, it I believe my evidence shows that he was at least: an aristocrat connected to the royal house of Chu during the time Qingxiang was the crown prince; very interested in the politics of ruling the state; an advocate of a certain type of rulership which would have been very applicable to the situation facing King Qingxiang of Chu but not favoured among the general aristocracy of the time. The fact that his politics favoured the king over his own class (i.e. described how the king could manipulate the aristocracy to his advantage) lends weight to the idea that he was a royal tutor or advisor and not just a random aristocrat. In the end, whether the cup said ‘the Eastern Palace’s teacher’ or ‘the Eastern Palace’s cup’— and even whether the tomb occupant was specifically the tutor to the prince or simply an advisor—does not affect my conclusions on the texts, since all my evidence can be viewed independently of the cup’s inscription, and works regardless of the tomb occupant’s title.

then separate them into their original bundles. First, they grouped the strips based on their physical characteristics, such as: size, shape, handwriting, and notches (which marked where the string bindings would have been). Then, the written content of the strips was used to determine the order of strips within the separated bundles. It was precisely at this point that the seemingly ordinary “Tomb Number One at Guodian” became extraordinary.

1.2 The Guodian Collection of Texts

Unlike most sets of texts discovered in tombs, the Guodian collection solely consisted of philosophical texts. Furthermore, many of the texts were ‘lost’ texts, meaning that they had not been seen—or even mentioned, in some cases—since the Warring States era. As a result, the collection quickly garnered the moniker of the ‘Dead Sea scrolls’ of Chinese philosophy. Of the tomb’s sixteen texts, the only titles which corresponded to received texts were the *Laozi* 老子, the *Wuxing* 五行, and *Ziyi* 緇衣 (“The Black Robes”).⁶ The discovery of the oldest known version of the *Laozi* 老子 created quite a stir in and of itself, and prompted a conference of the world’s most eminent scholars, to which I am deeply indebted.⁷

At first glance, such a textual find appears heaven-sent. However, one problem quickly becomes apparent: the Guodian collection poses a serious challenge to traditional scholarship on Chinese philosophy. First of all, the Guodian material challenges the traditional division of ‘Confucian’ and ‘Daoist’ schools of thought. Not only were texts traditionally labeled ‘Daoist’ found alongside texts traditionally labeled ‘Confucian,’ but within these texts themselves, so-

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⁶ The *Ziyi* 緇衣 is a chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 or *Book of Rites*. To be completely accurate, the *Wuxing* 五行 is technically not a ‘received’ text, in that it was not transmitted from early times into a present version, but rather discovered at a different archeological site in the 1970s. However, I have grouped it with the *Ziyi* 緇衣 and the *Laozi* 老子 here because it is one of the three texts of the Guodian find that we did already have a copy of.

called ‘typically Daoist’ thought was found within ‘Confucian’ texts, and vice versa. Furthermore, attacks on ‘Confucian’ thought were absent from the ‘Daoist’ books, and the ‘Daoist’ books also did not have several critical so-called ‘Daoist’ elements.

The ‘received’ texts did not escape this effect. For example, the Wuxing 五行, commonly considered a Confucian text, had its ‘Confucian’ terms of ren 仁 (‘benevolence’) and yi 義 (‘righteousness’) replaced with less polemic terms of sheng 聰 (‘sagacity’) and zhi 智 (‘wisdom’) in the Guodian edition. Its focus on achieving ren 仁 is also replaced with a focus on achieving de 德 (‘Virtue’). The Guodian Laozi also has ren 仁 and yi 義 replaced with less ‘Confucian’ terms (zhi 智 ‘wisdom’ and bian 辨 ‘disputation’), and additionally has sheng 聰 and zhi 智 replaced with qiao 巧 (‘skillfulness’) and li 利 (‘profit’) in Chapter A:1(R19). This was, in fact, the second time in recent years that the supposed ‘Confucian’ Wuxing was found buried with the ‘Daoist’ Laozi. The two were found printed on the same piece of silk at the Mawangdui 馬王堆 site. Finding them together again at Guodian added credence to the growing theory that the two texts contained compatible ideology and were perhaps commonly studied together.

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8 Guo Yi 郭沂, Guodian zhujian yu xian-Qin xueshu sixiang 郭店竹簡與先秦學術思想 The Guodian bamboo manuscripts and pre-Qin academic thought (Shanghai: Shanghai Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2001). In comparing the Guodian and Mawangdui editions, he notes: e.g. 1: The MWD version discusses the steps to attain ren 仁 (benevolence), which are yi 義 (righteousness), li 禮 (ritual) and zhi 智 (wisdom), respectively (chapter 10); but the Guodian version begins with the steps to attain de 德 (virtue), which are sheng 聰 (sagacity), zhi 智 (wisdom), and ren 仁 (benevolence). e.g. 2: The MWD Ch 18 states: “Renyi liyue zhi suo you ye” 仁義禮樂之由也 (“Benevolence and righteousness are the sources for rituals and music”); but the Guodian Chapter 5.2 reads: “Shengzhi liyue zhi suo you ye” 聰智禮樂之由也 (“Sagehood and wisdom are the sources for rituals and music”).

9 The discovery of two Laozi silk manuscripts at Mawangdui, near Changsha, Hunan province in 1973 marks an important milestone in modern Laozi research. The manuscripts, identified simply as “A” (jia 甲) and “B” (yi 乙), were found in a tomb that was sealed in 168 B.C.E. The texts themselves can be dated earlier, the “A” manuscript being the older of the two, copied in all likelihood before 195 B.C.E. See D. C. Lau, Tao te ching (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1982), Bolzt, William G. 1984. “Textual Criticism and the Ma Wang Tui Lao-tzu.” Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 44: 185-224, and Robert G. Henricks, Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching: A New Translation Based on the Recently Discovered Ma-wang-tui Texts (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989).
1.3 The Guodian Laozi

The Guodian’s version of the Laozi is special for three reasons: its age, which puts it 150 years earlier than any other known edition; its inclusion in a primarily ‘Confucian’ collection of tomb-mates; and its written contents, which constitute an extremely unusual version of the text. Its age immediately brought up questions of authorship and authenticity, with many scholars wondering if it could be the ur text (original version) of the Laozi. This topic will be discussed in more depth in section 2, titled “Reading the Guodian Laozi and the TYSS Material as One Text.” Its unexpected positioning alongside ‘Confucian’ tomb-mates demanded that intellectual history of the Warring States be reexamined. This topic will be discussed in more depth in section 3, titled “The Guodian Laozi in Context”. However, its surprising contents are the primary reason the Guodian Laozi is worth studying in such depth.

Compared to the received version of the text, the Guodian version is ostensibly ‘incomplete’ and confusingly ‘disordered.’ For one, it only contains 2/5 of the received text (approximately 32 of the received text’s 81 chapters; although only 24 correspond 1:1). Furthermore, many themes traditionally considered ‘characteristic’ of the text are strangely and inexplicably absent. The familiar urgings to be weak and passive like water, and the female are absent. Most of the chapters referring to the mystery that is Dao 道 are also absent; instead, most of the chapters refer to the ruling of the state. Also gone are the attacks on the ‘Confucian’ values of ren 仁 (‘benevolence’) and yi 義 (‘righteousness’), as well as other lines referring to ‘Confucian’ terms. Based on the situation surrounding the discovery of the strips, one could surmise that all the ‘missing’ references, lines, and chapters must have been on damaged or

11 In Chapters A:1 (R19) and C:1 (R17–18).
unrecovered strips; however, in many cases, the relevant strips were completely recovered and restored. Close examination of these strips reveals many instances where lines and chapters followed each other seamlessly, just not in the order of the received text, and that certain key terms and lines were simply omitted, or in some cases had alternate terms in their place.

Not only were the words, lines, and chapters of the Guodian *Laozi* in different arrangements than the received version, the entire text was rearranged into unfamiliar bundles. Gone are the two traditional thematic sections of *Dao* 道 (‘the Way’) and *De* 德 (‘Virtue’). Instead, the text was bound into three bundles, labeled A (jia 甲), B (yi 乙), and C (bing 丙), with *Dao* 道 and *De* 德 themes sprinkled liberally throughout, and strange, previously unseen material, collectively called the *Taiyishengshui* 太一生水 by the compilers (hereafter, TYSS), was appended to Part C.

Out of the fourteen strips in Part C, about half (8 strips) can be seamlessly assembled into a previously unseen cosmology, and the rest are incomplete fragments—some that appear to enquire about the name and designation of the *Dao* 道, and others that appear to be references to the legend of Gong Gong 共工, who vied for rulership in the period of Yao 尧 and ultimately lost to Zhuan Xu 頓頊. Some of the Part C material (i.e. enquiring about the name of the *Dao* 道) is extremely compatible with the material in the received *Laozi* and therefore its incorporation into the study of the *Laozi* poses little scholarly challenge. On the other hand, other Part C material (i.e. the Gong Gong references) does not initially appear to be related to the *Laozi* at all, and poses a larger challenge to comprehend and integrate into the received tradition. Finally, the biggest challenge the TYSS poses to the interpretation of the Guodian *Laozi* is its cosmology, which does not correspond to traditional ‘Daoist’ cosmology.
While some of the terms of the TYSS cosmology, like yin 隱 and yang 阳 and wanwu 萬物, are reassuringly familiar to readers of such classic ‘Daoist’ texts as the Laozi 老子 and the Zhuangzi 莊子, the order and method in which the various entities are produced is frustratingly different from traditional accounts. First of all, the received Laozi offers a simple cosmology in Chapter 42, in which “道生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物” (“The Way gave birth to the One; The One gave birth to the Two; The Two gave birth to the Three; And The Three gave birth to the ten thousand things”). In contrast, the TYSS cosmology consists of a rather substantial list of entities that are being produced—a list which decentralizes and demotes “The Two” (i.e. yin 隱 and yang 阳) down to sixth and seventh in order of creation. In the traditional understanding of Daoist cosmology, yin 隱 and yang 阳 are born directly of “The One,” and are formative powers behind the rest of creation. However, in the TYSS, yin 隱 and yang 阳 come into creation only after Water 水, Heaven 天, Earth 地, Spirits 神, and Luminaries 明. There is no trace of the traditional ‘One … Two … Three’ cosmology in the Guodian Laozi; Chapter R42 is one of the chapters that is completely absent in the Guodian version. Furthermore, as Robert Henricks points out, although the received Laozi refers to the Dao 道 as ‘the One’ several times (in chapters R10, R14, R22, R39, and R42), none of these chapters are present in the Guodian version. Finally, Isabelle Robinet has pointed out the inconsistency between the method of generation found in the two texts: in the in the Laozi, things are ‘born’ (sheng 生) of each other

12 Henricks, Lao-tzu Te-Tao Ching, 11.
13 Vincent Shen offers a solution to the apparent contradiction in the two cosmologies: perhaps scholars have been mistaken all along as to the identity of “The One,” “The Two,” and “The Three.” Shen suggests that rather than representing primordial qi 氣, yin 隱, and yang 阳, and their interaction, “The One” could actually be water, “The Two” just pairs of complementary opposites, and “The Three” the interaction of the other two. Vincent Shen, “Laozi (Lao Tzu),” in Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy: 紀伊國屋書店, ed. Antonio S. Cua (New York: Routledge, 2002), 355–361, especially 357–358. However I don’t think this theory received much acceptance from scholars in general.
14 Henricks, Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching, 18.
in succession, whereas in the TYSS, things ‘return to assist’ (fu 輔) Taiyi 太一 in producing new things.\(^{15}\)

1.4 Clarification of Terms

At this point it is important that I clarify some important terms I will be using throughout my thesis. Terms such as ‘Confucian’ and ‘Daoist’ have been proven to be anachronistic. The Warring States period was a tumultuous period, characterized by war, political instability, and general chaos. This situation generated not only extreme anxiety, but also a multitude of proposals as to how to resolve the troubles of the time. As a result, it has traditionally been called the era of ‘the hundred schools’ of thought. Although there may well have been a ‘hundred schools’ of thought at that time, many of these were small and did not survive the era. For centuries, scholars have generally recognized six major philosophical schools as comprising ‘the philosophy of Warring States,’ and saw them as ‘competing’ philosophies.

To over-simplify quite a bit, there were the philosophers Confucius 孔子, Mencius 孟子, and Xunzi 荀子 offering varying views of ‘Confucianism’ (or Ru 儒, as it was called in Confucius’ time); Xunzi’s student Han Feizi 韩非子 espousing ‘Legalism’; Mozi 墨子 extolling impartial caring or consequentialism, commonly referred to as ‘Mohism’; the sophist Gongsun Long 公孙龙 of the ‘School of Names’, offering assurances that all will be well if people could only rectify the names of everything; and the ‘Yangists,’ following the ‘Primitivist’ Yang Zhu 楊朱, who advocated returning to a hedonist existence, pleasuring oneself and placing one’s own self-interest first and foremost. In contrast to all of these, Laozi 老子 and Zhuangzi 庄子 were both considered to be ‘Daoists’ or ‘Daoist Primitivists.’ The Confucians tried to defend their Way against the Mohists, Yangists, and Daoists, and in addition had more than their share of

\(^{15}\) Ibid, 124–125.
internal discord, with Xunzi criticizing Mencius. In fact, when engaging other philosophers, Xunzi went beyond criticism, and took an angle of attack or division, evidenced by his chapter called “Contra the Twelve Philosophers,” where he sought to trump all other schools views with his own.  

Mozi was principally concerned with criticizing what he thought was the excessive rituals of Confucianism. Like Xunzi, he was divisive, as evidenced by his chapter titled “Condemnation of the Ru.” Yang Zhu vented against both Confucians and Mohists. Laozi criticized the Confucians, but Zhuangzi took shots at all of the schools, with perhaps the exception of Yang Zhu, whose work only survives in the Miscellaneous chapters of the Zhuangzi and in some chapters of the Liezi. This version of history—with these particular school divisions—has guided scholarship for centuries, and was rarely questioned until recent years, when archeological finds, like the one at Guodian, caused scholars to reevaluate the intellectual history of the Warring States.

The reason scholars were initially so startled and confused by the ‘mixing’ of doctrinal material in the Guodian tomb is because they were following the above ex post facto categories. Recent scholarship has suggested that in the Warring States era, there were actually no clear demarcations or tensions between philosophical schools. During the Warring States, ideas were shared, discussed, and promoted by scholars regardless of school, as the material in the Guodian tomb can attest. The terms ‘Confucian’ and ‘Daoist’ were actually delineated into strict

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17 The descriptions of the schools and their interactions were all taken from Knoblock. Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works, 212–232.
‘categories’ by much later by editors such as Sima Tan 司馬談, Sima Qian 司馬遷, and Liu Xiang 劉向.20

The categorization of material and ideas into discrete ‘schools’ is not only problematic for distinguishing between groups of scholars in the Warring States, but it is also problematic for defining a single group of scholars. For example, by surveying the collection of Warring States texts labeled ‘Daoist,’ Harold Roth has identified three types of texts:

1. Cosmology: based upon Dao as the dominant unifying power in the cosmos.
2. Self-cultivation: the attainment of Dao through a process of emptying out the usual contents of the mind until a profound state of tranquility is achieved.
3. Political thought: the application of the cosmology and the self-cultivation methods to the problem of rulership.21

Roth goes on to comment: “All [of these so-called ‘Daoist’ texts] share a common cosmology and self-cultivation agenda, but … differ in the area of political thought.” He goes on to muse that the three types “are simply heuristic devices for organizing textual sources, might they in fact refer to actual master-disciple lineages?”22

It quickly becomes apparent that there is little accuracy or meaning obtained through the use of these classifying terms. However, I will still use these terms where necessary for the sake of simplicity and clarity, while emphasizing their specious nature with single quotes.

The naming of the Guodian material as the ‘Laozi’ and the ‘TYSS’ is also anachronistic. Again, I will use these terms for the sake of convenience simply because so many scholars refer to the material in this way, including the first Chinese scholars to assemble and order the strips found in the Guodian tomb, the editors of the Guodian chumuzhujian 郭店楚墓竹簡. It would be much more accurate to refer to these strips as ‘material that corresponds to material in the

22 Ibid, 85.
received text of the Laozi plus material which does not correspond to material in the received text of the Laozi, which were discovered together in a single tomb, bundled into three intermingled groups.’ However that is extremely unwieldy, and does not help us in knowing which precise material is being referred to in other scholars’ work. This has already become a problem in discussing the Guodian Laozi material, with some scholars attempting to preserve the numbering of the received chapters for the Guodian material, and others developing their own numbering systems. Therefore, in this matter, I have followed the strip numbering system provided by the collators of the Guodian chumu zhujian 郭店楚墓竹简, despite the fact that the order of some of these strips continues to be contested, and have included the received chapter number (with a designation ‘R’) in brackets simply for convenience, e.g. Guodian Laozi Part A Chapter 9, which corresponds to received Chapter 2, would appear as A:9 (R2). Finally, when I use the term ‘the Guodian Laozi,’ I am referring to the complete set of three bundles (including the TYSS material); otherwise I will specify ‘Laozi A/ Part A,’ ‘Laozi B/ Part B,’ ‘Laozi C/ Part C,’ or ‘TYSS’ specifically.

Finally, I will try to follow Harold Roth’s suggestions when using terms and definitions regarding textual criticism of early Chinese literature. Roth summarizes the important terms of textual criticism for early Chinese texts as follows:

A text is the unique complex and expression of ideas of an author or authors, an edition is a distinct record containing a unique state of a text, an exemplar is a copy of a printed edition (or the actual manuscript of a handwritten edition), a recension is a foundational version or state of a text, a redaction may be either the first record of a recension or the oldest record of a unique “sub-state” of this recension, the ancestral redaction is the oldest extant edition in a particular lineage of editions and as such represents the oldest extant witness to the unique sub-state of a recension contained in all the editions of its lineage, and the “received text” (texus receptus) is the extant recension or recensions of a text.23

2 Reading the Guodian Laozi and the TYSS Material as One Text

In order to better understand the nature of the ‘text’ called the Guodian Laozi, it is important to analyze the material that corresponds to the received version of the text. However, it is perhaps even more important to look at the material labeled ‘TYSS,’ which consists of the material not found in the received version of the Laozi, and determine its relevance. However, in order to determine the relevance of the TYSS material, the nature of the Guodian Laozi as a ‘text’ must first be determined. Is it a single collection of material, with all parts meant to be read together? Or is it a set of three (or more) ‘texts,’ that could be studied together or apart? Or is it divisible into multiple editions of the same ‘text’? The following section addresses these very questions, explains the various opinions held by scholars of the field, and concludes by introducing some archeological evidence for reading the Guodian Laozi and TYSS material together as one text.

2.1 The Importance of Reading the Guodian Laozi and TYSS Material as One Text

The way the material is grouped has a significant impact on how it is read and interpreted. The fact that the TYSS contains a different cosmology from the received Laozi means that scholars must determine what to do with it—integrate it into the received tradition, or discard it as a separate philosophy. If the Guodian Laozi and the TYSS material are read as one text, the cosmology must be somehow integrated and explained in terms of the received tradition, and the way scholars have been reading and interpreting the received edition may have to be revised.

On the other hand, it is possible that the Guodian Laozi is actually a different edition than the received Laozi. It may be one of several recensions or redactions that evolved in parallel. From this stance, it is possible that the Guodian Laozi could be read and interpreted in a different light or through a different lens than the received edition. If this is the case, then perhaps the
way the received text has been read would not need to be revised, and scholars could focus on
the Guodian Laozi as a separate edition requiring fresh eyes to be read properly.

2.2 Philosophical Arguments

Examination of the Guodian Laozi leads to two primary questions, which naturally are
multi-layered: (1) What is the nature of the Guodian Laozi? Is it a coveted ur text, that is, the so-called ‘original’ or first version of the text that more clearly expresses the ‘original author’s intentions’—in other words, a text untainted by later-era scholars’ commentaries and edits? Or is the Guodian Laozi a collection of excerpts from an older intact version of the text, maybe even taken from the ur text itself, copied perhaps by the tomb’s occupant for enjoyment or teaching purposes? Is it a complete text, but simply one recension of many? Was the original Laozi passed down orally in sections which required no particular order, and the Guodian Laozi simply a selection of these? Conversely, perhaps there is no ur text of the Laozi at all: Is the Guodian Laozi simply a collection of oral sayings that were circulating in the Warring States era, recorded by a person or persons unrelated to the Laozi as we know it today? (2) How does the TYSS relate to the Laozi? Why was it attached to the Laozi in the Guodian collection? Was it formerly considered a part of that text? Where did it come from? How does it affect the dating of the Laozi? What impact does the cosmology of the TYSS have upon the Laozi and its related tradition?24

There is serious disagreement among scholars as to the nature and relevance of the
Guodian Laozi and the TYSS material in particular. As the following section shows, the
philosophical evidence is far from clear in this case; the physical evidence seems far more

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24 I would like to again show my appreciation to Sarah Allan, Crispin Williams, and the other scholars who attempted to answer many of these questions at the The Guodian Laozi: International Conference at Dartmouth College, May 1998.
compelling. In the end, decisively dating the material may be the key to determining the relevance of the TYSS to the Guodian Laozi, or to the Daoist tradition as a whole.

While the significance of the Guodian find as a whole is certainly not in question, scholarly debate continues to rage over the significance and interpretation of many of the individual texts, with many researchers heavily invested in preserving a particular interpretation of a text or a particular philosophical tradition. The Guodian Laozi is one such text. Although one hopes that all researchers are by nature objective and unbiased, eagerly awaiting the latest discoveries in their field in order to update their research and get closer to ‘the truth’ (as the evidence presents it), sadly, this is not always the case. While some researchers did eagerly dive into the complexities posed by the Guodian Laozi, and were willing to look at new interpretations and novel possibilities, others dug in their heels, determined to preserve the status quo. It is conceivable and even understandable that a certain researcher might want to maintain a certain dating or reading of a text, especially if (s)he has based years of research—and perhaps their reputation—upon that reading. However, even a cursory look at the general scholarship shows that it is not just individual researchers who suffer from this bias, but entire cultures.

In the case of the Guodian Laozi, a distinct trend emerges. Western scholars generally seem not only open to the possibility that the Guodian Laozi could be a collection of excerpts, but also to the possibility that there was no ur text in the first place. This position easily allowed them to consider the TYSS material to be an integral part of the Guodian Laozi. Upon the discovery of the Guodian Laozi, many Western scholars jumped at the chance to explore whether the oldest versions of the Laozi fit their theories that the Laozi was originally a collection of sayings created by a group of ‘old masters’25 which was collated over time by

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25 Translating ‘laozi’ as “old 子’s,” with 子 representing a group of masters, as it does in many philosophical texts in the Warring States.
various educated people. In contrast, many Chinese scholars tried to prove the traditional Daoist
belief that Laozi the man\textsuperscript{26} wrote \textit{Laozi} the book in one sitting as he left the Hangu pass,
traveling towards the West. This led them to assert that there must be an \textit{ur} text of the \textit{Laozi}, and
if the Guodian \textit{Laozi} was not it, then it must have been based upon it. It also encouraged the
separation of the TYSS material from the rest of the \textit{Laozi} material, and a rejection of the idea
that it could have been an integral part of the Guodian \textit{Laozi}.

The following section introduces academia’s main theories about the nature of the
Guodian \textit{Laozi}, and show which scholars adhere to each of them.

\textbf{2.2.1 The Guodian \textit{Laozi} as Ur Text}

The prospect of finding the \textit{ur} text of the \textit{Laozi} is extremely exciting. It would allow us
to see the original ideas and intentions of the text’s author(s), before later editors and
commentators added their own thoughts or removed sections they found ‘offensive’ or
‘incongruent’ to their own beliefs. It would also allow us to see how the \textit{Laozi} has evolved over
the years into the received version. However, not many researchers believe that the Guodian
\textit{Laozi} could indeed be the \textit{ur} text, which would put the ‘fully developed’ written \textit{Laozi} around 3\textsuperscript{rd}
century BCE.

Japanese researcher Ichiro Koike follows the research of Chinese scholar Cui Renyi, and
argues that the Guodian \textit{Laozi} is itself a complete version of the \textit{Laozi} that was circulating in the
Warring States and furthermore is the ancestral version of the Mawangdui \textit{Laozi}.	extsuperscript{27} Koike
believes that the Guodian \textit{Laozi} is the ‘original’ form of the Mawangdui \textit{Laozi}, which in turn is
the precursor of the extant version. He points to a consistent literary style and to the use of \textit{wu}
flowing through both the Guodian \textit{Laozi} and the Mawangdui \textit{Laozi} as his evidence. He also

\textsuperscript{26} Translating ‘\textit{laozi}’ as a name or as ‘the old master.’
\textsuperscript{27} Ichiro Koike 小池一郎. “Kakuten Sokan \textit{Roushi} to ‘Roushi’ no sokei” 郭店楚簡『老子』と「老子」の祖型 in
claims the Guodian Laozi is the lost sixteen-section text written by Lao Laizi that is attributed to Laozi in the Shiji (Records of the Grand Historian), dated 100 BCE, and the Han Shu (Book of Han), dated 111 CE. Koike glosses over the issue of whether the Guodian Laozi or the Lao Laizi has fifteen or sixteen chapters, simply saying that some people say the Lao Laizi has fifteen and some say it has sixteen. The Guodian Laozi could also be considered to have fifteen or sixteen chapters, depending on whether one believes that the repeated chapter 64 is an error or part of the text. Koike does not seem to have any problem with this inconsistency. Consequently, Mr. Koike believes that the three sections (ABC) of the Guodian Laozi belong together as one text.

Interestingly, although Koike based his work on the research of Cui Renyi, Cui Renyi himself did not seem to believe that the Guodian Laozi belonged together as one text, insisting that the three texts had different authors, but he did ponder the possibility that either the three volumes together (which comprise 16 sections) or else just the Laozi C (made of 18 sections) could be the lost Lao Laizi text. In this, he refers to specific quotes in the Shiji (“Lao Laizi wrote a book in 15 chapters, and used Daoist words.”) as well as the Hanshu (which refers to “the Lao Laizi’s 16 chapters”), which nicely clears up the question of why Koike mentions that “some people say there are 15 [chapters] and some say there are 16 [chapters],” and allows for both possibilities, that is, that the repeated chapter 64 in the Guodian Laozi was an error or was not.

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28 Koike, “Kakuten Sokan Roushi to ‘Roushi’ no sokei,” 321 and 326. Few modern scholars take the Shiji as an accurate factual source of information. The two texts he cites were obviously written quite a bit after the Laozi, and therefore run the risk of simply retroactively attributing the popular belief of their day rather than accurately conveying the facts of the times surrounding the texts themselves.


2.2.2 The Guodian Laozi as a Thematic Collection of Excerpts from the Ur Text

Several Chinese scholars believe that the Guodian Laozi is a collection of excerpts from the ur text, which was completed at an earlier date. For example, Gao Ming believes that none of the three sections of the Guodian Laozi are the ur text of the Laozi, and that none of them are complete texts by themselves. Rather, he claims they are “copied selections from the classic text of the Laozi.” This position would explain the inconsistencies of the Guodian Laozi, while still preserving both the idea that the Laozi was written as a complete text and the notion that an ur text for the Laozi must exist.

Chen Guying points to the account of the Laozi in the Shiji, and concludes: “The date of the Guodian tomb is not much more than 100 years after the death of Lao Dan (ca. 480 BCE). Thus, the find does not conflict in any way with the theory that Lao Dan, that is to say Laozi, wrote this book in its present form… after Lao Dan wrote and compiled the book, there came to be several different versions.”

Following this line of thinking, there may have been many of such books of excerpts, created with a particular theme in mind, for example, the Guodian Laozi appears to have a theme of ruling the state, and may have been collated by the Guodian tomb occupant, who may have been the tutor to a crown prince. Wang Bo agrees that a 5000-word Laozi, which was a version of the received text, existed prior to the Guodian Laozi, and claims that the Guodian Laozi ‘groups’ (2 sets of pairs: A1+A2 and B+C) were selections from that text made on the basis of similarity in theme and made for a specific purpose, i.e. teaching. Wang Bo notes that “the order of the chapters may not have been fixed and that this is a phenomenon we see in other

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31 Allan and Williams, eds. The Guodian Laozi, 65.
32 Ibid, 142–143. Also see Chen Guying 陳鼓應, Lao Zhuang Xin Lun 老莊新論 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 1992), especially 43–58.
33 Allan and Williams, eds. The Guodian Laozi, 154.
excavated texts where sections of a single text have different sequences from the corresponding received text.” According to Li Xueqin, sometimes the order of excerpts in these texts may seem “more logical” than the original because they were selected to fit a theme, however that does not necessarily mean that they were originally ordered in that way.  

D.C. Lau also believed that the chapters were once divided into smaller units that were originally independent. However, even prior to the discovery of the Guodian Laozi, D.C. Lau saw the received Laozi as an anthology of earlier material. Xing Wen agrees with D.C. Lau, and hypothesized that “both the Guodian Laozi and the received Laozi derive from the same unknown source.” Japanese scholar Asano Yuuichi uses Ikeda Tomohisa’s Guodian Chujian Laozi yanjiu as the basis of his own research. Asano Yuuichi believes the Guodian Laozi can be seen as a compilation of “blocks” of text copied from another, previously extant ‘complete’ (and therefore larger) text.  As defense, he notes that there are very few lines that appear in this version that are not in the extant version, and no additional chapters, and no commentary. Chinese scholars Rudolph Wagner and Paul Thomson claim that the lack of repetition of lines

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34 Ibid, 143. Also see page 154.
36 Ibid, 128.
37 Ibid, 146. However, we shall see Xing Wen does not agree that this ‘source’ is likely to be the ur text.
38 Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, Guodian Chujian Laozi yanjiu 郭店楚簡老子研究 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1998).
40 This last evidence is rather weak, since there would be no commentary if it were an ur text. Also, note that this argument assumes that the Taiyi sheng shui is not part of the Laozi. William Boltz says that the Taiyi sheng shui is definitely ‘additional material’ which matches in handwriting, strip length, etc, but is being rejected as ‘additional Laozi material’ because it is not in the received Laozi. William G., Boltz, “The Fourth-Century B. C. Guodian Manuscripts from Chuu and the Composition of the Laotzyy,” Journal of the American Oriental Society 119 no. 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1999): 595.
42 Despite his Western-sounding name, Paul Thompson would be considered a “Chinese scholar.” According to his recent obituary in the UK Guardian, Paul was born and raised in China, the son of Irish missionaries. Sarah Allan,
between this and the extant version, and the fact that there were no passages found in the Guodian Laozi that were not in the received text, proves that the Guodian Laozi is simply sections copied from the received text.43

### 2.2.3 The Guodian Laozi as One of Several Recensions of the Ur Text

Another theory is that the inconsistencies in the Guodian Laozi can be explained through multiple lineages of the Laozi. This theory would serve the same function as the theory that the Guodian Laozi is made of selections from the ur text: it would explain the discrepancies while still preserving the traditional belief in a complete Laozi ur text. Chen Guying believes the versions of the Laozi found at Guodian are indeed copies resulting from different lineages, pointing to the repeated chapter 64 as evidence.44 He furthermore claims: “The Guodian text seems to be closer to the Mawangdui copies in some places, but closer to the received text in others. Therefore the received text may in some cases contain passages that reflect an earlier version than the Mawangdui copies. In other words, different editions may have different sources.”45 Asano Yuuichi also explains away the one chapter (R64) that is duplicated in both section A and section C, with different handwriting and word choices, as being from different lineages.46

### 2.2.4 The Guodian Laozi as a Complete Orally Transmitted Text

There is, however, another theory that would explain for minor variations in word choice and phrasing. There is strong evidence to suggest that the Laozi was originally a memorized oral

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43 Allan and Williams, eds. The Guodian Laozi, 145.
44 Ibid., 142–143.
45 Ibid., 141.
46 Asano Yuuichi 浅野裕一, “Kakuten Sokan ‘Takakatsu sei sui’ to ‘Roushi’ no Doo,” 2687.
text. The rhythm and rhyme of its verses offer a clue that it was meant to be spoken aloud. The way certain homonym characters were substituted for others is another clue of its orality.

One theory is that while the text may have existed somewhere in written form, since written texts were hard to come by, it was passed down orally. The oral nature of the text would not only force scholars to work from memory (which could lead to variations and omissions), but also cause scribes to use more homonyms as they wrote down what they heard. Wang Bo and Crispin Williams further suggest there may not have been a ‘correct order’ at all: the *Laozi* is not a narrative, it merely speaks on a topic. Therefore, the order in which the sections were presented would not matter. Furthermore, since it is easier to memorize a large text in ‘chunks,’ the various sections would have held together to form cohesive units, while the larger text was simply the entirety of all of these units, in any order.

There is, however, yet another theory that would keep the logic of the oral nature of the text, while moving away from the idea that the *Laozi* was a complete and cohesive text written in the Warring States. In this theory there is no *ur* text, and the Guodian *Laozi* loses its status not only as a ‘complete’ text, but also as the ancestor to the received versions. Unpopular theory? Surprisingly not, especially among Western scholars.

### 2.2.5 There is No Ur Text: Guodian *Laozi* as a Collection of Sayings

The possibility that there is no *ur* text of the *Laozi* is one favored by most Western scholars. In this case, there remains two possibilities: First, the Guodian *Laozi* is merely a collection of units that were circulating orally around 300–400 BCE, and this collection was built upon over time, by various editors adding material from various sources, to eventually form the first ‘complete’ *Laozi* text (perhaps the Mawangdui *Laozi*) around the mid- to late- 3rd century

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48 Ibid, 144.
BCE. Second, that the Guodian Laozi and the received Laozi are merely two different collections of these oral units. Not surprisingly, we find few Chinese scholars adhering to either of these options. The idea that the entire legend of the Laozi is not true, and that the Laozi was not even a book until later compilers put it together, may be just too extreme for most Chinese scholars. In fact, the only Chinese scholars that seem to favor this position never even saw the Guodian Laozi when they made their suggestions.

Only a couple of scholars entertain the notion that the Laozi was incrementally built over time. Bruce Brook has his own theory about how the Laozi “crystallized,” known as Bruce Brook’s Theory of Accretion. Brook claims that the verses in the Guodian Laozi were not uniquely or randomly chosen, but rather, since they could be found without exception in the received Laozi, that they must have been “selected from a still incomplete phase of the later received Laozi.” Robin Yates believes it is possible that there was some “still incomplete phase of the later received Laozi” from which the Guodian Laozi was created, but still has his doubts a complete text existed at that time. He raises the point that if there were a complete version of the text, surely a person, especially a teacher, would rather be buried with the more valuable complete version.

Far more scholars subscribe to the second theory that both the Guodian Laozi and the received Laozi are two different collections of the aphorisms that were in general circulation in the Warring States. William Boltz suggests that the Guodian Laozi is in no way a proto-version of the received Laozi. Instead, he proposes that “The Guodiann passages may in effect be thought of as a kind of pre-Laotzyy textual ‘raw material’, textual building blocks, so to speak,

49 Ibid, 239. Also see E. Bruce Brooks, Warring States Working Group Newsletter 9 (Sept. 1, 1998) and 13 (March 10, 1999).
50 Allan and Williams, eds. The Guodian Laozi, 143. Re: texts circulating in units, also see Robin Yates, Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huang-Lao, and Yin-Yang in Han China (New York: Ballantine Books, 1997), 25–32.
out of which a part of the work we know as the Laotzyy later crystallized.”

William Boltz refers to the early work of Gu Jiegang 魏劍剛, who in turn was expanding on work by Liang Qichao 梁啟超, Feng Youlan 馮友蘭, and Qian Mu 錢穆, among others, to show that the Laotzi was created out of a collection of units circulating orally has been around for quite a while. Harold Roth suggests “we must give very serious consideration to the hypothesis that each bundle of these parallels represents a different unique assemblage of these distinct units of verse, all of which were also later assembled into the Laotzi.”

Michael LaFargue and Sarah Allan agree that the groups of lines in the Guodian Laozi form small units that can stand alone, and believe that the received Laozi solidified out of an accumulation of these small units. Susan Blader even offers the suggestion that the units might have originally been part of a completely oral tradition, based on her research on phonetic borrowing and other oral elements. Harold Roth agrees that an oral tradition would explain why the order and structure of the verses (and phrasings) were flexible and unstable, causing the text of the Laozi to be “in a state of flux at the time the Guodian parallels were written down.”

Harold Roth and William Baxter propose a fairly concrete identity for this large group of oral units: they agree that the Laozi, along with the “Neiye” 内業 and the “Xinshu” 心術 books of the Guanzi 管子 all belong to a tradition of Daoist verse that was both oral and anonymous. If they are correct, it would point to the three parts of the Guodian Laozi as well as the received

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52 Ibid, 594–595.
53 Allan and Williams, eds. The Guodian Laozi, 83.
55 Allan and Williams, eds. The Guodian Laozi, 145.
Laozi each being formed separately out of this larger collection of Daoist verse, rather than one evolving out of the other. When it comes to identifying the “unknown source” of the various versions of the Laozi mentioned earlier, Xing Wen also favours this theory.\(^5^8\)

### 2.2.6 Implications for the TYSS Material

Now that I have introduced various scholars’ opinions regarding the Guodian Laozi, and how their cultural bias plays a role in their conclusions, I can explore the nature of the TYSS material. Are there clear lines of cultural bias separating the groups, as for the Laozi? Does the Laozi debate affect how researchers treat the TYSS?

Only a small amount of cultural bias lingers in the TYSS debate, with Chinese scholars a little more likely to insist upon the separation of the two texts, on the grounds that the received Laozi is correct, complete, and must be preserved. Any scholar claiming ‘there is no material in the Guodian Laozi which is not in the received version’ is stating that the TYSS material does not belong with the Laozi. Most scholars believe that the two ‘texts’ were meant to be together—at least in the Guodian edition. However, their opinions had more to do with the physical evidence than any philosophical evidence. In the following section, I will explain the physical evidence.

### 2.3 Archeological Evidence

While there appears to be no way to accurately and concretely determine the relevance of the TYSS at this juncture via philosophical analysis, the physical evidence can offer guidance. In the case of the Guodian Laozi, virtually every scholar has come to agree on the physical evidence, which indicates that the two ‘texts’ were purposefully bundled together, and therefore meant to be studied together. In order to understand how they came to that conclusion, the archeological methods they employed must be reviewed.

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\(^5^8\) Allan and Williams, eds. The Guodian Laozi, 146.
The way the collators of the *Guodian chumuzhujian* determined that the Guodian *Laozi* consisted of three bundles was to look at the physical characteristics of the strips, such as the length of the strips, the distance between notches (marks indicating where the bindings would have been), and the general shape of the strips, especially the shape of the ends of the strips. The collators also looked at the script type, the writing style (e.g. of a particular scribe training school), differences in handwriting (of individual scribes), variations in character usage (e.g. word choice and observance of taboos), and punctuation marks. 59 Finally, they also looked at content—that is, the ideas and phrases the strips actually expressed. Through these methods they determined the following.

The *Laozi* A is a bundle of 39 slips. Each strip is 32.3 cm long. The marks indicating the location of the two string bindings are 13 cm apart. The two ends of each strip are beveled. 60 The script type is “Warring States brush-written Chu-script” and the writing style is “elaborate, regular, controlled.” 61 The handwriting on the strips is generally small and the characters written close together. According to Mattias Richter, two of the strips in the *Laozi* A (strips 5 and 6) are written in a different hand from the rest, marked by larger, more elaborate characters. Due to the flow of the content, however, he believes the two strips are meant to be included in the *Laozi* A. He suggests that perhaps the hand changed because those two strips had to be replaced (due to errors or damage) or that the scribe was replaced for a short while by someone else. 62 Even

59 For further details regarding the punctuation marks, see Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 135–137.
61 Richter, Matthias, “Tentative Criteria for Discerning Individual Hands in the Guodian Manuscripts,” in *Rethinking Confucianism: Selected Papers from the Third International Conference on Excavated Manuscripts, Mount Holyoke College, April 2004*, ed. Xing Wen. (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2006), 5–6. This writing style is found only in the three *Laozi* bundles, and sets them apart from the other sets of bundles in the tomb, which contain other styles.
62 Ibid, 10–16. In his paper, Richter admits that the techniques of handwriting analysis were initially developed for analyzing alphabetic script, and are far from perfectly adapted to the analysis of Chinese characters. Also, the various types of handwriting analysis were developed to suit various purposes, for example, psychological.
taking into account the possibility of two hands in the Laozi A, the handwriting of the Laozi A is markedly different than that of the Laozi B or C.

The Laozi B is a bundle of 18 slips. Each strip is 30.6cm long. The marks indicating the location of the two string bindings are also 13cm apart. The two ends of each strip are flat and squared. The script type, like the Laozi A, is “Warring States brush-written Chu-script” and the writing style, like the Laozi A, is “elaborate, regular, controlled.” The handwriting of the Laozi B, however, is large and the characters are spaced farther apart than in the Laozi A. The handwriting is consistent throughout, suggesting it was written by a single scribe.

The Laozi C is a bundle of 28 slips. Each strip is 26.5cm long. The marks indicating the location of the two string bindings are 10.8cm apart. The strips have flat, squared ends. The script type, like the Laozi A and B, is “Warring States brush-written Chu-script” and the writing style, like the Laozi A and B, is “elaborate, regular, controlled.” The handwriting is uniform throughout, suggesting it was written by a single scribe. According to Peng Hao, the Laozi C was written by a single scribe, and not the same scribe that copied either Laozi A or B.

However, when one looks to content, one sees that 14 strips have material from the received Laozi and 14 strips have material not found in the received Laozi. Due to this difference in content, this last bundle was separated out from the rest and subtitled the TYSS. However, there is no reason to believe that these strips were meant to be separated out from the rest of the
bundle. As a member of the editorial board working on the *Guodian Chu Mu Zhujian*\(^{69}\), Peng Hao explained that “the separation [of the *Laozi* C and *Tai Yi Sheng Shui* slips] into two texts in *Guodian Chu Mu Zhujian* is based entirely upon content. The editorial principle in writing the transcriptions was that, when in doubt, divide the text into smaller rather than larger units, for ease of analysis.”\(^{70}\) William Boltz puts it rather plainly: “Except for the fact that these Tay I sheng shoei texts are not found in the transmitted Laotzyy, there is no reason not to place them together with the fourteen strips of the C “Laotzyy” text and treat the whole as a twenty-eight-strip single manuscript document.”\(^ {71}\)

### 3 The Guodian *Laozi* in Context

The following section will attempt to put the Guodian *Laozi* in its historical, philosophical, and political context, in order to gain insight into the reason it was assembled the way that it was, as well as possible insight into the reason the Guodian collection may have been assembled as a set. First of all, it is important to determine the historical timeframe of the material. In the first half of this section, I will introduce both archeological evidence and the philosophical arguments for dating the Guodian *Laozi* to a certain period. Next, using those dates, I will explain the historical events occurring at that time, and the implications of the Guodian *Laozi* having being written for a particular prince in those particular times. In the second half of this section, I will investigate the themes of the Guodian *Laozi*, to see if the way the text was written/assembled fits my theories. A thematic analysis of the Guodian *Laozi* will be followed by a thematic analysis of the Guodian collection as a whole, to see if my theory holds up for the entire set of texts found in the Guodian tomb.

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\(^{69}\) Jingmenshi Bowuguan 荊門市博物館 (Jingmen Museum), *Guodian Chu Mu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 (*The Bamboo Slips from the Chu Tomb at Guodian*) was the first publication of the strips, including photographs and transcriptions. Most scholars use this book as the basis of their work.

\(^{70}\) Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 143.

\(^{71}\) Boltz, “The Fourth-Century B. C. Guodiansh Manuscripts from Chu and the Composition of the Laotzyy,” 595.
3.1 Dating the Material

While most scholars agree that the TYSS material was purposefully bound together with the Guodian Laozi Part C, not all of them believe that the two texts belong together in any other place or time. If the material could be dated, it would be a great boon in determining its origin and relevance. Unfortunately, there was no date marked on the tomb or any of its contents. The name of the tomb occupant was also not indicated anywhere, which could have helped in narrowing down the timeline. Normally, almanacs, divinatory material, or other records that contain dates are found in such tombs; however, all of the texts in the Guodian tomb were of a philosophical nature, and so did not contain dates.

Fortunately, archeologists can ascertain a tentative ‘latest possible’ dating by comparing the tomb construction materials, layout, style, and contents to other tombs for which the dates are known. The latest the texts in the tomb could have been written or copied was the date of the closure of the tomb, which would at least give a cut-off date for their possible inscription. It would not give a precise dating, however, because the texts could have (and likely were) written years—even decades—prior to the sealing of the tomb. Fortunately, an examination of the way key terms were used both in the text and throughout history can be used to make a guess as to the most likely era of the text. I chose the key term ‘Taiyi’ 太一, and examined its use from the earliest textual reference until the Han 漢 era. This examination offers a timeline for the latest date the text would likely have been inscribed, and supports the conclusions drawn by the archeological evidence.

3.1.1 Archeological Evidence

Li Boqian explains that the contents of the tomb, including pottery, bronzes, lacquer work, and jades, were in styles typical of the middle Warring States period. He also indicates which
items, including *he* 盒 and *ding* 鼎 pottery, a lacquer box and cup, a bronze mirror and pan, and a wooden comb were “very similar” to other Chu tombs for which the closure dates are known.\(^{72}\) Liu Zuxin explains that the construction methods and materials were common for Chu tombs. He claims that the type of coffin and the way it was arranged was “unique to Chu culture.”\(^{73}\) He also commented on the contents of the tomb, including the pottery, bronzes, mirror, lacquer cups, saying that several of them were virtually identical to items found in other tombs. He went on to comment on a few other items not mentioned by Li Boqian, including chariot parts, weapons, and walking staffs, which were similar to items found in other Chu tombs. Like Li Boqian, Liu Zuxin comes to the conclusion that the ‘Guodian Tomb No. One’ is a mid-Warring States tomb, and dates the burial around 300 BCE.\(^{74}\) While both scholars noted that the bamboo strips in the tomb appeared to be written in Chu script, they included no other textual examination when determining the timeline for the tomb—and there was no need to. Some of the tombs they used for comparison contained both precise dates and reign periods, and/or were of a type that only existed for short periods of time. For example, the tomb which contained the virtually identical bronze mirror was of a type that only lasted from 323–316 BCE.\(^{75}\) By analyzing these dates, scholars agreed the tomb was likely sealed before 300 BCE, with the latest possible date it could have been sealed being 278 BCE, when the Qin 秦 occupied Ying 郢. Tombs after that date show elements of Qin culture not present in the Guodian tomb. Therefore, the tomb must have been sealed sometime in the period of 323–278 BCE, and was most likely sealed between 323–300 BCE.

\(^{72}\) For example, the Baoshan ‘Tomb Number 2,’ dated 323–316 BCE. Li Boqian. “A Brief Account of the Origins and Development of Chu Culture,” *The Guodian Laozi*, 18.
\(^{74}\) Ibid, 31.
\(^{75}\) Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 119.
This narrow date range gives us the latest the texts could have been written, but in no way indicates the earliest they could have been written. The Guodian Laozi material appears to be copied by scribes, and not by the original author; based on the number of basic mistakes found in the characters, Qiu Xigui concludes that the scribes were not highly educated or skilled professionals.\textsuperscript{76} This indicates to me that the material was in existence (in some form) before the Guodian edition. Again, to say the material existed ‘before’ this edition does not tell us ‘how long before.’ While some texts may be copied for the express purpose of becoming a burial offering, it seems unlikely to me that someone would be buried with a complete set of philosophy texts with which they were unfamiliar. It is more likely that the set was representative of the philosophy the tomb occupant adhered to, and that at least some of the texts were in his private collection for many years. It is even likely that some of these texts had been passed down to him from his teacher(s) or previous generations of his family. Although the early limits of the texts cannot be pinpointed through archeological evidence, their contents may yield some important information.

3.1.2 Philosophical Arguments

It has already been made clear that the Guodian set as a whole conformed to no single known ‘school,’ however, there could still be clues contained within the philosophy of the various texts which could help us narrow down the timeline for the material. In the case of the Laozi, the previously unseen TYSS material seems the most promising.

There is no real agreement among scholars as to whether the Laozi or the TYSS material emerged first and which may have influenced the other. Cui Renyi believes that the TYSS emerged before the Laozi, and lists Chapter R42 of the Laozi (“The Way/Dao gave birth to the One, the One gave birth to the Two, the Two gave birth to the Three, and the Three gave birth to

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid, 134.
the Ten Thousand Things.”) as being based on the cosmology in the TYSS. However, other scholars, like Li Xueqin, believe the opposite: that the TYSS must have developed after the Laozi, due to the fact that while one can find Dao 道 in the TYSS, one does not find the term Taiyi 太一 in the Laozi. Yet other scholars, like Isabelle Robinet, believe that the two texts should be considered separately, as two completely separate cosmologies, since in the Laozi, things are “born” of each other in succession, whereas in the TYSS, things “return to assist” Taiyi 太一 in producing new things.\(^{77}\)

Nevertheless, Isabelle Robinet is certain that the cosmology of the TYSS is Daoist: she, like others, refers to the “Da Yue” 大樂 chapter in the Lushi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋, as well as the “Xici” 西祠 section of the Zhou Yi 周易 as revealing similar themes. However, she points out that in these texts, the world comes into being through the process of division, i.e. Taiyi 太一 divides into two principles, then into four divisions. In other places, like in the Zhou Yi Weishu 周易緯書, the Liezi 列子, and the Xiaojing Weishu 孝經緯書 (Classic of Filial Piety), the world comes into being through the process of transformation, i.e. Taiyi 太易 (not 太一, but arguably another name for the same entity) transforms into Taichu 太出, then into Taishi 太始, then into Taisu 太素, then finally into Taiji 太極.\(^ {78}\) None of these texts refer to an incarnation returning to assist the previous incarnation, as does the TYSS. Thus, although similar, it is not the exact same cosmology as in the Laozi. Roger Ames offers that although the TYSS “is not an integral part of the Laozi at this point in its evolution, it is at the very least an explanatory commentary on a revised and improved version of chapter 64.”\(^ {79}\) He and Isabelle Robinet agree that the TYSS is

\(^{77}\) Henricks, Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching, 124–125.
\(^{78}\) Allan and Williams, The Guodian Laozi, 165–166.
the earliest existing Daoist cosmology, one which sheds light on references in the *Laozi*, especially chapters R25, R39, R42, R51, and R52.

Liu Zuxin disagrees with Isabelle Robinet and Roger Ames, stating that the TYSS is not necessarily a Daoist document. He points to the fact that many schools of thought in the Warring States period used the idea of *shenming* 神明, and that term could be found in many books of the era, including the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, the *Zuo Zhuan* 左轉, the *Xunzi* 荀子, the *Su Wen* 素問, the *Yi Zhuan* 易傳, the *Xiao Jing* 孝經, the *Shiji* 史記, and the *Wenzi* 文子. He continues that while the term *Taiyi* appears (in various forms) in such texts as the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the *Xunzi*, the *Liji*, and the *Zhuangzi*, the *Laozi* does not contain a clear-cut reference to the concept of *Taiyi* as it is represented in these texts. The *only* argument one could make is if one read *Dayi* ‘大一’ for *Taiyi* ‘太一’ in the *Laozi*’s reference to the *Dao* 道. However, he concludes that the concept of *Taiyi* is a degree of abstraction away from—and inferior to—the *Laozi*’s concept of the *Dao* 道, and places (as does Asano Yuuichi) *Taiyi* as a concept whose origin predated the Warring States.80

Feng Shi offers an alternative view to both Isabelle Robinet and Liu Zuxin: he believes TYSS belongs to the cosmology of the *Wu Xing* 五行, which was found in both the Guodian and Mawangdui tombs. In the Mawangdui tomb, the *Wu Xing* 五行 was printed on the same piece of silk as the *Laozi*, suggesting a previously unknown link between the two texts. The fact that the *Wu Xing* 五行 was found with the *Laozi* again at Guodian (although not bound together) seems

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to confirm that they were indeed studied together. Xing Wen and Chen Guying agree that these two texts appear to be related for these reasons, and that both texts discuss 天道 and 德. 

Feng Shi believes the cosmology of the TYSS could be the key to their association, and the ideological link between the earlier Five Element Theory and the later concept of 无 and 有 seen in the Laozi. Feng Shi makes a decent argument that 太一 was another way of writing 天一. He quotes the Shiji: “北極，天一，太一。” (“Beiji [is the same as] tianyi [is the same as] taiyi.”) and the Zheng Xuan commentary to the Yijing: “太一者，北辰之神名也。曰天一，或太一。” ("[As for] Taiyi, [it is] the name of the Spirit of the North Pole. [It is] called Tianyi or Taiyi.”) He also notes that in 2608 BCE, the 天一 star was very close to the true North Pole, as was the 太一 star in 2263 BCE, which led to the eventual conflation of their names and identities. 

He then states that according to the ancient Chinese numerical system in the Yijing, ‘天’ simply refers to being ‘first,’ in a system that lists “天一，地二，天散，地四…” etc. with 天 being odd numbers, and 地 being even numbers. Therefore, when it comes to ‘天一,’ the emphasis is on ‘一,’ not ‘天.’ He concludes that the text of the TYSS should be read “天一生水,” which in essence means “一生水.” This new reading would also have the bonus of matching the convention of the Wu Xing. As his evidence, Feng Shi quotes the Liji: “天地之數五十有五。天一生水於北，地二生火於南，天三生木於東，地四生金於西，天五生地於中。” (“Heaven and Earth’s numbers amount to 55. First, water emerges from the..."

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81 Allan and Williams, eds. The Guodian Laozi, 177.
82 Feng Shi 馮時, “Taiyishengshui sixiang de shumu jichu” 『太一生水』思想的數术基础 (The Number Method Foundation of the Taiyi sheng shui’s Ideology”) in Xinchu jianbo yanjiu: xinchu jianbo guoji shuxue yantaohui wenji 2000 nian 8 yue Beijing 新出簡帛研究: 新出簡帛國際學術研討會文集 2000 年 8 月北京 (Studies on Recently Discovered Chinese Manuscripts: Proceedings of International Conference on Recently Discovered Chinese Manuscripts, August 2000, Beijing). 251. The Shiji quote is from 史記索隱•樂汁征圖 and the Yijing quote is from Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 was an influential commentator in the Han Dynasty (127–200 CE).
North; second, fire emerges from the South; third, wood emerges from the East; fourth, metal emerges from the West; fifth, earth emerges from the centre.") The fact that water comes first in the cosmology also matches the cosmology of the *Wu Xing*, since water is seen as the root and source of all other life. He also makes reference to the cosmology of the *Ba Gua* (八卦) and the “Luo Book of Nine Palaces” (洛書九宮) in the *Yi Jing* as also being a perfect match. According to Feng Shi, who again draws on Han Dynasty commentator Zheng Xuan, the line of the TYSS referring to Taiyi being “stored in water and moving in the four seasons” is actually referring to the eight directions of the palaces plus the centre position, as well as the eight trigrams of the *Ba Gua* 八卦 system, in which ‘nine’ represents the complete form.

While Li Xueqin appears to agree with Feng Shi that the TYSS was heavily influenced by the number system, Liu Wenying claims that in actuality, the whole situation should be reversed. He claims the TYSS was written in the Warring States era, and the books referring to Taiyi the star only appeared in the Western Han. The idea that Taiyi dwelled in the position of the origin of the universe, or the consequent link to *Tian* 天地 did not yet exist at the time of the TYSS. Therefore it is not possible that it would refer to the Taiyi star, the North Pole star, or the ‘spirit’ of said stars. Rather, the Taiyi of the bamboo text *Laozi* refers to the idea that the *Dao* 道 is called ‘the One’ or the ‘Great One,’ as it does in the Mawangdui *Shiliu Jing* 十六經, the *Lulan* 呂覽, and the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. Li Ling believes that Taiyi is indeed an “astronomical marker,” and in contrast to Li Xueqin, claims that ideas of Taiyi as the *Dao* only appeared in the

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83 Ibid, 252. The *Liji* quote is also from Zheng Xuan’s commentary 禮記正義. All the English translations are my own.
Han, not before.\textsuperscript{86} He believes that the text TYSS is related to the Song period illustrations called Taiji tu 太極圖 and is graphically represented in the Mawangdui’s “Bibing Tu” 避兵圖. These drawings are used as shields to repel demons, and as such, the function of the TYSS could also be the same.\textsuperscript{87}

Clearly, there is no agreement among scholars as to the origin of the TYSS material, however, their discussion indicated to me that Taiyi 太一 as a concept could indeed hold a key to dating the Guodian Laozi material. Therefore, I traced the use of the term Taiyi 太一 from earliest times through to the beginning of the Han dynasty to see if a pattern would emerge.

The term Taiyi 太一 appears in several other Pre-Qin texts: the Confucian Liji 禮記, Yi 儀禮, the Daoist Zhuangzi 莊子, the Confucian Xunzi 荀子, the Legalist Han Feizi 韓非子, the Lushi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋, and the poetic Chuci 楚辭, which includes material from the pre-Qin, Qin, and Han Dynasties, as well as some Han Dynasty texts: the Confucian Shiji 史記, the Syncretic Huainanzi 淮南子, the Daoist Wenzi 文子, and the Confucian Da Dai Liji 大戴禮記.\textsuperscript{88}

It even appears much later, in the Hou Han Shu 後漢書\textsuperscript{89}, but due to time and length constraints, I will only include the Pre-Qin texts, and the Chuci 楚辭. I believe that the examination of the use of Taiyi 太一 in these texts could yield some clues as to its identity or meaning. Other terms, such as Taiyi 太易, Taiyi 太乙, Taiyi 泰一, Dayi 大一 and Tianyi 天一, also appear in various Pre-Qin texts, and are likely just graphic variants for the same concept or entity as Taiyi 太一,

\textsuperscript{86} Allan and Williams, eds. The Guodian Laozi. 163.
\textsuperscript{88} I did my search for Taiyi 太一 in the Gugong Concordances http://210.69.170.100/s25, and supplemented it with the full-text searchable database of Chinese texts found on Donald Sturgeon’s Chinese Text Project http://chinese.dsturgeon.net
\textsuperscript{89} The Hou Han Shu records the history of Eastern Han from 25 CE to 220 CE. It was written by Fan Ye in the 5th century CE (although it also refers to many earlier histories and documents).
not different lexical items. However, again due to length restrictions, I will limit my investigation to Taiyi 太一 and Dayi 大一. For transcriptions of the following excerpts in Chinese with my own English translations, please see “Section 7 Annotated Translations.”

First and foremost, I will determine how the term Taiyi 太一 is used in the Guodian bamboo text TYSS. Then I will proceed to compare its use and meaning to the other Pre-Qin texts. The TYSS material can be easily grouped into four sections: Slips 1–8, Slip 9, Slips 10–12, and Slips 13–14. As previously mentioned, the first eight strips describe a cosmology. Slips 10–12 discuss the name and designation of the Dao 道. Slips 9 and 13–14 are quite fragmentary, but appear to discuss the legend of Gong Gong 共工, who vied for rulership in the period of Yao 堯 and ultimately lost to Zhuan Xu 顓頊.90 This last passage is difficult to understand, however, the Commentary of the Guodian Chumu zhujian (126) helps quite a bit in citing the myth recorded in 3/1a–b of the Huainanzi:

昔者共工與顓頊爭為帝，怒而觸不周之由，天柱折，地維絶。天傾西北，故日月星辰移焉；地不滿東南，故水潦塵埃歸焉。

Long ago [in the time of Yao 堯 (Allan, 57 & 175)], when Gong Gong 共工 contested with Zhuan Xu 顓頊 to become Di 帝 [and lost], he became angry [with his failure] and butted [the legendary] Bu Zhou Mountain 不周山 [in the northwest corner of the earth, which acts as one of the eight pillars of heaven (Allan, 61 & 104–105), and is supposed to be northwest of the Kunlun 崑崙

90 Zhuan Xu 顓頊 was a legendary ruler, the grandson of the Yellow Emperor, and said to be one of the Three August Ones and Five Emperors (sanhuang wudi 三皇五帝). In various tales he is also referred to as Zhurong 祝融, Shennong 神農, and Gaoyang 高陽 (who invented the calendar, and reigned for 13 years when the calendar commenced in 2287 BCE). Thompson-Price, Nancy, ed. Early China, Volumes 9-10, Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, 1983–85), 175–183. According to Anne Birrell, there are actually three distinct Gong Gong myths: (1) Gong Gong as the angry and destructive usurper who smashed the pillar of in the Chuci, (2) Gong Gong as related to floods—in the Huainanzi Gong Gong causes a great flood, and in the Guanzi Gong Gong is referred to as the ruler previous to the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun, whose land was 70% occupied with water, (3) Gong Gong as a selfish Dionysus—in the Discourses of Zhou chapter “Discourses of the States,” Gong Gong is described as licentious and hedonistic, whose fate was sealed due to his desire to dam the rivers and destroy the world. Anne Birrell, Chinese Myth and Culture. (Cambridge: McGuinness China Monographs, 2006), 56–61. Out of these three, the Taiyishengshui appears to relate to the first only.
range in southern Xinjiang 新疆], breaking the pillar of heaven and severing Earth’s cord. Heaven inclined in the northwest, so the sun and moon, stars and constellations move in that direction. Earth did not fill up in the southeast, so the water and dust turn towards there.  

It appears this passage is referring to a contest for rulership, where Gong Gong challenged Zhuan Xu’s right to rule. Gong Gong used violence, and lost the challenge. Interestingly, Li Boqian says that the Chu people were direct descendants of Jilian, who was himself a descendant of Zhuan Xu. Sarah Allan adds that the Gong Gong is referred to in the “Tian Wen” 天問 chapter of the *Chuci* 楚辭: “When Kang Hui 康回 [Gong Gong 共工] was greatly angered, why did the earth incline in the southeast? How were the nine states divided and why were the river valleys made deep?” While searching for instances of *Taiyi* 太一, I found another interesting reference in the same chapter: “How are the Ladle’s Handle and the Cord tied together? How was Heaven’s Pole raised? How do the Eight Pillars of Heaven keep it up? Why is there a gap in the south-east?” David Hawkes footnotes that “The Ladle’s Handle, the Cord, and the Pole are constellations. Heaven seems to be conceived of here as a sort of tent sustained by a central pole. The Pillars of Heaven are the eight mountains which hold up the sky. The demon Kung Kung [Gong Gong] butted against the north-west one, causing the earth to tilt up and the sky to fall in the region, with the result that in the south-east the pillars no longer touched the sky.” What we

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91 My own edits in square brackets have been added to: Sarah Allan, trans., *The Shape of the Turtle* (New York: State University of New York, 1991.), 68. Allan cites D. C. Lau and Chen Fong Ching, *A Concordance to the Huainanzi*. (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, Institute of Chinese Studies Ancient Chinese Texts Concordance Series, 1992), 3/18/25–6 (3 Tianwenxun 天問訓). For further related quotations, see Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, ed., *Kakuten Sokan no shisoshiteki kenkyu* 郭店楚簡思想史的研究: 1. (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku bungakubu Chagoku shiso bunkagaku kenkyushitsu, 1999), 60–61. According to *The Shape of the Turtle*, a Han legend has Nüwa cutting off the legs of a giant tortoise and using them to replace the fallen pillar and alleviate the situation. She sealed the broken sky using stones of seven different colors, but she was unable to fully correct the tilted sky. That is why the sun, moon, and stars move towards the northwest, and rivers in China flow southeast into the Pacific Ocean. Ibid, 104.

92 He indicates where to find the genealogies, as well as a little history. Allan and Williams, *The Guodian Laozi*, 9.

93 Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, 68 & 105.

94 David Hawkes, *Ch’u Tz’u*, 47.
can take from this is that while Taiyi does not explicitly appear in this section of the TYSS, it is definitely related to the (fragmentary) content present in these strips.

The term Taiyi 太一 only appears explicitly in the first section—the cosmology. In this passage, Taiyi appears to be referencing some kind of creative force, which appears before all other forms of creation. The wording is quite reminiscent of Chapter 25 of the received Laozi.\(^95\) It is important to note here that whereas most translators have chosen to leave the Laozi character for ‘great' as da 大, the da 大 in the TYSS passage has been converted to tai 太. Da 大 and tai 太 carry the same meaning, and are often interchangeable in early Chinese texts. The similarities to that particular passage of the Laozi are not limited to that one character. The TYSS does move on to reference Taiyi as “the mother of the ten thousand things,” and then proceeds to wonder about the name and designation of the Dao 道. However, in contrast to the cosmology of the Laozi, where “The Way gave birth to the One; The One gave birth to the Two; The Two gave birth to the Three; And The Three gave birth to the ten thousand things,”\(^96\) the Taiyi generates Water, which then returns to assist Taiyi in creating Heaven, which also then returns to assist Taiyi in generating Earth, and so on, down the line. Taiyi is also “stored/concealed in water, and moves in the [four] seasons,” it moves in a circuit, over and under, around and around. Finally, Taiyi becomes the jīng 經 ‘warp’ or stringed framework of the loom on which the pattern or ‘weft’ can be woven.\(^97\)

\(^95\) Chapter 25: “There was something formed out of chaos that was born before Heaven and Earth. Quiet and still! Pure and deep! It stands on its own and doesn’t change. It can be regarded as the mother of Heaven and Earth. I do not yet know its name: I ‘style’ it ‘The Way.’ Were I forced to give it a name, I would call it ‘the Great (大)’.” Henricks, Lao-lo Te-Tao Ching, 77.

\(^96\) Chapter 42. Ibid, 11.

\(^97\) In weaving, the warp is the set of fixed parallel yarns through which the weft is woven. When weaving with a loom, the warp yarns are fully attached before weaving begins. The fixed and stable warp provides the ‘framework,’ and the weft, once woven repeatedly over and under the warp strings, makes the ‘pattern’ and completely hides the warp strings.
Now that an image of Taiyi has been created in the TYSS, it can be compared to other instances of it found in other texts. The arguably oldest mentions of Taiyi are in two of Confucius’ three Classics of Ritual, which lay out some three thousand rules and rites.\textsuperscript{98} Traditionally, these texts were attributed to Confucius, and considered ‘lost’ in the Warring States book burnings. While some versions of the text reportedly survived, the evidence that these versions are authentic is quite tenuous. Therefore, the current versions of these texts should be considered edited and re-worked versions, written by various scholars in the Han Dynasty. Therefore, it is very possible that the references to Taiyi were altered from what the original texts may (or may not) have said. In considering the following examples, it would be prudent to keep both eras in mind, to see if the interpretation changes. As in the Laozi, Taiyi 太一 was left as Da yi 大一 by the editors of these texts. The Yili 儀禮 is the shortest of the three texts and it describes how ‘Confucian’ scholar-officials (shi 士) could serve as models for the rest of society. The excerpt in question is Yili 儀禮 Chapter 8: “Pin Li 聘禮” (Note 6)—a note about betrothal gifts. The meaning of Taiyi is not clear in this passage, as it is used as some kind of lid for a gift box. Perhaps it is a metaphorical use of the term. In any case, we can certainly see that Taiyi has a link to ritual. Perhaps the excerpt from the Liji 禮記, Chapter 9 “Li Yun 禮運,” will help shed light on the matter. The Liji 禮記, also known as the Rites Records, generally offers more concrete applications of the Rites, explains “secondary traditions,” and compares and contrasts various historical ceremonial practices.\textsuperscript{99} While Chapter 9 passage of the Liji 禮記 does little to explain the Yili 儀禮 quote, in this passage of the Liji 禮記, Taiyi is connected to the


\textsuperscript{99} Nylan, The Five Confucian Classics, 185.
generation of Heaven, Earth, *yin* and *yang*, the four seasons, and additionally to the ghosts and spirits. Except for the glaring omission of Water, these are the first five elements produced in the cosmology of the TYSS—albeit not quite in exactly the same order or by precisely the same method. Here, as in the TYSS, Taiyi is seen as some kind of abstract foundational entity that can generate other entities through re-arranging itself. The difference seems to be that in contrast to the TYSS, the Taiyi 太一 of the *Liji* 禮記 does not seem to require any ‘assistance’ from the other entities to keep on manipulating itself into other forms.

Taiyi 太一 is also mentioned in the last chapters of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the so-called ‘Syncretic’ Miscellaneous chapters 32 and 33, “Lie Yu Kou 列禦寇” and “Tian Xia 天下.” While these chapters may indeed prove to be a product of a school of ‘Syncretists,’ there may be an even simpler explanation as to why the theories of so many different schools are mentioned together. According to Burton Watson, Chinese editors tended to place certain types of information in the last chapters of a book, for example the book summary, the author’s biographical details, and the author’s purpose, if known.100 Chapters 32 and 33, the closing chapters of the text, do contain both an account of Zhuangzi’s death and a survey of the state of philosophy at that time. It could be that these chapters were fulfilling that traditional function. “Lie Yu Kou” 列禦寇 only describes Taiyi as simultaneously having both form and emptiness, and lists it as something humans try to benefit, like the *Dao*. “Tian Xia 天下” is the first passage where Lao Dan is explicitly mentioned alongside Taiyi (along with the pass-keeper Guan Yin), linking the Taiyi to the *Laozi*. In the *Zhuangzi*, Taiyi is listed as one of the tools of these legendary Daoists, a tool which managed or directed the Way. In this passage as well, Taiyi was considered to simultaneously have form and be formless. In both passages, Taiyi and *Dao* are

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also listed as two separate things, and so perhaps were not seen as synonymous. It is possible that in “Tian Xia 天下” Taiyi was perceived as the ultimate “root” or source, which is “pure,” but it is by no means clear. Later on in “Tian Xia 天下,” Taiyi 太一 (as Dayi 大一) is mentioned in relation to the ‘Logician’ Hui Shi. Immediately striking is the fact that the Zhuangzi uses both Taiyi and Dayi—in the very same chapter! Due to the nature of Hui Shi’s work, ‘Great Unity’ and ‘Small Unity’ could also possibly be read here as ‘Greatest Unit’ and ‘Smallest Unit’; however, then, it would not have much relation to the entity Taiyi mentioned anywhere else, and would simply be a way to measure or count. There is a case to be made for this reading, however, since this chapter does describe the various philosophies of the Warring States, and the Logicians could have used the term Taiyi differently than the others. If indeed Taiyi is read as an entity in this passage, Hui Shi says there exists nothing bigger (or “Greater”) than Taiyi. Although it does not provide much additional information, it at least does not contradict previous descriptions of Taiyi as the unified source of creation. There is another instance of Taiyi (as Dayi) in Outer Chapter 24 of the Zhuangzi, “Xu Wu Gui” 徐無鬼, and here it appears to be referring back to the entity Taiyi, and not some scale of measurement. In this chapter, Taiyi is listed along with several other ‘Greats.’ It is mentioned as being the entity that can connect a person to the knowledge of Heaven. It is still in the place of the initiator; however, there is no mention of its generative properties, or of other cosmological elements.

Xunzi 荀子 was the next philosopher in the Warring States to use the term Taiyi 太一, although in his self-titled text, Taiyi 太一 again appears as Dayi 大一. Xunzi 荀子 (ca. 312–230 BCE) was a ‘Confucian’ who believed that only rigorous training in the Rites and Music could

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101 This quote lists Hui Shi’s Ten Paradoxes, although I did not include them all here. For more about the Ten Paradoxes, see Fung Yu-lan, A history of Chinese Philosophy vol 1: The Period of the Philosophers (from the Beginnings to circa 100 BC) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), starting 197.
allow a person to rise above the dispositions of their birth and become ‘Good.’\textsuperscript{102} The excerpts containing Taiyi are from the chapter “Li Lun” or “A Discussion of the Rites.” In these passages, Taiyi appears to be referring to some kind of standard of excellence or goal state, which one “returns to” when Culture (through the Rites) is in its highest form. It appears that the Sage should ideally be like Taiyi 太一. Heaven and Earth, the sun and moon, the four seasons, the stars and celestial bodies, the rivers and the ten thousand things are all mentioned, but not as being generated by Taiyi 太一. Rather, in this passage, they are organized by Ritual. This does not mean that Taiyi 太一 necessarily did not generate them; it just does not offer any evidence either way.

Xunzi was the instructor of the ‘Legalist’ Han Feizi 韓非子 (ca. 280–233 BCE), who became a well-known philosopher in his own right. He believed that morality should be replaced by laws, and that the only way the people can be kept in line is by rewards and punishments. He postulated that the state should be given the ultimate power to determine ‘right’ and ‘wrong,’ based on its needs. Despite this stance, Han Feizi 韓非子 surprisingly accorded with some ‘Daoist’ ideas, namely that the Confucian ‘ways of the former kings’ should be rejected as models for society, that the people should abandon learning and knowledge, travel and politics, and simply ‘live’ under the ruler who needs do nothing (in the ‘Daoist’ case because he embodies wuwei, in the ‘Legalist’ case because no-one dare break the law).\textsuperscript{103} He was vehemently against ‘Mohism,’ many aspects of ‘Confucianism,’ and all aspects of the divinatory arts. Taiyi appears only once in his self-titled text on governance, as part of a list of astrophysical bodies in “Li Lun” 禮論. This is a very different use of the term Taiyi than what

\textsuperscript{102} Burton Watson, \emph{Xunzi: Basic Writings}. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), ix–x.
\textsuperscript{103} Arthur Waley, \emph{Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China} (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), 151–158.
has appeared in the previously-mentioned texts, where *Taiyi* was a formless, abstract, generating principle. Perhaps there were two general meanings of the term *Taiyi* in the Pre-Qin, or perhaps, since the *Han Feizi* 韓非子 was written slightly later than the other texts I investigated, the meaning of *Taiyi* was shifting as time passed. Another possibility is that Han Feizi was simply returning to the original use of the term, since his works are not metaphysical.

Leaving the Warring States Period and heading toward the Qin 秦, there are several references to *Taiyi* in the poems of the *Chuci* 楚辭 or *Songs of the South*. There is some debate as to when exactly the original collection poems were penned, however, when allowing for some discrepancies, it appears the core set of poems were written approximately “some three and a half centuries after the date of the later parts of the *Shih Ching* 詩經 (*Shijing*).”\(^{104}\) To be more precise, about half of the poems have been attributed to Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 340 BCE–278 BCE) near the end of the Warring States period, and the other half were written by various poets in the 300 years after Qu Yuan’s death. This would make some of the older poems previous to the writings of both *Han Feizi* and *Xunzi*, and the rest of the poems subsequent to the *Han Feizi*. Examining the use of *Taiyi* across this time span should show us if and how the conception of *Taiyi* shifted during these periods. It is important to note that the *Chuci* 楚辭 was not written as a cohesive collection, but was assembled as a set by Liu Xiang 劉向 around 77–6 BCE. The extant version *Chuci* was assembled by Wang Yi 王逸 (2nd century CE), who added a commentary and some of his own poems.

The earliest poem that mentions *Taiyi* is attributed to Qu Yuan: “Nine Songs 九歌: The Great Unity, God of the Eastern Sky 東皇太一.” In this poem, written around the time of

Zhuangzi, *Taiyi* is clearly referring to a either an anthropomorphic god, or a powerful emperor. He strokes his sword and clangs his jade beads, has a seat, and indulges in meat and music.

There is little chance this *Taiyi* is the same entity referred to in the *Zhuangzi*, which was an entity considered to simultaneously have form and be formless, and something that can connect a person to the knowledge of Heaven. It also cannot be Xunzi’s abstract ‘standard of excellence.’ However, it could possibly be proved to accord with Han Feizi’s description of *Taiyi* as some kind of astrophysical body, *if* these stellar bodies were said to be the physical representation of gods.

In order to retain a chronological account of *Taiyi* in the corpus of early Chinese literature, I will introduce the instances of *Taiyi* in the *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 before proceeding to the later (Han 漢 era) poems of the *Chuci*. The *Lushi Chunqiu* or *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, was named after Lü Buwei 呂不韋, the prime minister of Qin 秦 under King Zhuangxiang 秦莊襄王. It was complied about fifteen years before Qin unification. Lü Buwei had high aspirations for the Qin to rule a unified Chinese empire, which it was on the cusp of doing. In the “Postface” of his text, Lü Buwei explains that he “succeeded in studying what the Yellow Sovereign used to instruct the Zhuanxu Sovereign,” meaning that his efforts were to produce a compendium of all essential wisdom, customs, and beliefs of the pre-Qin for the benefit of the ruler of the new Qin empire.\(^\text{105}\)

The first two excerpts of the *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 are from the section titled *Jì* 紀 or “The Almanacs” (Books 1–12), which dedicates one book to the proper workings of each of the twelve months of the year. The two excerpts are both from the same book and chapter, Book 5

Chapter 2: “Da Yue 大樂,” and are separated by a short discussion of what conditions are required before people are able to begin to talk about music. In these two sections mentioning Taiyi (2.1 and 2.4), Taiyi is associated with Heaven and Earth, the sun and moon, the stars and celestial bodies, the four seasons, yin and yang, hot and cold, dry and wet (the wind and the rain). This matches quite well with the associations from the TYSS. The first section, Chapter 2.1, says that the ten thousand things were created by Taiyi, and Taiyi appears to be fairly intimately linked with yin and yang throughout. The second section, Chapter 2.4, mentions that Taiyi does not actually have a form or a name. Moreover, the wording of this section, talking about the Dao and then “calling it Taiyi,” does not sound as much like the TYSS as the Laozi. It certainly seems possible that in this Lushi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋 excerpt, Taiyi is synonymous with Dao. The second half of this passage also advises the Sage King to employ Taiyi to rule his own body, the state, and the world. Like the Xunzi, the sage is encouraged to be like Taiyi. While Chapter 2.4 does not expound on yin and yang as does Chapter 2.1, it does contain two very interesting references. It tells how the early Sages rejected yin and yang in favor of Taiyi. Then it concludes with a very interesting line: “Therefore [if the Sage] understands the One, then [he will become] enlightened; [however, if he considers] the Two [to be] ‘enlightenment,’ then [he will go] mad.” This line tells of the primacy of Taiyi over yin and yang: any king who tries to use yin and yang to rule is simply deluded, and will not succeed in reaching enlightenment.

The next excerpt, Book 17’s Chapter 4.2 titled “Wu Gong 勿躬,” is from the Lan 藝 or “The Examinations” section of the Lushi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋 (Books 13–20). Each chapter of the Lan is divided into eight sections, so that the Lan in its entirety follows the pattern of the Yijing 易經 (64 hexagrams). Book 17 “combines chapters on ‘the Dao of the ruler’ with others that seem to represent teachings characteristic of the various branches of the legalist school” and
Chapter 4 in particular “instructs rulers not to interfere in the responsibilities of their subordinates.” Chapter 4.2 also advises the Sage King to employ or join with Taiyi in order to rule both his own body and the state.

The last three Chuci 楚辭 poems are tentatively dated in the Han, far later than the other instances seen up to this point. Taiyi first appears in the Chuci in the poem “Xi Shi” 惜誓 (“Sorrow for Troth Betrayed”). The author and precise dating of this poem is unknown. However, since the themes are reminiscent of both Han Daoism and of the poem “Lament for Qu Yuan,” David Hawkes claims the author was likely a contemporary of Yan Zhi and Mei Cheng, poets for the Prince of Wu who left to serve in Liang when the court of Wu was facing rebellion in 154 BCE. According to David Hawkes, this poem is quite fragmentary, with many lines missing; however, it will still serve my purpose well, as the lines surrounding the reference to Taiyi appear to be relatively intact. This is quite an exciting passage, as Taiyi’s carriage is described quite explicitly. The Azure Dragon is a star constellation, representing the East, and this passage tells us it is to the East of Taiyi. Continuing on that line of thought, it could now be possible to locate Taiyi in the Heavens. According to this poem, Taiyi’s chariot also has the constellation of the White Tiger (which represents the West) on its West side, the constellation of the Crimson Bird (which represents the South) in front of it and, if the character ‘盖’ is taken as a play on both ‘canopy’ and ‘tortoise shell,’ possibly the constellation of the Black Tortoise (which represents the North) above it. This would place Taiyi (in a general sense) in the centre between the East and West, facing South, with North over its head. This certainly sounds like a description of the Pole Star. Since the Pole Star is also mentioned in this passage, it is entirely possible to read that Taiyi is simply another name for the Pole Star.

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107 David Hawkes, Ch’u Tz’u: Songs of the South (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), 115 and 135.
The next poem, “The Nine Laments 九嘆: Yuan Shi 遠逝 (Going Far Away),” is by Liu Xiang himself, likely around the time he compiled the collection (77–6 BCE), and it again mentions the constellation of the Azure Dragon, along with several other astrophysical bodies. In this poem, it sounds like Liu Xiang is awaiting his judgment for something, but rather than face judgment by humans, he entreats the reader (or perhaps his ruler) to ask the various astrophysical bodies and gods to stand witness and leaven their testimony and judgment on him. There are so many references to various stars, comets, nebulae, and the like, that there is little doubt in my mind that in this passage Taiyi must be an astrophysical body, like a constellation or the Pole Star, and was perhaps also seen as a god.

The next poem that mentions Taiyi was composed by Wang Bao 王褒. It is not known when Wang Bao composed his poems. However, it is known that he received a court summons in 58 BCE, and his poems were added to the Chuci 楚辭 by Liu Xiang during the reign of Emperor Cheng (51 BC–7 BCE), so it can be presumed that the poems in his “Nine Regrets” collection were written in the Han Dynasty, somewhere between 58 and 7 BCE. In this poem, Taiyi is portrayed as being located up in the sky, and could easily be an astrophysical body, like a star.

At the completion of this investigation into the use of Taiyi over time, I can conclusively answer the question ‘What is Taiyi?’ The incidences of Taiyi in the early Chinese texts bring us to two fairly stable descriptions of Taiyi. However, these two conceptions of Taiyi do not appear to have run in parallel, invented perhaps by different schools or states; rather, they ran sequentially, changing from one to the other with the passing of time. In the Pre-Qin, Taiyi was seen as an abstract entity, but by the Han, Taiyi is both personified and associated with the Pole

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108 According to Hawkes, Ch’u Tz’u: Songs of the South, 141.
The fact that the texts originated in ‘different’ schools of thought did not affect this trend much.

In my investigation into instances of Taiyi (both as Taiyi 太一 and Daiyi 大一) in the Taiyi Sheng Shui, the Laozi, the Yili, the Liji, the Zhuangzi, the Xunzi, and the Lushi Chunqiu, I found a fairly cohesive vision of Taiyi as abstract entity, a generative force somehow simultaneously having form and no-form, something unified and powerful, coming first in various hierarchies, often (but not always) synonymous with the Dao, and often (but not always) associated with cosmological elements, like Water, Heaven, Earth, yin and yang, the four seasons, ghosts and spirits, hot and cold, and wet and dry. Several texts mention that it is something either to be emulated or used by the Sage. While not all of the early texts describe Taiyi in precisely the same way, none of these texts contradict the description above, and none mention Taiyi as a ‘God’ or as an astrophysical entity. By the end of the Warring States, Taiyi’s relation to stellar phenomena begins to creep into some of the literature. The Han Feizi and the Chuci both describe Taiyi as generally being in the sky among the stars, and more specifically as the Pole Star itself. While the earliest mention of Taiyi in the Chuci merely has him as an anthropomorphic ‘Emperor’ or ‘God’ of the East, the descriptions in the later poems of the Chuci explicitly describe Taiyi’s position in the Heavens in relation to other stellar phenomena.

While not conclusive evidence to precisely date the TYSS material, the fact that Taiyi is portrayed differently in the Warring States than in later texts confirms that the TYSS was probably not written later than the Warring States period, and was likely written at least some years before the end of the Warring States. Based on the shift in treatment of the term found in my investigation, I would tentatively put the timeframe of the TYSS sometime before or during the time of Xunzi (ca. 312–230 BCE) and certainly before Han Feizi (ca. 280–233 BCE).
By tying together the archeological evidence with the philosophical arguments, a timeline can be tentatively established. The archeological evidence indicates that the tomb must have been sealed sometime in the period of 323–278 BCE, and was most likely sealed between 323–300 BCE. The philosophical arguments, including an analysis of the way the term ‘Taiyi’ was used in various texts, suggest that the TYSS material most likely originated before 280 BCE, but possibly no later than 312 BCE. To my delight, the archeological and philosophical timelines coincide very nicely. Therefore, taking into account the evidence uncovered by both the archeological and philosophical investigations, I can say with some confidence that the latest the TYSS material could have been inscribed was during the period 323–278 BCE, and it is very likely it was inscribed before 300 BCE.

3.1.3 Implications of Dating the Guodian Laozi and TYSS material

By narrowing down the timeline for the Guodian Laozi, insight can be gained into the nature of the edition, the possible reason behind the unusual arrangement of the Guodian edition, as well as the possible logic behind the assemblage of such an unusual set of tomb texts. Since the texts were all philosophical in nature, and the philosophers of the Warring States were generally responding to the political situation of their times, assessing who the tomb might have belonged to and what the precise political circumstances that person was dealing with during his lifetime, may yield significant insight.

For example, in order to support the theory that the occupant of the “Guodian Tomb No. One” was indeed a tutor to the crown prince and that the collection of texts in the tomb was assembled for the purpose of teaching that prince to be king, as several scholars have suggested, it would be important to assess whether the philosophy contained in the texts would be suitable advice for ruling the kingdom at that time. In order to accomplish this assessment, the identity of
that prince must first be determined. Then, a look at his particular historical and political setting
would indicate whether philosophy of the Guodian Laozi would have been appropriate to the
circumstances.

Based on the timeline for the closure of the Guodian tomb of 323–278 BCE (or the more
likely 323–300 BCE), it is fairly simple to determine who was the ruler at the time of the closure
of Guodian Tomb No. One, and who, then, was the heir apparent. There are only two realistic
candidates for ruler:

1. King Huai of Chu the First 楚前懷王 (a.k.a. Mi Xiong Guai 芈熊槐) ruled 328–299
   BCE
2. King Qingxiang of Chu 楚頃襄王 (a.k.a. Mi Xiong Heng 芈熊橫) ruled 298–263 BCE

Which leaves only two realistic candidates to be the heir apparent:

1. King Qingxiang of Chu 楚頃襄王 (a.k.a. Mi Xiong Heng 芈熊橫) ruled 298–263 BCE
2. King Kaolie of Chu 楚考烈王 (a.k.a. Mi Xiong Wan 芈熊完) ruled 262–238 BCE

In order to determine which heir apparent could have buried his tutor in the Guodian tomb, a
little detective work is required. The Guodian’s tomb occupant was described as being an
elderly man, and could have been buried either while tutor to the prince, or after the prince
became king (making the engraved cup found in the tomb an old cup).

Based on the reign years alone, it seems most likely that King Huai was reigning at the
time, with Qingxiang as crown prince. It is also historically possible that it was King
Qingxiang’s reign with Kaolie as crown prince, however, according to Defining Chu, when King
Kaolie came to the throne, he made his tutor a local lord (giving him the title ‘Prince Shen of
Eling’ a.k.a. Chunshen). Therefore his tutor was still alive when he became king in 263 BCE,
and died sometime after that, which is incongruent with the most likely closure date of the tomb.

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109 Constance A. Cook, “The Ideology of the Chu Ruling Class” in Defining Chu, ed. Constance A. Cook and John S.
Major (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 75–76.
In addition, if Kaolie’s tutor was buried after becoming ‘Prince Shen of Eling,’ surely there would have been some evidence of his new position in his tomb. My investigation agrees with the findings of the Dartmouth conference scholars, who based their assessment by comparing dates with other tombs, like Baoshan Tomb No. 2.¹¹⁰

The crown prince of Chu was surely watching his king closely, as he dealt with a relatively recent change in the long-time status of Chu. From a long history of expansion and success, Chu had gone into a period of contraction and decline. The prince must have been looking ahead to his own reign and known what to expect. By briefly tracing the political and cultural history of the Chu, it will be easier to determine precisely what was happening in this critical period, and what the prince was facing as he prepared to assume rule.

The kingdom of Chu had been growing substantially since 710 BCE and had enjoyed almost 400 years of success. When the power of the Zhou started to weaken in the 700s, Chu became a major force, contending with other states for power in the region. Chu had begun as a small state, but eventually absorbed 61 other states and several nearby tribes. As such, they began to differentiate themselves from the Zhou, not only politically, but also culturally, by developing their own rituals and distinctive ‘Chu style.’¹¹¹ As their territory and wealth grew, so did their aristocracy, along with a pre-occupation with daily pleasures. According to Xu Shaohua, the changes in the state of mind of the Chu were reflected in their burial practices. For example, there was a shift towards enjoying the earthly life, and away from the worship of those in the past. Large bronze ritual vessels, somber rituals with offerings, and tomb layouts resembling

¹¹⁰ Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 29 and 246. According to Susan Weld, the occupant of Tomb No. 2 at Baoshan was King Huai’s zuoyin, Shao Tuo. Susan Weld, “Chu Law in Action,” *Defining Chu*, 80–81.
temples were replaced with incenses burners, beautified objects of daily use (like colorful lacquerware with fantastical designs), luxury items such as silks and musical instruments, and the tombs began to resemble the living quarters of the deceased.112

Chu’s main rival for power had been Jin 晉, which was North of the Yellow River, and the two had fought continually for control of the states just South of the river. To the Southeast, Chu contended with Wu 吳 and Yue 越; in the West, with Qin 秦. However, Chu had always managed to maintain its boundaries and expand. Around 450 BCE, everything changed.

Around 450 BCE, Jin broke apart into three successor states, Han 韓, Zhao 趙, and Wei 魏. Within the following century, both Wei and Han had been able to expand to the South of the Yellow River, and seize some strategic cities. This was very problematic for Chu, who suddenly struggled to control the states to its North.113 To deal with these developments, King Dao of Chu 楚悼王 had employed a non-noble, Wu Qi 吳起, as his prime minister. His main task was to deal with “Chu’s greatest weaknesses”: a corrupt and inefficient government, filled with officials who held too much power and wealth and not enough skill.114 Wu Qi’s legalist-style reforms were extensive, and made him very unpopular, especially with the aristocracy. With the king’s support, he dismantled the Chu system that favored hereditary privileges and instead began promoting the capable. Despite his unpopularity, Wu Qi’s reforms were successful in empowering Chu. However, they were perhaps too much for the aristocracy to bear. As soon as the king died in 381 BCE, they rose up, assassinated Wu Qi, and reversed his reforms. This put Chu back into a precarious position heading into the third century BCE.

113 Blakely, “Geography of Chu,” 14–18 and Maspero, China in Antiquity, 169–221.
114 Blakely, “Geography of Chu,” 64.
According to Loewe, there is little can be definitively known about the Chu kings of this era, since the only surviving source of knowledge is only quasi-historical.\(^{115}\) However, it is known that during the next three reigns, Chu faced increasing pressure from Qin to the West, and kept trying to expand East. King Wei of Chu 楚威王 (a.k.a. Mi Xiong Shang 芈熊商) ruled 339–329 BCE, was the son of King Xuan, and partitioned the State of Yue with the State of Qi 齊. His son, King Huai of Chu the First 楚前懷王, suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of Zhao and Qin, famously losing to the Qin armies at the Battle of Danyang after Qin’s invasion of Sichuan.

Things were falling apart for King Huai of Chu the First 楚前懷王. Following the reverse of the (successful) legalist reforms, and the growth the aristocracy’s power, corruption abounded in government, and the king suffered a loss of authority. The king employed Qu Yuan 屈原 (who lived 339–278BCE) as his 左徒 zuotu, meaning ‘aide,’ and referring to a position right after the prime minister. He was good at formulating edicts and was asked to draft the written laws for Chu. Chu at the time was a legal contradiction: it appeared to value its dian 典 (legal documents), yet at the same time tended to follow its fa 法 (ritual and vagrancy laws).\(^{116}\) This is most likely due to the ever-increasing autonomy of the aristocracy, who began determining their own code of behavior—outside the official laws. Like Wu Qi, Qu Yuan had a broad aspiration in reforming the politics in Chu by reducing corruption and helping Chu to unify the whole of China (via an alliance with Qi 齊) in opposition to Qin.\(^{117}\) Perhaps


\(^{117}\) His ideals are outlined in the poems he wrote after his dismissal, especially “Li Sao” 離騷 (“The Lament”), which can be found in the *Chuci* 楚辭.
unsurprisingly, the powerful and corrupt pro-Qin aristocracy did not like Qu Yuan’s reforms, and their ever-growing influence at the time resulted in his dismissal. King Huai was also supposedly pro-Qin (although it is difficult to ascertain the true extent he was independent of the aristocracy), and due to this leaning, was successfully lured to Qin with an invitation to an ‘international conference’ with the Qin king. Upon his arrival, he was held hostage by Qin until his death several years later. The crown prince of Chu had to flee eastward before he was crowned King Qingxiang of Chu 楚顷襄王.

In sum, the prince Qingxiang watched his father fail to defend the Chu state against the ever-encroaching Qin armies, and was about to take over a government filled with corrupt officials who were members of a very powerful and selfish aristocracy. He was coming to the throne at one of the lowest points of Chu state power, and with little authority as king. If the occupant of the Guodian tomb was indeed a tutor of this prince, his personal collection of texts would most likely reflect what he taught. If these books, including the Guodian Laozi, were meant to serve as a tools or guides to rulership for the heir apparent, they would most likely contain material suitable to the particular circumstances the prince would face once he became king. Does the Guodian Laozi material give advice applicable to this situation? What advice do the Guodian texts give as a whole? A thematic analysis of the texts is required to determine the answer to these questions.

3.2 Thematic Analysis

In the following section, I will rely primarily on the work of Robert G. Henricks and the scholars from the Dartmouth conference for my thematic analysis of the Guodian Laozi, and on Susan Weld, Scott Cook, and Kenneth Holloway for a thematic overview of the rest of the Guodian collection.
There are two prominent sets of themes in the Guodian Laozi which demand exploration. The first are the themes one would expect to find in the Guodian edition, based on the received text, but which are notably absent. The second are the themes that are prominent in the Guodian Laozi, and therefore may hold the key to understanding the nature and purpose of the Guodian edition. Before going into each set in depth, I offer a quick overview of the way several prominent scholars have divided the Guodian Laozi by theme.

The Guodian Laozi A is the largest of the three Guodian ‘Laozi’s and consists of received verses R66, R46, R30, R64 part 2, R37, R63, R2, R32, R25, R5, R16, R64 part 1, R56, R57, R55, R44, R40, and R9, in that order. Wang Bo has proposed that it can be divided into five units: the largest of these, Unit 1 (R66, R46, R30, R64 part 2, R37, R63, R2, R32) and Unit 4 (R64 part 1, R56, R57) have the theme of ruling the state; the smaller Unit 2 (R25, R5) and Unit 3 (R16) have cosmological themes; Unit 5 has a theme of self-cultivation (R55, R44, R40, R9).\(^{118}\)

The Guodian Laozi B consists of received chapters R59, R48 lines 1–5, R20 lines 1–7, R13, R41, R52 lines 5–10, R45, and R54, in that order. Wang Bo claims the theme of the Laozi B appears to be primarily self-cultivation.\(^{119}\) However, three of its eight chapters also directly relate to ruling the state (R59, R13, R54). In addition, Chapter B:7 (R45) could also potentially be viewed as related to ruling the state, as it concludes with: “Pure and tranquil, you can stabilize the whole world.”\(^{120}\) So while the theme of ruling the state is still present, it does not appear to be the dominant theme of the Laozi B. Carine Defoort believes the two themes of the Laozi B are self-cultivation and politics. She claims these themes two are combined in the first four chapters (R59, R48, R20, R13), the fifth is about self-cultivation, and the last three chapters are about self-cultivation.

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\(^{118}\) Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 7. Henricks also has notes about this; this is not the usual reading.

\(^{119}\) Allan and Williams, eds. *The Guodian Laozi*, 154.

\(^{120}\) Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 105.
government.\textsuperscript{121} Chen Guying believes that the entire \textit{Laozi} B is about first valuing one’s own person before trying to rule the state.\textsuperscript{122}

The Guodian \textit{Laozi} C consists of received verses R17, R18, R35, R31, R64 part 2, plus additional material that is not in the received \textit{Laozi}. This additional material has been titled the TYSS, and can be separated into three or four contiguous sections.\textsuperscript{123} According to Sarah Allan, the \textit{Laozi} C (without the TYSS) can be divided into four sections designated by four black squares on the slips: R17–18, R35, R31, R64 (lines 10–18). However, the sequence of these four sections or their related sequence to the TYSS is unknown.\textsuperscript{124} Wang Bo claims the theme of the \textit{Laozi} C overall appears to be ruling the state.\textsuperscript{125} The TYSS material has been called cosmological in nature, due to the cosmology found in slips 1–8; however, by setting those 8 slips aside and looking at the rest of the slips, it could be argued that the TYSS—like the rest of the \textit{Laozi} C material—also primarily contains themes of ruling the state.

Although at first glance, it may appear the majority of material in the three bundles relate to ruling the state, some of it relates to self-cultivation and has cosmological themes. Therefore, a more in-depth thematic investigation is still required.

\textbf{3.2.1 Characteristic Themes Absent in the Guodian \textit{Laozi}}

One of the first things to strike most readers of the Guodian \textit{Laozi} is the near-absence of many themes that have traditionally been considered ‘characteristic’ of the text. These include praising passivity and weakness (including emulating water, the female, the infant), and many

\textsuperscript{121} Allan and Williams, eds. \textit{The Guodian Laozi}, 157–158.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid, 158.
\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Guodian chumu zhujuan} divides the slips into three sections: slips 1–8, 9, and 10–14. Henricks divides the slips into four sections: slips 1–8, 9, 10–12, and 13–14. Henricks, \textit{Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching}, 123.
\textsuperscript{125} Allan and Williams, eds. \textit{The Guodian Laozi}, 154.
elucidations on the mystery that is *Dao*. By comparing the received text to the Guodian *Laozi*, and consulting with Henricks, I have compiled the following list of noticeable absences.

Table 3.1 Themes in the Received *Laozi* (R) which are Absent in the Guodian *Laozi* (G)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME</th>
<th>Received Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passivity</td>
<td>R3, R16, R20, R22, R24, R29, R30, R33, R48, R61, R63, R69, R72, R73, R81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weakness</td>
<td>R3, R30, R43, R76 (<em>all</em> instances missing from G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Related to:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- water</td>
<td>R8, R34, R43, R78 (<em>the only</em> water reference in G is in TYSS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- female</td>
<td>R6, R28, R36, R43, R61, R76, R78 (<em>all</em> instances missing from G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- the infant</td>
<td>R10, R20, R28 (<em>only</em> R55 reference found in G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dao</em></td>
<td>R1, R4, R6, R14, R34, R51, R52 (<em>only</em> R25 reference found in G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- as ‘mother’ who births and nurtures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- as formless/abstract/nameless</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- as the One</td>
<td>R16, R20, R34, R51, R52 (<em>only</em> R25 and R59 references found in G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- as Tiandao (the Way of Heaven)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R1, R6, R14, R21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R10, R14, R22, R39, R42 (<em>all</em> instances missing from G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R47, R73, R77, R78, R79 (<em>only</em> R9 reference retained in G)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I believe it is very likely that the absence of some of the above themes is due to the chapters in question not being written at the time of the Guodian edition. Bruce Brooks makes a strong argument that it is statistically improbable that Chapters R67–81 were *all* excluded from the Guodian edition by chance, and the chances that the Guodian *Laozi* was drawing from a source larger than 72 chapters is “essentially nil.” However, some of the chapters that contain the above references in the received *Laozi* are actually present in the Guodian *Laozi*, but simply do not include the terms, phrases, or lines in question. Therefore, the above references were either

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deliberately excluded/altered in the Guodian edition, or were deliberately added some time after the Guodian edition was collated. Either way, the fact that these themes are not present in the Guodian Laozi makes one wonder which themes are prevalent, and what the presence and absence of these themes could mean for the overall meaning and purpose of the Guodian edition.

3.2.2 Rulership Themes Prominent in the Guodian Laozi

Many scholars agree that the prevalent theme of the Guodian Laozi is ruling the state. By looking at the text chapter by chapter, one quickly discovers a reference to rulership (either explicit or implied) in almost every chapter. But how does this explain the presence of references to self-cultivation and cosmology? The references to self-cultivation are nicely integrated into a rulership system by Harold Roth:

If there is an overall theme to the Guodian Laozi parallels, it is that of the benefits of Daoist inner-cultivation practice to rulership. … the topic of inner cultivation is central […] a specific set of passages talks about a sage-ruler and illustrates how the psychological states attained through inner cultivation are useful for governing. This set includes A I-VIII, XVI; B IV, VII, VIII; and C I, III–V. Noticeably absent here are many of the passages on governing and warfare that we find in the received Laozi in such chapters as 36, 50, 60, 61, 65, 67–69, 74, 76, 78, and 80. What this indicates is that whoever compiled the Guodian bundles was more concerned with the self-cultivation of the ruler than with specific principles of sagely government.128

If the passages describing self-cultivation practices can be related to a system of rulership, could the cosmological portions also fit into that model of rulership? Roth believes so. He explains that references to inner cultivation, to wuyu 無欲 ‘becoming desireless,’ and wuwei 無為 ‘acting effortlessly’ are found in many passages (A XII, XIII, XV–XVIII, B I, II, VI; in A I, III, VI, VII, XVI, and in A VI–IX, B II, respectively), and then explains how cosmological references (in A

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128 Allen and Williams, eds. The Guodian Laozi, 87–88. As mentioned earlier, the absence of these chapters could be due to that particular portion of the text not being written yet. However, it could also have not been written yet because those themes were not of concern yet.
X–XIV, XX, and B VII) regarding the “activity of the Way or the Way of Heaven… provide a cosmological basis for these psychological experiences.”

Roth’s theory that the cosmological and self-cultivation portions of the Guodian Laozi could be directly related to its vision of rulership is very exciting, as it would explain why such seemingly disparate subjects were addressed within the same text. It led me to ask: exactly what image of government does the Guodian Laozi advocate? Does it suit the circumstances of Qingxiang of Chu in the late Warring States? By going through the Guodian Laozi chapter by chapter, I found that a distinct image of rulership emerges.

The ideal ruler first of all reduces self-interest and desires, and knows what is ‘enough.’ He is not arrogant and does not aggrandize himself, trying to make others depend on him; rather, he is humble and hesitant, making himself appear below and behind other people, even to the point of appearing insufficient, flawed, clumsy, and dull. He tries his best not to rule by force or fear, and turns to violence, weapons, and war only as a last resort. Beyond that, he avoids even making strict rules, taboos, or even distinctions. Ideally, he is just still and tranquil, not appearing to ‘act’ at all, and the people follow his will without even realizing it was not their idea in the first place. Despite it appearing as if he does not take action, he does his best to complete tasks carefully. He models himself after the Way in order to build his virtue and inner harmony. In this, he follows certain meditative practices that involve being empty and

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129 Ibid, 88.
130 A:1 (R19), A:3 (R46), A:6 (R64 part 2), A:7 (R37), A:10 (R32), A:18 (R44), A:20 (R9), B:1 (R59), C:4 (R64, p2)
131 A:2 (R66), A:4 (R30), A:5 (R15), A:9 (R2), A:10 (R32), A:20 (R9), B:4 (R13), B:5 (R41), B:7 (R45), C:1 (R 17–18), C:6 (TYSS 9, 13–14)
132 A:2 (R66), A:4 (R30), A:7 (R37), A:16 (R57), A:17 (R55), B:3 (R20, lines 1–7), C:3 (R31), C:6 (TYSS 9, 13–14)
133 A:16 (R57), C:1 (R 17–18)
134 A:6 (R64 part 2), A:7 (R37), A:8 (R63, lines 1–4, 14–15), A:9 (R2), A:14 (R64, part 1), B:2 (R48, lines 4–5), B:7 (R45), C:4 (R64, part 2)
135 B:5 (R41), C:1 (R 17–18), C:4 (R64, part 2), C:5 (10–12)
136 A:10 (R32), A:11 (R25), B:8 (R54), C:2 (R35)
137 A:17 (R55), B:1 (R59)
closing himself off and worries more about his own body and life than ruling the state. He reduces knowledge and learning, he doesn’t talk about ‘what he knows’ or try to ‘instruct’ anyone (in conventional ways).

This could plausibly be seen as a perfect formula for a king to employ if he was assuming the throne in a time when the officials under his charge were powerful and corrupt, which was in fact the situation Qingxiang was facing. In that situation, building oneself up as ‘superior’ to the aristocracy, and attempting to use force and fear to bend them to one’s will, might result in non-compliance at best and assassination at worst, as evidenced by the failed efforts of both Wu Qi and Qu Yuan. By instead assuring the officials that they had influence and status in the rulership, the king could both preserve his throne and “endure a long time,” working behind the scenes to accomplish what he could for the state.

3.2.3 Ideas of Rulership in the Rest of the Guodian Collection

The final test of my theory that the Guodian Laozi was meant to be a tool to help the crown prince Qingxiang of Chu successfully assume the throne is whether or not the rest of the Guodian collection also carried the same image of ideal ruler, and/or offered the same rulership advice. Besides the Laozi, the Guodian collection includes: Ziyi (The Black Robes), Lumugong wen Zisi (The Duke Mu of Lu Asks Zisi), Qiongda yishi (窮達以時)

138 A:13 (R16, lines 1–6), A:15 (R56), B:6 (R52, lines 5–10)
139 B:4 (R13), B:8 (R54)
140 B:2 (R48, lines 4–5), B:3 (R20, lines 1–7)
141 A:1 (R19), A:9 (R2), A:15 (R56)
142 In developing the above description, I employed every single chapter in Guodian Laozi save three, which I think makes my description an accurate portrayal of the Guodian Laozi’s ideal ruler, and shows quite well the prominence of rulership themes in the Guodian Laozi. The three chapters which I could not easily fit into the description above were A:12 (R5, lines 5–7), A:19 (R40), and C:5 (TYSS 1–8). A:12 is a short verse about the space between heaven and earth being empty like a bellows, yet not collapsing. This could perhaps be related to ‘becoming empty,’ and perhaps relate to some meditative practice, however, I hesitate to read too much into it at this point. A:19 is a short verse with two lines about the Way “returning” fan and being weak, and two lines about ‘being coming from non-being.’ This possibly could be related to a ruler who appears weak, and suggest that by not trying to ‘rule’ he can be ‘ruler,’ however, again, that could be a stretch. Finally, while I could relate C:5 (TYSS 10–12) to completing tasks, C:5 (TYSS 1–8) is the cosmology, which does not have any explicit references to rulership.
According to Scott Cook, the question of whether to rule by force was a particular focus of the Guodian texts. He claims that:

A prominent and intriguing facet of these [Guodian bamboo] texts is the insistence with which they engage, both directly and indirectly, in the [debate] against the use of coercive measures as the primary means of bringing order to the state. … The texts in question would appear to have been written down at the time when that debate was at its height.\(^\text{143}\)

He furthermore surmises that this debate was brought to a head by the increased social mobility of the noble class, and the growing concern this caused rulers.\(^\text{144}\) This matches the historical and political situation facing Qingxiang of Chu (as described in Section 3.1.3), as well as the image of the ideal ruler derived from the Guodian Laozi (as described in Section 3.2.2).

According to Cook, the question of whether to use fa zhi 法治 ‘law’ (i.e. coercion) or de zhi 德治 ‘virtue’ (i.e. example/prestige) is found explicitly in the Ziyi 緇衣, the Chengzhiwenzhi 成之聞之, the Xingzimingchu 性自命出, and the Wuxing 五行, where “any attempts to use coercive measures based on an explicit legal code to replace the authoritative prestige [德 de] of rulers and others in high positions are condemned as both impracticable and misguided.”\(^\text{145}\)


\(^{144}\) Ibid, 438.

\(^{145}\) Ibid, 417.
nice example of the philosophy in these texts which accords with the image of rulership derived from the Guodian Laozi is found in the Xingzimingchu 性自命出:

Thus the former kings, in their instruction, encouraged good by following in accord with what [the people] took joy in, and prohibited wickedness by following in accord with what [the people] abhorred. Thus while they made no use of punishments and penalties, their prestige flowed like a current; though they lessened their governmental commands, their transformative influence shone forth like the spirits.  

In this passage, the ruler has little need for punishments or orders, and ‘leads’ by following the people’s natural inclinations and preferences, making the people feel like they are making the decisions themselves. These texts, as well as the Liu de 六德 and Yu cong 言叢一、二、三、四, also emphasize that following along with human nature will result in successful rule.  

The Chengzhiwenzi 成之聞之 additionally discusses how the ruler must first develop his virtue within himself before he can rule others, and claims coercive action should be used only as a supplement or last resort. These theories of rulership all accord with the image of the ruler presented by the Guodian Laozi.

In a related vein, Kenneth Holloway discusses the collection’s debate over whether meritocracy (‘promoting the worthy’) or aristocracy (inherited position) is preferable in matters of state. According to Holloway, the Tang Yu zhidao 唐虞之道 and the Wuxing 五行 express concern that creating a pure meritocracy would cause friction with the aristocratic families who already held official positions, and therefore ‘promoting the worthy’ must be carefully balanced.

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146 Ibid, 437.
147 Ibid, 411 and 414.
148 Ibid, 413.
with attention to family connections. This caution is promoted a matter of ‘practicality,’ in order to avoid dissention among the officials.150

Scott Cook, Kenneth Holloway, and Susan Weld151 all agree on several points. They agree that while the books comprising the Guodian collection may not have been written at the same time as each other or by the same authors, that they (as a group) constitute a consistent vision of rulership and of law. In an era where rulers were attempting to consolidate larger and larger kingdoms, and where increased social mobility and wealth created a large, powerful, and corrupt official class, social control was a big concern to Warring States rulers. Rulers in the Warring States were experimenting with various methods of increasing their authority, including the development of strict laws, with varying success. The Guodian collection advocated social control and authority based on example and persuasion, rather than laws and coercion. It argued that this type of leadership is more successful because it follows along with natural human dispositions and relationships—in effect, ‘Human Nature.’ Punishments and coercion should only be employed as a last resort.

This portrait of rulership advocated by the Guodian collection as a whole not only matches that of the Guodian Laozi, it also would be very suitable for meeting the circumstances of the prince Qingxiang of Chu. The prince Qingxiang of Chu had seen his father struggle with the growing influence and power of the aristocratic class, and the (unfortunate) results of his father’s attempt to enact strict laws and meritocracy via Qu Yuan.152 Even though it appears Qingxiang was instructed in a certain type of rule based on the contents of the Guodian collection, Qingxiang must have still been debating the effectiveness of that system versus a

150 Ibid, 105–106 and 129.
152 He also very likely knew of the similar struggle and failure of Dao of Chu and Wu Qi, some fifty years earlier.
system of law/coercion and meritocracy, because as soon as he was crowned king, he re-instated Qu Yuan. However, he obviously was still not convinced that this was the best solution, or he would not have dismissed Qu Yuan again so quickly.

4 A New Lens through Which to Read the Guodian Laozi

If the Guodian Laozi is indeed a different edition than the received Laozi, with different contents and emphases, it follows that perhaps it should not be read through the same eyes. A new lens may be required. But which one?

The received Laozi has traditionally been read through the lens of dichotomy and reversal dictated by the primacy of yin and yang. This made sense in light of the received Laozi’s cosmology. Yet yin and yang are not primary forces according to the cosmology of the TYSS. The received Laozi has also traditionally been treated as a book about de 德 and dao 道, based on its relatively even coverage of both topics. Yet the Guodian Laozi barely mentions Dao 道, and where it does, it does not describe it in the same terms. Instead, the Guodian Laozi appears to primarily be a tool for maintaining authority, order, and leadership when ruling the state. In light of these things, it appears that the new lens should reflect rulership more than cosmology.

My investigation into replacing the traditional lens of the yin-yang metaphor with a new lens was initially spurred by a comment made by Roger Ames. The fact that Taiyi returns and assists in creation, rather than ordering it in a top-down fashion, led Ames to note that perhaps instead of the Guodian Laozi clashing with or destroying the traditional cosmology of the received Laozi, that the yin-yang metaphor was simply over-extended in the past, and a revision of our understanding of how the yin-yang theory applies to the Laozi might be needed in order to
reflect these newly discovered cosmological concepts.\textsuperscript{153} Based on this small comment, I set out to discover how the \textit{yin-yang} metaphor might be reframed to better reflect the contents of the Guodian \textit{Laozi}, including its different cosmology and emphasis on rulership.

In the following section, I will use cognitive science, and in particular blending theory, to show how almost all of the entailments traditionally attributed to the \textit{yin-yang} metaphor can be reduced to the Vertical Orientation image schema. Interestingly, the few \textit{yin-yang} entailments ‘missing’ in the Vertical Orientation schema are not found in the Guodian \textit{Laozi}, which lends support to my theory that the Vertical Orientation schema may be a more appropriate way to frame the Guodian \textit{Laozi} than the \textit{yin-yang} metaphor. It also supports Roger Ames’ theory that the Guodian \textit{Laozi} still holds some \textit{yin-yang} imagery, just to a lesser degree. Finally, I also intend to show how the Vertical Orientation schema is a trope for the way human beings process authority, which is why it is a good lens through which to read a text on rulership.

\textbf{4.1 Cognitive Science Methodology}

I have based much of my methodology on the work of George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, Mark Turner, and Masako Hiraga. I have also borrowed the idea of using metaphor theory to see literary works through ‘fresh eyes’ from Wim de Reu.

Metaphor theory was first thoroughly investigated and popularized by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in \textit{Metaphors We Live By}. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980. Mark Turner and Giles Falcennier then built upon the Lakoff-Johnson model of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) to create blending theory (BT) in 1995, and further refined it with several publications over the following decade. Both CMT and BT are based on the idea that metaphors are not simply linguistic conventions or constructs, but are a uniquely human way of thinking

and processing concepts, which arises—or is ‘motivated’—via our experience of living in a human body; hence our ‘cognition’ is said to be ‘embodied.’

To be more specific, metaphor theory states that the way we physically live—as embodied creatures—is the reason why we conceptualize our world the way we do, and the way we express ourselves linguistically is a result of our conceptualizations. Since all human beings possess similar (if not identical) human-shaped bodies, all humans on the planet will encounter the same basic experiences that lead to a shared set of conceptualizations. These are called ‘image schemas,’ and they are the basis of ‘primary metaphors.’ Both image schemas and primary metaphors are universal, and acquired at a very early age, through each human trying to navigate the world in a body. In other words, they are sensory- and experience-based, and are not at all culturally related. This is the reason we can accurately apply metaphor theory to ancient Chinese thought: people in Warring States China had the same bodies and basic embodied experience as modern people in North America, where metaphor theory developed.

In metaphor theory, metaphors are created by using one (usually concrete and familiar) conceptualization to explain a second conceptualization (which is usually abstract and unfamiliar). The qualities and entailments from the first conceptualization (also called a ‘source domain’) are projected, or ‘mapped,’ onto the second conceptualization (the ‘target’ domain). For example, one can conceptualize the abstract idea of ‘anger in a person’ as the more familiar and concrete conceptualization of ‘hot liquid in a container,’ in order to understand it better and have a concrete way to reason about it. The entailments of the source domain can also

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(selectively) be used to describe the target domain. In this example, entailments like hot water boiling and expanding beyond the container could also be applied to the conceptualization of an angry person (with the anger seen as uncontainable, and perhaps even capable of ‘splashing out’ onto others nearby and ‘burning’ them).

**Figure 4.1  Example of a Mapping of a Source Domain to a Target Domain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concrete/familiar</th>
<th>Abstract</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Source Domain)</td>
<td>(Target Domain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hot liquid in a container</td>
<td>anger in a person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Blending theory expands upon metaphor theory so the conceptualizations (domains) do not have to be mapped from abstract/unfamiliar to concrete/familiar. In addition, more than one conceptualization can be selectively mapped onto another in various ways, creating new blended conceptualizations with emergent properties, which can in turn be mapped onto further blends.

**Figure 4.2  Example of a Mapping of a Complex Blend**
In Figure 4.2 above, two Inputs (Source Domains 1 and 2) are selectively mapped or ‘blended’ to create Blend 1, which is in turn used as one of the Inputs for a later blend (Blend 2). In theory, this process of creating blends, then turning the resulting blends into inputs in order to create new blends could continue indefinitely. Of course, the examples of Metaphor Theory and Blending Theory illustrated in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 have been greatly oversimplified here, simply for the sake of introducing the basic theories in a general way. I will be employing the theories in much greater depth in Section 4.2.

Masako K. Hiraga specifically applies blending theory to poetry, and discusses it in context of Japanese and Chinese characters. I found her work and references invaluable for working specifically with Chinese characters and concepts.\footnote{Masako K. Hiraga, \textit{Metaphor and Iconicity: A Cognitive Approach to Analysing Texts} (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) and Masako K. Hiraga, Chris Sinha, and Sherman Wilcox, eds, \textit{Cultural, Psychological and Typological Issues in Cognitive Linguistics} (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1999). In addition, I used Hiraga’s methods to explore the characters of \textit{yin} 陰 and \textit{yeng} 陽 as metaphoric blends in and of themselves, to see if the results would support my overall findings in this paper. However, since the long popular character analysis has recently come into question, this project offered only circumstantial (not concrete) evidence in favor of my argument. In this, Hiraga also led me to Ning Yu, \textit{From Body to Meaning in Culture: Papers on Cognitive Semantic Studies of Chinese} (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009) and Zhou Youguang \textit{周有光, Historical Evolution of Chinese Languages and Scripts} (中華書局, 2003), which were both quite helpful in applying blending theory and cognitive science to Chinese characters and terms.}

Wim De Reu claims that “metaphor analysis… constitutes a key method to gain access to philosophical writings.”\footnote{Wim De Reu, “How to Throw a Pot: The Centrality of the Potter’s Wheel in the \textit{Zhuangzi},” 1.} In a guest lecture for graduate students at the University of British Columbia (UBC), he described a way of approaching textual interpretation that is more ‘text based’ and ‘open-ended’ than traditional methods.\footnote{Wim De Reu, “ASIA 590: Thinking With the Body: Embodied Cognition and the Study of Culture” at the University of British Columbia (UBC), Vancouver, Canada, January 12, 2010.} He called it the ‘Metaphor Approach,’ thereby acknowledging the research done by fathers of metaphor theory, Lakoff and Johnson, even though De Reu does not completely follow their methodology. De Reu recommends approaching a text with ‘fresh eyes’ and without looking to confirm a pre-existing hypothesis.
I incorporated this method to see if the new lens/perspective I came up with worked for the Guodian Laozi. That is, after constructing the new lens, I merely kept it in the back of my mind while I read through both the received and the Guodian Laozi ‘with fresh eyes’ and without pre-conceived assumptions, to see whether or not it matched the entailments found in both or either edition of the text.

4.2 (Re-)Constructing the Yin-yang Metaphor using the Verticality Image Schema

    Yin and yang are well-known terms to most Chinese people. In their most basic form, they mean ‘overcast’ and ‘sunny,’ respectively. Unfortunately, the concepts of ‘sunny’ and ‘shady’ by themselves do not give us the full range of metaphorical entailments that are traditionally associated with yin and yang in the Laozi. Fortunately, the full set of entailments can be predicted through the field of cognitive science, by closely examining these terms through the lens of metaphor theory. By using metaphor theory, I will show that the yin-yang metaphor is not merely an all-encompassing set of dualities, but has a very particular conceptualization behind it: the Vertical Orientation schema.

    Determining the entailments of the yin-yang metaphor is not as simple as it seems, since the yin and yang inputs can each be considered metaphor blends unto themselves (with each their own emergent sets of entailments), which are then blended together to create the yin-yang metaphor with its own set of entailments.158 However, even disregarding the initial character

158 By looking at the traditional characters themselves, the radicals that make up the characters of yin 阴 and yang 阳 are clearly pictographic, and represent some of the most salient experiences of early man, for example, natural geography (mountains) and weather (clouds and sun). According to Hiraga (Metaphor and Iconicity, 197), the traditional written characters of yin 阴 and yang 阳 preserve the meanings of ‘shady’ and ‘sunny’ because they are ideograms derived from pictographic components. According to Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, (Chinese Writing 文字學概要, Gilbert L. Mattos and Jerry Norman, trans. Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California., 2000, 51–57), most Chinese characters were pictographic in antiquity; however over time, and as vocabulary increased, the preponderance of symbols shifted to be mostly semantographic symbols and phonograms. By dissecting the yin and yang characters, one finds that several layers of iconicity exist within the yin and and yang metaphors. First, there is imagic (‘image’) mapping from the character to all three inputs (the three pictographic radicals)—in other words, the shape or visual form of the character directly suggests its
blends, and simply assuming very basic definitions of yin and yang, the process of deriving the yin-yang entailment system involves many steps.

The traditional character for yin 隱 shows a ‘mound’ on the left side, with a ‘cloud’ on the bottom right, below the symbol for ‘today/now/present time.’ The symbol for ‘today/now/present time’ (jin) also offers the phonetic for the character (yin). According to Qiu Xigui, who quotes the Shuowen, yin meant “clouds cover the sun,” and explained that by extension the northern sides of mountains were called yin because they were often in shade. The traditional character for yang 阳 shows a ‘mound’ on the left side, with a ‘sun’ on the top right. The right side of the yang character can further be grouped as 旦 (daybreak, i.e. the sun coming over the horizon) and 易 (bright, i.e. light streaming off the sun), which both directly relate to the interpretation of yang as ‘sunny.’ Therefore, the northern sides of mountains were called yang because they were often in the sun.

Beginning with the basic definitions of yin as ‘shady’ or ‘cloudy’ and yang as ‘sunny,’ it is clear that this is a light metaphor. If the light metaphor is traced back into its embodied experience, light—for human beings—is directly related to our experience of daytime and thus meaning. Second, after various aspects of each input are selectively mapped onto the blend, the blend results in an emergent ‘image schema’ (basic framework of a scenario or situation), which is then diagrammatically mapped back onto the character. In the case of yin, the pictograph for ‘mound’ and ‘cloud’ are combined with an observer (extrapolated from the meaning of the phonetic jin, as explained by Ning Yu on page 71) to produce the image schema of a person on a hill with clouds overhead. This image schema is then diagrammatically mapped back onto the character yin. In the case of yang, the pictograph for ‘mound’ and ‘sun’ (and possibly ‘prayer flag’) produce the image schema of a hill with the sun overhead, (possibly beaming wavy light or heat lines down). This image schema is then diagrammatically mapped back onto the character yang. These basic image schemas are very close to the image schemas I arrive at through the entailment set produced via the human embodied experience of verticality. For further details on this methodology, see Hiraga, Metaphor and Iconicity, 203–204. Also see Peirce’s three subtypes of iconicity: image (mimicry), diagram (analogy), and metaphor (parallelism), described in Hiraga (15 and 22), Pietarinen, and in Peirce’s various papers.

159 Qiu, 355. Hiraga, Masako K., Metaphor and Iconicity, 200.
160 Qiu quotes the Shuowen: “Yin [w/o mountain radical] means ‘clouds cover the sun’ and is derived from yun ‘clouds’ and jin as the phonetic.” The converse of this yin would be ‘clear,’ as in yingqing ‘cloudy and clear.’ Qiu quotes the Shuowen further: “Yin [with mountain radical] means ‘dark’ as on the south sides of rivers and the north sides of mountains. It is derived from fu ‘a mound’ and yin as the phonetic.” Qiu explains that yin [with mountain radical] was created to differentiate the connotations between the two yins, however, they soon became orthographs, and yin [with mountain radical] became the standard for both meanings. Qiu, 355.
activity. As humans, our eyes need light to see, and we need to see in order to (more easily) perform most of our daily tasks. This is why our activities have historically been accomplished in the day time and our rest taken at night. A sense of how human verticality is a conceptual ‘frame’ necessary to understanding the entailments of yin and yang also emerges. When it is light out, we are awake, we can see, so we get up, and become active and accomplish tasks. When it is dark out, we cannot see, so we lay down to sleep or rest, and wait for light to return. The equation ‘light + verticality = activity,’ and its converse ‘dark + horizontal = rest’ also produce the entailments of hot and cold (as it is hot/warm in the day when the sun is out, and cold/cool in the shade and at night), as well as the entailments of quiet and noisy (since activity breeds noise while rest both requires and produces quiet). By combining light metaphors with the frame of verticality, I end up with an entailment system that looks like this:

**Table 4.1 Preliminary Entailments of Yin and Yang**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yin</th>
<th>yang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cloudy/overcast/shady</td>
<td>sunny/bright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold/cool</td>
<td>hot/warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quiet</td>
<td>noisy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hampered/lack of sight</td>
<td>sight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(laying) down</td>
<td>(standing) up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep/unconsciousness/rest</td>
<td>awake/consciousness/work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passivity</td>
<td>activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As demonstrated above, there is clearly a link between light and verticality in the yin-yang metaphor. However, the human experience of verticality is not limited to the basic actions of standing up and lying down, but the full range of sensory experience related to these actions—i.e. all of the results and consequences of these actions. If I look even closer into the Vertical Orientation image schema, I find yet another layer of primary metaphors that create even further entailments for the yin-yang metaphor.
The struggle for survival requires (1) physical skill and strength, as well as (2) the ability to function in groups. When humans stood up, they gained a great advantage over the animals on ‘all fours.’ Suddenly, their hands were free and could be used to grasp, manipulate, carry, and complete other dexterous tasks. Suddenly their field of vision became much wider, as they gained a higher vantage point on the world. Their verticality gave them an immense strategic advantage in hunting and protecting themselves from animals, as they could both (a) see them coming from farther away, and (b) use their hands to fashion and wield tools and weapons. Verticality also gave humans an advantage in gathering, since they could fill and carry loads of food or supplies in their hands as they walked. Be it through hunting or gathering, the bellies of vertical humans were being filled, which carried an evolutionary advantage, as it is very attractive to mates who want to produce and support young.

All of these abilities naturally extended to the interpersonal world as well, and were used to establish dominance and power among humans. Those who literally gained the upper hand or the higher ground won battles, got the most food, earned the most fear and respect, and commanded the most obedience. They also consequently got the most mates. Those individuals who had the strength and health to stand with hands free held power and influence over those who could not, for example, a large strong vertical adult could easily outrun, overpower, and outwork those who were smaller, sick, injured, very young, very old, and those with babes in arms (i.e. women).

The general concept of GOOD IS UP/ BAD IS DOWN quickly arose from the human embodied survival-based experiences that STRONG IS UP/ WEAK IS DOWN, SUCCESS IS UP/ FAILURE IS DOWN, VICTORY IS UP/ DEFEAT IS DOWN, LIFE IS UP/ DEATH IS DOWN, POWER AND CONTROL IS UP/ LOSS OF POWER AND CONTROL IS DOWN, and STATUS IS UP/ LOSS OF STATUS IS
These resulting primary metaphors, when connected to the physical experience of ‘being’ up or down, dovetail nicely with the light metaphors, and the entailment of *yin* and *yang* expands to look like this:

**Table 4.2 Full Entailments of *Yin* and *Yang***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>yin</em></th>
<th><em>yang</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cloudy/overcast/shady</td>
<td>sunny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold/cool</td>
<td>hot/warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quiet</td>
<td>noisy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hampered/lack of sight</td>
<td>sight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(laying or being) down</td>
<td>(standing or being) up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep/unconsciousness/rest</td>
<td>awake/consciousness/work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passivity</td>
<td>activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illness/injury</td>
<td>health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weakness</td>
<td>strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slow</td>
<td>fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infants/the very elderly</td>
<td>adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of power and control</td>
<td>gain of power and control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of status/low status</td>
<td>gain of status/high status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>follower</td>
<td>leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled</td>
<td>skilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defeat/failure</td>
<td>victory/success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empty (belly)</td>
<td>full (belly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death</td>
<td>life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By combining the basic meaning of the characters with the entailments above, an image schema can finally emerge. In order to know where the human ‘experiencer’ is positioned in relation to the schema, I turned to Ning Yu. Ning Yu discusses the idea of time and space in relation to the observer, and concludes that “the present time is conceptualized as co-present or co-existing with the Observer.”\(^{161}\) He further notes that the idea of the ‘present’ existing with the observer works whether or not the observer is conceived as being stationary or moving, and that both types (stationary and moving observer) exist in Chinese as well as English. Therefore the

\(^{161}\) Yu, 71.
human ‘experiencer’ is an integral part of the image schema, and is central to the experience the image schema conveys. The image schema for *yang* is a human standing up on a hill (the most vertical vantage point) in full sunlight, and for *yin* it is a human lying down in the shade created by the hill or by clouds blocking the sun (the least vertical vantage point). Therefore, when using either schema to process information, a person senses events from that particular vantage point/perspective.

**Figure 4.3 Yin-Yang Image Schema**

The full *yin-yang* blend has three inputs: the *yin* image schema, the *yang* image schema, and the schema of the cycle of a day. When the blend is fully enacted, it creates an interesting emergent property: motion! Rather than just resulting in two weather conditions and two different vertical positions in one static image, the two conditions alternate, initiated by the third input of the cycle of a day. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to diagram ‘alternation’ or ‘motion’ on a 2D chart. It could perhaps be shown by superimposing the two input image schemas; however, it might just look very messy and confusing, and not really indicate that they are meant to alternate. Another option could be to put one schema on ‘top’ (right-way-up) and one on the ‘bottom’ (upside-down), perhaps with a curved arrow to indicate that they ‘cycle.’ However,

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162 If we return to examine the traditional characters of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, we notice that the Vertical Orientation image schema is in fact built right in to the characters: the ‘sun’ is placed on the top right side of the character for *yang*, and the ‘cloud’ is placed on the bottom of right side of the character for *yin*. 

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this two-sided image might imply that both conditions exist simultaneously, rather than alternate.\textsuperscript{163}

The action of alternation does lead us close to the traditional concept of ‘reversal,’ where \textit{yin} and \textit{yang} are sets of complementary opposites in constant flux. While there is a certain kind of reversal, in the sense of alternation, it is important to note that the \textit{only} things that are actually ‘reversing’ are the two image schemas—in fact, it is only certain parts of the image schemas that are alternating in conjunction with each other—the weather condition (light/dark) and the verticality of the observer (up/down). To elaborate, the image schemas are only built on two ideas, which are interrelated: light and verticality. These are the only two elements that change. It is not the ‘set of entailments’ \textit{per se} that are reversing; the entailments only change as a result of the alternation of image schemas, which only change when light and verticality are changed. As a result, a definition of the metaphor can hardly be based on what happens to the sets of entailments—it must be based on the image schema.

After deriving a prediction of what the full set of entailments for the \textit{yin-yang} metaphor would include by using cognitive science methodology, I compared them to the entailments of the \textit{yin-yang} metaphor that are traditionally recognized in the received \textit{Laozi}, and concluded that they map very well. A few specific examples of \textit{yin-yang} entailments found in the received \textit{Laozi} which are missing in the final list of entailments above are concepts like soft/hard and flexible/rigid, formless/formed, abstract/concrete, knowledge/ignorance, and nameless/named. However, soft/hard and flexible/rigid could be taken as subsets of the concepts of weakness and strength on the chart above. The other examples appear to arise out of the light metaphors, and

\textsuperscript{163} I realize this statement could be a point of contention, as \textit{yin} and \textit{yang} can technically exist simultaneously, with each one prominent to different degrees. What I fear is that using such an image as the image schema (prototypical scenario) would imply that both \textit{yin} and \textit{yang} conditions are \textit{fully} present simultaneously in the blend, which is not the case, i.e. while the \textit{yang} image schema is a static image of 100% sunny and the \textit{yin} image schema is a static image of 100% shady, our blend is not a place and time that is simultaneously ‘100% sunny’ and ‘100% shady.’
could be possibly included under that banner: when it is dark and we can’t see, things are formless, abstract, we do not know what they are and so they are unable to be identified or named; when it is light and we can see, things have form, are concrete, we know what they are and so they are able to be identified or named. The final ‘missing’ example of liquid/solid could fit into either subset above: either weakness/strength or formless/formed.

After having established the entailments for the yin-yang metaphor in the received Laozi, I looked at the entailments in the Guodian Laozi to see where the two sets converge and diverge. First I looked at the converging entailments. The concepts of dark/light, formless/formed, ignorance/knowledge, nameless/named, cold/hot, quiet/noisy, down/up, passive/active, illness-injury/health, weak/strong, slow/fast, infant/adult, small/large, loss of control/control, unskilled/skilled, defeat/victory, and empty/full are obvious in the text of the Guodian Laozi, as shown in Table 4.3 below. As indicated in the table, almost all of the entailments of yin and yang in the Guodian Laozi that I expected to find by using cognitive science are indeed in the Guodian Laozi. The corresponding passages in the received Laozi are also marked in Table 4.3.

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164 For full textual quotations, see Henricks, Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching.
Table 4.3 Entailments of the Yin-Yang Metaphor in the Guodian and Received Laozi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTAILMENT</th>
<th>LAOZI PASSAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dark/light</td>
<td>G-A15 (R56), G-B5 (R41), G-B6 (part of R52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>formless/formed</td>
<td>G-A9 (R2), G-A11 (R25), G-A13 (R16, lines 1–6), G-A19 (R40), G-B5 (R41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ignorance/knowledge</td>
<td>G-A1 (R19), G-A15 (R56), G-A17 (R55), G-B2 (R48, lines 1–5), G-B3 (R20, lines 1–7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nameless/named</td>
<td>G-A1 (R19), G-A7 (R37), G-A10 (R32), G-A11 (R25), G-B5 (R41), TYSS 10–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold/hot</td>
<td>G-B7 (R45), TYSS 1–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quiet/noisy</td>
<td>G-A11 (R25), G-B5 (R41), G-C2 (R35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hampered/lack of sight/sight</td>
<td>G-C2 (R35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down/up</td>
<td>G-A2 (R66), G-A9 (R2), G-B5 (R41), B-C1 (R17-18), TYSS 10–12, TYSS 13–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passive/active, rest/work</td>
<td>G-A5 (R15), G-A6 (R64 part2), G-A7 (R37), G-A8 (R63, lines 1–4, 14–15), G-A9 (R2), G-A11 (R25), A16 (R57), G-A20 (R9), G-B1 (R59), G-B2 (part of R48), G-B5 (R41), G-B7 (R45), G-C1 (R17-18), G-C4 (R64 part 2), G-B6 (part of R52), G-A14 (R64, part 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illness-injury/health</td>
<td>G-A14 (R64, part 1), G-A18 (R44), G-B7 (R45), G-B5 (R41), G-B4 (R13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak/strong</td>
<td>G-A14 (R64, part 1), G-A17 (R55), G-B5 (R41), G-B8 (R54), G-A19 (R40), TYSS 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slow/fast</td>
<td>G-B5 (R41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infant/adult</td>
<td>G-A17 (R55), G-A11 (R25), TYSS 1–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small/large</td>
<td>G-A2 (R66), G-A10 (R32), G-A11 (R25), G-A14 (R64, part 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decrease/increase control</td>
<td>G-A9 (R2), G-A14 (R64, part 1), G-A16 (R57), G-B1 (R59), G-B3 (R20, lines 1–7), G-B4 (R13), G-C3 (R31), G-C4 (R64, part 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decrease/increase status</td>
<td>G-A5 (R15), G-A15 (R56), G-A18 (R44), G-20 (R9), G-B1 (R59), G-B4 (R13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>follower/leader (ruler)</td>
<td>G-A2 (R66), G-10 (R32), G-11 (R25), G-A16 (R57), G-B1 (R59), G-B4 (R13), G-C1 (R17-18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled/skilled</td>
<td>G-B7 (R45), G-A16 (R57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defeat/victory</td>
<td>G-A4 (R30), G-A9 (R2), G-A18 (R44), G-B4 (R13), G-B5 (R41), G-B7 (R45), G-C3 (R31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empty/full</td>
<td>G-A5 (R15), G-A11 (R25), G-A13 (16), G-A17 (R55), G-A20 (R9), G-A21 (R5, lines 5–7), G-B5 (R41), G-B7 (R45), G-B8 (R54), TYSS 1–8, TYSS 13–14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Naturally, since the received Laozi is longer, it also has additional instances of these same entailments; however I don’t feel the need to include additional examples here to prove the point.
that these entailments are found in both editions of the *Laozi*. Although the *duplicated* entailments do not need further investigation here, the entailments I *expected to find but did not* are worth further investigation. Are these remaining entailments contained within the received *Laozi*? If so, why are they not in the Guodian *Laozi*?

The entailments I expected to find in the Guodian *Laozi* (but did not) are cloudy/sunny, sleep/awake (unconscious/conscious), women/men, and death/life. Upon examination of the received text, I did indeed find many examples of women/men and death/life. However, there were no instances of sleep/awake (unconscious/conscious) or cloudy-shady/sunny.

Table 4.4 Entailments of the *Yin-Yang* Metaphor Not Found in the Guodian *Laozi*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTAILMENT</th>
<th>PASSAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cloudy-shady/sunny</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep/awake, unconscious/conscious</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women/men, mother/father</td>
<td>R1, R6, R10, R20, R21, R28, R42, R52, R61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death/life</td>
<td>R33, R50, R51, R73, R74, R75, R76, R80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The references to women and men in the received edition are explicit in most cases, referring to ‘female’ and ‘male,’ although a few refer to ‘mother’ and ‘father’ instead of ‘female’ and ‘male.’ It is important to note that there are two references to ‘mother’ in the Guodian *Laozi*: G-A11 (R25) and G-B1 (R59). However, there are only these two, and the three additional passages that contain references to ‘mother’ in the received *Laozi* lack the specific lines that refer to ‘mother’ in the Guodian version. There are no references at all to ‘father’ in the Guodian *Laozi*, nor are there any references at all to ‘female’ or ‘male.’

The references to ‘death’ and ‘life’ are also explicit in the received version. However, there are also no explicit references to ‘death’ and ‘life’ in the Guodian *Laozi*. Although one
could make an argument that one passage (G-C3) does talk about ‘killing,’ and a few passages allude to the idea of ‘enduring,’ which could arguably be a reference to ‘living.’

It is very surprising not to find any references to sleep/awake (unconscious/conscious) or cloudy/sunny in the received Laozi, especially considering their prominent use in the other foundational Daoist text, the Zhuangzi 莊子. However, since the Zhuangzi was composed at a later date than the Laozi, perhaps these were metaphors that did not gain much literary use in earlier times. An analysis of the use of the sleep/awake metaphor and the sunny/cloudy metaphor in all early Warring States texts is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this thesis, but it would make an interesting project. Another, very likely, possibility is that these concepts were subsumed by the dark/light and rest/work pairings.

To check whether these were indeed subsumed into the dark/light and rest/work pairings, and determine the importance of the absent male/female and life/death pairing, I looked to the received Laozi. While I found no evidence of the first (cloudy/sunny) in the received text, the last (death/life) is featured and discussed quite explicitly in the received text. When looking at the references to death/life in the received Laozi, it seems significant that with the exception of R33, they all occur in the second half of the text, and the majority of them occur in chapters 67 to 81—a section of chapters that is completely absent from the Guodian version. One could muse that perhaps these chapters, and their related entailments, were added at a later date. However, this theory does not explain the references to women and men in the received version that are spread out throughout the chapters found at Guodian. These chapters were not grouped into any particular section of the text.

If the Guodian Laozi was some kind of ‘proto’ version of the Laozi, based on a collection of units that were circulating orally around 300–400 BCE, it leads to two possibilities: (1) the Guodian Laozi was a preliminary written record of these units, one which was eventually built upon over time by various editors adding material from various sources to eventually form the first ‘complete’ Laozi text (perhaps the Mawangdui Laozi) around the mid- to late- 3rd century BCE, or (2) that the Guodian Laozi and the received Laozi are both merely two different collections of these oral units. If either of these two possibilities are correct, then perhaps the lines and/or verses relating to ‘female’ and ‘male’, ‘death’ and ‘life,’ did not even exist at the time of the Guodian Laozi. If they did exist, and were just not selected for the Guodian version, perhaps they simply did not suit the purposes of the collator(s) of the Guodian edition.

Based on Bruce Brook’s statistics, I am inclined to believe that the chapters relating to ‘life’ and ‘death’ were not in existence at the time of the Guodian Laozi. However, when it comes to the verses relating to ‘female’ and ‘male,’ things do not seem as clear-cut. As previously mentioned, almost every reference to ‘female’ is absent in the Guodian Laozi, as are the themes of ‘passivity’ and ‘weakness.’ Perhaps ‘female’ was subsumed under these categories, and absent for that reason. Until further evidence is uncovered, perhaps even another edition of the Laozi, it may be impossible to make a definitive statement on the matter.

What I was able to determine, by using cognitive science methodology, was that the entailments of the yin-yang metaphor were not randomly chosen: they almost perfectly match what I would expect to find based on our human embodied experience, as it relates to the concept of verticality. Looking at the yin-yang pairs as by-products of verticality, and therefore directly related to our human embodied experience of power and authority, is a novel way to look at yin and yang. It continues to allow for yin-yang pairs, yet it also allows for a re-framing of certain
passages in ways that support the rulership themes prominent in the Guodian edition. As evidenced in the following section (e.g. in the paragraph on que 缺, ying 盈, and 經 jing), reading certain passages and images through the perspective of verticality (instead of through pairs of complimentary ‘opposites’) can highlight an aspect or image which would have otherwise been overlooked.

5 Reading the Guodian Laozi through the Lens of the Verticality Image Schema

The next step in this line of research was to thoroughly analyze the Guodian edition of the Laozi through the lens of verticality to see how (and to what degree) this new perspective offered further insight. I was very curious: Would reading the Guodian Laozi this way allow me to see something new? Would it help me better understand the text? Would it work consistently through the Guodian Laozi A, B, C, and the TYSS portions? Would it confirm or deny my theory that the Guodian Laozi was meant to be a book about rulership?

Instead of using the most commonly applied method of picking through the text trying to find evidence to confirm my theories, I followed Wim De Reu’s suggestion of simply reading the text again with ‘fresh eyes.’ Trying to forget the lens of yin and yang, and with only a basic image of verticality in the back of my mind, I read through the Guodian Laozi from start to finish several times.166 It was only after this process was complete that I could draw any conclusions about the suitability of the new lens.

I looked at the text of the Guodian Laozi on two levels: on a character level, and on a thematic level. On a character level, I found many terms referring to verticality, such as: zheng 正 (straight/upright), zhi 直 (straight/vertical/upstanding), shang 上 (upper part/go up), gao 高 (high, tall), xia 下 (lower part/go down), li 立 (stand/stand up/upright), bing 並 (stand side by

166 Henricks, Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching.
side), fang 方 (upright), ju 居 (be situated/stand), qu 屈 (bend, as in to bend a person’s body), que 缺 and ying 盈 (as in bending a yarn ‘under’ and ‘over’—in terms of weaving), and jing 經 (as in ‘the warp’ or the vertical strings on the loom). On a thematic level, I also found terms such as tian 天 (heaven), di 地 (earth), da 大 / tai 太 (great), Taiji 太極 (the Great Ultimate), as well as other phrases that created vertical images, even if the precise terms they used were not overtly ‘vertical.’

When it came to verses explicitly referring to ‘up’ and ‘down,’ i.e. shang 上 (upper part/go up), gao 高 (high, tall), di 底 (low, bottom, base), xia 下 (lower part/go down), and excluding all instances of xia 下 which appear in the term tian xia 天下 (all under heaven), the Laozi A has 6 instances spread over two chapters, the Laozi B has 4 instances spread over two chapters, and the Laozi C has a surprising 15 instances spread over four of its eight chapters. This would seem to imply that verticality is quite important concept in the Laozi C, perhaps more so than in the Laozi A or B. However, since it was still early in the investigation, I hesitated to draw any conclusions at this stage.

To conclude this section on explicit ideas of ‘up’ and ‘down,’ I wanted to highlight the terms que 缺 and ying 盈 in C:5 (TYSS slips 1–8) as ‘under’ and ‘over’ in terms of weaving, and the term 經 jing, as in ‘the warp’ or the set of fixed vertical strings on the loom. When weaving with a loom, the warp yarns are fully attached before weaving begins. The mixed and stable warp provides the ‘framework,’ and the weft, once woven repeatedly over and under the warp strings, makes the ‘pattern’ and completely hides the warp strings. Therefore, I translate “一缺一盈，以

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167 A:2 (R66) several instances of 下 and 上; A:9 (R2) 高 and 下 juxtaposed; B:4 (R13) 下; B:5 (R41) 上 和 下 juxtaposed, 上 and 谷 juxtaposed; C:1 (R17,18) 太上 and 下 juxtaposed; C:3 (R31) several instances of putative 上 meaning ‘to deem superior,’ 上 as in ‘most high/supreme’; C:5 TYSS (slips 10–12) 上 and 下 juxtaposed; C:6 (TYSS part 2, slips 13–14) 下高 juxtaposed with 上底, a couple of instances of 上 and 下 juxtaposed.
紀為萬物經。” as: “In turns going under and over, [it] takes itself to be the warp of the ten thousand things.” The terms *que* 缺 and *ying* 盈 are not often translated as ‘under’ and ‘over’ by other translators. Instead, these terms are often translated as ‘lacking’ and ‘in excess’ or ‘waning’ and ‘waxing.’ Both ‘lacking / in excess’ and ‘waning / waxing’ are perfectly legitimate pairs of definitions for these characters, and they normally represent a moon metaphor. If one was only looking to find *yin-yang*-type complementary pairs, one would be satisfied with this translation. However, due to the use of the term 經 *jing* (the ‘warp’) in the sentence following these terms, I believe the Guodian *Laozi* is employing a weaving metaphor, not a moon metaphor. Since *que* 缺 and *ying* 盈 can also legitimately be translated as ‘under’ and ‘over,’ does it not make more sense to have one cohesive metaphor (weaving) per sentence rather than two (moon and weaving)?

My translation easily stands without the influence of the vertical orientation schema; however, by reading the text through the vertical orientation schema, the weaving metaphor is strengthened and supported. In addition, if *Taiyi* 太一 takes itself to be the warp of the ten thousand things, and the ruler was meant to emulate *Taiyi* 太一, as suggested in the analysis in Section 3.1.2, then this passage suggests the ruler should also attempt to be the warp—the stable ‘framework’ completely hidden beneath the ‘pattern’ made by the movements of his subjects all around him. This very much sounds like the image of the ideal ruler in Section 3.2.2. While there is only one instance of each of these terms in the text, the concept of *jing* 經 has been often investigated as a key term of the *Laozi*. If this is indeed the case, and for the sake of argument I will postulate here that it is, then that only strengthens the idea that verticality is also a key concept in reading the Guodian *Laozi*.

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108 Henricks awkwardly translates this line as “first it is depleted, then it is full; we regard this beginning as the guiding principle of the ten thousand things.” Ibid, 123.
Next, I found verticality in terms related to standing and having the body upright, straight, or bent: *li* 立 (stand/stand up/upright), *ju* 居 (be situated/stand), *bing* 並 (stand side by side), *fang* 方 (upright), *zheng* 正 (straight/upright), *zhi* 直 (straight/vertical/upstanding), *qu* 屈 (bend, as in to bend a person’s body). These terms are found throughout the text, with 17 instances spread over eight chapters.\(^{169}\) By analyzing the numbers and distribution of these terms, an interesting pattern emerges: the *Laozi* B only carries one instance of the terms in this group, B:7 (R45) 大直若屈 “Great straightness seems to be bent,” however, the *Laozi* A and C have a good selection of terms spread over several chapters. It may be possible that the *Laozi* A and C are better read through the verticality orientation schema, and the *Laozi* B is better read primarily through a different lens.

Although it was too early in the investigation for me to come to any solid conclusion, I was surprised at the overall number of explicit textual references to the vertical orientation schema. Sixteen of the Guodian *Laozi*’s 36 chapters (counting the TYSS as four units) referred to the vertical orientation at least once using explicit vertical terminology; many verses also contained more than one reference, which brought the total to 45 explicit instances. This total does not include the many implicit thematic references or the 50+ ‘questionably vertical’ references, such as those to *tian xia* 天下 (all under heaven) or *da* 大 / *tai* 太 (great), which, as I will soon discuss, may or may not have consciously implied verticality to the speaker/writer.

Based on my investigation so far, I have made a tentative guess that the vertical orientation schema may be most important in reading the *Laozi* C, still important in reading the *Laozi* A, and perhaps not as important in reading the *Laozi* B. By looking at the important

\(^{169}\) A:11 (R25) 立; A:9 (R2) several instances of 居; A:13 (R16 lines 1–6) 方, 居; C:3 (R31) many instances of 居; C:5 (TYSS slips 10–12) 並立; A:16 (R57) a couple instances of 正; C:1 (R17,18) 正; B:7 (R45) 直 and 屈 juxtaposed.
themes in each of these bundles, it becomes apparent why verticality may be a more central or peripheral concept for each of them: *Laozi* C has the most material related to ruling the state, *Laozi* A is still primarily about ruling the state, but includes some small sections on cosmology and self-cultivation, and *Laozi* B has more material about self-cultivation than ruling the state.

By doing a broader, more thematic analysis, less explicit references to verticality may emerge which may yield even more insight as to the depth and breadth of the use of the vertical orientation schema in the Guodian *Laozi*. I will begin the thematic analysis by looking at the juxtaposition and use of *tian* 天 (heaven) and *dì* 地 (earth). Heaven and earth are referred to several times together (as 天地) as well as separately. The most interesting passages in terms of building vertical images are A:10 (R32) “Heaven and earth come together and send forth sweet dew,” A:12 (R5 lines 5–7) “The space between heaven and earth—is it not like a bellows? Though it is empty it does not collapse...,” B:1 (R39) “For ruling humanity and serving heaven there is nothing so good as keeping things in reserve,” and C:5 (TYSS slips 10–12) “What is below is soil, yet we refer to it as the earth: what is above is air; yet we refer to it as heaven.” These phrases build clear vertical images with earth below and heaven above. B:1 (R39) “For ruling humanity and serving heaven” even tells us where the king and the common people fit in the picture.

While the vertical link between heaven and earth is clear and apparent based on human embodied existence (heaven is ‘up’ and earth is ‘down’ according to human perception), other terms are not so obviously ‘vertical’ in nature. For example, *tian xia* 天下, meaning ‘all under heaven,’ is commonly used to refer to ‘earth,’ not only in this text, but in all texts of the era. In

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170 A:10 (R32) 天地 twice; A:11 (R25) 天地 once, a couple of 天 and 地 as separate; A:12 (R5 lines 5–7) 天地 once; A:20 (R9) 天; B:1 (R59) 天; C:5 (TYSS slips 1–8) a couple of 天 and 地 as separate, a couple of 天地; C:5 (TYSS slips 10–12) 天 and 地 as separate. 天地 once.
171 The above translations are from Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*. 

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cases like this, it is easy for a non-native reader of Chinese to assume a vertical orientation implied by the use of the term, however, in his guest lecture Wim De Reu warned against the danger of reading too much into an interpretation, and so I tend towards caution. It is entirely possible that the average Warring States Chinese reader/writer would not make a conscious vertical association when using this term. On the other hand, cognitive science might argue that the unconscious embodied associations implicit in framing this linguistic expression would make it worthy of examination here. Therefore, while I did explore the use of the term tian xia 天下 in the Guodian Laozi, I am also willing to admit that this could be going out on a limb, and not useable data. The only interest it may serve could be if other evidence comes out strongly in favor of reading the overall text through the vertical orientation schema, but even then, it may turn out to be nothing more than very weak supporting evidence.

I found 21 instances of tian xia 天下 spread over 13 chapters: ten instances (in 9/20 chapters) in Laozi A, nine instances (in 3/8 chapters) in Laozi B, two instances (in 2/8 chapters) in the Laozi C. Interestingly, there were no instances of tian xia 天下 in the TYSS material at all.\(^{172}\) By eliminating the TYSS material from the Laozi C, the instances of tian xia 天下 in the remaining Laozi C material are found in 2/4 chapters, which puts the incidence of the term tian xia 天下 roughly equal in all three bundles (35–45%). I would need to compare this incidence to the average incidence of the term in other philosophical texts of the era in order to determine whether there is a higher incidence in the Guodian Laozi than was the norm. For now, I am just throwing this into the big pool of data to see if it can gain me any greater ‘access’ to the Guodian Laozi text.

\(^{172}\) A:2 (R66) 2x; A:4 (R30); A:9 (R2); A:10 (R32); A:11 (R25); A:15 (R56); A:16 (R57); A:19 (R40); B:4 (R13) 4x; B:7 (R45); B:8 (R54) 4x; C:2 (R35); C:3 (R31).
I did not originally set out to examine the use of 大 da in my analysis, however while I was reading through the Guodian Laozi with ‘fresh eyes,’ the great number of references to the word 大 (great) is notable. Da 大 is originally a pictogram of a man standing upright with arms outstretched. This image fit so perfectly into the foundational arguments of my Methodology section that I thought it was worth examining the use of da 大 to see where it would take me. Realizing that the average Warring States writer may or may not consciously associate the character da 大 with an upright man, I decided to include da 大 in the same category as tian xia 天下, as a term which could be potentially over-interpreted yet also potentially useful to explore within context. Including instances where da 大 was later emended to read tai 太, the term da 大 is found a total of 29 times in the text: eight times (in 2/20 chapters) in the Laozi A, sixteen times (in 3/8 chapters) in the Laozi B, and seven times (in 3/8 chapters) in the Laozi C, which includes the TYSS material. It is interesting to note that the 29 instances of da 大 were concentrated in only eight chapters of the text. This perhaps shows that certain chapters were emphasizing this concept/image specifically.

The final terms I will investigate are taiji 太極 (the Great Ultimate) and ji 極. The character ji 極, in its simplest definition, is a ridgepole, which is an immobile vertical figure. The image of the ridgepole is extended to refer to directions and geographical poles, e.g. siji 四極 (the four corners of the earth) and beiji 北極 (the North Pole). Sarah Allan, who refers to Ge Zhaoguang’s work in the Zhongguo wenhua 1990, says that Taiyi 太一 could be understood as (1) the Noth/Pole star, (2) the spirit of that star, (3) Taiji 太極 (the Great

\[173\ A:8 (R63) 1x; A:11 (R25) 7x; B:4 (R13) 3x; B:5 (R41) 8x; B:7 (R45) 5x; C:1 (R17–18) 2x; C:2 (R35) 2x; C:5 (TYSS slips 1–8) 3x.\]
Ultimate), and (4) Dao 道 (the Way).174 Sarah Allan then talks a great deal about the connection between and exchangeability of Taiyi 太一, Taiji 太極, and Taiheng 太恆—the term actually used on the bamboo strips of the Guodian Laozi175—and about several cosmologies which start with Heaven and Earth as the first things to emerge from the One. Sarah Allan writes quite a bit about Taiyi 太一 in her article, “The Great One, Water, and the Laozi: New Light from Guodian,” and draws connections between jing 經 (the warp), Dao 道, and Taiyi 太一.176 This makes jing 經, Dao 道, Taiyi 太一, Taiji 太極, and Taiheng 太恆 all interchangeable terms. Robert Henricks also points to Ge Zhaoguang’s work, and agrees that Taiyi 太一, Dao 道, and Taiji 太極 are interchangeable at this time.177 The explanation of why Taiheng 太恆 was used for Taiji 太極 in the Guodian Laozi (and other texts) is particularly interesting in light of the verticality orientation schema and the previous discussion of the possible significance of tian 天 (heaven), di 地 (earth) and da 大 as vertical images:

The earliest form of the character for ji 極, found in oracle bone inscriptions, is a man between two horizontal lines (二). The Shuowen explains these as the sky and the earth. Western Zhou bronze inscriptions add a mount (口) on the left (easily confused with the moon in heng 恆). A hand holding a cudgel is then added on the right, which is abbreviated in the Shuowen to a hand (又). However, there are also instances, e.g. from Houma, in which this element is abbreviated to the cudgel, which is similar in form to bu 卜 (“to divine”). Thus, ji and heng are easily confused in copying. The meanings are normally distinct, but in bronze inscriptions ji is used metaphorically to describe the role of the king or royal ancestor, who was the ji for the four quadrates, that is, the center or principle. Similarly, in cosmology Da Ji is the point of origin and takes the pole

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176 Ibid, 266. The warp, as previously discussed, is the vertical thread that does not move.

177 Henricks, Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching, 124. He also refers to Ge Zhaoguang’s work.
star as its metaphoric root. Da Heng as the point of greatest constancy is also this metaphoric center.¹⁷⁸

This clearly shows how people conceptualized the constant and ‘proper’ state of their universe, with *tian* 天 above, *di* 地 below, and man (the king) standing upright between the two. The king is seen as the centre point connecting *di* 地 to *tian* 天, perhaps even to the pole star, making the king the ridgepole. These are all very vertical images, worthy of exploration in the text.

To my surprise, I found only three instances of *heng* 恆 and three instances of *ji* 極 in the text.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, the instances of *heng* 恆 don't appear to create obvious vertical images within their respective contexts. The instances of *ji* 極 are not particularly related to vertical images either. These unsatisfying results will require me to do an analysis of the images related to *Taiyi* 太一 as the only way to explicitly link *taiji* 太極 and *ji* 極 to verticality in the text.

Unfortunately, due to time and space constraints, I cannot go into that in this thesis. However, a cursory look at the TYSS for these links does not look fruitful. There are no explicit links between the term *Taiyi* 太一 and verticality in the text. Some more subtle links mainly come from the fact that it produced heaven and earth (arguably vertical themes) before other elements in the cosmology, and that other elements in the cosmology arguably create vertical images (see discussion in next paragraph). It is possible that a more in-depth investigation would lead to more satisfying results in this regard, especially since Sarah Allan and others had written so much on the importance of the term *Taiyi* 太一 to the Guodian *Laozi*, its connections to *Taiji* 太極 and *ji* 極, and the significance of the ‘ridgepole’ image, particularly in relation to the Pole Star.

¹⁷⁹ 恆 in A:7 (R37), A:10 (R32), and C:4 (R64, part 2); 極 in A:13 (R16, lines 1–6) and B:1 (R59) 2x.
Finally, I explored some other phrases that imply verticality or create vertical images. Chapter A:10 (R32) has two references: one creates the image of “heaven and earth coming together,” and the other reminds the reader of the leader in Chapter A:2 being above the people by placing himself lower than them (while there are no explicit vertical terms used in A:10, there are many instances of *shang* 上 and *xia* 下 in A:2 and the imagery is definitely the same). Chapters A:13 (R16 lines 1–6), A:14 (R64, part 1), and B:1 (R59) have images related to plants secured by roots and growing upward out of the ground. In addition to this, Chapter A:14 also includes a tall tower and “a height of 800 feet,” which are both very strong vertical images.\(^\text{180}\) The imagery of the pillars ‘holding up the sky’ implicit in C:6 (TYSS strips 9 and 13–14) are also strong vertical images.\(^\text{181}\) The phrasings in all of these cases also emphasize the verticality of these images by drawing the reader’s attention to both the base and the top, thereby forcing the reader to trace that vertical line in their imagination. Chapter B:1 (R59) also uses terms like *ji* 積 (accumulate/pile up/long-standing) and *ke* 克 (win over/restrain/overcome an enemy) which trigger our embodied experiences of piling objects high and winning over an enemy by gaining the upper position in a fight. If one was reading these phrases through the lens of *yin-yang* pairs, one would not see that all of these phrases had verticality in common, and were perhaps expounding on a common theme. Instead, one would either end up with a variety

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\(^{180}\) Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 63 and 210. Henricks explains that the line containing the phrase “a height of 800 feet” exists in two forms: “千里之行” and “百千 (刃) 之高.” The Guodian edition is damaged at this point in the text, and so it is not clear which version of the line it may have contained. However, he makes the argument that “千里之行” is *only* found in the Heshanggong recension, whereas “百千 (刃) 之高” is found in both Mawangdui editions, the Yan Zun and Xiang’er lineages, and the original Wang Bi recension, and is therefore a more likely candidate. Of course, it is impossible to know what was in the mind of the author(s)/complier(s) of the Guodian *Laozi*, however I also offer that if my theory of verticality as a suitable perspective for the Guodian *Laozi* is correct, then ‘height’ would be a better choice than ‘distance,’ and if the author had the Vertical Orientation schema in mind (consciously or unconsciously) then he might choose the height metaphor over the distance metaphor in this case.

\(^{181}\) See Section 3.1.2.
of miscellaneous pairings, a mix of pairings and other metaphors, or simply overlook these images altogether.

In the TYSS, I found implicit vertical images C:5 (TYSS slips 1–8), which I investigated earlier for the explicit vertical images created by tian 天 (heaven) and di 地 (earth). However, this time I looked at it in terms of Robert Henricks and Xing Wen’s ideas about shenming 神明. In his article, “Lun Guodian Laozi yu jinben Laozi bu zhu yixi,” Xing Wen claims that shenming 神明 should be read as shenqi 神祇, or “the gods of heaven and earth.”182 Robert Henricks agrees with Xing Wen.183 This reading adds an element of verticality to what was previously just read as ‘spirits’ or ‘spirits and luminaries.’ While not strong evidence of verticality on its own, it does add another layer of vertical images to the growing pool, and relates nicely to shang 上, xia 下, tian 天 and di 地.

Finally, one important chapter that almost slips under the radar for verticality is A:17 (R55). In this chapter, a newborn baby is described as a virtuous ideal: “One who embraces the fullness of virtue May be compared to a newborn babe. […] His bones are soft and his muscles are pliant, yet his grasp is firm. He does not yet know of the mating of female and male, [yet] his penis stiffens (未知牝牡之合陽怒). This is because his essence is at its height.”184 Section 4 has already shown how these images of the baby relate to our embodied experiences of verticality; however, what is most interesting here and for the purposes of this thesis is the form of the term yang 陽 used in the Guodian Laozi:

183 Henricks, Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching, 218.
184 Ibid, 72 and 74. Note that while Henricks translated zhi 至 as ‘height,’ it literally means ‘the farthest extreme,’ and so is not a verticality reference.
In the Wang Bi recension, the word *quan* (全 complete) is substituted for *juan* (脧, penis), which makes sense only as a phonetic loan. Where other editions have 脧 (*juan*), the Guodian slips have an unknown character, [勿 with a 上 on top], which is understood to be *ran* (然). I suspect this is a variant of *yang* (陽), which, like *juan*, means the penis. [...] On the identification of [勿 with a 上 on top] and 陽 (*yang*)—*yang* is written without the radical in “Taiyishengshui”, and in the present case I suspect that 上 (*shang*) has replaced 日 (*ri*) as the top part of the character. Teng Rensheng shows that 陽 (*yang*) was sometimes written with an additional element on top, an element that could be mistaken for 上 (*shang*), but which would probably be transcribed as 止 (*zhi*). So the copyist might be writing that form of *yang*, omitting, however, the element 日 (*ri*).\(^{185}\)

Looking at the TYSS on the bamboo strips, I did indeed find that every instance of *yang* 陽 is written as *wu* 勿 with a 上 on top, rather than the expected *ri* 日 radical (as in 陽 or 易). This adds a whole new dimension to the discussion of *yin* 隱 and *yang* 陽 as originating in the vertical orientation schema.

It was quite liberating to follow Wim De Reu's approach in this analysis. I found myself more willing to follow avenues of research that may or may not “pay off” in terms of confirming what I had hoped to find. It also led me to some discoveries I doubt I would have come across any other way, for example, the discrepancy between image schemas in the three different *Laozi* bundles and overall fewer references to verticality in the *Laozi B*.

Looking to the metadata, a very general overall picture emerges as to where and how the vertical orientation schema was used in the Guodian *Laozi*. In *Laozi A*, I found a total of 59 vertical references or allusions. 32 of these are found in the sections described as having ‘ruling the state’ as the main theme. 23 are found in the ‘cosmological’ sections and 4 in the section on

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\(^{185}\) Ibid, 73 and 211–212. Henricks also notes: “For the identification as *ran*, see *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹筒, note 71 on page 116. On the identification of [勿 with a 上 on top], see *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹筒, page 13, slip 2). For the writing of *shang* [上] in this way, see Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 (*Annotated Shuowen Jiezi*), Taiwan 台灣: Ding yuan wenhua chubanshe 頂鶴文化出版社, IA.3a, page 2 and Teng Rensheng, ed., *Chuxi jianbo wenzibian* 楚系簡帛文字編 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), 738.
‘self-cultivation.’ It is of interest to note that in the ‘cosmological’ sections, 17 of the 23 references occur in A:11 (R25), and all of these are multiple references to tian 天, di 地, da 大. Setting that one verse aside, the ‘cosmological’ sections are left with only 6 total instances. The Laozi B has 37 vertical references or allusions, which shockingly all fall solely into the four chapters I labelled as being related to ‘ruling the state’ (26 instances) and only one other chapter (B:5/R41 containing 11 instances)—which instantly merited closer attention! It turns out that 8 of the 11 instances were references to da 大. The Laozi C has 51 total instances, with 33 found in the TYSS material, and 18 in the rest of the Laozi C material. These numbers and distributions are very promising for my argument that verticality is a useful schema for rulership in the era of the Guodian Laozi.

At this point, I could finally see the full applicability of my new lens. By reading the received Laozi through the lens of yin and yang, scholars have been using a certain list of entailments, like light/dark, up/down, etc. However, applying cognitive science showed that all of these entailments can be derived from the Vertical Orientation Schema. By using the yin-yang lens, many scholars have ended up focusing on sets of complementary opposites. However, the Guodian Laozi contains many fewer chapters than the received text, and based on the themes present and absent in this edition, reading simply it in terms of ‘complementary opposites’ does not make as much sense. As previously discussed (particularly in the context of que 缺 and ying 盈, and jing 經, but also in terms of the ‘height/distances of 800 feet,’ the tower, and the growing plants), when choosing appropriate metaphors for these phrases through yin and yang, one can end up with a miscellany of metaphors: phases of the moon, weaving, distance, height, and agriculture. Individually, these phrases are all plausibly read that way. However, by looking at these same phrases through the Vertical Orientation image schema, they suddenly all relate to a
single metaphor: verticality. Therefore, by reading the Guodian *Laozi* through the Vertical Orientation schema, and treating the *yin-yang* pairs as by-products of verticality rather than an infinite set of complimentary opposites, not only are relevant ‘*yin-yang*’ images preserved, but new images emerge as relevant, and the various images and chapters can unified under a single metaphor which is appropriate to the key topic of the Guodian *Laozi*: rulership.

I would need to repeat this exercise with the received *Laozi* to determine if it is also better read through the new lens. However, it could be that the received *Laozi* and the Guodian *Laozi* are different enough editions to merit different lenses. For example, the additional material, different wordings, and textual ordering found in the received *Laozi* changes the focus of the text away from rulership, and onto more cosmological themes. It is also possible that *yin-yang* became more important later on, when the *Laozi* was divided into its present 81 chapters, since the number 81 was based on *yin-yang* considerations.\(^{186}\)

### 6 Conclusion

The Guodian archeological site was a stunning find for all scholars interested in Warring States philosophy. Not only did it contain many ‘lost’ books, and the oldest known edition of the *Laozi*, but it forced a dramatic rethinking of the intellectual history of the Warring States. As a result, the traditional definitions of philosophical schools, and the demarcations between them have started to fall. Terms like ‘Daoist’ and ‘Confucian’ have begun to lose their meaning, as modern scholars realize the fluidity of ideas among Warring States philosophers.

A rethinking of the Warring States philosophical schools also encourages a rethinking of the purpose of their texts, and the lenses through which their texts are best read. By considering the Guodian *Laozi* and TYSS as one text, which is what the archeological evidence suggests, the possibility of the received *Laozi* as *ur* text is simply unfeasible. The myth of Laozi the man

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\(^{186}\) See Henricks, *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 8–9.
writing the *Laozi* as one complete 5000-character book just does not hold water. Instead, it is much more likely that the received *Laozi* was not a complete text in the Warring States.

Most Western scholars agree that the *Laozi* of the Warring States was likely small groups of lines or aphorisms, passed around orally in various sequences, and sometimes written down. If the Guodian *Laozi* was either a unique collection of these oral units, or a proto-version of a later, more elaborate edition of the text, it seems completely reasonable that it could have been assembled to suit a particular theme, such as ruling the state. The thematic analysis certainly supports this conclusion: almost every single verse contained either explicit or implicit themes of rulership. The image of the ideal ruler produced by these references is also clear and coherent.

I have presented evidence to support the idea that the Guodian *Laozi* was a tool for rulership, meant for use by the crown prince Qingxiang of Chu, near the fall of the Warring States. The archeological dating of the Guodian tomb, the tentative dating of the key philosophical idea of *Taiyi*, the image of the ruler, the specific themes both present and absent in the Guodian *Laozi*, and the corroboration of the material in the other Guodian texts all support this conclusion. While a lone match in any of these areas may be considered a coincidence, a match in all of them merits serious consideration.

Such a reframing of the text also called for a reframing of the lens through which the text has traditionally been read. By reframing the *yin-yang* metaphor into the Vertical Orientation Schema, I have been able to both preserve the traditional *yin-yang* metaphorical entailments, and offer new images that better reflect the predominance of rulership themes in the Guodian edition. The image of the ruler painted in the Guodian *Laozi* is one who embodies all of the biologically ‘adaptive’ entailments of the metaphor, while strategically employing the ‘maladaptive’
entailments to his advantage. He ‘leads’ by following, he ‘instructs’ by listening, and he maintains his ‘superior’ position and status by appearing humble, flawed, clumsy, and dull.

It all fits the situation of prince Qingxiang. Prince Qingxiang knew the socio-political situation he would face upon assuming the throne. The kingdom was in decline, and facing a hostile takeover by Qin. He saw his father struggle to control the powerful and corrupt aristocracy, and ultimately fail. He knew that purely legalistic and forceful tactics would not work: he saw the idealistic Qu Yuan banished, and likely heard the much worse fate of Wu Qi decades earlier. The only reasonable approach was to ‘make nice’ with the aristocracy. If he could convince them they had power and authority through his deferential behavior, his position as king (and his life) would be safe… and perhaps he would have a chance to save his kingdom.
7 Annotated Translations

The translations in this section were included for the convenience of the reader. They are all relevant to the arguments made in Section 3.1.2 regarding the changing use of the term Taiyi over time.

7.1 Notes on Translation

Square brackets in the Chinese text indicate that characters have been added to fill in the spaces left by missing or damaged characters in the original document. Square brackets in the English translation indicate where I have had to add words for the sake of clarity. For some of the texts, I have also included translation notes as well as relevant commentary (e.g. from the Guodian Chumu Zhujian) beneath my translations and marked them with capital letters in brackets, e.g. (A). For ease of reference, I have labeled commentaries and their respective page numbers in short form, e.g. Guodian Chumu Zhujian page 124 is labeled ‘GCZ 124.’ The English translations of the commentaries are my own.

When it comes to Chu era bamboo texts, it is important to note that there are many difficulties inherent in their translation. In many cases, they include characters that are no longer used, and scholars must guess as to their meaning by comparing their use to other texts which contain those terms. In many cases, the strips are damaged, and key characters are (wholly or partially) missing or obscured. Scholars must again make a guess as to which characters would be most likely to be missing, based on context or on other versions of the text (if they exist). In addition, Chu script was not standardized, and characters with similar sound or components were often substituted for each other. Finally, due to the fact that the texts are written on bamboo slips whose strings often rot away over time, and whose ends may be broken or damaged, the process of arranging the strips into their original order is also difficult. Unless the text matches perfectly
with a received version, errors are easy to make. All of these difficulties lead to translations that are tenuous at best, and filled with suggestions for alternative readings.

My translation of the TYSS is based on the *Guodian Chumu Zhujian*. In the Chinese text, the characters in brackets, except where explicitly marked, are those supplied by the collators of the *Guodian Chumu Zhujian*. Where two (or more) possible readings exist, I have chosen to include both character suggestions, but then only translated the one I thought was most suitable. After careful analysis, I have agreed with Robert Henricks that Slip 9 should be moved from its *Guodian Chumu Zhujian* placement to after Slips 10–12, and have placed it accordingly. I also referred to Henricks’ English translation of the TYSS to ensure my translation was accurate.

For all of the other texts, I used the Gugong Concordances (故宮【寒泉】古典文獻全文检索資料庫 *Gu gong [Han quan] gu dian wen xian quan wen jian suo zi liao ku*) for the Chinese text, found online at http://210.69.170.100/s25. The Gugong Concordances is a Chinese language, full-text searchable collection of many official documents and books from the Pre-Qin to the Qing dynasty. The Concordance was created by 陳郁夫 Chen Yu-Fu and 敬啟 Jing Qi in 1999 and published by the National Palace Museum in Taiwan (Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院). In some cases, I confirmed the Chinese text with other sources, as marked.

All the English translations are all my own, however, in some cases, after I had finished my translation, I consulted with other pre-existing English translations in order to clarify sections I had difficulty with. For the *Zhuangzi*, I consulted Burton Watson. 1968. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. New York: Columbia University Press. However, our translations ended up

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187 Jingmenshi Bowuguan 荊門市博物館 (Jingmen Museum), 郭店楚墓竹簡 *Guodian Chumu zhujian (The Bamboo Slips from the Chu Tomb at Guodian).*
189 Ibid.
fairly different. I often simply disagreed with his translations. Watson also tends to omit
difficult lines, gloss over tricky phrases, and obscure the original grammar, so I did not find his
translation terribly helpful for the passages I was struggling with. For the *Chuci*, I consulted
and Other Poets*. London: Penguin Classics and David Hawkes. 1959. *Ch’u Tz’u: The Songs of
the South*. London: Oxford University Press. While I did not often need to refer to his
translations, I made great use of his footnotes and general comments, especially when it came to
proper names and obscure references. For the *Lushi Chunqiu*, I consulted John Knoblock and
style is much more poetic than mine, it was very helpful in confirming the basic sense of various
passages.

7.2 Translations

7.2.1 Taiyishengshui (TYSS) 太一生水

**Slips 1–8**

1 大(太)一生水，水反 輔(輔)大(太)一，是以成天。 天反 輔(輔)大(太)一，是以成 隕(陰)
地(陽)。天(地)[復相輔]

Taiyi gave birth to Water. Water returned to assist (A) Taiyi, [and] by means of this the Heavens
were completed/manifested. The Heavens returned to assist Taiyi, [and] by means of this the Earth
was completed. The Heavens and Earth [returned to assist each other] (B),

(A) *GCZ* 125: ‘ 輔’ should be read as ‘ 輔,’ which can also be written as ‘ 帶.’ The *Guangya or Expanded
Erya Dictionary*’s section titled “Explaining Old Words part 2” says “ 帶 means 助 (to help, to assist).”
(B) *GCZ* 125: the missing characters in this sentence can be read as “復相輔” based on context.

2 也，是以成神明 輔 神明復相 輔(輔)也，是以成 隕(陰) 易(陽)。 隕(陰) 易(陽)複相 輔(輔)也，
是以成四時。 四時

[and] by means of this the Spirits and Luminaries were completed. The Spirits and Luminaries
returned to assist each other, [and] by means of this *Yin* and *Yang* were completed. *Yin* and *Yang*
returned to assist each other, [and] by means of this the Four Seasons were completed. The Four Seasons

(C) GCZ 126: the Zhou Yi’s “Shuo Gua” (“Discussion of the Trigrams”) chapter states: “One who lives by surreptitiously receiving the assistance of the Spirits and Luminaries” and the Zhuangzi chapter 33 “All Under Heaven” separates shenming into two separate entities by asking “Spirits descend due to what? Luminaries are emitted due to what?”

(D) 四時 often refers to ‘year,’ but here it can’t because ‘歲’ is already being used here to refer to ‘year.’ GCZ 126: ‘四時’ refers to the four seasons of Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter.

3 复相 (輔) 也，是以成倉 (滄) 然 (熱)。倉 (滄) 然 (熱) 复相 (輔) 也，是以成濕燥 (燥)。濕燥 (燥) 复相 (輔) 也，成載 (歲)

returned to assist each other (E), [and] by means of this Cold and Hot (F) were completed. Cold and Hot returned to assist each other, [and] by means of this Wet and Dry (G) were completed. Wet and Dry returned to assist each other, completing the Yearly Cycle (H)

(E) GCZ 126: according to the surrounding context, there is a character missing after ‘復’ (returned), which should be ‘相’ (mutually).

(F) GCZ 126: ‘倉’ should be read as ‘滄.’ The character ‘滄’ (dark blue), when put in contrast to ‘熱’ (heat/hot), must mean ‘cold.’ The Shuowen says ‘倉’ means ‘冬’ or ‘cold winter-time temperatures.’

(G) GCZ 126: ‘燥’ should be read as ‘燥’ (dry) even though the Shuo Wen says ‘澡’ means ‘乾’ (cold).

(H) GCZ 126: ‘載’ is Chu script for ‘歲’ because the Tang Dynasty tradition says it means ‘載’ (year) and the Erya’s chapter called “Explaining Heaven” says ‘載’ means ‘歲’ (year). The Sun Commentary says “When the four seasons all come to an end, this is called a year.”

4 而止。古(故)載 (歲) 者，濕燥 (燥) 之所生也。 湿燥 (燥) 者，倉 (滄) 然 (熱) 之所生也。

and that’s all. Therefore the year [is] generated by Wet and Dry. Wet and Dry [are] generated by Cold and Hot. Cold and Hot [are] generated by the Four Seasons. The Four Seasons [are] generated by Yin and Yang. Yin and Yang [are] generated by the Spirits and Luminaries. The Spirits and Luminaries [are] generated by Heaven and Earth. Heaven and Earth [are] generated by Taiyi. For this reason, Taiyi is stored/concealed in water, [and] moves in the [four] seasons. Making a circuit and then starting again, [it] takes itself to be (I)

(I) GCZ 126: I suspect it is permissible to read ‘透’ as ‘周’ (to make a circuit), and ‘或’ as ‘又’ (again). After that, there is a character missing that ought to be ‘始’ (to begin). Therefore, the meaning of ‘周而又始’ is the same as ‘周而復始’ (to make a circuit and then start again).”

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7 未能成君子智此之胃。此天之所不能杀，故⑵⑶(地)之所

the mother of the ten thousand things. In turns [going] under [and] over (J), [it] takes itself to be (K) the warp (M) of the ten thousand things. This [is] what Heaven is not able to weaken (L), what Earth

(J) GCZ 126: ‘瀆’ should be read as ‘一.’ This character also appears in the bamboo text the Wu Xing and the Shijing’s song “Cao feng: Shi jiu (The Turtle Doves), which both say: “The gentle man, the Junzi, his appearance is [properly] uniform.” This can be used to prove that ‘瀆’ ought to be read as ‘一.’

Based on the comments of the GCZ, this phrase should be treated as ‘一瀆一盈.’ Since the grammatical structure ‘一瀆一盈’ can be read as either ‘simultaneously X and Y’ or ‘alternating X and Y,’ and since the set of terms ‘瀆’ and ‘盈’ can refer to ‘empty/waning’ and ‘full/waxing,’ or ‘under’ and ‘over,’ I chose to translate ‘一瀆一盈’ as ‘alternating, and ‘瀆’ and ‘盈’ as ‘under’ and ‘over’ to suit the weaving metaphor indicated by the term ‘經’ (‘warp’) later in the sentence. For more on identifying ‘一瀆一盈’ as a weaving metaphor, rather than a moon metaphor (as would be indicated by choosing to define ‘瀆’ and ‘盈’ as ‘empty’ and ‘full’), see (M) below, and Section 5.

(K) GCZ 126: ‘忌’ should be read as ‘紀’ (discipline or to record). In the Guodian Chumu Zhujian, we find that Qiu disagrees with the other editors: he suspects that ‘忌’ should be read as ‘己’ (itself). Based on the similarities between these lines and the Laozi, for the time being I tend to favor this reading.

(L) GCZ 126: Regarding] ‘殺,’ the Yili “Shi Guan Li” has the phrase ‘德之殺也’ and the commentary claims the meaning is similar to ‘衷’ ([make] weak, decline). The Zhouli chapter “Lin Ren” has the phrase ‘詔王殺邦用’ and the commentary claims the meaning is similar to ‘淢’ (moat around).

(M) As mentioned before, in weaving, the warp is the set of fixed vertical parallel yarns through which the weft is woven. When weaving with a loom, the warp yarns are fully attached before weaving begins. The mixed and stable warp provides the ‘framework,’ and the weft, once woven repeatedly over and under the warp strings, makes the ‘pattern’ and completely hides the warp strings.

8 未能成君子智此之胃。此天之所不能杀，故⑵⑶(地)之所

[N] not able to change (N), what Yin and Yang are not able to complete. The Junzi knows this [is] called…

(N) According to Robert G. Henricks. 2000. Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching. NY: Columbia University Press, 126. ‘瀆’ should be read as ‘埋’ (to bury or cover up, e.g. with earth, snow, etc.)

Most of the GCZ 126 comment regarding this character is untranslatable due to the number of non-extant characters, however, I have managed to ascertain that ‘Bamboo texts use the character ‘瀆,’ which means ‘瀆.’ The Ancient Script Four Tone Rhyme Book quotes the Ancient Book of History in saying that ‘瀆’ was written ‘瀆’ in Bronze script ‘瀆’ is written as ‘瀆’ on a Chen state Gui vessel, and the form of this Bronze script character is similar to the form of the character found in the bamboo texts. The Hou Han Shu’s chapter titled “Liang Tong Zhuan” has the phrase ‘豈一朝所瀆’ and the commentary claims that the meaning is similar to ‘改’ (change). However, it is important to note here that the Ancient Book of History (a.k.a. The Guwen version of the Shang Shu), which was reportedly found in the walls of Confucius’ house, is generally considered a Han forgery, and therefore not a terribly reliable source of Warring States information.
Slips 10–12

10 下,土也,而胃(謂)之隆(地)。上,熾(氣)也,而胃(謂)之天。道亦其志(過/字)也。青(請)昏(問)其名。以


(O) GCZ 126: ‘志’ follows the sound of xin and hua, and so we used this as a pretext to read the character as ‘過’ (to pass through or beyond).

11 道從事者必恬(託/託)其名, 古(故)事成而身長。聖人之從事也, 亦恬(託/託)其

the *Dao* to engage in affairs, necessarily trusts in its name. Therefore [his] affairs are complete and [his] body [lives] long. [When] the sage’s engaging in affairs, [he] also necessarily trusts in

(P) According to his Chinese transcription, Robert G. Henricks believes ‘託’ should be read as ‘託’ (to cheat) but his English translation reflects the definition of ‘託’ (to rely on). Robert G. Henricks. 2000. *Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*. NY: Columbia University Press, 124 and 126. Edward Slingerland, in a private communication, indicated that this term could mean “to temporarily lodge,” which would make this phrase “it necessarily temporarily takes it for its name.” The GCZ 125 uses ‘託’ (to trust), with no explanation.

12 名, 古(故)戇(功)成而身不剝(傷)。天隆(地)名志(字)同立, 古(故)志(過)其方, 不思相

its name, therefore [his] work/merit is accomplished and [his] body is not harmed/distressed. [Regarding] Heaven and Earth, [their] names and designations stand side by side, therefore [if we] go beyond these areas, [we] cannot think [of something] appropriate [to serve as a name] (Q).

(Q) GCZ 126: As for ‘思,’ in the *Jianwen* it is distinguished from ‘田,’ and we take it to be ‘思.’ The Baoshan Chu bamboo strips have the phrase ‘思攻,’ this ‘思’ character is considered to be the same as in the *Jianwen*. Qiu disagrees: “As for the character after ‘相,’ it is damaged, but the topmost part of it still survives. Considering to the remaining strokes, as well as the surrounding context, the rhyme groups, and the remainder of the text, this necessarily is the character ‘尚’ another character that takes the ‘尚’ phonetic, and therefore it ought to be read as ‘當.’ Furthermore, ‘不思相當’ should be read as one sentence. As for the three missing characters following that, according to the text’s meaning, they ought to be ‘天不足’ or ‘天缺’ and along with the next strip’s phrase ‘於西北,’ should be read together as one sentence. From the phrase ‘故事成而身長’ to the end of the text, the rhyme type is that of nasalized sounds (*yang* sounds), i.e. the rhyme group is: 長、傷、方、當、強、□、上.

Slip 9

9 天道貴溺(弱), 雀(爵/削/榷)成者以益生者, 伐於禍(強), 責於...

Heaven’s Way values weakness (R). Cutting away (S) at [what is] complete in order to add on to [what is] alive (OR: Cutting at Completeness in order to increase Life)(T) [is like] striking down in violence (U), punishing in... [in order to...]

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This phrase sounds like the received *Laozi* Chapters R43 and R76: “The softest, most pliable (弱) thing in the world runs roughshod over the firmest (強) thing in the world” and “Rigidity and power occupy the inferior position; Suppleness, softness, weakness, and delicateness occupy the superior position.” Henricks, *Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching*, 12 and 47, respectively.

(S) GCZ 125 has ‘爵’ for ‘雀,’ with no explanation. Robert G. Henricks (*Lao Tzu’s Tao Te Ching*, 127–129) suggests that ‘雀’ should be read as ‘削’ (to pare or peel with a knife; cut; chop). Henricks also suggests an alternate reading of ‘搉’ (knock, beat, strike), as this could relate better to the story of Gong Gong striking what is complete (i.e. the originally intact pillar of heaven and severing Earth’s cord).

For the full description of the Gong Gong myth, see my comments about TYSS in the main text of Section 3.1.2.

(T) This phrase sounds a lot like the received *Laozi* Chapter R55: “To add on to life (益生) is called a ‘bad omen’; for the mind to control the breath—that’s called ‘forcing (強) things.’” Henricks, *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching*, 24. Here, it again sounds like a negative thing, since it is being compared to “striking down in violence.”

(U) This reference to “striking down in violence” is perhaps referring to the violence of Gong Gong as he smashed down the pillar of Heaven. This strip appears to carry an admonition to those who would act as he did.

**Slips 13–14**

13[天不足]於西北，其下高以[強]。隆(地)不足於東南，其上。.......
14[不足於上]者，又(有)余(餘)於下。不足於下者，又(有)余(餘)在於上。]

Heaven is not sufficient in the North West, its lower [part]/underneath [i.e. the earth] is high by means of force/violence. (V) Earth is not sufficient in the North East, its upper [part]/above [i.e. Heaven/the sky] is high by means of violence. (W) Not [being] sufficient in the upper [part]/above (X), there is surplus (Y) in lower [part]/underneath. [Not [being] sufficient in the lower [part]/below], there is surplus in upper [part]/above. (Z)

(V) This is referring to the violence of Gong Gong as he smashed the pillar. See my comments in the main text of Section 3.1.2.

(W) This part of the text is missing, and I keep trying to reconstruct the geometry to figure out if Heaven would be low or high in the North-East, but it is very difficult to do. Based on Section 3.1.2, I know Heaven is low and the Earth is high in the North-West, and the waters run to the South-East, so the Earth must be low there. If the Earth is low in the South-East, and the pillars of the South-East cannot reach Heaven, perhaps Heaven would be high there. For the time being, I will go with ‘high,’ however I am ready to stand corrected.

(X) GCZ 126: “This place omits approximately seven characters, according to the examples in the text, we can emend the last four characters to be ‘不足於上’.”

(Y) Henricks suggests 余 should be left as 余 (surplus). Henricks, *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching*, 129. GCZ 126: suggests 余 should be read as 餘, which also means ‘extra’ or ‘surplus,’ but offers no explanation as to why.

(Z) This sounds like the *Laozi*: “The Way of Heaven is like the flexing of a bow. The high it presses down; the low it raises up. From those with a surplus it takes away; to those without enough it adds on. Therefore the Way of Heaven is to reduce the excessive and increase the insufficient.” (Chapter R77)
7.2.2 *Yili* 儀禮 Chapter 8: “Pin Li 聘禮” (Note 6)

[Regarding] Ritual, [it is] not [merely] a courtesy call reaching to the extreme limits. [When] sweet wine [and] wine vessels [are] in [their] owner’s box, [and] covered by Taiyi, there is abundance. A straw mat [holds] dried meat and fruit [and] the five dried or pickled meats. [If a person were to] hold a sacrifice for [only] half of the dried or pickled meats, [we would consider] him perverse. [In] offering a sacrifice for the sweet wine, offer [it] twice: in the beginning offer one sacrificial offering, at the end, offer a sacrifice a second [time]. [This is] the reality of the host’s court. Then the host fulfills [his duty] by [causing] it to come out, [and] the guest’s scholar-official is surprised at receiving it.

7.2.3 *Liji* 禮記 Chapter 9 “Li Yun 禮運”


7.2.4 *Zhuangzi* 莊子 “Lie Yu Kou 列禦寇”

The Petty man’s knowledge does not go beyond cattail bags for wrapping gifts and bamboo strips for writing correspondences. [He] wears out [his] spirit on the lame [and] superficial, and [yet] desires to concurrently benefit the Dao, [the ten thousand] things, [and] Taiyi [in its simultaneous] form and emptiness. One who is like this, [wanders around] baffled in the universe,
his body tired, not knowing the Great Beginning. [In contrast,] one who is a Perfected Man, returns [his] spirit to the Not-Having-a-Beginning, and willingly [goes] deep into the Village of Not-Having-What-Exists. [He is like] water flowing in the Formless, issued out from the Great Purity. How sad! You are knowledgeable in the tip of a hair, but not in the Great Tranquility!

7.2.5 Zhuangzi 莊子 “Tian Xia 天下” Quote 1

To take the root to be pure; to take [the ten thousand] things to be coarse; to take [what you] have amassed as insufficient; to tranquilly, alone with the spirits and luminaries, dwell; [those people who] in ancient times [were] ‘skilled at the Dao’ had [their] existence in this. Guan Yin [and] Lao Dan heard of its practice and delighted in it. [When designing their Way, they] established it by means of a constant Non-existence. [They] managed/directed it by means of Taiyi, by means of [making] displays of immersing themselves in weakness [and] modestly [making themselves] lower [than others], [and] by means of [becoming like] the empty void [and thereby] not damaging the ten thousand things’ [material] reality.

7.2.6 Zhuangzi 莊子 “Tian Xia 天下” Quote 2

Hui Shi had many devices, his writings [could fill] five chariots, [but] his Way had errors and contradictions, [and] his words did not hit the mark. [Regarding his] calculating of things’ meaning, [he] says [things like]: “Reaching to the limits of the Great not having [anything] beyond [it], [is] called the Taiyi. Reaching to the limits of the Small not having [anything] within [it], [is] called [it] the Small Unity. [What] does not have thickness [is] not accumulated, [yet] its largeness [is] 10 000 li. Heaven and Earth [are both] low. Mountains and pools [are at the same] level.

191 According to tradition, Guan Yin was the keeper of the Hangu Pass, who implored Laozi to write down his wisdom before he left China. Laozi obliged, and the book he was supposed to have written on the spot was the Dao De Jing (also known as the Laozi).
Therefore the eye’s clarity is a danger, the ear’s hearing is a danger, and the heart-mind’s dying for a cause is a danger. In general, his being capable while his being in governmental office is a danger, and danger’s completion does not provide a rectification of the situation. Because disaster’s development has been currently assembling, even when its reversal is on the brink of being achieved, its results still require waiting a long time. And men consider these abilities to be their own treasures, is it not also so sad! Therefore states perish, the common people are slain, the Self is lost, and all because men do not to know to ask about this. Therefore regarding the foot’s act of treading on the earth: although it treads on the ground, it depends on that part of the earth which it does not trample, and then only afterwards can it become good and plentiful. People’s collection of knowledge is small, and although it is small, they must still rely on that which they do not know and only afterwards can they understand that which Heaven refers to. To know the Taiyi, to know the Great Yin, to know the Great Eye, to know the Great Equality, to know the Great Method, to know the Great Trustworthiness, to know the Great Stability, is reaching the limits already. The Taiyi understands/connects to it, the Great Yin explains it, the Great Eye inspects it, the Great Equality reasons it, the Great Method embodies it, the Great Trustworthiness checks/investigates it, and the Great Stability grasps it.

大饗，尚玄尊，俎生魚，先大羹，貴食飲之本也。饗，尚玄尊而用酒醴，先黍稷而飯稻粱。祭，齊大羹而飽庶羞，貴本而親用也。貴本之謂文，親用之謂理，兩者合而成文，以歸大一，夫是之謂大隆。

[For] a great [sacrificial] banquet, [cause to be] high the black goblet, [and ensure] the stand for food sacrifice [has] raw fish [on it], [then place] first [and foremost] the great soup [made of plain meat broth. This is how you] value the root of food and drink. [For an ordinary sacrificial banquet, cause to be] high the black goblet and use alcohol and sweet wine, [then place] first [and foremost] the broom-corn [glutinous] millet and [regular] millet, and eat paddy rice and large grained millet. [For] offering a sacrifice [to one’s ancestors], sip the great soup and eat until [you are] satisfied a multitude of offerings. [This is both] valuing the root and embracing the practical. Valuing the root [is] called ‘Culture,’ embracing the practical [is] called ‘reasonable.’ [When] these two combine, and complete Culture, [and] by these means return to Taiyi—this [is] called the Great Exaltation.
凡禮，始乎樛，成乎文，終乎悅校。故至備，情文俱盡；其次，情文代勝；其下復情以歸大一也。天地以合，日月以明，四時以序，星辰以行，江河以流，萬物以昌，好惡以節，喜怒以當，以為下則順，以為上則明，萬變不亂，貢之則喪也。禮豈不至矣哉！

In general, the Rites begin in unrestricted [actions], complete in culture, [and] end in dutiful confirmation. Therefore, reaching to the limits of their completion, emotions and culture [are] both exhausted; [in] their next [best form of manifestation], emotions and culture [take turns at being] superior; [in] their [lowest form], emotion [alone] is used to return to the Taiyi. Heaven and Earth by means of [the Rites] combine, the sun and moon by means of [the Rites] illumine, the four seasons by means of [the Rites] are ordered, the stars and celestial bodies by means of [the Rites] move, the rivers by means of [the Rites] flow, the ten thousand things by means of [the Rites] flourish, likes and dislikes by means of [the Rites] are regulated, happy and angry [feelings] are by means of [the Rites are made] appropriate. [Those who are] taken to be inferior [in social status are] then [made] suitable, [those who are] taken to be superior [in social status are] then enlightened. The ten thousand transformations [are] not chaotic/unruly; [however, one who] shirks [the Rites] then will be lost. The Rites, do they not certainly reach to the limits [of perfection] already?!

7.2.9 Han Feizi 韓非子 Chapter 19 “Shi Xie 飾邪 (Evil Ornamentations)”

鑿龜數筴,兆日大吉,而以攻燕者趙也。鑿龜數筴,兆日大吉,而以攻趙者燕也。劇辛之事,燕無功而社稷危。鄒衍之事,燕無功而國道絕。趙代先得意於燕,後得意於齊,國亂節高,自以為與秦提衡,非趙龜神而燕龜欺也。趙又嘗鑿龜數筴而北伐燕,將劫燕以逆秦,兆日大吉,始攻大梁而秦出上黨矣,兵至釐而六城拔矣,至陽城,秦拔鄴矣,龐援揄兵而南則鄣盡矣。臣故曰:趙龜雖無遠見於燕,且宜近見於秦。秦以其大吉,辟地有實,救燕有名。趙以其大吉,地削兵辱,主不得意而死。又非秦龜神而趙龜欺也。初時者魏數年東鄉攻盡陶、衛,數年西鄉以失其國,此非豐隆、五行、太一、王相、攝提、六神、五括、天河、殷搶、歲星非數年在西也,又非天缺、弧逆、刑星、熒惑、奎台非數年在東也。故曰:龜筴鬼神不足舉勝,左右背鄉不足以專戰。然而恃之,愚莫大焉。

Boring a hole in the tortoise [shell and] counting the yarrow stalks, [and] fortelling the day [as] very auspicious: the one who by means of [this] attacked the State of Yan [is] the state of Zhao. Boring a hole in the tortoise [shell and] counting the yarrow stalks, [and] fortelling the day [as] very auspicious: the one who by means of [this] attacked the State of Zhao [is] the State of Yan.

An intensely laborious affair, the State of Yan did not have meritous service, and [therefore] the altars of the soil and grain imperiled [them]. [As for] Zou Yan’s affairs,192 Yan does not have

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192 Zou Yan was a historical person who, according to the Shiji, attended the Ji Xia Academy in Qi around 250 BCE, where he enjoyed a better reputation than Mencius or Xunzi. He was reported to have enjoyed this good reputation in Liang 梁 (a.k.a. Wei 魏), Zhao 趙, and Yan 燕 as well. He used theories of yin-yang and wuxing to predict natural phenomenon, and had a cosmogony that was said to explain political cycles all the way back to Huang Di. In this passage of the Han Feizi, Zou Yan is being accused of using astrology to spreading false faith in portents. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds., The Cambridge History of Ancient China: from the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 284.
meritous service and [therefore] the state’s Way [was] cut off. The Zhao era first got [its] intentions [set] on the State of Yan, later it got [its] intentions [set] on the State of Qi. [Although] the state [was in] chaos [its] standards [were] high: [it] took itself to be, along with Qin, promoted to [a position of] judge [over the rulership of the land]. [This was] not [a case of] Zhao’s tortoise [shell divination being properly guided by the] spirits and Yan’s tortoise [shell divination causing them to be] deceived. Zhao moreover tried to bore a hole in the tortoise [shell] and count yarrow stalks [to determine an auspicious day], and [thereafter] sent out an attack force to defeat the State of Yan. [They were] about to plunder Yan as a means of opposing Qin, [and had] foretold the day [as] very auspicious, [so they] began to attack Da Liang, but Qin came out [and became] the winning party already. [Their] armies reached Li district and six cities were seized already, [they] reached Yang Cheng, [and] Qin had seized Ye district already. The innumerable [soldiers] aided and raised their weapons and [marched] South, then the State of Zhang was exhausted already. I, your Minister, therefore say: “[Regarding] the Zhao’s tortoise [shell divination]: although [it did] not offer a long-distance vision for the Yan, for the time being it is suitable [to serve as] a close [approximation of a correct] vision for the Qin.” The Qin, by means of their great auspiciousness, opened up [their] land to flourish, [and their act of] saving the existence of the State of Yan has reknown. [As for the] Zhao, by means of their ‘great auspiciousness,’ [their] land was made smaller and their armies were disgraced, [their] ruler did not get [to fulfill his] intentions and died. Moreover [this was] not [a case of] Qin’s tortoise [shell divination being guided by the] spirits and Zhao’s tortoise [shell divination causing them to be] deceived. At the beginning of the time [when the State of Wei was founded], the State of Wei for many years faced East [and] attacked-to-exhaustion Tao [and] Wei, [then] by means of facing West for many years, lost their state.¹⁹³ This [is] not [due to] the Master of the Clouds (Fenglong), the Row of Five Stars, the Taiyi, the constellation Wang Xiang, the star Sheti [in the constellation Bootes], the Six Spirits [of the Six Ancestors], the star Wu Kuo, the Milky Way, the star Yin Qiang, [and] the planet Jupiter, not [being] in the West for many years. Moreover [is] not [due to] the Tian Que, the Inverse Arc, the Great White Star (Venus), the planet Mars, [and] the Striding the Platform constellation, not [being] in the East for many years. Therefore it is said: “[By means of] the tortoise [and] yarrow, ghosts, and spirits [are] not sufficient to raise up victory successfully, [and] the [four directions of] left, right, back, [and] face/front [are] not sufficient to use for the purpose of war. However, to depend on them [is] stupid [because] none [will be made] great by it.”

7.2.10 *Chuci* 楚辞 “Nine Songs 九歌: The Great Unity, God of the Eastern Sky 東皇太一”

吉日兮辰良，穆將愉兮上皇。
撫長劍兮玉珥，璆鏘鳴兮琳琅。
瑶席兮玉瑱，盍將把兮瓊芳。
蕙餚蒸兮蘭藉，奠桂酒兮椒漿。
揚枹兮拊鼓，疏緩節兮安歌，陳竽瑟兮浩倡。
靈偃蹇兮姣服，芳菲菲兮滿堂。

¹⁹³ In other words: Since all of the state’s efforts were poured into the Eastern direction, in their attempt to conquer Tao and Wei, the Western district was neglected and was itself conquered (by someone else).
五音紛兮繁會，君欣欣兮樂康。¹⁹⁴

[On this] auspicious day, the occasion is good, [his] solemnity about to [turn] joyful, the High Emperor strokes the long sword [and] the jade pendants, [a] ‘qiu qiang’ [sound] rings out. Beautiful jade, precious jade [on his] mat/seat [are] jade plugs, why not handle the fine jade and fragrant orchids? Meat dishes, [served] by means of orchids [for decorations], settled on bay leaves and [flavoured with] wine, hot spice plants and sauces. Raise the [drumsticks made of] Konara Oak, [and] clap the drum. [Then begin to] thinly, slowly, reservedly, tranquilly sing, [and finally] lay out the wind instruments and stringed instruments [to] grandly initiate [the music]. Intelligent and standing tall and erect, [people wearing] beautiful clothes [that are] fragrant, luxurious and beautiful, fill the hall. The five notes [of music] are profuse, [they] multiply and gather, [and] the lord is joyful and enjoys his well-being.

7.2.11 Lushi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋 Ji 紀 (Almanacs) Book 5 Chapter 2.1: “Da Yue 大樂”

音樂之所由來者遠矣，生於度量，本於太一。太一出兩儀，兩儀出陰陽。陰陽變化，一上一下，合而成章。渾渾沌沌，離則復合，合則復離，是謂天常。天地車輪，終則復始，極則復反，莫不成當。日月星辰，或疾或徐，日月不同，以盡其行。四時化興，或暑或寒，或短或長。或柔或剛。萬物所出，造於太一，化於陰陽。萌芽始震，凝寒以形。形體有處，莫不有聲。聲出於和，和出於適。和適先王定樂，由此而生。

What Tones and Music originated in [is] far away [in antiquity], born in degrees and measures, [and] rooted in Taiyi. Taiyi [causes] the Two Appearances¹⁹⁵ to emerge; the Two Appearances [cause] Yin and Yang’s transformations to emerge: one goes up, one goes down. [Then] joining together [they] complete order. Turbid and confused, they separate and then again combine, combine then again separate—this is called Heaven’s Constancy. Heaven and Earth [turn like a] chariot wheel, [they reach the] end, then return to the beginning; [they get to] the utmost point and then again return [to the starting point]. [In this,] none [are] not completely acting as [they should]. The sun, moon, stars, [and] celestial bodies, some move quickly [and] some move slowly. The sun and moon are not the same, [and it is] by means of [this non-sameness that they] exhaust their operations. The four seasons [each in turn] take their place [in] prevailing, now hot now cold, now short now long, now weak now strong. The ten thousand things’ that which emerged [are] created by Taiyi, [and] transformed by Yin and Yang. [The] shoots [and] sprouts, [first] began to shake, [then] congealed, cooled, [and] took form. [Each] form has a place, [and] none do not have a sound. Sound is emitted from harmony, harmony is emitted from suitability. [By using this] harmony and suitability, the former kings established music; due to this [music was] generated.

7.2.12 *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 Ji 紀 (Almanacs) Book 5 Chapter 2.4: “Da Yue 大樂”

Great Music [is] what Rulers and Ministers, fathers and sons, the long and short [lived],
196 gladly enjoy. Joyousness and gladness [are] generated by balance, balance [is] generated by the *Dao.* [Regarding] the *Dao,* [it is said one can] look upon [it] but not see [it], to listen [for it] but not hear [it]; [It] cannot be made into a [tangible] image. [If someone were to] have knowledge [of] ‘not-seeing’s seeing,’ ‘not-listening’s listening,’ [and] ‘formlessness’ form,197 then how many [people] would practice in [that] knowledge? The *Dao* reaches to the limits of the refined: [it is] not possible [for it] to have a form, not possible [for it] to have a name, [if you] forcibly made me [call it something, I would] call it *Taiyi.* Therefore the One, controls and orders the Two, [which] complies and listens [to the One’s commands]. Former sages rejected the Two [and] modeled [themselves] after the One; this [was] to take/gain knowledge of the essence of the ten thousand things. Therefore [a ruler who is] able to administer the affairs of the state by means of the One, delights the Rulers and Ministers, harmonizes [those] near and far, [bring] pleasure to the common people, [and] unites the ancestors [with] their relatives. [One who is] able to rule his [own] body by means of the One, [is] exempt from disaster, [reaches] the end [of his life] in longevity, [and keeps] his Heavenly [nature] whole/intact. [One who is] able to rule his state by means of the One, [causes] malfeasance and evil to leave, [causes] virtue to reach its limits, [and] completes the Great Transformation; [One who is] able to rule all under Heaven by means of the One, [can make] cold weather and hot weather properly suitable, [and] the wind and rain [come in their proper] timing; [this one] is a Sage. Therefore [if he] understands the One, then [he will become] enlightened; [however, if he considers] the Two [to be] ‘enlightenment,’ then [he will go] mad.

7.2.13 *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 Lan 覽 (Examinations) Book 17 Ch 4.2: “Wu Gong 勿躬”

大橈作甲子, 黔如作虜首, 容成作厤, 燧和作占日, 尚儀作占月, 胡曹作衣, 夷羿作弓, 祝融作市, 帝顓作舟, 伯益作井, 赤冀作臼, 乘雅作駕, 寒哀作御, 王冰作服牛, 史皇作圖, 巫彭作醫, 巫咸作筮, 此二十官者, 聖人之所以治天下也。聖王不能二十官之事, 然而使二十官盡其巧、畢其能, 聖王在上故也。聖王之所不能也、所以能之也, 所不知也、所以知之也。養其神、脩其德而化矣, 豈必勞形愁弊耳目哉? 是故聖王之德, 融乎若月之始出, 極燭六合而無所窮屈; 昭乎若日之光, 變化萬物而無所不行。神合乎太一, 生無所屈, 而意不可障; 精通乎鬼神, 深微玄妙, 而莫見其形。
今日南面，百邪自正，而天下皆反其情，黔首畢樂其志，安育其性，而莫為不成。故善為君者，矜服性命之情，而百官已治矣，黔首已親矣，名號已章矣。

Da Nao invented the cycle of sixty days, Qian Ru invented the *Pushou* [day], Rong Cheng invented the calendar, Yi He invented divination of [lucky] days, Shang Yi invented divination of [lucky] months, Hou Yi invented divination of [lucky] years, Hu Cao invented clothing, Yi Yi invented the bow, Zhu Rong invented the marketplace/trade, Yi Di invented alcohol, Gao Yuan invented the room/house, Yu Xu invented the boat, Bo Yi invented the well, Chi Ji invented the mortar, Cheng Ya invented the harness, Han Ai invented the carriage, Wang Hai invented the domestication of oxen, Scribe Huang invented the map/chart, Sorcerer Peng invented medicine, Sorcerer Xian invented divination. These twenty officials [are] what the Sage used to rule all under Heaven. The Sage Kings [by themselves] were not able to accomplish [the equivalent to] the affairs of twenty officials; however, [the Sage Kings] ordered the twenty officials about, [in order to] exhaust their skills [and] complete their capabilities, [and was able to do so because] the Sage King occupied the position of [their] superior. Whatever the Sage King [was] not capable [of doing himself], [is] what [he] employed the twenty officials for, in order to make himself capable. That which [he] did not know, [is] what [he] used them for, in order to make himself knowledgeable. [He] nurtured his spirit, cultivate[d] his virtue and [was] transformed already. How can it be necessary [for him to] belabour [his] body [or cause] worry and harm to [his] ears and the eyes?! This therefore [is] the Sage’s virtue: In harmony! Like the moon [just] beginning to emerge, [he is] the utmost degree of illumination for the whole world and does not have anything to limit or exhaust [him]. Clear! Like the moon’s light, [he] transforms the ten thousand things and does not have anything [he] does not put into practice. Spirit united! [Like] *Taiyi*, [there is] nothing [that is] capable of exhausting [his] life, and [his] intentions [are] impossible to hinder or block. Proficient! [Like] the ghosts and spirits, [he is] deeply refined, profoundly subtle, and none can see his form. Today [he] faces South, [and] the one hundred evils [all] regulate themselves, and all under Heaven all return to [being guided by] their natures. The common people completely take joy in their will/goals, are content to nurture their nature, and none are not accomplishing. Therefore one who is a good ruler, unreservedly obeys the essences of [both] human nature [and] the mandate, and the one hundred officials [will be] ruled already, the common people [will be] close already, [and his] name/title [will be] stamped already [in some official way in order to establish his legitimacy].

7.2.14 Chuci 楚辭 “Xi Shi” 惜誓 (Sorrow for Troth Betrayed):

惜餘年老而日衰兮，歲忽忽而不反。
登蒼天而高舉兮，歷眾山而日遠。
觀江河之紆曲兮，離四海之霑濡。
攀北極而一息兮，吸沆瀣以充虛。
飛朱鳥使先驅兮，駕太一之象輿。
蒼龍蚴虯於左騑兮，白虎騁而為右騑。
建日月以為蓋兮，載玉女於後車。
馳騖於杳冥之中兮，休息虖崑崙之墟。
樂窮極而不厭兮，願從容虖神明。
涉丹水而駝驥兮，右大夏之遺風。198

Cherish/have pity for my remaining years and [my] waning days, [my] years now [pass] and will not return. [I] ascend to Heaven and am lifted up high, to pass by many mountains and daily [go] farther. [I] watch the [various] rivers twisting and bending, [and] leave the four seas’ moist spray. [I] climb up to the Pole Star and breathe, breathe in the evening mist in order to be like the Void. The flying Crimson Bird is the messenger and harbinger [flying out ahead of me as I] harness Taiyi’s image like a chariot. The Azure Dragon is on the left/Eastern side of the team of horses, the White Tiger gallops and is [acting as] the right/Western side’s horse with a yellow back.199 [I] establish the sun and moon to use as [my] canopy. [I] am loaded with Jade Women in the back of [my] cart. I gallop, seeking, into the centre of the distant and obscure netherworlds. Happy to the utmost extreme, [I am] delighted. [I] hope to leisurely call to the Spirits and Luminaries. [I] wade through the Red Waters and give free reign to my camel. On the right side [is] Great Xia’s customs handed down for generations.

7.2.15 Chuci 楚辞 “The Nine Laments 九嘆: Yuan Shi 遠逝 (Going Far Away)”

志隱隱而鬱怫兮，愁獨哀而冤結。
腸紛紜以繚轉兮，涕漸漸其若屑。
情慨慨而長懷兮，信上皇而質正。
合五嶽與八靈兮，訊九鬿與六神。
指列宿以白情兮，訴五帝以置辭。
北斗為我折中兮，太一為餘聽之。
雲服陰陽之正道兮，御後土之中和。
佩蒼龍之蚴虯兮，帶隱虹之逶蛇。
曳彗星之皓旰兮，撫朱爵與鵔鸃。
游清靈之颯戾兮，服雲衣之披披。
杖玉策與朱旗兮，垂明月之玄珠。
舉霓旌之墽翳兮，建黃纁之總旄。
躬純粹而罔愆兮，承皇考之妙儀。201

My will [is growing] faint and depressingly angry, [I am] anxiously alone [in my] grieving and [my] feelings of bitterness are bearing fruit. My intestines are confused, entangled and rotating,

198 David Hawkes, Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets, (London: Penguin Classics, 1985), 238. Also found online at Donald Sturgeon’s Chinese Text Project, http://chinese.dsturgeon.net/text.pl?node=51807&if=en
199 I think there could be a line missing here. There are four constellations associated with the four directions, which are each represented by an animal: The Crimson Bird, the Azure Dragon, and the White Tiger represent the South, East, and West, respectively. However, there is no mention of the North or its respective animal, the Black Tortoise, in this poem. There is, however, a slight allusion to the tortoise in the phrase ‘I use the sun and the moon as my canopy’ because the character for ‘canopy’ (蓋) can also mean the shell of a tortoise.
200 Jade Women are praiseworthy, valuable, and beautiful women.
[my] tears flowing, their [falling down is] like crumbs [falling]. [However, my] emotions [have been] deeply touched [and] for a long time [I] have cherished [and] trusted in the High Emperor and [his?] upright character. [So why not] convene the Five Mountains with the Spirits of the Eight Directions, question the Nine Stars [of the Big Dipper] and the Six Spirits [of the Six Ancestors]. Refer to the rows of constellations, [and] by means of pure feeling inform the Five High Gods to take [my] confession. The Big Dipper will be my arbitrator, Taiyi will be my ‘[person who] listens to it’. [I] say [I will] obey yin and yang’s upright Way, [in] the lands of the emperor and empress’ harmonious centre. [I will] wear at my waist the constellation of the Azure Dragon. [I will] wear at my belt a concealed rainbow’s curving snake. [I will] drag a comet’s luminous sunset. [I will] stroke the Vermillion Sparrow and the [bird resembling] the Golden Pheasant. [I will] wander in the Clear Numinous’ wind, [and] wear clothes of clouds draped over my shoulders. Flogging a jade whip, [I carry] a vermilion banner, [and] hanging down is the bright moon’s black pearl [shadow]. [I will] raise up the Secondary Rainbow-hued banner of the Mountain Peak Nebula, [and] establish the yellow and crimson [colors] together [on one] banner. Personally unadulterated and without fault, [my appearance is] indebted to my honorable deceased father the Sovereign’s wonderful appearance.

7.2.16 Chuci 楚辞 “The Nine Regrets 九怀: Wei Jun 危俊 (Dangerous Heights)”

林不容兮鳴蜩，餘何留兮中州？
陶嘉月兮總駕，搴玉英兮自脩。
結榮茞兮逶逝，將去烝兮遠游。
徑岱土兮魏闕，歷九曲兮牽牛。
聊假日兮相佯，遺光燿兮周流。
望太一兮淹息，紆餘轡兮自休。
晞白日兮皎皎，彌遠路兮悠悠。
顧列孛兮繡繡，觀幽雲兮陳浮。
鉅寶遷兮砏礉，雉咸雊兮相求。
泱莽莽兮究志，懼吾心兮懤懤。
步餘馬兮飛柱，覽可與兮匹儔。
卒莫有兮纖介，永餘思兮怞怞。208

The woods do not contain the singing cicada, [so] why do I remain in the central prefecture? Content in a good month to assemble [my] harness, [and] by myself cultivate [and] weave

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202 The Five Mountains are Hengshan in Hunan, Huashen in Shaanxi, Hengshan in Shanxi and Songshan in Henan.
203 According to the commentary of a different chapter 《楚辞·怨思》注: “八方之神也.” The “Eight Numinous” are the Spirits of the Eight Directions, that is, of the S, SE, E, NE, N, NW, W, SW.
204 According to a second commentary in that same chapter 洪兴祖 补注: “北斗七星，辅一星在第六星旁。又招摇一星在北斗杓端.” This refers to the 7 stars of the Big Dipper, supplemented by one star at the sixth star’s side, and one more star at the end of the dipper’s handle.
205 Literally: the dark green dragon’s wormy young dragon with horns.
206 This is likely another constellation.
207 These two birds are also likely constellations.
208 Donald Sturgeon’s Chinese Text Project http://chinese.dsturgeon.net/text.pl?node=51978&if=en
flourishing angelica in winding passes, [I am] about to leave for many far-off wanderings. [My] path will take me to the lands of Taishan Mountain, [to] the gates of the Imperial Palace of Wei. [I will] cover the nine bends [of the Yellow River]²⁰⁹ [as I] lead along [my] ox.²¹⁰ [I will take] merely one day off [and] pretend [I’ve] lost the bright and glorious, make a circuit [and] wander around. [I will] look up to the Taiyi and take a deep breath, twist my bridle, and rest my body. [As] the pure day dawns very clear and bright, more distant journeys are drawn out. [I] turn around and look at the rows of comets, misty and indistinct, [and] observe the clouds of the netherworlds, floating on display. The Great Jewel rumbles, the pheasants all crow like [they] are seeking [him].²¹¹ [In the] Vast and Boundless, [I] examine [my] will, [causing] fear [in] my heart [and] worry. [I] walk my horse [to] the Flying/Groundless Pillars, to see [if it is] possible to be accompanied by a suitable companion. In the end, no-one exists [that I could]—even a little bit—take seriously [as a suitable companion]. Forever I think of [this] sorrow.

²⁰⁹ I am not certain exactly what this phrase refers to, however, Josephine Chiu-Duke suggested to me (in a personal communication, April 14, 2010) that since the poem refers to going to Taishan Mountain in Shandong province, 九曲 could refer to the nine turnings of the Yellow River between Xi’an and Shandong. It is also possible that this 九曲 refers to a constellation of nine stars (‘The Nine Points’), as suggested by Hawkes, however I was not able to track down which nine stars this could be referring to. So while it is possible that this line is: “I cover the Nine Points and the Cowherd Star,” as Hawkes suggests, the constellation with the Cowherd Star (see next footnote) is said to have a maximum of seven stars, so it doesn’t quite fit. Josephine Chiu-Duke suggested that it could be read: “I will cover the nine turnings of the Yellow River to where the Cowherd Star resides,” which would eliminate the problem of ‘points,’ and make the poet the ‘Weaving Girl,’ metaphorically (see next footnote). However, I don’t see how 牽牛 could grammatically be read as “to where the Cowherd Star resides.” Perhaps “I will cover the nine bends of the Yellow River, led by the Cowherd Star” is more suitable. That way, the Cowherd Star would be drawing the author foreword, towards his destination.

²¹⁰ While this line makes sense the way I have written it, 牽牛 is also a name for The Cowherd Star, or Altair, as it is known in the West. See previous footnote for an alternate phrasing of this line. According to China History Forum, http://www.chinahistoryforum.org/lofiversion/index.php/t19984.html, which is quoting from Hong Shuling. 1988.  
Research of Cowherd and Weaving Girl (洪淑苓) Taiwan: Taiwan's Student Bookstore, (pages unknown), “The original Cowherd star was actually the Chinese constellation called 牵牛星 (qian niu xing) or simply 牛宿 (niu xio). Originally, it was just an Ox, and it was a white bull for sacrificial purpose. It was connected to Chinese ancient mythology and sacrifice rituals for farming. Eventually, it was transformed into a man in the stars as the Cowherd to match with the Weaving Girl star in heaven. The original Weaving girl star was the Chinese constellation 娲女 (wu nu) or 須女 (xu nu). The simple term for it was 女宿 (nu xio). Later, a bright star in the Chinese constellation 牛宿 became the Weaving girl star, and it is Vega in the western constellation Lyra, or Lyra-α. Because the original star for Cowherd was a bit far from the Weaving Girl star Vega, another star became the Cowherd star, and that is Chinese star 河鼓二 (he gu er - River drum 2) in 牛宿. It is the star Altair in Aquila constellation or Aquila-α.”

²¹¹ According to David Hawkes, this is a reference to a cult in the Former Han who worshipped a god Tian Bao (the Heavenly Jewel), who was said to have the head of a pheasant. Their mythology explains that when Tian Bao arrives, there is a meteor shower and a sound of the crashing of stones, followed by the crow of pheasants. David Hawkes, Ch’u Ts’u, 144.
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