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INTRODUCING THE **WU ZE YOU XING TU* MANUSCRIPT FROM MAWANGDUI

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Abstract

The **Wu ze you xing tu* 物則有形圖 silk manuscript was discovered inside a lacquer case in Mawangdui Tomb 3. This little-known manuscript of unusual design contains a philosophical text on the relationships between things (*wu* 物), forms (*xing* 形), names (*ming* 名), and speech (*yan* 言), and the text is arranged on the surface of the silk in the form of a densely clustered spiral within a ring inside a square. The writing on the manuscript is also accompanied by colors and shapes that represent a domed Heaven (*tian* 天) above a square Earth (*di* 地). Since it was first catalogued in 2004, just a few studies of the **Wu ze you xing tu* have been published in Chinese, and the manuscript is almost entirely absent from Western scholarship. This article aims to remedy this situation by providing a detailed description of the manuscript, transcriptions and translations of its contents, a consideration of its philosophical context, and an analysis of its design. In the process, I show that this silk document functioned not just as a convenient surface or carrier for an important philosophical text, but as a material artifact in its own right, one that was designed to have a powerful impact on its viewers, readers, and users, forcing them to move their eyes and bodies in ways that reinforced its central philosophical message.

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Introduction

The **Wu ze you xing tu* 物則有形圖[1] (Chart on things having forms)[2] is a silk manuscript that was discovered in Mawangdui Tomb 3 (Changsha 長沙, Hunan 湖南), which probably belonged to the Western Han 西漢 (202 B.C.E.–9 C.E.) nobleman Li Xi 利豨 (d. 168 B.C.E.).[3] Li Xi was likely in his early thirties when he died,[4] and a significant cache of manuscripts, most made of silk but some made of bamboo and/or wood, was found stored inside an unornamented black lacquer case in the eastern compartment of the outer coffin of his tomb.[5]

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1. The manuscript was apparently originally untitled, and the current designation was assigned by scholars on the basis of the four-character phrase *wu ze you xing* 物則有形 ("things have forms") that appears in the text of the manuscript. See below for a discussion of possible alternative titles. The convention observed in this article of placing an asterisk before the title of excavated texts and manuscripts that were originally untitled, or whose title is otherwise unknown, has been adopted from Rudolf Pfister via Matthias Richter. See Matthias L. Richter, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 13, n. 20.

2. The term *wu* 物 also encompasses living things such as people and animals. Probably for this reason, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann has translated the title as "Beings and Things do Have a Form." See Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping: Did the Maps of the *Shan hai jing* Ever Exist?," in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft*, ed. Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Georges Métailié (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 262. See also the translation "All Things Have Forms" in Feng Cao, *Daoism in Early China: Huang-Lao Thought in Light of Excavated Texts*, trans. Callisto Serle, Sharon Y. Small, and Jeffrey Keller (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 122. The manuscript is also briefly mentioned (with its title left untranslated) in Li Ling, "The Zidanku Silk Manuscripts," in *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han*, ed. Donald Harper and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 262, n. 48.

3. For overviews of the debates about the identity of the occupant of Tomb 3, see Fu Juyou 傅舉有, "Mawangdui Hanmu muzhuren shi shei—Mawangdui Hanmu muzhu yantao sishi nian huigu" 馬王堆漢墓墓主人是誰—馬王堆漢墓墓主研討四十年回顧, in *Jinian Mawangdui Hanmu fajue sishi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 紀念馬王堆漢墓發掘四十週年國際學術研討會論文集, ed. Hunan sheng bowuguan (Changsha: Yuelu, 2016), 5–7, and Huang Zhanyue 黃展岳, "Ye tan Mawangdui san hao mu muzhu shi shei" 也談馬王堆三號墓墓主是誰, 8–10 in the same volume. The discovery of a damaged seal that appears to bear the graphs Li and Xi would seem to confirm Li Xi as the tomb occupant. See Chen Songchang 陳松長, "Mawangdui san hao muzhu de zai renshi" 馬王堆三號墓主的再認識, *Wenwu* 2003.8, 56–59, 66. For Li Xi's dates, see *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959) 19.978 and *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 16.618.

4. Scientific analysis of the bones in Tomb 3 places the tomb occupant at thirty to forty years of age. See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Hunan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, eds., *Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao Hanmu: di yi juan, tianye kaogu fajue baogao* 長沙馬王堆二, 三號漢墓: 第一卷, 田野考古發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2004), 265–67 (hereafter cited as *Baogao*).

5. For descriptions of the lacquer case and its contents, see *Baogao*, 87–88, 155; Chen Songchang, *Boshu shihua* 帛書史話 (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu, 2012),

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The *Wu ze you xing tu has received remarkably little scholarly attention since it was first cataloged in print in 2004.[6] Chen Songchang's 陳松長 was the first study of the manuscript, published in 2006,[7] and subsequent publications include two essays by Cao Feng 曹鋒 published in 2008 and 2010 respectively,[8] and a 2012 article by Dong Shan 董珊.[9] The 2013 publication of Huang Ru-xuan's 黃儒宣 2010 National Taiwan University Ph.D. dissertation also contains a brief treatment of the manuscript.[10] Full color photographs (Figure 1) and a black and white drawing (Figure 2) of the manuscript, as well as an introduction and annotated transcriptions of its contents, were published as part of the seven-volume publication of the Mawangdui manuscript materials in 2014.[11] Unfortunately, no studies of this remarkable document are available in English, and the present article aims to fill this lacuna by providing a description of its codicological features, transcriptions and

95; and Hunan sheng bowuguan and Fudan daxue chutu wenxian yu guwenzi yanjiu zhongxin, eds., *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成, vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2014), 3 (hereafter cited as *Jicheng*). This cache did not include the tomb inventory (*qiance* 遣冊) manuscript made from bamboo and wood that was found separately in the northern end of the western compartment of the outer coffin.

6. See *Baogao*, 90, where, unlike most of the other manuscripts from Mawangdui, the *Wu ze you xing tu is not assigned to one of the six bibliographic categories from the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 (Treatise on Arts and Literature) chapter of the *Hanshu*, but is listed in the "other" (*qita* 其他) category.

7. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 馬王堆帛書「物則有形」圖初探, *Wenwu* 2006.6, 82–87, 98. This essay was later reprinted in Chen's *Jianbo yanjiu wengao* 簡帛研究文稿 (Beijing: Xianzhuang, 2008), 349–60.

8. Cao Feng 曹鋒, "Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' yuanquan nei wenzi xinjie" 馬王堆「物則有形」圓圈內文字新解, in *Guwenzixue lungao* 古文字學論稿, ed. Zhang Guangyu 張光裕 and Huang Dekuan 黃德寬 (Hefei: Anhui daxue, 2008), 421–28. This essay was also published online at www.guoxue.com/magzine/xuedeng/xdoo8/xdoo8_10.htm, as part of the 2008 issue of *Xuedeng* 學燈 (accessed on April 2, 2020). A revised version was subsequently printed under the title "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu shijie"《馬王堆帛書「物則有形」圖試解》, in Cao's *Chudi chutu wenxian yu Xian-Qin sixiang yanjiu* 楚地出土文獻與先秦思想研究 (Taipei: Taiwan shufang, 2010), 32–45. This version was later republished under the same title in Cao's *Jinnian chutu Huang-Lao sixiang wenxian yanjiu* 近年出土黃老思想文獻研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue, 2015), 442–54.

9. Dong Shan 董珊, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo" 馬王堆帛書「物則有形」圖與道家應物學說, *Wenshi* 2012.2, 31–40.

10. Huang Ru-xuan 黃儒宣, '*Rishu*' *tuxiang yanjiu*「日書」圖像研究 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2013), 101–2.

11. See *Jicheng*, vol. 1, 167–70 for the color photographs and vol. 4, 217–21 for Dong Shan's introduction and annotated transcriptions. Dong's introduction is based on his 2012 article cited above. *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 217 reproduces the drawing as originally published in Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 40.

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Figure 1 Photograph of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript (*Jicheng*, vol. 1, 167).

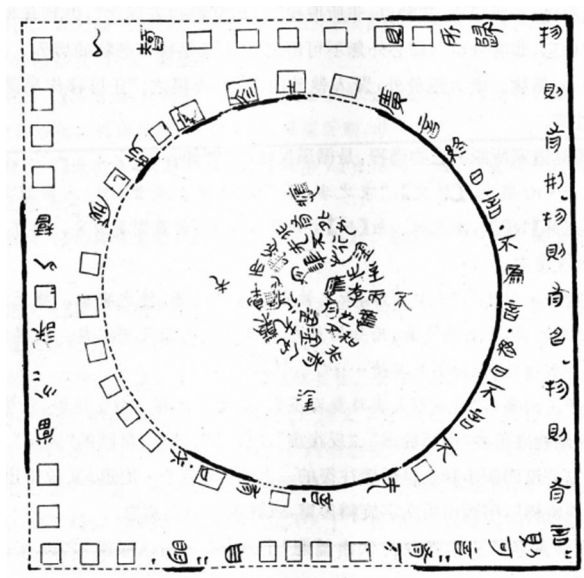


Figure 2 Drawing of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript (Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 40).

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translations of its contents, a consideration of its philosophical context, and a thoroughgoing analysis of its design. In the process, I show that the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript was not merely a convenient surface or carrier for recording an important philosophical text but a material artifact in its own right,[12] one that immersed its readers and users in the cosmological logic of Western Han thought by facilitating multisensory engagement with the patterns and structures of the cosmos,[13] guiding them in their cultivation of the sensitivity required to perceive patterns and manipulate signs correctly.[14]

Codicological Features

The two-tier case in which the manuscript was stored inside the coffin is rectangular in shape, measuring roughly 59.8 cm in length, 36.8 cm in width, and 21.2 cm in height.[15] The upper tier of the case contained some silk ribbons and a bundle of silk textiles, while the bottom tier was divided into five compartments: a long, narrow "through compartment" (*tongge* 通格) that runs the entire length of the case, and four shorter, wider compartments of different dimensions.[16] Some of the medical manuscripts made of bamboo and wood, as well as three silk

12. As we will see, it is important to observe a distinction between text and manuscript in order to grasp the various ways in which documents like the **Wu ze you xing tu* articulated and transmitted powerful messages using non- or extra-linguistic visual strategies.

13. Cosmology is a broad term that has been used in different ways, and precise definitions vary. For a recent definition of cosmology as "the study of the ordering principles of the universe, whether in regard to space, time, matter, energy, karma, cyclic rebirth, or otherwise," see Eric Huntington, *Creating the Universe: Depictions of the Cosmos in Himalayan Buddhism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 9. See also the definition of cosmos as "the world or universe as an ordered and harmonious system" in the *Oxford English Dictionary* at "cosmos, n.1," OED Online. March 2020. Oxford University Press.

14. We cannot be sure when the manuscript was manufactured, nor when the text on it was originally formulated, with 168 B.C.E. (the date when Li Xi was buried) serving as the only *terminus ante quem*. Many of the Mawangdui silk texts were evidently copied during the Qin 秦 dynasty (221–206 B.C.E.) judging by their script style and the observance (or lack thereof) of taboos. However, given the calligraphic style of the writing on the manuscript (see below), the text was likely copied in the early Western Han.

15. Measurements given in different publications vary slightly. These figures are taken from *Jicheng*, vol. 1, 3. Compare the measurements given in *Baogao*, 155 (59 cm in length, 37.5 cm in width, and 21 cm in height) and Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (London: Kegan Paul, 1998), 15 (60 cm in length, 30 cm in width, 20 cm in height).

16. See *Baogao*, 156 for a black and white drawing of the case and its compartments, and plate 77 for a black and white photograph. A color photograph of the case appears at *Noble Tombs at Mawangdui: Art and Life of the Changsha Kingdom, Third Century BCE to*

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manuscripts, had been rolled for storage inside this through compartment. The rest of the silk manuscripts, including the **Wu ze you xing tu*, were found folded and stacked inside the largest of the case's compartments.[17] This compartment having taken on water, the manuscripts in the stack had become wet and compacted, forming a sort of "muddy brick" (*nizhuan* 泥磚).[18]

The most recent reconstruction of the manuscript was completed by Chen Songchang and Chen Jian 陳劍.[19] Although the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript is fairly badly damaged (particularly on its left-hand side), with significant portions of text now missing, enough remains to make the layout of its contents relatively clear. The manuscript originally measured approximately 24 cm square and had been folded in half once before it was placed inside the case,[20] producing ink imprints (*yinwen* 印文) of some of the characters on the bottom half of the manuscript on the top half of the silk. In addition, the bottom half of the manuscript also contains imprinted characters (around eleven columns in total) from the second **Wushi'er bingfang* 五十二病方 (Recipes for fifty-two ailments) silk manuscript.[21] As currently

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First Century CE 馬王堆漢墓: 古長沙國的藝術和生活 (Changsha: Yuelu, 2008), 87, a bilingual exhibition volume published by the Hunan Provincial Museum.

17. The *juan* 絹 silk used for the Mawangdui manuscripts was manufactured by weaving thin strands of silk together tightly in a plain (*pingwen* 平紋) or tabby formation, its lightness and durability making it particularly suitable for use as a writing surface. See Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu de chaoben tezheng" 馬王堆帛書的抄本特徵, *Hunan daxue xuebao* 21.5 (2007), 21–22 and Chen Songchang, *Boshu shihua*, 5. See also Zhang Xiancheng 張顯成, *Jianbo wenxianxue tonglun* 簡帛文獻學通論 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2004), 109–10.

18. This muddy stack of manuscripts measured roughly 22 cm long, 16 cm wide, and 8 cm thick. See Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'kongbai ye' ji xiangguan wenti" 馬王堆帛書"空白頁"及相關問題, *Wenwu* 2008.5, 75.

19. Dong Shan follows this reconstruction in both his 2012 essay and his contribution to the 2014 publication of the Mawangdui manuscripts cited above.

20. Chen Jian 陳劍, "Mawangdui boshu 'yinwen,' kongbai ye he chenye ji zhedie qingkuang zongshu" 馬王堆帛書'印文,' 空白頁和襯頁及折疊情況綜述, in *Jinian Mawangdui Hanmu fajue sishi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji*, ed. Hunan sheng bowuguan, 303 improves upon the previous estimate of the manuscript's dimensions of 24 cm by 20 cm offered by Chen Songchang and followed by Dong Shan.

21. See Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 31–32. According to the reconstruction of the two silk manuscripts that carry the **Wushi'er bingfang* text completed first by Kosoto Hiroshi 小曾戶等, Hasebe Eiichi 長谷部英一, and Machi Senjuro 町泉壽郎, and later confirmed by Hirose Kunio 廣瀨薰雄, the two manuscripts were placed back to back with the writing on each manuscript facing outwards. Then, the first silk manuscript, which was facing upwards, was folded in on itself by folding the second silk manuscript, which was underneath and facing downwards, upwards along the horizontal access. The manuscript was then folded concertina (*jingzhezhuang de xingshi* 經折裝的形式) or

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oriented, the imprints from the *Wushi'er bingfang* manuscript are visible beginning in the lower right of the manuscript, extending in vertical columns that run parallel to the manuscript's bottom edge into the lower left of the manuscript.[22]

The portions of text from the *Wushi'er bingfang* manuscript that have been imprinted onto the *Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript belong to a section of silk that was on the outside of the manuscript after it was folded for storage. The fact that the orientations of these imprinted graphs have not been reversed or flipped on the surface of the silk means they can only have been formed by the *Wushi'er bingfang* manuscript being placed on top of the *Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript, with the ink seeping from the outward-facing section of text on the *Wushi'er bingfang* through the verso side of the *Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript and onto the recto side.[23] If the published orientation of the *Wu ze you xing tu* is correct, then it was evidently rotated at some point before it was placed inside the case, since the imprints from the *Wushi'er bingfang* manuscript are oriented perpendicular to the vertical axis of the *Wu ze you xing tu*. Chen Jian states that either the *Wu ze you xing tu* was first folded from top to bottom and then rotated counterclockwise 90 degrees before it was stored inside the case, with the *Wushi'er bingfang* manuscript placed on top of it, or the manuscript was folded from left to right after it was rotated.[24]

Of course, it is also possible that the *Wushi'er bingfang* manuscript and not the *Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript was rotated 90 degrees before it was placed inside the case, thereby creating perpendicular imprints from the *Wushi'er bingfang* on the surface of the silk of the lower section of the *Wu ze you xing tu*. However, given that the writing on the *Wushi'er

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so-called "accordion style." See Kosoto Hiroshi, Hasebe Eiichi, and Machi Senjuro, *Gojūni byōhō* 五十二病方 (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 2007), iii–x; Hirose Kunio, "'Wushi'er bingfang' de chongxin zhengli yu yanjiu" 《五十二病方》的重新整理與研究, *Wenshi* 2012.2, 44; *Jicheng*, vol. 5, 213–14; and Chen Jian's comments cited in *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 217–18. Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 31 notes that some of the imprints on the left-hand side of the top half of the manuscript allow us to supply graphs for the missing text on the left-hand side of the bottom half of the silk. Dong further notes that while there are also imprints on the right-hand side of the top half of the manuscript, these are less helpful for reconstructing missing portions of text since the right-hand sections of the bottom half of the silk remain relatively intact.

22. See Chen Jian, "Mawangdui boshu 'yinwen,' kongbai ye he chenye ji zhedie qingkuang zongshu," 303.

23. See *Jicheng*, vol. 5, 217 and Chen Jian, "Mawangdui boshu 'yinwen,' kongbai ye he chenye ji zhedie qingkuang zongshu," 285–87, 303–4.

24. Chen Jian, "Mawangdui boshu 'yinwen,' kongbai ye he chenye ji zhedie qingkuang zongshu," 304.

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bingfang manuscript was done in twin-facing sets of vertical columns,[25] it is far more likely (again, if the published orientation of the manuscript is correct) that the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript was rotated before it was placed inside the case. Alternatively, it is possible that whoever folded the manuscript did not consider the published orientation of the manuscript to be the correct one, and simply took the manuscript (which was orientated 90 degrees counterclockwise relative to its published orientation), folded it from left to right, and placed it inside the case.[26] Indeed, it is possible that because of its design the **Wu ze you xing tu* was never intended to be read following a fixed orientation.[27] Unfortunately, we do not know which manuscripts (if any) were stored on top of or underneath these two manuscripts, only that the **Wushi'er bingfang* manuscript seems to have been placed directly on top of the **Wu ze you xing tu*. Efforts to reconstruct precisely the way in which the **Wu ze you xing tu* was placed inside the case are frustrated by the fact that no reliable records exist of the procedures by which leaves of silk were removed from the muddy, fused stack of manuscripts after it was excavated.[28]

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25. The writing on each of the **Wushi'er bingfang* manuscripts was done in two registers. The first register consisted of columns of text extending vertically from the top edge of the manuscript to the mid-section of the silk. These vertical columns were arranged side by side so that the writing filled up the entire top half of the silk. The second register consisted of columns of text arranged in mirror image to the first register. Thus, whichever register of text was being read, the manuscripts would have needed to be oriented such that the columns in the register in question could be read vertically from top to bottom, not from right to left.

26. Indeed, Chen notes that most of the half-width (*banfu* 半幅) silk manuscripts from Mawangdui (i.e., those with a width of ca. 24 cm) were folded from left to right rather than from top to bottom. However, the orientation of the writing that appears in a vertical column parallel to the right edge of the manuscript as currently oriented follows the vertical warp thread of the silk, which is consistent with the way writing was done on most of the half-width manuscripts from Mawangdui. See Chen Jian, "Mawangdui boshu 'yinwen,' kongbai ye he chenye ji zhedie qingkuang zongshu," 304.

27. For a similar observation with regard to the famous Warring States Chu silk manuscript, see Li, "The Zidanku Silk Manuscripts," 261.

28. Chen Jian, "Mawangdui boshu 'yinwen,' kongbai ye he chenye ji zhedie qingkuang zongshu," 315 offers a reconstruction of the sequence in which some of the Mawangdui silk manuscripts were placed inside the case based on imprints, concluding that there was apparently no thematic or generic connection between adjacent manuscripts in the stack. However, as the reports provided by some of those who carried out this work make clear, the lack of a systematic, properly documented procedure for removing silk leaves from the muddy manuscript stack has forever closed off the possibility of accurately reconstructing the sequence in which the manuscripts were placed inside the case. For interviews with some of the people involved, see Hunan sheng bowuguan, ed., *Mawangdui Hanmu fajue yu wenwu zhengli baohu qinlizhe fangtan lu* 馬王堆漢墓發掘與文物整理保護親歷者訪談錄 (Changsha: Hunan renmin, 2014). I would like to thank one of the anonymous readers of this article for bringing this volume to my attention.

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Chen Jian further notes that the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript, like the **Muren zhan* 木人占 (Divination using wooden figurines) and **Jiu zhu tu* 九主圖 (Chart on the nine rulers) manuscripts (see below), seems to have fragmented along old crease lines that pre-existed those formed when the manuscript was folded for storage inside the case. It seems that the manuscript was originally folded twice from top to bottom before it was folded a further two times from left to right, with the crease lines thereby produced leading to the manuscript's disintegration into sixteen principal fragments.[29] This would seem to suggest that at least some of the Mawangdui silk manuscripts were routinely folded when not in use above ground. Furthermore, the fact that when folded in this manner the manuscript would have measured just 6 cm square may suggest that it was sometimes stored or carried inside a small space. Certainly, the fact that the central layer of text on the manuscript measures just a few inches wide suggests that the document was not intended for display purposes but to be seen and examined up-close.

The writing on the manuscript was done in black ink in what appears to be an early form of the Han clerical (*Hanli* 漢隸) script style, with the text displayed in three layers. In the very center of the manuscript is a cluster of text almost entirely intact, with the graphs arranged in a dense spiral. This section of text has to be read starting in the center and proceeding outwards in a clockwise direction. Three characters out of what was almost certainly originally a four-character phrase are arranged at the cardinal points around this central spiral of text. Together, these two sections constitute the first, innermost layer of text. The second layer of text must also be read following a clockwise direction, though roughly half its contents (on the left-hand side) are missing. This portion of text is arranged in a circle around the outside of a ring drawn in blue-green (*qing* 青) ink that surrounds the first layer of text. The orientation of the graphs is such that the text curves around the outside of the ring. The third and outermost layer of text is displayed within the borders of a square drawn in red ink, with the square surrounding the spiral within a ring.[30] This square section of text must also be read in a clockwise direction, though it is very badly damaged, and the graphs are displayed such that their vertical axis runs parallel to the lines of the square.

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29. Chen Jian, "Mawangdui boshu 'yinwen,' kongbai ye he chenye ji zhedie qingkuang zongshu," 302, 305.

30. There is a small red ink spot located at the top of the manuscript outside the line used to form the red square that encompasses the first two layers of text. Though it is impossible to exclude definitively the possibility that this mark originally formed part of the manuscript's design, it seems more likely that the spot was produced by ink dripping from the brush used to draw the red square.

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Annotated Translation

As previously stated, the first layer of text on the **Wu ze you xing tu* is located at the very center of the manuscript, and the first portion of the text in this layer is arranged in a tightly packed spiral formation that reads as follows:[31]

§ 1 應於淦 (感)，[32] 行於諀 (誰=推)，[33]心之李 (理)[34] 也。 不[35]淦 (感) 无應

31. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. However, my translations of the contents of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript have benefitted greatly from the suggestions made by the two anonymous readers of this article. The translations of the second and third layers of text on the manuscript reflect the text as it is currently orientated in the official publications (see above).

32. Characters in parentheses are used to note the word the preceding graph is being used to write. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 82–83, contends that the graph *gan* 淦 is being used to write *gan* 榦 (tree trunk), which he believes is an abbreviated form of the term *henggan* 恆榦 (the eternal trunk), a binome that appears in some of the texts on the **Laozi B* 老子乙本 manuscript from Mawangdui. Cao Feng, "Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' yuanquan nei wenzi xinjie," 423–24 offers an alternative interpretation of the word written by this graph as *yin* 陰 (shade or darkness). Cheng Shaoxuan 程少軒 also follows this reading; see the citation at Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 32, n. 4. More recently Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 32–33, has argued convincingly on phonological and intertextual grounds that the graph in fact writes *gan* 感 (to stimulate, move, or rouse). Dong points out that the graphic components 金 (as it appears in 淦) and 咸 (as it appears in 感) were phonetically close, with the hexagram equivalent to 咸 in the transmitted version of the *Zhou Yi* 周易 (Book of Changes) written as 欽 in the Mawangdui version of that text, and the binome 咸池 twice written as 淦池 on the **Yinyang wuxing A* 陰陽五行甲 (Yin and Yang and the Five Phases, manuscript A) from Mawangdui. William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart offer Old Chinese reconstructions for 金 *k(r)[əə]m and 咸 *[g]ˤr[əə]m in Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese Reconstruction, version 1.1 (2014) available at http://ocbaxtersagart.lsait.lsa.umich.edu/BaxterSagartOCbyMandarinMC2014-09-20.pdf (accessed on March 24, 2020).

33. Cao Feng, "Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' yuanquan nei wenzi xinjie," 423 argues that this graph, left untranscribed by Chen Songchang, is *xu* 虛 (emptiness) based on graphic resemblance and the connection between *xu* and *yin* (see n. 32 above). However, Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 33, identifies the graph as *shei* 誰, which he argues is being used to write *tui* 推 (to push), consistent with usage in some of the other Mawangdui manuscripts.

34. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 83, reads *li* 李 as writing *li* 理 (pattern, order, principle), citing an instance of similar usage in the **Jiu zhu* 九主 text from Mawangdui (see below). Cao Feng, "Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' yuanquan nei wenzi xinjie," 423–24, agrees with Chen's reading and cites further examples of such usage among the Mawangdui manuscripts. Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 33, provides yet more examples and glosses the graph's meaning in this context as equivalent to *daoli* 道理 (principle).

35. Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 34, acknowledges that the graphs *bu* 不 and *shei* 誰 in the second sentence

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(應)， 諀 (誰＝推) 无不行。 淦 (感) 至[36]而應 (應)和，非有入[37]也；蔡 (察)[38] 解[39]而忘，[40] 非有外也。

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of this passage are rather hard to decipher. However, the visible components of these two graphs appear to match the forms used to write them elsewhere on the manuscript.

36. Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 34, associates this use of *ganzhi* 感至 with the phrase *gan hu zhi* 感忽至 as it appears in the "Jingcheng" 精城 (Pure Sincerity) chapter of the *Wenzi* 文子 (Wang Liqi 王利器, *Wenzi shuyi* 文子疏義 [Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000], 98) and the "Miucheng" 繆稱 (Erroneous Designations) chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (He Ning 何寧, *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋 [Beijing: Zhonghua, 1998], 713). For the problems involved in interpreting this latter chapter title, see n. 60 below.

37. The meaning of this section is rather unclear. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 83, citing the glosses of the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, asserts that *ru* 入 (lit. "to enter") is functionally equivalent to *nei* 內 (lit. "inside," "internal"), which he contrasts with the graph *wai* 外 (lit. "outside," "external") that appears later in the passage. Citing the "Tianxia" 天下 (All Under Heaven) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 ("That which is so ultimately large as to have nothing outside it is called the great unity; that which is so ultimately small as to have nothing inside it is called the small unity" 至大無外, 謂之大一; 至小無內, 謂之小一) (Wang Xianqian 王先謙 and Liu Wu 劉武, *Zhuangzi jijie*, *Zhuangzi jijie neipian buzheng* 莊子集解 莊子集解內篇補正 [Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987], 296), Chen interprets this passage to mean that if one's responses are harmoniously matched when stimulated there will be no "inside," and if one investigates, understands, but ultimately forgets external forms (see below) there will be no "outside." However, Cao Feng, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu shijie," 37, states that Chen's argument about *ru* being equivalent to *nei* in opposition to *wai* is illogical. Instead, Cao cites a passage from the first "Xinshu" 心術 (Techniques of the Mind) chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 to support his argument that the passage explains the workings of *yin*; that is, one should always react harmoniously rather than acting assertively or proactively. Cao thus understands *ru* here to mean something like "forced entry." Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 34 agrees with Cao that *ru* is not functionally equivalent to *nei*. However, Dong understands this passage about *ru* and *wai* to mean that when the heart responds harmoniously to what rouses it, what enters from outside does not continue to dwell in the heart. In other words, Dong argues (citing a passage from the "Miucheng" chapter of the *Huainanzi* [*Huainanzi jishi*, 10.721]), the heart is made complete or satisfied by itself and not as a result from interaction with external things.

38. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 83, states that *cai* 蔡 is a "mistranscription" (*exie* 訛寫) of *cha* 察, citing a similar instance in the **Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions) medical text from Mawangdui.

39. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 83, acknowledges that the graph *jie* 解 sometimes appears as a variant for *xie* 懈 (in the sense of *xiedai* 懈怠, "lazy"), and that such usage is observed elsewhere in the Mawangdui manuscripts. However, Chen argues that the binome *chajie* 察解 should be understood here in its basic sense of "inspect and analyze" (*jicha fenxi* 稽察分析).

40. Cao Feng, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu shijie," 37–38, acknowledges that the meaning of this passage is somewhat unclear, but observes that there are many statements in the transmitted literature about the need to "forget" (*wang* 忘) external (*wai* 外) things or preoccupations. Certainly, Cao contends, the object of the forgetting in this passage is that which is external. Cao cites examples from the "Daoying" 道應

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> Responding when stimulated, proceeding when pushed, this is the patterning of the heart. Unstimulated, there is no response; when pushed it never fails to proceed. When stimulation arrives and the response harmonizes it is not a case of bringing something inside. Investigating, understanding, and then forgetting, it is not a case of putting something outside.

As previously stated, the second section of the first layer of text takes the form of three graphs (originally surely four) oriented in the cardinal positions around the outside of this central text spiral: "Unstimulated, there is no response" □ (不)[41] 淦 (感) 无應 (應). Indeed, the fact that this four-character phrase from the central spiral of text is repeated around the outside of the spiral suggests that it may represent the core philosophical message of the manuscript, or at least of this layer of text.[43]

(Responses of the Way) chapter of the *Huainanzi*, which talks about "obtaining the refined essence and forgetting the crude dross, examining what is internal and forgetting what is external" (得其精而忘其粗, 在其內而忘其外) (*Huainanzi jishi*, 862), and the "Waiwu" 外物 (External Things) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, which famously talks about the need to forget words (*yan* 言) once the sense (*yi* 意) has been obtained (*de* 得), just as men focus on the fish and the hares rather than the traps and snares used to catch them (*Zhuangzi jijie*, 244). Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 34, understands this section to mean that we should examine and understand the external things that stimulate our heart, and then forget them. In this way, according to Dong's reading of the passage, there will be no external thing that we cannot properly understand. Though words and names are not actually listed as one of these "externals," it is likely, given the other layers of text on the manuscript (see below), that they were one of the intended referents. Indeed, this theme is treated elsewhere in the Mawangdui corpus: the *Shiliu jing* 十六經 (Sixteen Canons) text on the **Laozi B* manuscript, for example, addresses the need to "examine names and investigate forms" (*shen ming cha xing* 審名察形); see *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 172.

41. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 82, supplies *xing* 行 for this missing graph, an argument refuted by Cao Feng, "Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' yuanquan nei wenzi xinjie," 424, who claims that it is in fact *xu* 虛 (see n. 33 above). Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 35, and *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 220–21, however, note that the first graph in this four-character phrase is almost certainly *bu* 不, since this sequence of graphs appears also in the manuscript's central spiral of text.

42. Cao Feng, "Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' yuanquan nei wenzi xinjie," 424, notes that there appears to be a second graph accompanying *ying* 應, and that this graph has a different orientation. While Cao thinks it strange that Chen Songchang makes no mention of this additional graph, Cao Feng, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu shijie," 38–39, mentions that, after consulting with Chen, they have concluded that this additional graph is in fact an imprint.

43. One of the anonymous readers of this article even suggests that this phrase would be a more fitting title for the manuscript than its current designation, four characters that seem to have been selected more or less at random from the text.

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In addition to providing transcriptions and interpretations of the three layers of text on the *Wu ze you xing tu, Chen Songchang, Cao Feng, and Dong Shan have all noticed similarities between the ideas and terminology deployed in the text of the manuscript and the language and philosophical discourse explored in texts from the late Warring States 戰國 (c. 475–221 B.C.E.) and Qin-Han 秦漢 (221 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) eras.[44] Texts that include similar statements to those found in the central layer of text, which is primarily concerned with responses (*ying* 應) to external stimuli (*gan* 感), as well as how to act or proceed (*xing* 行) when pushed (*tui* 推), include the "Keyi" 刻意 (Ingrained ideas) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, which describes how a sage (*shengren* 聖人) "responds only when stimulated, moves only when compelled, and rises only when he has no alternative" 感而後應, 迫而後動, 不得已而後起.[45] Similarly, the "Yuandao" 原道 (Primacy of the way) chapter of the *Huainanzi* states that a person acting in accordance with the "great *dao*" (*dadao* 大道) "responds only when compelled and moves only when stimulated; he is limitlessly faint and profound and changes without form or image. Leisurely, carefree, and fully flexible, he is like an echo responding to objects in the world" 迫則能應, 感則能動, 物 (汐 ?) 穆無窮, 變無形像, 優游委縱, 如響之與景.[46] The "Jingshen" 精神 (Quintessential spirit) chapter of the same text goes on to describe how the "true man" (*zhenren* 真人) "responds only when stimulated, moves only when compelled, and advances only when he has no alternative. Like the illumination of light and the shadow cast by objects, he takes the *dao* as his model and acts only in response" 感而應, 迫而動, 不得已而往, 如光之耀, 如景之放 (效 ?), 以道為紃, 有待而然.[47] Finally, the "Ziran" 自然 (Spontaneity) chapter of the *Wenzi* quotes Laozi 老子 (Master Lao) as saying that "what is meant by no forced action is not that one does not come when pulled, or does not depart when pushed, or that one does not respond when

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The readability of the four-character phrase (with the first character likely intended to appear either in the Northern or Eastern cardinal positions) could be used to support either the published orientation of the manuscript or an orientation achieved by rotating the manuscript ninety degrees counterclockwise (see above).

44. Many of the texts discussed below are examined in Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan"; Cao Feng, "Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' yuanquan nei wenzi xinjie"; Cao Feng, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu shijie"; and Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo."

45. *Zhuangzi jijie*, 133. The same phrase (*gan er hou ying* 感而後應) appears in the first "Xinshu" chapter of the *Guanzi*. See Li Xiangfeng 黎翔鳳, *Guanzi jiaozhu* 管子校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2004), 776.

46. *Huainanzi jishi*, 64–65.

47. *Huainanzi jishi*, 522–23.

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compelled or not move when stimulated, being blocked up without flowing or curling up without spreading out" 所謂無為者, 非謂其引之不來, 推之不去, 迫而不應, 感而不動, 堅滯而不流, 卷握而不散.[48]

The central layer of text on the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript, then, participates in a philosophical discourse that has also been preserved in other texts from the same era, including some of those from Mawangdui.[49] Action, according to these texts, should not be forced or contrived but must follow naturally and spontaneously from a person's encounters with the world. Acting in this way, in concert with the vicissitudes of the world rather than against its grain, is, according to the text of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript, the way in which one's heart is patterned or ordered (*li* 理).

The second layer of text on the manuscript is wrapped around the outside of the blue-green ring that surrounds the spiral at the center of the manuscript, and reads:

> §2 終日言.，[50] 不為言.， 終日不言.，不□[為][51] 无言.， □有□., 必□ □ □ □ □ □ □惰□故□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ 廣言 [.?]。
>
> Speaking all day is not speaking. Not speaking all day is not being speechless. … has … Necessarily … idleness … for this reason … expands speech.

One need not look far to identify texts that espouse similar views to those expressed in this second layer of text. Though it is rather badly damaged, we can tell from the surviving fragments that it addresses the issue of what constitutes proper and effective speech (*yan* 言), and the idea that a person can communicate successfully without using words—"speaking without speaking"—is a familiar refrain in certain corners of the received philosophical literature from the period. The

48. *Wenzi shuyi*, 368. Though the transmitted *Wenzi* likely postdates the Han, recent archaeological finds show that at least some of its contents were known already in late Western Han. For a recent study of both the excavated and transmitted versions of the text, see Paul van Els, *The* Wenzi*: Creativity and Intertextuality in Early Chinese Philosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

49. The "Cheng" 稱 ("Declarations") text on the **Laozi B* manuscript from Mawangdui, for example, states that "the *dao* is without beginnings, but has responses" 道無始而有應. See *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 127.

50. The text in this portion of the manuscript features black dots in-between certain characters, which are used to divide the text into clauses. The dots are represented in my transcription by a full stop in bold ("**.**").

51. Context tells us that this missing graph should be *wei* 為. Characters and dots in square brackets are used to note which characters or dots were likely written on the missing or damaged portions of silk, indicated by a □ symbol in the case of missing characters.

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Daode jing 道德經, for example, claims that "the sage manages affairs without engaging in forced action, and conveys his teachings without speaking" 聖人處無為之事, 行不言之教,[52] stating that "the edification of not speaking and the benefit of unforced action, there are few in the world who attain to these" 不言之教, 無為之益, 天下希及之.[53] Indeed, in the *Daode jing* we are told that "one who knows does not speak, and one who speaks does not know" 知者不言, 言者不知,[54] with the text going on to say that "it is the Way of Heaven to obtain victory without contending, to respond without speaking, and to have things come on their own without being summoned" 天之道, 不爭而善勝, 不言而善應, 不召而自來.[55] In a similar vein, the "Zhi bei you" 知北遊 (Knowledge rambling in the north) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* puts is succinctly when it says that "ultimate speech does away with speech, ultimate action does away with [forced] action" 至言去言, 至為去為,[56] and the "Yuyan" 寓言 (Lodged sayings) chapter of the same text famously states that "not speaking is evenness. Evenness and speech are uneven, and speech and evenness are uneven. For this reason, we say 'do not speak.' Speak without speaking. One may speak one's whole life without ever speaking, and one may be speechless one's whole life but never not speaking" 不言則齊, 齊與言不齊, 言與齊不齊也, 故曰無言. 言無言, 終身言, 未嘗言; 終身不言, 未嘗不言.[57]

The first "Xinshu" chapter of the *Guanzi* also extols the merits of speechless speech, contending that "speaking without speaking is responding" 不言之言, 應也,[58] and, in a memorable turn of phrase, the second "Xinshu" chapter has it that "speech that is not spoken is heard louder than a thunderclap" 不言之言, 聞於雷鼓.[59] In addition, the "Miucheng"[60] chapter of the *Huainanzi* says "for this reason the use of speech is manifestly insignificant, whereas the use of non-speech is vastly significant" 故言之用者, 昭昭乎小哉. 不言之用者, 曠曠乎大哉.[61]

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52. Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi* 老子道德經注校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2008), 6.
53. *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi*, 120.
54. *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi*, 147.
55. *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi*, 181–82.
56. *Zhuangzi jijie*, 195.
57. *Zhuangzi jijie*, 246.
58. *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 771.
59. *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 783.
60. The precise meaning of this chapter title is unclear. For a discussion of the various interpretations of this title, and a rendering of it as *mou cheng* ("Profound Precepts"), see John S. Major, Sarah A. Queen, Andrew Seth Meyer, and Harold D. Roth, trans. and eds., *The* Huainanzi: *A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 342–43.
61. *Huainanzi jishi*, 718.

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Despite the fragmentary condition of this portion of the manuscript, then, the text appears to say that there are ways of communicating or speaking (*yan*) that are both more appropriate and effective than conventional speech (also *yan*), and a similar distrust for certain kinds of inauthentic speech is recorded in numerous philosophical texts—both transmitted and excavated—from the period.[62]

The third, outermost layer of text is written around the outside of the red square that surrounds the first two layers of text on the manuscript, and reads:

§ 3 物則有刑 (形) -，[63] 物則有名 -，物則有言=(言) 則可言=(言) 有 □ [所?] □ □ □ □ □ [自?]=(自?) 明[64] - □ □ □ □ □ 當分=(分)[65] 誅 (謀?) □ 以智 □ □ □ □ 以智□ □ □ □ 員 (實?) □ 所歸。

Things have forms; things have names; things have [ways of being put into] speech. Having [ways of being put into] speech, it is possible to

62. Again, the **Laozi B* manuscript furnishes us with more examples. The *Shiliu jing*, for example, expresses a concern for the proper relationship between speech (*yan*) and action (*xing*) (*Jicheng*, vol. 4, 169–70), while the *Jingfa* 經法 (Constancy of Laws) warns that speech (*yan*) that does harm (*hai* 害) is untrustworthy (*bu xin* 不信) (*Jicheng*, vol. 4, 127). Surely the most famous articulation of the idea that language (whether spoken or written) might not transmit ideas fully is to be found in the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Phrases) commentary to the *Zhou Yi*, which quotes Kongzi 孔子 as saying that "Writing does not exhaust [the meaning that resides in] words, and words do not exhaust [the meaning that resides in] thoughts. This being so, is it the case that the thoughts of the sages cannot be perceived?" The Master [i.e., Kongzi] said, "Sages set up figures (*xiang* 象) in order to exhaust thoughts and established the hexagrams (*gua* 卦) in order to capture exhaustively the real circumstances and the false" 書不盡言, 言不盡意. 然則聖人之意, 其不可見乎.」子曰:「聖人立象以盡意, 設卦以盡情僞. See Li Daoping 李道平, *Zhouyi jijie zuanshu* 周易集結纂疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2004), 609.

63. In this section of the manuscript, single horizontal black marks (represented in my transcription by a hyphen ["-"]) are used to mark divisions within the text. Two horizontal lines arranged one over the other are also used in this portion of text to indicate that the last graph in the previous clause is to be repeated as the first graph in the following clause, which is left unwritten. Thus, 物則有言=則可言 is equivalent to 物則有言, 言則可言. In my transcription I have rendered these reduplication marks using 'equals' signs ("=").

64. Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 31 notes that we can supply *zi* 自 as the last missing graph before the reduplication mark in this line based on the imprint of this passage made in the top left-hand corner of the manuscript.

65. Though its precise meaning in this passage is unclear, Chen Jian notes that the term *fen* 分 (division, separation, allotment) appears numerous times in the *Zhuangzi*. See Chen Jian's personal communication to Dong Shan cited at *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 220, n. 2 (the second note for the last register of text). One of the reviewers of this article suggests that the occurrence of *fen* 分 in the same passage as *ming* 名 could have something to do with the allotment (*fen*) of titles (*ming*). Unfortunately, the manuscript is too damaged here for us to speculate further.

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> speak about them [i.e. things]. Speech has … illuminating … match allotments, allotments conspire [?] … in order to know … in order to know … to where [substance?] … returns.

The third layer of text on the manuscript, which is concerned with the proper relationships between things (*wu* 物), forms (*xing* 形), names (*ming* 名), and speech (*yan*), similarly participates in a philosophical discourse that was apparently widespread during this period. Just as, according to the text of the **Wu ze you xing tu*, phenomenal things in the world naturally have their own forms and thus their own names and ways of speaking about them, the *Jingfa* 經法 (Constancy of laws) text on the **Laozi B* 老子乙本 manuscript from Mawangdui has it that "things create [their own] names, names and forms become fixed, and things spontaneously become corrected" 物則為名, 名形已定, 物自為正.[66] The same text also advocates examining names (*ming*) to ensure that their use is in accordance with their "order" or "pattern" (*li* 理).[67] According to this text, "if names and their referents are in harmony then there will be stability; if names and their referents are not in harmony then there will be conflict" 名實{不}相應則定, 名實不相應則靜 (= 爭).[68] The *Cheng* 稱 (Designations) text, also on the **Laozi B* manuscript, similarly states that things (*wu*) are preceded by their forms (*xing*), thereby making it necessary to engage with things according to their proper forms and names.[69] And the *Hengxian* 恆先 (The primordial state of constancy) manuscript from the looted Shanghai Museum corpus also expresses a concern for the origins of names (*ming*) and speech (*yan*).[70]

Similar statements regarding the relationships between things, forms, and names can also be found in the transmitted literature from the period. The first "Xinshu" chapter of the *Guanzi*, for example, states that "things have fixed forms, and forms have fixed names. [He who] matches names is called a sage. For this reason, it is necessary to understand how to engage in not speaking and unforced action. Only

66. *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 127.

67. *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 147.

68. *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 141. Hirose Kunio notes that, judging by the context, the first *bu* 不 in this passage seems to be a copyist's error. See *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 142, n. 31 for Hirose's comments.

69. *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 175.

70. "Material existence emerges from space; life emerges from material existence; sounds emerge from life; speech emerges from sounds; names emerge from speech, endeavors emerge from names" 有出於域,生出於有,音出於生,言出於音,名出於言, 事出於名. Translation taken from Erica F. Brindley, Paul R. Goldin, and Esther S. Klein, "A Philosophical Translation of the *Heng Xian*," *Dao* 12.2 (2013), 148. For a detailed discussion of all the possible ways of understanding the manuscript's title, see 146, n. 2 in that article.

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then can one understand the regulation of the *dao*" 物固有形, 形固有名, 名當謂之聖人. 故必知不言, 無為之事, 然後知道之紀.[71] The same chapter also goes on to say that "names are the means by which sages regulate things" 名者, 聖人之所以紀物也.[72] Similarly, the second "Xinshu" chapter states that "All things come bearing names, when sages make decisions based on these [names] all under Heaven is brought to order" 凡物載名而來, 聖人因而財 (裁) 之, 而天下治,[73] and the "Baixin" 白心 (Purifying the heart) chapter of the same text says "Therefore the sage achieves order by quieting his body and waiting; when things arrive he names them and automatically brings order to them" 是以聖人之治也, 靜身以待之, 物之而名自治之.[74]

Despite the serious damage to this portion of the manuscript, then, at least part of its basic message is relatively clear. All things (*wu*) have corresponding forms (*xing*), names (*ming*), and ways of talking (*yan*) about them, and it is important to understand the ways in which these elements are properly matched (*dang* 當).[75] Certainly, the dangerous consequences resulting from discrepancies between names and their referents was a major theme in the philosophy that survives from this period, and it was widely believed that inappropriate uses of names and disingenuous speech could do serious damage to the social and political order.[76]

To sum up: the three layers of text on the manuscript represent an integrated philosophical statement regarding the heart's responses to stimuli and the relationships between things, forms, and spoken

71. *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 764, 771.
72. *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 776.
73. *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 778–79.
74. *Guanzi jiaozhu*, 789.
75. To say that things innately have forms, names, and ways of speaking about them is not, however, necessarily to say that these attributes are fixed and unchanging. Indeed, Jane Geaney has argued that early Chinese thinkers thought of names not as individual units that gained meaning from their relation to other units in a closed, abstract system of "language," but rather as entities that gained their meaning in relation to extralinguistic phenomena in a world susceptible to change. See Geaney, *Language as Bodily Practice in Early China: A Chinese Grammatology* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2018), 56–62.
76. For a recent overview of the early Chinese philosophical topos that posits an incongruity between names and their referents (*shi* 實 or *xing* 形), see Paul J. D'Ambrosio, Hans-Rudolf Kantor, and Hans-Georg Moeller, "Incongruent Names: A Theme in the History of Chinese Philosophy," *Dao* 17.3 (2018), 305–30. See also Jane Geaney, *On the Epistemology of the Senses in Early Chinese Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002); Geaney, "Grounding 'Language' in the Senses: What the Eyes and Ears Reveal About Ming 名 (Names) in Early Chinese Texts," *Philosophy East and West* 60.2 (2010), 251–93; and Geaney, *Language as Bodily Practice in Early China*.

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words. The text enjoins the reader to proceed in response to the world, rather than acting aggressively or assertively and thus in opposition to it. The heart is patterned (or ordered) in such a way that it responds harmoniously to phenomenal stimuli, reacting naturally in ways that preclude conflict with the world outside. Spoken words are effective means of communication only insofar as they match the names and forms that are naturally proper to things themselves, and one would sometimes do just as well not to say anything at all. Similar philosophical statements can be found in received and excavated texts that date to roughly the same period, and there is a particular resonance between the text on the manuscript and the *ganying* 感應 (stimulus and response) philosophy of the *Huainanzi*.[77] Indeed, the similarities between the two texts may suggest that the **Wu ze you xing tu* was likewise designed to benefit an aspiring political leader.

Iconography and Design

Having established the basic meaning of the surviving portions of text on the silk, it is necessary to clarify the relationship between the textual content and the manuscript's design. There was a longstanding tradition prior to the manufacture of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript of written documents designed (either in whole or in part) as "diagrams" or "charts" (*tu* 圖) featuring non-linear writing, with such documents designed to inculcate correctly calibrated modes of perception in those exposed to them.[78] Francesca Bray has argued that what distinguished *tu* documents from other non-linguistic forms of representation and communication such as *hua* 畫 (drawings or paintings) and *xiang* 象 (images or figures) was that *tu* was "a specialist term denoting only those graphic images or layouts which encoded technical knowledge" and served as "templates for action."[79] According to Bray, *tu* was a functional

77. Though the term *ganying* does not appear in the *Huainanzi* itself, the idea that a ruler must emulate a sage's ability to respond naturally and harmoniously to external stimuli is frequently raised throughout the text. See Major et al., *The* Huainanzi, 210. I thank one of the anonymous readers of this article for underscoring the relationship between these two texts.

78. Wolfgang Behr, "Placed into the Right Position—Etymological Notes on Tú 圖 and Congeners," in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*, ed. Bray et al., 109–34, provides an overview of the shifting meanings of the term *tu* in early China from the Western Zhou 西周 (c. 1046–771 B.C.E.) onwards. In Warring States and Han times, the term *tu* could also refer to maps.

79. See Francesca Bray, "Introduction: The Powers of *Tu*," in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*, ed. Bray et al., 2. See also 6–13 in that

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category rather than a stylistic one, comprising manuscripts that offered "spatial encodings (often but not necessarily two-dimensional) of factual information, structures, processes, and relationships, translating temporal or intellectual sequences into purely spatial terms" with the aim of moving the reader or viewer of the manuscript to higher levels of understanding and action.[80] Indeed, Bray argues that the three effects of *tu* manuscripts were "*communicative* (displaying information), *pedagogical* (inculcating understanding), and/or *transformative* (effecting cosmic or other changes through the very act of inscription)."[81]

I fully agree that certain texts in the *tu* format were designed not just to reflect or embody the way the world was configured, but also to engineer and facilitate correct modes of perceiving it. Indeed, the widespread use of *tu* documents and other non- or extra-linguistic systems of representation and communication reflects the fact that in late Warring States and Early Imperial China writing was not always considered capable of fully capturing or communicating the totality of the world, or the true nature of the phenomena within it.[82] It is partly for this reason that a number of the texts and diagrams discovered at Mawangdui make use of writing as patterned image, with non-linear text arranged into iconographic shapes and displayed in cosmologically charged colors. In contrast to the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript, however, which makes use of such design elements in order to immerse its readers in its own philosophical and cosmological logic, in each of these other cases the patterned writing was primarily intended to facilitate access

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piece for a handy overview of the state of the field of studies related to *tu* documents.

80. Bray, "Introduction: The Powers of *Tu*," 2–3. Similarly, Guolong Lai has translated *tu* as "diagram" based on the definition in Merriam-Webster: "a graphic design that explains rather than represents; especially a drawing that shows arrangement and relations (as of parts)." See Guolong Lai, "The Diagram of the Mourning System from Mawangdui," *Early China* 28 (2003), 44, n. 4.

81. Bray, "Introduction: The Powers of *Tu*," 4; emphasis in original. See also Donald Harper, "Communication by Design: Two Silk Manuscripts of Diagrams (*Tu*) From Mawangdui Tomb Three," in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*, ed. Bray et al., 172–73, and Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Spatial Composition of Ancient Chinese Texts (Preliminary Remarks)," in *History of Science, History of Text*, ed. Karine Chemla (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 3–47.

82. For detailed studies of how writing grew only gradually to prominence over the course of early Chinese history, see Michael Nylan, "Calligraphy: The Sacred Test and Text of Culture," in *Character & Context in Chinese Calligraphy*, ed. Cary Liu and Dora Ching (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), 17–77; Martin Kern, "Feature: *Writing and Authority in Early China*, by Mark Edward Lewis," *China Review International* 7.2 (2000), 336–76; Nylan, "Textual Authority in Pre-Han and Han," *Early China* 25 (2000), 205–58; and Kern, "Ritual, Text, and the Formation of the Canon: Historical Transitions of *Wen* in Early China," *T'oung Pao* 87.1–3 (2001), 43–91.

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to practical information or technical knowledge, allowing the readers of these texts to manipulate data so as to carry out divinatory procedures and visualize ritual prescriptions.

Other non-linear texts from Mawangdui that have been assigned to the *tu* category include the **Taiyin xingde dayou tu* 太陰刑德大游圖 (Chart on the greater journey of Taiyin and punishment and virtue) on the **Xingde A* 刑德甲 (Punishment and Virtue, manuscript A) and **Xingde B* 刑德乙 (Punishment and virtue, manuscript B) manuscripts;[83] the **Xingde xiaoyou tu* 刑德小游圖 (Chart on the lesser journey of punishment and virtue), also known as the **Jiugong tu* 九宮圖 (Chart on the nine palaces), on the **Xingde A*, **Xingde B*, **Xingde C* 刑德丙 (Punishment and virtue, manuscript C) and **Yinyang wuxing B* 陰陽五行乙 (Yin and Yang and the Five Phases, manuscript B) manuscripts;[84] the *Nanfang Yu cang* 南方禹臧 [= 藏] (Burial according to the principles of yu in the south) on the *Taichan shu* 胎產書 (Book of the generation of the fetus) manuscript;[85] and the **Sangfu tu* 喪服圖 (Diagram on mourning vestments).[86] All of these texts and manuscripts contain iconographic

83. The three **Xingde* manuscripts (A, B, and C) all contain texts and diagrams related to ritual divination. See *Jicheng*, vol. 1, 210–37 for color photographs of the manuscripts and vol. 5, 1–149 for detailed introductions and annotated transcriptions of their contents. See also Marc Kalinowski, "The *Xingde* 刑德Texts from Mawangdui," trans. Phyllis Brooks, *Early China* 23/24 (1998–99), 125–202, and Kalinowski, "Time, Space, and Orientation: Figurative Representations of the Sexagenary Cycle in Ancient and Medieval China," in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*, ed. Bray et al., 137–68.

84. The **Yinyang wuxing A* 陰陽五行甲 (Yin and Yang and the Five Phases, manuscript A) and **Yinyang wuxing B* also contain texts and charts related to ritual divination, and there is extensive overlap between the textual and graphic units on these manuscripts and those on the three **Xingde* manuscripts. See *Jicheng*, vol. 1, 238–81 for color photographs of the **Yinyang wuxing A* manuscript and vol. 2, 1–16 for color photographs of the **Yinyang wuxing B*. For introductions and annotated transcriptions, see *Jicheng*, vol. 5, 1–149.

85. See *Jicheng*, vol. 2, 138–40 for color photographs of this chart. For an introduction and transcriptions of the manuscript as a whole, see vol. 6, 93–102. For a translation of the manuscript, see Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 372–83.

86. For color photographs of the manuscript, see *Jicheng*, vol. 1, 70–73. For an introduction and annotated transcriptions, see vol. 3, 163–66. For a detailed study of the manuscript in English, see Lai, "The Diagram of the Mourning System from Mawangdui." For the different interpretations of the manuscript and how it relates to mourning procedures and familial structures, see also Cao Xuequn 曹學群, "Mawangdui Hanmu Sangfu tu jianlun" 馬王堆漢墓喪服圖簡論, *Hunan kaogu xuekan* 6 (1994), 225–29; Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, "Mawangdui boshu sangzhi tu suo ji sangfu zhidu kaolun" 馬王堆帛書喪制圖所記喪服制度考論, *Hunan sheng bowuguan guankan* 1 (2004), 178–80; Fan Zhijun 范志軍, "Handai boshu he huaxiangshi zhong suo jian sangfu tu yu xingsang tu" 漢代帛書和畫像石中所見喪服圖與行喪圖, *Wenbo* 2006.3, 85–87; Fan Zhijun and Jia Xuelan 賈學嵐, "Mawangdui Hanmu 'Sangfu tu' zai renshi"

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elements designed to represent cosmic structures and relationships and inculcate cosmically mandated modes of perception;[87] however, in each case the use of non-linear writing is predominantly functional, intended to facilitate the application or memorization of technical knowledge and information. Unlike these documents, the design of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript was not intended to make its contents easier to read or consult. Instead, the manuscript was designed in such a way as to reinforce the philosophical message of the text it was used to carry, forcing its viewers, readers, and users to move their eyes and bodies in certain ways, immersing them in the philosophical logic and cosmological patterns presented on the surface of the silk.

The cosmological iconography of the **Wu ze you xing tu*, with its presentation of text accompanied by a blue-green ring inside a red square, would have been instantly recognizable to all Western Han elites as a visual representation of Heaven and Earth. Heaven and Earth are described as round and square respectively in many texts that date to roughly this period,[88] including the "Yuejian" 說劍 (Delight in sword-fighting) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*,[89] the "Yuando" 圜道 (Cyclic way) and "Xuyi" 序意 (Postscript, also known as the "Xushuo" 序說) chapters of the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋,[90] the "Tianwen" and "Binglüe" 兵略 (Overview of military affairs) chapters of the *Huainanzi*,[91] and, most famously, the first volume of the *Zhoubi suanjing* 周髀算經 (Gnomon of the Zhou Dynasty and classic of calculation), which not only mentions "a round Heaven and a square Earth" (*tian yuan di fang* 天圓地方) but

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馬王堆漢墓《喪服圖》再認識, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 2006.3, 68–72; Wang Hui 王卉, "Mawangdui Hanmu 'Sangfu tu' yanjiu shuping" 馬王堆漢墓「喪服圖」研究述評, *Hunan sheng bowuguan guankan* 4 (2007), 51–55; Cheng Shaoxuan 程少軒, "Mawangdui Hanmu 'Sangfu tu' xintan" 馬王堆漢墓《喪服圖》新探, *Chutu wenxian yu guwenzi yanjiu* 6 (2015), 621–32; Hu Pingsheng, "Zai lun Mawangdui Hanmu boshu 'Sangfu tu'" 再論馬王堆漢墓帛書《喪服圖》in *Jinian Mawangdui Hanmu fajue sishi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji*, ed. Hunan sheng bowuguan, 373–83; and Lai Guolong 來國龍, "Mawangdui 'Sangfu tu' xukao" 馬王堆《喪服圖》續考, published online at the website of the "Center of Bamboo Silk Manuscripts of Wuhan University" 武漢大學簡帛研究中心 (www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=2634) (accessed on April 2, 2020).

87. For a detailed discussion of these manuscripts and their iconographic features, see Luke Waring, "Writing and Materiality in the Three Han Dynasty Tombs at Mawangdui," Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University, 2019), 325–47.

88. This belief would later come to be known as the "vaulted heaven theory" (*gaitian shuo* 蓋天說).

89. *Zhuangzi jijie*, 272. The title of this chapter may also be read as "Shuojian," or "Discourse on Sword-Fighting."

90. Xu Weiyu 許維遹, *Lüshi chunqiu jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2009), 78 ("Yuan dao" 圜道 3.1), 703 ("Xuyi" 序意).

91. *Huainanzi jishi*, 169, 1050.

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also describes "Heaven as blue and black, and the Earth as yellow and red" (*tian qing hei, di huang chi* 天青黑，地黃赤).[92] Indeed, these descriptions are corroborated by the **Quegu shiqi* 卻穀食氣 (Eliminating grain and eating vapor) medical text from Mawangdui, which contains a fragmentary passage that seems to say "what is round is Heaven, what is square is Earth" (*yuanzhe tian ye, fangzhe, di ye* 圓者天也，方者地也).[93]

While the text of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript and certain elements of its iconography appear rather conventional when viewed in historical context, then, the way written graphs are incorporated into its design is rather *unconventional*. Though many documents produced before, during, and after the manufacture of this manuscript made use of non-linear text as part of their design, no surviving manuscript makes use of writing as image quite like the **Wu ze you xing tu*, blurring as it does the boundaries between writing as linguistic system, cosmic pattern, and immersive design. Furthermore, as a philosophical statement about the proper relationships between speech and action, the text of the manuscript stands out from most other works in the *tu* format, the vast majority of which were technical documents used for practical purposes such as ritual divination or the application of medical or ritual knowledge.

Chen Songchang, Cao Feng, and Dong Shan have all commented on the relationship between the design of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript and the contents of the text it was used to carry. Chen, for example, describes the manuscript as a concise graphic or visual (*zhiguan xing* 直觀性) chart or diagram (*tupu* 圖譜) used to illustrate (*tuije* 圖解) certain tenets of what Chen calls Huanglao 黃老 thought and *xingming* 形/刑名

92. Qian Baocong, 錢寶琮, ed., *Suanjing shishu* 算經十書, vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1963), 22. See also Huang Ru-xuan, *'Rishu' tuxiang yanjiu*, 99–102. The "Wenyan" 文言 (Patterned Words) commentary to the "Kun" 坤 hexagram in the *Zhou Yi* also states that "Heaven is black and the Earth is yellow" (*tian xuan er di huang* 天玄而地黃). See *Zhouyi jijie zuanshu*, 2.94. For a discussion of the use and significance of colors in early China, see Hans van Ess, "Symbolism and Meaning of Colours in Early Chinese Sources," in *The Polychromy of Antique Sculptures and the Terracotta Army of the First Chinese Emperor: Studies on Materials, Painting Techniques, and Conservation, International Conference in Xi'an, Shaanxi History Museum, March 22–28, 1999*, ed. Wu Yongqi, Zhang Tinghao, Michael Petzet, Erwin Emmerling, and Catharina Blänsdorf (Munich: Bayerisches Lanesamt für Denkmalpflege, 2001), 67–72; Guolong Lai, "Colors and Color Symbolism in Early Chinese Ritual Art: Red and Black and the Formation of the Five Colors System," in *Color in Ancient and Medieval East Asia*, ed. Mary M. Dusenbury (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 25–43; and Victoria Bogushevskaya, "Ancient Chinese 'Five Colors' Theory: What Does Its Semantic Analysis Reveal?," in *Essays in Global Color History: Interpreting the Ancient Spectrum*, ed. Rachael B. Goldman (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), 225–44.

93. See *Jicheng*, vol. 5, 5, n. 1 (line 1) and Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 309.

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philosophy.[94] According to Chen, this is why we find such extensive overlap between the text of the **Wu ze you xing tu* and the texts on the **Laozi B* manuscript from Mawangdui, as well as with transmitted texts in the *xingming* tradition.[95] Chen also notes the visual similarity between the shape formed by the densely clustered portion of text at the center of the manuscript and certain of the cloud-like shapes on the **Tianwen qixiang zazhan* 天文奇象雜占 (Miscellaneous divinations based on astrological and meteorological phenomena) manuscript from Mawangdui.[96] Indeed, Chen has developed this idea to argue that the central portion of text on the **Wu ze you xing tu* was designed to serve as a visual representation of the swirling vapor or pneuma (*qi* 氣) from which all things in Heaven and Earth were thought to be formed.[97] Chen also contends that, since the second layer of text moving outwards from

94. For discussions of the texts on the **Laozi B* manuscript that have been associated (not unproblematically) with Huanglao (lit., Yellow Emperor 黃帝and Laozi) thought, see Tu Wei-ming, "The 'Thought of Huang-Lao': A Reflection on the Lao Tzu and Huang Ti Texts in the Silk Manuscripts of Ma-wang-tui," *Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (1979–80), 95–110; Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, "Mawangdui Laozi jiayiben juanqianhou yishu" 馬王堆老子甲乙本卷前後佚書, *Zhongguo zhexue yanjiu* 2 (1980), 68–84 and Qiu Xigui, "Mawangdui boshu 'Laozi' yiben juanqian gu yishu bing fei 'Huangdi sijing'" 馬王堆帛書《老子》乙本卷前古佚書並非《黃帝四經》," *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 3 (1993), 249–55; R. P. Peerenboom, *Law and Morality in Ancient China: The Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993); Hans van Ess, "The Meaning of Huang-Lao in *Shiji* and *Hanshu*," *Études Chinoises* 12.2 (1993), 161–77; Robin D. S. Yates, *Five Lost Classics: Tao, Huanglao, and Yin-Yang in Han China* (New York: Ballentine Books, 1997); and Leo S. Chang and Yu Feng, *The Four Political Treatises of the Yellow Emperor: Original Mawangdui Texts with Complete English Translations and an Introduction* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998). For overviews of *xingming* philosophy, see John Makeham, "The Legalist Concept of *Hsing-Ming*: An Example of the Contribution of Archaeological Evidence to the Re-Interpretation of Transmitted Texts," *Monumenta Serica* 39 (1990–91), 87–114 and Hans Georg Möller, "The Chinese Theory of Forms and Names (*xingming zhi xue*) and Its Relation to a 'Philosophy of Signs,'" *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 24.2 (1997), 179–208.

95. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 84–87. Chen argues that the manuscript belongs or was subordinate to (*fushu* 附屬) the texts on the **Laozi B* manuscript, and he makes a similar claim about the **Jiu zhu tu* manuscript from Mawangdui, which survives only in fragments (see below).

96. The **Tianwen qixiang zazhan* manuscript contains text and illustrations related to divinations carried out on the basis of observations of astrological and meteorological phenomena. See *Jicheng*, vol. 1, 203–9 for color photographs of the manuscript and *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 245–90 for an introduction and annotated transcriptions of its contents. For a study in English, see Harper, "Communication by Design."

97. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 86–87. As stated earlier (see n. 32 above), Chen believes that the central message of this portion of text relates to the idea of a "constant trunk" (*henggan*), and he argues that the function of this trunk is equivalent to the nothingness of the *dao*. Thus, Chen believes that the central spiral of text must be a representation of *qi* since (according to Chen)

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the center associates speech (*yan*) with the circular form of heaven, the manuscript categorizes speech as metaphysical (*xing er shang* 形而上) in nature. Conversely, Chen argues, the outermost layer of text, related as it is to phenomenal things (*wu*) and patterned in the shape of a square, presents things as part of the physical (*xing er xia* 形而下) realm.[98]

Cao Feng takes issue with some of Chen's conclusions, arguing that the spiral has no connection to *qi* but rather symbolizes the correctly patterned or ordered heart (*xin* 心) referred to in its text. Cao agrees with Chen that this chart presents a concise rendering of a philosophical message,[99] but he prefers to read it as an elucidation of what he calls the "Daoist" theory of "techniques of the heart" (*xinshu* 心術),[100] techniques that, once cultivated (*xiulian* 修煉), facilitate engagement with the phenomenal world via the proper use of speech (*yan*) and names (*ming*) without becoming encumbered or restricted by external things (*waiwu* 外物).[101] Cao disagrees with Chen that the manuscript is primarily concerned with *dao* or *qi* or with how the world gave rise to forms and names.[102] Instead, Cao claims that while the geometric shapes in the first two layers of the manuscript (the central spiral of text and the ring that surrounds it, respectively) symbolize the ruler (*junzhu* 君主) positioned in the center in a state of unforced action (*wuwei* 無為) and empty stillness (*xujing* 虛靜), the third layer of text, arranged in the shape of a square, is meant to represent the orderly actions and movements of the ruler's subjects (*chenmin* 臣民).[103]

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there was a widespread belief that *qi* and *dao* helped constitute each other in their formation of the cosmos.

98. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 86–87.

99. Cao is surely correct when he concludes that the manuscript was deliberately designed to make the text's philosophical message more easily digestible, and that its cosmological iconography would have been widely recognizable in early Western Han. See Cao Feng, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu shijie," 43–44.

100. For a study and translation of the two "Xinshu" chapters of the *Guanzi*, as well as the "Neiye" 內業 (Inner Cultivation) and "Baixin" chapters with which they are associated, see W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China*, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 15–97.

101. See Cao Feng, "Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' yuanquan nei wenzi xinjie," 423, 425–28. Lin Zhipeng 林志鵬 apparently argued something similar in a conference paper entitled "'Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' tu kaolun—jianshuo 'He guanzi' 'Yexing'" 《馬王地帛書"物則有形"圖考論—兼說〈鶡冠子〉"夜行"》 presented at an international conference on pre-Qin texts and excavated documents held at National Taiwan University in December 2008. See the citation and discussion of Lin's unpublished paper at Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 32.

102. Cao Feng, "Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' yuanquan nei wenzi xinjie," 427–28.

103. Cao Feng, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu shijie," 44–45.

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Dong Shan, for his part, argues that the structure of the manuscript is intended to express the way the heart interacts with, or responds to, things in the phenomenal world (*yingwu* 應物).[104] Dong argues that since the red square represents Earth and the blue-green circle Heaven, the text on things (*wu*) that accompanies the square should be connected to the early Chinese belief that "the Earth gave birth to the ten-thousand things" (*di sheng wanwu* 地生萬物), which, in a similar vein to Chen Songchang, Dong emphasizes was a process that took place in the physical (*xing er xia*) realm. By contrast, Dong argues, the idea that speech (*yan*) matches (*pei* 配) Heaven, suggested by the arrangement of a text about speech wrapped around the outside of a blue-green ring, is essentially a metaphysical (*xing er shang*) belief.[105] However, Dong prefers Cao Feng's interpretation of the iconographic meaning of the central spiral of text to Chen Songchang's argument regarding *qi*, speculating that the empty space (about the size of one written graph) that appears at the very center of the manuscript before the beginning of the central spiral of text may have been intended to represent the void (*xu* 虛) where the heart (*xin*) resided according to some texts.[106] Following the logic of the text and the spatial arrangement of the manuscript's design, Dong abbreviates the interactions described in the document as follows:

> "Internal heart" (*neixin* 內心) --- "speech" (*yan* 言), "names" (*ming* 名), "forms" (*xing* 形) --- "External things" (*waiwu* 外物).[107]

Although the scholars who have worked on this manuscript have not reached a consensus on the iconographic meaning of each of the

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104. Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 37. In addition to the texts already cited, Dong also cites a number of passages from the *Guanzi* (mainly from the "Xinshu" chapters, as well as the "Neiye" chapters), the "Yuandao" chapter of the *Huainanzi*, and the "Ziran" chapter of the *Wenzi* in support of his argument. See Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 38–39.

105. Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 37.

106. Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 37. In support of his argument, Dong notes that the "Tianlun" 天論 (Discourse on Heaven) chapter of the *Xunzi* 荀子 states that "the heart resides in the central void and thereby regulates the five faculties, it is called the lord of Heaven" 心居中虛以治五官, 夫是之謂天君. See Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1988), 309.

107. Dong Shan, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu yu Daojia yingwu xueshuo," 36–37. Dong argues that a similar concern for the relationship between words and things, with the process proceeding from "fullness" (*shi*) to "emptiness" (*xu*), can be found in the looted *Hengxian* manuscript from the Shanghai Museum corpus and the "Huanliu" 環流 (Circular Flow) chapter of the *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子 (The Pheasant Cap Master).

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manuscript's design elements, and even if some of the particular interpretations they have proposed seem more convincing than others, there can be no doubt that the design of the manuscript was intended to complement or reinforce the message of the text it was used to carry. Indeed, the way the written graphs that are used to communicate the message of the text linguistically are arranged on the surface of the silk is in no way incidental to the communicative force of the manuscript, a force that has as much to do with visual design as with philosophical persuasion. The spiral in the center of the manuscript probably represents the heart that is described in that portion of text, a heart that is patterned in such a way as to remain open and responsive to the stimuli from which it proceeds.[108] Moving outwards from the center, the textual-iconographic pairing of speech with Heaven and things with Earth establishes a cosmic connection between things, forms, and names reinforcing the idea that action (really always *reaction*) should harmonize with what stimulates the heart.

Despite all this, however, I am not convinced that a preoccupation with iconography tells us everything we ought to know about how this manuscript was used in the early Western Han. Given the manuscript's intriguing design and its relationship to documents and technical devices that have been excavated from early Chinese tomb sites, it seems necessary to address the many different effects such a manuscript would have had on its viewers and users, effects that would not only have been intellectual or aesthetic, but also bodily and haptic. Indeed, by studying the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript not simply as the carrier of a philosophical text or an aesthetically pleasing and iconographically rich painted surface, but as a material artifact that generated visual, physical, and mental responses in those exposed to it, we gain a better understanding of what the manuscript would have meant to Western Han elites prior to its being buried.

Handling the **Wu ze you xing tu*

The **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript is one of a number of early Chinese texts, including the late Warring States Chu silk manuscript from Zidanku 子彈庫 and a Qin bamboo manuscript entitled **Zhengshi zhi chang* 政事之常 (The constants of government affairs) from Wangjiatai 王家臺 Tomb 15 (Jingzhou 荊州, Hubei 湖北), that was intended to be read from the inside outwards in a spiral sequence, and Li Ling 李零 has

108. Indeed, since a spiral is never truly closed off from what exists outside it, it is the ideal shape for representing a heart that responds harmoniously to external stimuli.

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argued that this process was designed to mimic the clockwise rotation of the Way of Heaven (*tiandao* 天道) from East to South to West to North.[109] Indeed, it was perhaps thought that arranging the text on the surface of the silk in this way had the potential to reinforce its philosophical message, facilitating attunement of the manuscript's readers and users to the cosmic patterns represented on the silk.[110]

Similar non-linear arrangement of text has been found on board games excavated from a number of early Chinese tomb sites, including the late Warring States lacquer gaming board from Zuozhong 左冢 Tomb 3 (Jingmen 荊門, Hubei)[111] and the early Western Han game depicted on some of the bamboo daybook (*rishu* 日書) slips from Kongjiapo 孔家坡 Tomb 8 (Suizhou 隨州, Hubei).[112] It is not surprising that we encounter these types of non-linear texts on both divination manuscripts and board games, since there was apparently no firm distinction between divination and gaming in early China.[113] But whereas the non-linear arrangement of text on gaming paraphernalia and technical manuscripts

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109. See Li, "The Zidanku Silk Manuscripts," 261–63. For the **Zhengshi zhi chang* manuscript, see Jingzhou diqu bowuguan, "Jiangling Wangjiatai 15 hao Qinmu" 江陵王家台15號秦墓 [authored by Liu Deyin 劉德銀], *Wenwu* 1995.1, 37–43 and Wang Mingqin 王明欽, "Wangjiatai Qinmu zhujian gaishu" 王家臺秦墓竹簡概述, in *Xinchu jianbo yanjiu: xinchu jianbo guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji* 新出簡帛研究: 新出簡帛國際學術研討會文集, ed. Ai Lan 艾蘭 (Sarah Allan) and Xing Wen 邢文 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2004), 39–43.

110. Lillian Tseng has speculated that it may have been thought that the cosmologically potent design and material form of Han diviner's boards (see below) contributed to the efficacy of the divinations they were used to carry out through the harnessing of cosmic power. See Tseng, *Picturing Heaven in Early China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 49.

111. For a color photograph of this board, see Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Jingmen shi bowuguan, and Xiang Jing gaosu gonglu kaogu dui, eds., *Jingmen Zuozhong Chumu* 荊門左冢楚墓 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2006), color plate 43; see 179–85 in this volume for an analysis of the board and transcriptions of its contents. For a comparison of the different transcriptions and interpretations that have been proposed by scholars to explain the characters on the board, see Zhu Xiaoxue 朱曉雪, "Zuozhong qiju wenzi huishi" 左塚漆栒文字匯釋 published online on November 10, 2009, at http://www.gwz.fudan.edu.cn/Web/Show/970 (accessed on April 2, 2020).

112. The diagram takes the form of calendrical notations arranged inside a series of concentric circles, and the gameplay involves navigating the ups and downs of an official career. The game is also accompanied by an explanatory text. For images and an analysis of the game, see Luke Habberstad, *Forming the Early Chinese Court: Rituals, Spaces, Roles* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 3–7.

113. For a study of the relationships between gambling and divination in early China, see Mark Edward Lewis, "Dicing and Divination in Early China," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 121 (2002), 1–22. See also Armin Selbitschka, "A Tricky Game: A Re-Evaluation of *Liubo* 六博 Based on Archaeological and Textual Evidence," *Oriens Extremus* 55 (2016), 105–66.

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was primarily designed to achieve a practical objective (facilitate gameplay, divination, or the administering of medical services, for example) in addition to underscoring a particular view of the way the cosmos was structured, manuscripts like the **Wu ze you xing tu* and **Zhengshi zhi chang* seem to have been designed solely to reinforce the cosmological and philosophical message of the texts they carried.[114] Indeed, Wang Mingqin 王明欽 has described how the message of the **Zhengshi zhi chang* manuscript is communicated not only textually but also iconographically, and he likens the relationship between the inner and outer layers of text to that of classic and commentary (*jingzhuan* 經傳) on the one hand and annotations and subcommentaries (*zhushu* 注疏) on the other.[115]

As we have seen, scholars working on the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript have tended to approach its design chiefly in terms of iconography, debating back and forth about the representative referent of the text spiral at the center of the manuscript and the reasons why certain passages of text are associated with—indeed, presented *as*—geometric shapes in different colors. However, though the design of the **Wu ze you xing tu* is certainly iconographically potent, the manuscript is not merely a flat surface for displaying text and image together in an aesthetically pleasing or cosmically revealing manner. Rather, the design of this artifact encouraged and even engineered certain modes of manual engagement: ways of touching and moving that reinforced the philosophical message of the text.

Regardless of whether the spiral of text at the center of the manuscript, for example, was designed to embody or represent specific entities or substances such as the ordered heart or swirling *qi*, it is certain that the visual arrangement of that layer of text serves to reinforce the message encoded in the graphs that constitute its design. This dark, densely clustered text spiral occupies a tiny central section of a small manuscript, meaning that on first encountering the document the reader is confronted with a black spot that barely has the appearance of written text, let alone a text that can be readily identified or easily decoded. The initial perception of the spiral is thus monoptic, the spiral taken in as a shape—as a *whole*—rather than decoded as a swirling string of linguistic units.[116] Here writing is pressed into double-duty, simultaneously serving as a way of transmitting wisdom through the encoding of

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114. I would like to thank one of the anonymous readers of this article for encouraging me to examine the connections between these two manuscripts.

115. Wang Mingqin, "Wangjiatai Qinmu zhujian gaishu," 41.

116. For this kind of image see Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 103–7.

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language and as a visual pattern that forms part of the manuscript's overall program of design.[117] In order to proceed from writing as design motif to writing as text the reader has to move towards the manuscript, examining it up close and deciphering the words of the densely packed text in a clockwise direction from the inside outwards, likely rotating the manuscript in the process. In this way, the text spiral catches the eye and draws the viewer in, with the necessary rotation of the manuscript (and with it the written graphs at its center) creating a captivating visual effect.

The same is true for the second layer of text, the visual arrangement of which likewise embodies and reinforces the message of the text's contents. Here, too, writing is used as a string of linguistic signs for communicating semantic content. However, in keeping with the apparent distaste for certain types of inauthentic or inappropriate speech expressed in this portion of text, the design of the manuscript seemingly refuses to cede absolute authority to the linguistic power of the written sign, patterning the words of the text in a cosmically revealing way that also communicates its message in extra-linguistic fashion.[118] In each

117. Indeed, writing as linguistic code and writing as evocative image are often so tightly intertwined that some have even questioned the distinction between writing and images as entirely separate modes of representation or communication. See, for example, Elizabeth Hill Boone, "Introduction: Writing and Recording Knowledge," in *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 3–26. See also H. G. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne: Quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaoniques* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1986), 24–50; the essays in Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert, eds., *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication. Papers from the Third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht, 7–9 December 2000* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); the essays in Zahra Newby and Ruth Leader-Newby, eds., *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Vincent Debiais, *Messages de pierre: La lecture des inscriptions dans la communication médiévale (XIIIe–XIVe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 93–161; Margaret A. Jackson, "The Mediated Image: Reflections on Semasiographic Notation in the Ancient Americas," in *Agency in Ancient Writing*, ed. Joshua Englehardt (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2012), 21–23; and the essays in Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Jeffrey F. Hamburger, eds., *Sign and Design: Script as Image in Cross-Cultural Perspective (300–1600 CE)* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016).

118. Joanna Rapti has discussed how certain medieval Armenian inscriptions were so ornate as to divert attention away from linguistic decoding towards contemplation of the overall visual force of the composition and its divine message. See Joanna Rapti, "Displaying the Word: Words as Visual Signs in the Armenian Architectural Decoration of the Monastery of Noravank (14th Century)," in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. Anthony Eastmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 200. See also Sheila Blair, "Legibility vs. Decoration in Islamic Epigraphy: The Case of Interlacing," in *World Art: Themes of Unity in Diversity, Acts of the XXVIth*

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of the textual layers on the manuscript, the words must be read in a way that replicates the orderly, balanced movement of the cosmos, with the rotation of the manuscript reproducing a properly patterned heart moving in harmonious response at the center of a Heaven and Earth that travel along a cyclical course.

Indeed, Chen Songchang has argued that the text of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript was designed to emulate the kinds of diviner's boards (*shipan* 式盤, also known as "cosmic boards") that were widely used in Western Han times, boards that also bore the influence of the so-called vaulted heaven theory described above.[119] Though Huang Ru-xuan has shown that diviner's boards actually predate the widespread acceptance of the vaulted heaven theory, she demonstrates how certain texts such as the diagrams found among some of the Qin daybook manuscripts as well as some of the Mawangdui silk manuscripts shared with Han diviner's boards a similar cosmological visuality and rotational method of operation, and so belong to a genre of "diviner's charts" (*shitu* 式圖).[120] That these artifacts and documents replicated or represented the supposed forms of intangible phenomena such as cosmological space would in all likelihood have made the impact of their design all the more powerful, since such images and artifacts do not merely model or illustrate forms that are visible independent of their design, but actually have the potential to determine the ways in which their subjects are visualized and understood.[121] Reading these portions of text, then, was

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International Congress of the History of Art, ed. Irving Lavin (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 329–31.

119. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 84–85. For a discussion of diviner's boards, see Donald J. Harper, "The Han Cosmic Board (Shih 式)," *Early China* 4 (1978–79), 1–10; Christopher Cullen, "Some Further Points on the *Shih*," *Early China* 6 (1980–81), 31–46; Sarah Allan, "The Great One, Water, and the Laozi: New Light from Guodian," *T'oung Pao* 89.4–5 (2003), 246–53; Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Spatial Composition of Ancient Chinese Texts"; and Tseng, *Picturing Heaven in Early China*, 47–49. For discussions of the relationships between diviner's boards and excavated manuscripts, see Huang Ru-xuan, *'Rishu' tuxiang yanjiu*, 28–61 and Li, "The Zidanku Silk Manuscripts," 271–73.

120. Huang Ru-xuan, *'Rishu' tuxiang yanjiu*, 101–8. Li Ling 李零, *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方書考 (Beijing: Dongfang, 2000), 89–176 discusses the relationships between diviner's boards, diviner's diagrams, and early Chinese theories of the cosmos.

121. Jessica Rawson, for example, has noted that images of the intangible or the invisible (such as Heaven [*tian* 天] or *qi*) have a particular power to determine the way people think about their subjects. See Jessica Rawson, "The Power of Images: The Model Universe of the First Emperor and its Legacy," *Historical Research* 75.188 (2002), 125. See also Eugene Y. Wang, "Time in Early Chinese Art," in *A Companion to Chinese Art*, ed. Martin Powers and Katherine R. Tsiang (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 212–14. Eric Huntington has demonstrated, in the context of Himalayan Buddhism, how a diverse range of cosmological images helped Buddhists in the region think not

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not just a matter of deciphering written graphs; it also involved tracing the cosmic structures and patterns of the universe. The **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript not only provided a way of reading a text, it provided a way of perceiving and understanding the world.[122]

The **Wu ze you xing tu* and the **Jiu zhu tu* Manuscript

It is not uncommon for non-linear texts such as the **Wu ze you xing tu* to exist simultaneously and independently in linear form as well. There is a significant amount of textual overlap between the text of the **Zhengshi zhi chang* manuscript mentioned above, for example, and a linear text from the Shuihudi 睡虎地 (Yunmeng 雲夢; Hubei) Qin manuscript finds, a text that was given the title **Wei li zhi dao* 為吏之道 (The way of acting as a petty official) by its editors.[123] Though the two texts are not identical, the similarities between them raise certain questions regarding the nature of the text of the **Wu ze you xing tu* and its relationship to the broader textual culture of the early Western Han. Was the **Wu ze you xing tu* an iconographic accompaniment to or representation of an underlying linear text? And if so, what form might this text have taken?

In fact, scholars have disagreed on precisely this issue. Chen Songchang, for example, has argued that the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript served a similar function to another silk manuscript from Mawangdui, the **Jiu zhu tu* (Chart on the nine rulers), and that both served as illustrations elucidating in visual form the written contents of

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just *about* cosmology but also *with* it, as a way of engaging with a wide range of religious and cultural phenomena. See Huntington, *Creating the Universe*, esp., 235.

122. The manuscript thus represents a powerful example of "kinetic subversion," a term coined by Claude Gandelman to describe the illocutionary power of inscriptions to force their readers to move their eyes and bodies in certain ways. See Claude Gandelman, "By Way of Introduction: Inscriptions as Subversion," *Visible Language* 23.2–3 (1989), 145–46. For a study of how "image acts," adapted from the model of "speech acts," make things happen in the world, see Horst Bredekamp, *Image Acts: A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency*, translated, edited, and adapted by Elizabeth Clegg (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018). For J. L. Austin's notion of performative speech acts, see Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955). Recently, Jonathan Hay has offered a reminder that, though the question of what images do may appear to be a contemporary concern, in fact in most cultures throughout history images were understood to operate not simply in space but also in time. See Jonathan Hay, "The Worldly Eye," in *What Images Do*, ed. Jan Bäcklund, Henrik Oxvig, Michael Renner, and Martin Søberg (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2019), 113–43, esp., 121.

123. See Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu, ed., *Shuihudi Qinmu zhujan* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1990), (plates) 79–86 for black and white photographs of the **Wei li zhi dao* slips and (transcriptions) 165–76 for annotated transcriptions of its contents. For a comparison of the contents of the **Zhengshi zhi chang* and **Wei li zhi dao* manuscripts, see Wang Mingqin, "Wangjiatai Qinmu zhujian gaishu."

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parent manuscripts for which they served as visual accompaniments.[124] The **Jiu zhu tu* is a small fragment measuring just 19.6 cm long by 22.5 cm wide,[125] and all that remains of the text are four inscriptions in black ink (two inscriptions each repeated once) that name certain types of ruler. These inscriptions are accompanied by the black outlines of three triangles. Inside one of these triangles is the outline of a black square around the interrupted red outline of another, smaller square. The same shapes can be found inside the other two triangles, but the colors of the squares are reversed.

Scholars have come to different conclusions regarding the relationship between the **Jiu zhu tu* fragments and the **Jiu zhu* text that appears on the **Laozi A* 老子甲本 manuscript from Mawangdui.[126] The **Jiu zhu* text includes a list of nine types of ruler, and though there is some damage to the manuscript the list seems to match that quoted in Pei Yin's 裴駰 (fl. 420–479) *jijie* 集解 (collected explanations) commentary to a passage in the "Yin benji" 殷本紀 (Annals of the Yin [=Shang] Dynasty) chapter of the *Shi ji* 史記, which cites Liu Xiang's *Bielu* 別錄 (Separated catalog) as listing the nine rulers and mentioning the existence of an accompanying *tu* chart.[127] The surviving inscriptions on the **Jiu zhu tu* fragments read "The ruler who destroys sacrificial altars" (*mie she zhi zhu* 威 [=滅] 社之主) and "The ruler who destroys the state" (*po guo zhi zhu* X [= 破] 國之主), and both these ruler types are also mentioned in the **Jiu zhu* text.[128]

Despite these similarities, however, the two documents were apparently produced at different times. Though studies of the **Jiu zhu tu* fragments often treat them as appendages to the **Jiu zhu* text on the **Laozi A* manuscript, it is clear from their formal features that they in fact belong to a separate document. Chen Songchang himself notes that there is no obvious place on the **Laozi A* manuscript that could have accommodated these fragments, and judging by the calligraphic style

124. Chen Songchang, "Mawangdui boshu 'Wu ze you xing' tu chutan," 87. See *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 107–8 for an introduction and transcriptions of the **Jiu zhu tu* manuscript. For color photographs, see *Jicheng*, vol. 1, 118–19.

125. Chen Jian, "Mawangdui boshu 'yinwen,' kongbai ye he chenye ji zhedie qingkuang zongshu," 305 estimates that the manuscript originally measured 24 cm in width and that it had been folded once from top to bottom, or perhaps rotated 90 degrees counterclockwise and folded from left to right, before it was placed inside the lacquer case.

126. The **Jiu zhu* text on the **Laozi A* manuscript is translated in Yates, *Five Lost Classics*.

127. See *Shi ji*, 3.94 for the nine types of ruler and the comment that "in total there were nine types, and a chart that depicted their forms" (*fan jiu pin, tu hua qi xing* 凡九品,圖畫其形).

128. See *Jicheng*, vol. 4, 107.

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and differences in the observance of naming taboos they were clearly copied later than the **Jiu zhu* text. On this basis, Chen argues that the **Jiu zhu tu* manuscript was probably designed to explain through illustration the text of the **Jiu zhu*.[129] Thus, while Chen accepts that the **Jiu zhu tu* fragments belong to a separate document from the **Laozi A* manuscript, he nevertheless subordinates the **Jiu zhu tu* manuscript to the "earlier" **Jiu zhu* text. Furthermore, Chen likewise believes that the **Wu ze you xing tu* was designed as an illustration of a pre-existing document.[130]

Whether the **Wu ze you xing tu* was designed as an elucidation or response to a particular text, or whether it reflects the independent expression of a philosophical discourse prevalent in Western Han times, I am in full agreement with Cao Feng (contra Chen Songchang) that the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript should be read as a document in its own right rather than as an accompaniment to another text.[131] While, as we have seen, the text of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript shares a certain philosophical outlook and use of terminology with other texts from the time, including some of those on the Mawangdui manuscripts, I can see no valid reason for assuming it to be an illustration of any of the Mawangdui texts, or of any text for that matter.[132] Indeed, automatically treating manuscripts like the **Wu ze you xing tu* and the **Jiu zhu tu* as auxiliary or subordinate to linear texts reflects an unfair predisposition on our part for writing over image, and an assumption that linear texts represented the dominant way in which complex philosophical ideas were materialized and transmitted.[133] If the aim had been to use non-linear textual formations as accompaniments to or illustrations of extended linear texts, then a manuscript that accommodated both text-cosmograms and explanatory linear text such as those on the **Xingde* and **Yinyang wuxing* manuscripts mentioned above could certainly have been produced. Instead, the **Wu ze you xing tu* was evidently designed as a powerful vehicle for cosmological expression and philosophical persuasion in its own right.

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129. Chen Songchang, "Boshu 'Jiu zhu tu canpian' lüekao" 帛書「九主圖殘片」略考, *Wenwu* 2007.4, 80–81.

130. See n. 95 above.

131. Cao Feng, "Mawangdui 'Wu ze you xing' yuanquan nei wenzi xinjie," 423.

132. It should be pointed out that, a certain degree of philosophical overlap notwithstanding, the text on the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript does not appear on any of the other Mawangdui manuscripts, making it hard to support the claim that it is an illustration per se of any of those works.

133. For the argument that many of the transmitted texts from early China were originally arranged in a non-linear format, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Spatial Composition of Ancient Chinese Texts."

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Conclusion

Excavated artifacts like the *Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript demonstrate that in Western Han the use of written text arranged as patterned image was not restricted to technical documents that presented words as images for functional reasons such as information retrieval or data manipulation. Rather, the *Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript shows that profound cosmic truths and intricate philosophical systems could likewise be communicated as effectively, if not more so, through the use of writing as image as through the use of written graphs as linguistic signs. Unlike most of the other manuscripts from Mawangdui that also make use of non-linear text as image, the text on the *Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript was designed and displayed largely for immersive rather than functional purposes. The *Wu ze you xing tu* shows that in early China, non-linear texts were not produced simply out of necessity, but also because they helped inculcate moral values and properly patterned modes of perception.[134]

Manuscript design in early China was not always a secondary consideration; indeed, the way texts were written down, oriented, and displayed played an important role in conditioning how they were received by communities of readers. The colors and shapes of the *Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript were not intended to serve merely as ornamentation, at least not as long as the term is understood as somehow auxiliary, posterior, or subordinate to "content." Rather, the design of the manuscript fulfills Oleg Grabar's definition of ornament (as opposed to mere decoration) as "the subject of the design," and the primary system of communication or representation.[135] Indeed, the

134. Indeed, the *Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript was designed simultaneously to inculcate correctly calibrated modes of perception, bodily movements, and language use, all of which were decidedly ethical concerns in early China. See Mark Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Michael Nylan, "Beliefs about Seeing: Optics and Moral Technologies in Early China," *Asia Major* (3rd ser.) 21.1 (2008), 89–132; and Sarah A. Mattice, "On 'Rectifying' Rectification: Reconsidering *Zhengming* in Light of Confucian Role Ethics," *Asian Philosophy* 20 (2010), 247–60.

135. Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, esp. 5, 40–41. Grabar thus moves beyond the definition proposed by Ernst Gombrich, who understood ornament as playing a significant role in framing, filling, or linking surfaces that existed and functioned independently of ornamentation. See E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 2006). See also Margaret W. Conkey, "Style, Design, and Function," in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susan Küchler, Mike Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer (London: Sage, 2006), 355–72; Andrew Morrall, "Ornament as Evidence," in *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. Karen Harvey (London: Routledge, 2009), 47–66; and Jonathan Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in*

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**Wu ze you xing tu* is an example of *wen* 文 at its most potent,[136] with the manuscript making full use of the communicative potential of the written sign (linguistic, evocative, pictorial) to bring human (*ren* 人) bodies into concert with Heaven (*tian* 天) and Earth (*di* 地), thereby reinforcing the relationships between them. Neither linguistic code nor abstract illustration is privileged in the communicative scheme of the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript. Instead, words are used alongside images, and actually *as images themselves*, as two components of a mutually constitutive and reinforcing visual-communicative system,[137] each accomplishing what the other cannot. Writing as text is used to transmit specific messages, and writing as image to immerse the reader in the logic of the text.[138] In keeping with the message contained in the text on the silk, the manuscript's design reflects a faith in the communicative potential of words only so far as they are properly patterned, literally and figuratively.

Writing about manuscripts from a different time and culture, Mary Carruthers has described how pictures no less than words can serve as signs for stimulating memory as well as encouraging active engagement

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Early Modern China (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010). For discussions of ornament and decoration in the context of early China, see Jessica Rawson, "Late Shang Bronze Design: Meaning and Purpose," in *The Problem of Meaning in Early Chinese Ritual Bronzes*, ed. Roderick Whitfield (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993), 67–95; Robert W. Bagley, "Meaning and Explanation," 34–55 in the same volume; and Rawson, "Cosmological Systems as Sources of Art, Ornament and Design," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 72 (2000), 133–89.

136. For *wen* as a set of multifaceted, multimedia visual and material practices, rather than merely writing, see Kern, "Ritual, Text, and the Formation of the Canon."

137. For this reason, I fully support Diane O'Donoghue's assertion that "[i]f writing and art-making are not, in fact, irreconcilable functions, then our expectations of their respective resources could be expanded." See Diane M. O'Donoghue, "Critical Distance: Replacing the Practice of Chinese Art History," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 2.1 (2000), 337. Indeed, Claude Gandelman has noted that while when reading words we begin by attending to the signifier, through which we next gain access to the signified, in the case of painted images this relationship is reversed, and we are confronted from the beginning with "the overwhelming presence of the signified." As a result, Gandelman notes, "[w]ords in paintings pose the question of the primacy of language or, conversely, of the primary of images." See Gandelman, "By Way of Introduction," 142–43. Similarly, Tim Ingold has pointed out that, unlike most images, painted writing is as real as the thing it represents. See Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (London: Routledge, 2011), 182–83.

138. Similarly, John Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 285 has noted that in Ancient Egypt writing and "pictorial representation" were used to complement each other as mutually reinforcing domains of communication, each with their own strengths and particular uses.

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with texts and internalization of their contents.[139] Carruthers's analysis of some of the illustrations in the *Book of Kells*, a c. 800 C.E. Irish illustrated manuscript that contains the texts of the four gospels of the New Testament, for instance, is worth quoting at length:

> Let me take as a last example of this distinction the famous black otter eating a salmon that is tucked into the bottom border of the *rho* on the Chirho page at the beginning of Matthew in the Book of Kells. It is very hard to find amid the myriad and apparently fragmentary forms on this page. But as I suggested earlier, the page is designed to make one meditate upon it, to look and look again, and remake its patterns oneself; the process of seeing this page models the process of meditative reading which the text it introduces will require. The letters on this page are virtually hidden away in the welter of its other forms; indeed, thinking of this aspect of its design, Francoise Henry calls it 'a sort of rebus.' [140]

Carruthers introduces five aspects of the *Book of Kells* that are relevant to the **Wu ze you xing tu*: 1) visual attractiveness and appeal; 2) use of the extra-linguistic potential of written words; 3) the mutually reinforcing relationship between text and image; 4) the invitation to meditate on the text's contents; 5) internalization of the text's message. Much like this page of the *Book of Kells*, the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript draws the reader in with its appealing and enigmatic design, encouraging active modes of reading and viewing, as well as manual engagement. Readers were forced to ask themselves why the text of the manuscript was displayed in this way, to meditate upon its possible significance, and to apply the logic of the text in their everyday life. Once internalized, the user would carry the message of the manuscript in their mind's eye, helping them to move beyond language and access genuine cosmological truths, just as the text of the manuscript entreated. In this way, the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript was not merely an attractive reflection or appealing product of Han intellectual culture but an active participant in it; an object that produced physical, intellectual, and social effects on the world that created it.[141]

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139. See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 275, 309–37. See also M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 174–77, who notes that colors, shapes, and layouts were often used to make texts easier to memorize. On this point, see also Albertine Gaur, *Literacy and the Politics of Writing* (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2000), 153.

140. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 337.

141. For a brief discussion of the dialectical relationship between art and culture, see Norman Bryson's introduction in Mieke Bal, *Looking In: The Art of Viewing*

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馬王堆《物則有形圖》概述

康路華

提要

《物則有形圖》出自馬王堆三號墓出土漆匣。這篇鮮為人知且設計奇異的帛圖，將討論物、形、名、言四者關係的哲學文本，自內而外地編排在一個密緻螺旋形—環形—方形圖式中。與帛書文字相伴的還有兩個上色的圖形，分別代表天圓、地方。自《物則有形圖》在2004年第一次公開亮相以來，除少數中文研究之外，西方學界對其研究尚處於空白階段。有鑒於此，本文試圖對這篇文獻的情況提供一個具體的描述，對其內容進行全文迻錄和翻譯，並探索其哲學互文性和視覺設計上的特點。考慮到這篇帛書在視覺設計上迫使其觀眾、讀者及使用者移動他們的視線和身體，以加強該文本所表達的核心哲學觀點，我主張應將《物則有形圖》視為具有獨特意涵的工藝品，而不僅僅是承載哲學文本的簡單材料和物質載體。

Keywords: Mawangdui, silk manuscripts, visuality, cosmology
馬王堆, 帛書, 視覺性, 宇宙論,

(New York: Routledge, 2001), 1–2. Ultimately, artifacts like the **Wu ze you xing tu* manuscript encourage us to wonder, with Tim Ingold, if "drawings or paintings [are] *of* things in the world, or … *like* things in the world, in the sense that we have to find our ways through and among them, inhabiting them as we do the world itself?" See Tim Ingold, *Being Alive*, 197.

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