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Study of Chapter 39 Line 17 in the *Laozi*

《老子》第三十九章「故至數與無與」考

A dissertation submitted to the University of Wales Trinity Saint David

In fulfilment of the requirements for BA (Hons) in Sinology Degree

威爾士三一聖大衛大學

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Abstract

Many variations of chapter 39, line 17 in the *Laozi*, ‘therefore, they regard their large numbers of carriages as having no carriage 故至數輿無輿’ could be discovered among the existing editions. Text A 甲本 from the Mawangdui 馬王堆 silk scripts has the character written as *yu* 與, Text B 乙本 written as *yu* 輿. While Wangbi’s 王弼 edition follows Text B, therefore a group of ancient scholars including Heshang Gong 河上公, Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 tend to read this line as ‘Therefore, if you want to count the chariot part by part, there will be no chariot.’ However, Fanyingyuan 范應元, Wucheng 吳澄 and others argue that the character *yu* 輿 is the loan character of *yu* 譽 and should be replaced by *yu* 譽 and understood as ‘honor’. This paper will analyse variations of this line and try to find out the most suitable explanation for this line that fits the flow of idea of this chapter, by using the method of philology and phonology. (185 words)

Key words: Laozi, Mawangdui silk scripts, *shuyu wuyu*

摘要

通行本（王弼本）《老子》第三十九章「故至數與無與」句，有多種版本異文，如馬王堆帛書甲本作「故致數與无與」、乙本作「故致數與无與」、嚴遵本作「故造與於无與」、河上公本作「故致數車无車」、范應元本作「故致數譽无譽」、吳澄本作「故至譽无譽」。導致歷代注家在「與」、「車」、「譽」等字上釋義分歧。本文將嘗試歸納各家說法，並運用出土文獻如馬王堆帛書，以及文字訓詁方法分析出較可靠的文本，以期能貫通前後文義。（198 字）

關鍵詞：老子，馬王堆帛書，數與無與

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1. Introduction

Confucianism, Daoism (or Taoism) and Buddhism are the three main foundations of Chinese philosophy. However, the term ‘ism’ could be designated as both philosophical thoughts and religion. Thus, modern academic studies will identify *Daojia* 道家 (philosophy) and *Daojiao* 道教 (religion) separately, although their internal relations are intertwined, which can be seen through history. The philosophical Daoism (hereafter Daoism) traces its origin to Laozi 老子 (?-?), a great philosopher living during the ‘Spring and Autumn’ 春秋 period of China. *The Records of Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記) mentions, Confucius once visited Laozi with an academic communication, according to this, Laozi is believed to be lived in 6-5 century BCE.¹ Undoubtedly, either philosophical Daoism or religious Daoism venerates the *Laozi* as their classics’ text. *Laozi* literally means ‘Old’ (*Lao* 老) ‘Master’ (*Zi* 子), which is named after its putative author with addressing as ‘Master’, this is a common practice in the pre-Qin period of China. The *Laozi* is also known as the *Daodejing* 道德經, often translated as the ‘*Classic of The Way* (*Dao* 道) *and the Virtue* (*De* 德)’. About *Laozi*’s philosophy, Chen Guying 陳鼓應 makes below statements:

Chinese philosophy has focused particularly on humanistic and political issues since its inception. Such thought tends to land itself in the moral realm, which has often limited the scope of discussion. The most distinctive aspect of the *Laozi*, however, lies in its expansion of this discussion to range from everyday human life to the cosmos in its entirety. The *Laozi* looks at human questions from a macroscopic perspective, and yet also peers into the details of many finer aspects of our lives.²

The foundation and central concept of *Laozi*’s philosophy are the *Dao* (道) which developed though the *De* (德). However, the meaning and connotations of the *Dao* differ between chapters and sentences, which leads to the interpretive characteristics

¹ Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 [The Records of Grand Historian] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2013), p.2590.

² Chen Guying 陳鼓應, *The Annotated Critical Laozi: With Contemporary Explication and Traditional Commentary*, ed. by Paul J. D’ Ambrosio, Xiao Ouyang (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020), introduction, p. 1.

of the *Dao*. Tang Junyi 唐君毅 analyses the *Dao* into six groups, The *Dao* of emptiness 虛理之道, the metaphysical substance of the *Dao* 形上道體, the *Dao* as it manifests within the world of things 道相之道, the *Dao* as the way of unity with virtue 同德之道, the *Dao* as the way of cultivation of virtue 修德之道 and the *Dao* as the way of living 生活之道.³ Most of the time scholars would directly address the *Dao* as the ultimate source and power of the universe, whereas more referred to a metaphysical entity 形而上的實體. However, the ‘ultimate concern’ 終極關懷 of *Laozi*, as Xu Fuguan 徐復觀 points out, ‘does not lie in establishing a cosmology, but rather remains an inquiry that the moves gradually upward from human needs into the foundation and source of the cosmos as a place of settlement for human life.....he also wants to establish an outlook of life that sees a correspondence between humanity and this foundation in order to attain a secure foothold for human life.’⁴ Here, I am not going to dive deeply into this discussion, instead, is to bring out another major topic in the study of the *Laozi* -- the textual and interpretative verification.

The abstractness of texts projected in the *Laozi* often occurs debating and discussion on the meaning of certain characters or terms. Another reason is the variations of versions. Beside the received version – Wang Bi’s 王弼 (226-249) edition, numerous variations, commentaries and translations have been spread throughout the world in nearly two millennia. However, in 1973, Chinese archaeologist excavated some silk manuscripts, including the *Laozi* at the Mawangdui (馬王堆), which is a tomb located in the Hunan province dating from the early Western Han period. This marks a milestone of the modern research of

³ Tang Junyi 唐君毅, *Zhongguo Zhexue Yuanlun* 中國哲學原論 [The Origin of Chinese Philosophy] (Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe, 2016), p. 219.

⁴ The original text is ‘老學的動機與目的，並不在於宇宙論的建立，而依然是由人生的要求，逐步向上面推求，推求到作為宇宙根源的處所，以作為人生安頓之地……他不僅是要在宇宙根源的地方來發現人的根源，並且是要在宇宙根源的地方來決定人生與自己根源相應的生活態度，以取得人生的安全立足點。’ See Xu Fuguan 徐復觀, *Zhongguo Renxinglun Shi* 中國人性論史 [On the History of Human Nature in China] (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2009), p. 183. Translation is adopted from Chen Guying. See Chen Guying 陳鼓應, *The Annotated Critical Laozi: With Contemporary Explication and Traditional Commentary*, footnote 1 of the introduction, p. 1.

Laozi, as the silk scripts have two different versions: Text A (*Jia* 甲) (copied between 206-195 BCE) and the Text B (*Yi* 乙) (copied between 194-180 BCE) which believed to be the earliest manuscripts seen by modern scholars. Henceforth many papers and books compare the silk script versions of the *Laozi* with the current versions, to find the differences and similarities, thereby solve some textual issues and evaluate the reliability of existing versions. These various versions cause different interpretations of the *Laozi*, whereas often affect the understanding of essential thoughts of the book, even by a change of a character or a sentence. The discovery of Mawangdui texts, fortunately, has prevailed as the source and materials of new discussions and studies. In this article, I would explore and investigate the variations among different versions of ‘*Guzhi Shuyu Wuyu* 故至數與無與’ (line 17) in chapter 39 and lay out my approach to some of the textual verifications, thereby seek to bring out a logical and coherent text version, which retained as much as possible the original literariness. My main sources of information are Zhu Qianzhi’s 朱謙之 *Laozi Jiaoshi* 老子校釋, Li Shuihai’s 李水海 and Chen Guying’s 陳鼓應 revised edition of *Laozi* with notes and commentaries that consulted the Mawangdui’s version.

2. Variations Among the Line 17

Here, I would only present a few typical various versions of Line 17. Nonetheless, neither the Text A nor Text B of the Mawangdui manuscript was partially damaged. Where Text A has damaged, I would follow Gao Ming’s 高明 *Critical and Annotated Edition of the Silk Manuscripts of the Laozi* 帛書老子校注 by placing the corresponding characters from the Text B and vice versa.

Table 1 Variations Among the Line 17

No.	Variations	Scholars/Books
1.	故致數與無與	Wang Bi 王弼 ⁵

⁵ Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi* 老子道德真經注校釋 [Explanations of The Commentary on the Genuine Daodejing] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2008), p. 106.

2.	故 致 數與无與	Text A 帛甲 ⁶
3.	故 至 數與无與	Text B 帛乙 ⁷
4.	故 造 與於無與	Yan Zun 嚴遵 ⁸
5.	故 至 譽無譽	Wu Cheng 吳澄 ⁹
6.	故 致 數譽無譽	Fu Yi 傅奕 ¹⁰ , Fan Yingyuan 范應元 ¹¹
7.	故 致 數車無車	Heshang Gong 河上公 ¹² , Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 ¹³

As could be seen above, the distinctions between these variations are bolded and could be divided into two groups: using of the character *yu* 與 (chariot), *yu* 與 (with, friend, clan), *yu* 譽 (acclaim, praise) and *ju* 車 (vehicle); and the character *zhi* 致 (arrive, lead to, cause, get, gain), *zhi* 至 (go-to, extend, utmost), *zao* 造 (go-to, arrive)

⁶ Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu* 帛書老子校注 [Critical and Annotated Edition of the Silk Manuscripts of the Laozi] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1996), p. 16

⁷ Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, p. 16.

⁸ Yan Zun 嚴遵, *Daode Zhenjing Zhigui* 道德真經指歸 [Essential Ideas of Dao and De] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 1, p. 71

⁹ Wu Cheng 吳澄, *Daode Zhenjing Zhu* 道德真經注 [Commentary on the Genuine Daodejing] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 5, p. 630.

¹⁰ Fu Yi 傅奕, *Daodejing Guben Pian* 道德經古本篇 [Collected of the Ancient Daodejing Text] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 1, p. 51.

¹¹ Fan Yingyuan 范應元, *Laozi Daodejing Guben Jizhu* 老子道德經古本集注 [Collected Commentary to the Ancient Laozi Text] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol.4, p. 424.

¹² Heshang Gong 河上公, *Daode Zhenjing Zhu* 道德真經注 [Commentary on the Genuine Daodejing] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 1, p. 157.

¹³ Cheng Xuanying 成玄英, *Daode Zhenjing Kaitixujue Yishu* 老子道德經開題序訣義疏 [A Hermeneutic Study of the Subject Revealing and the Knack Ordering of the Daodejing] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 1, p. 317.

and *shu* 數 (count, frequently).

2.1 Definitions of *yu* 輿, *yu* 與, *yu* 譽 and *ju* 車

- I. *yu* 輿: Means ‘chariot’. This is perhaps the most popular version, as it is identical to Wang Bi’s version. Bi Yuan 畢沅 says, ‘The *Huainanzi* quotes the same character as Wang Bi’s version.’¹⁴ This provides another version from the Han dynasty for evidence. Tang Xuanzong’s 唐玄宗 version writes *yu* 輿 as well.¹⁵ *yu* 輿 is also interchangeable with *yu* 譽, according to Lou Yulie’s 樓宇烈 commentary, he claims that ‘*zhi shu yu* 致數輿 means one often gets highly praised.’¹⁶ Zhang Songru 張松如 reads *yu* 輿 as the substitute for *yu* 譽.¹⁷ Besides, Lao Jian 勞健 interprets *yu* 輿 as ‘numerous, many 眾多’ instead of ‘chariot’. Lao states that, even though there are numerous ‘beings’ 物數 in this world if you enumerate them. However, all beings are born from the ‘one’. Therefore, there is never a so-called ‘numerous being’.¹⁸ The examples of using *yu* 輿 as the meaning of ‘numerous, many’, could be found

¹⁴ See Bi Yuan 畢沅, *Daodejing Kaoyi* 道德經考異 [A Comparative Investigation of the Various Versions of Daodejing] in the *Jingxuntang Congshu* 經訓堂叢書 (Shanghai: Datong shuju, 1887), vol. 2, p. 2. The quotation from *Huainanzi*, see Liu Wendian 劉文典, *Huainan Honglie Jijie* 淮南鴻烈集解 [Annotations on Huainan Honlie] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2013), p. 466.

¹⁵ Li Longji 李隆基, *Tang Xuanzong Yüzhu Daode Zhenjing* 唐玄宗御註道德真經 [Tang Xuanzong’s Commentary on the Daodejing] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 1, p. 433.

¹⁶ The original text is ‘致數輿’，意謂屢得高貴之稱譽。’ See Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi* 老子道德真經注校釋 [Explanations of The Commentary on the Genuine Daodejing] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2008), p. 108.

¹⁷ Zhang Songru 張松如, *Laozi Shuojie* 老子說解 [Explanations of the Laozi] (Shandong: Qilu shushe, 1998), p. 229.

¹⁸ The original text is ‘窮極物數，雖至眾多，皆推始於一，乃無所謂眾多。’ See Lao Jian 勞健, *Laozi Guben Kao* 老子古本考 [An Investigation into the Ancient Editions of the Laozi] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 14, p. 323.

in the annotation of *Zuo Zhuan* by Du Yu 杜預.¹⁹ Lao's opinion has supporting evidence, although it might be extended too far from the context, still can be reserved.

- II. *yu* 與: Means 'with, friend, clan'. Texts A and Su Lingzhi's 蘇靈芝²⁰ version both write this. Most of the scholars read *yu* 與 as the loan character 假借字 of *yu* 輿, whereas Yan Kejun 嚴可均 points out that Su's version writes *yu* 輿 as *yu* 與 is a mistake.²¹ Annotators of the Texts B also propose, 'yu 輿, Texts A has it written as *yu* 與.....the character *yu* 輿 often written as *yu* 與 in the silk manuscripts, they are homophone 同音字 and could be loaned by each other.'²² Some also believe that *yu* 與 borrowed the meaning of *yu* 譽, Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之 says, 'yu 譽 and *yu* 與 are interchangeable graphs 通用字 in the past, therefore (some version) write *yu* 譽 as *yu* 與, however eventually written as *yu* 輿 mistakenly.'²³
- III. *yu* 譽: Means 'acclaim, praise'. Fu Yi's 傅奕, Fan Yingyuan's 范應元, Wu Cheng's 吳澄 version all have *yu* 輿 written as *yu* 譽. Gao Yandi 高延第

¹⁹ Such as 'ting yuren zhi mou 聽輿人之謀' and 'wuling yushi yanyu jundi 無令輿師淹於君地' Du Yu annotates both *yu* 輿 as 'many, everyone' (*Zhong ye* 眾也). See Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, Du Yu 杜預, Kong Yingda 孔穎達, *Chunqiu Zuo Zhuan Zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 [The Commentary of Zuo on the Spring and Autumn Annals] in the *Shisanjing Zhushu* 十三經注疏 [Exegesis of the Thirteen Classics], ed. by Committee for the Exegesis of the Thirteen Classics 十三經注疏委員會, Li Xueqin 李學勤 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000), p. 509, 797.

²⁰ See Yan Kejun 嚴可均, *Laozi Tangben Kaoyi* 老子唐本考異 [Investigation into the Differences in Tang-Dynasty Editions of the Laozi] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 10, p. 433.

²¹ Yan Kejun 嚴可均, *Laozi Tangben Kaoyi*, p. 433.

²² The original text is '輿，甲本作與……帛書「輿」字多寫成「與」，同音通假。' See *Changsha Manwangdui Hanmu Jianbo Jicheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成 [A Collections of the Bamboo Slips and Silk Manuscripts of the Han-dynasty Tombs at Mawangdui] comp. by Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2014), vol. 4, p. 198.

²³ The original text is '「譽」、「與」古通，「譽」書爲「與」，誤爲「輿」。' See Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之, *Laozi Jiaoshi* 老子校釋 [Explanations of the Laozi] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1963), p. 169.

explains, ‘Lu (Deming)’s 陸德明 *Shiwen* 釋文 reads *yu* 譽 and annotates as “acclaim”. Hence, the original version should be *yu* 譽.....in the chapter *The Utmost Happiness* 至樂 of *Zhuangzi* 莊子 says, “utmost acclaim lacks acclaim 至譽無譽.” This is exactly a quoting from *Laozi*, which can serve as proof.²⁴ Chen Guying agrees with Gao’s opinion.²⁵

- IV. *ju* 車: Means ‘vehicle’. He Shanggong, Jing Long Stele’s 景龍碑²⁶ version write this. Most scholars consider *ju* 車 is the loan character of *yu* 輿, as their meanings (chariot, vehicle) is close. Li Shuihai believes, ‘In ancient China, people tended to take a section to represent the whole, as the chariot is a kind of vehicle, therefore they are interchangeable.....Heshang Gong’s version has it written as *ju* 車, might be the result of people have changed the character during the early Han dynasty.’²⁷

2.2 Definitions of *zhi* 至, *zhi* 致 *zao* 造 and *shu* 數

- I. *zhi* 致: Means ‘arrive, lead to, cause, get, gain’. Yi Shunding 易順鼎 says, ‘If one wants to get praised, there will be no praise’.²⁸ Zheng Liangshu 鄭良樹 defines ‘致數車無車’ as ‘even though one has gained few chariots, one should

²⁴ The original text is ‘陸氏《釋文》出「譽」字，注「毀譽也」，是原本作「譽」……《莊子·至樂篇》：「至譽無譽」……正引此章句，尤可證。’ See Gao Yandi 高延第, *Laozi Zhengyi* 老子證義 [Evidenced Interpretation of the Laozi] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 11, p. 316.

²⁵ Chen Guying 陳鼓應, *The Annotated Critical Laozi: With Contemporary Explication and Traditional Commentary*, p. 247.

²⁶ 朱謙之, *Laozi Jiaoshi* 老子校釋 [Explanations of the Laozi] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1963), p. 168.

²⁷ The original text is, ‘「輿」義為車廂，古人常以局部代全體，故「輿」可取代「車」義……河上公本作「車無車」，可能在漢初傳者就改「輿」為「車」矣。’ See Li Shuihai 李水海, *Boshu Laozi Jiaojian Shipping* 帛書老子校箋譯評 (Xian: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2014), p. 37.

²⁸ The original text is, ‘若有心致數譽，將反無譽矣。’ See Yi Shunding 易順鼎, *Dulao Zhaji* 讀老札記 [Notes on Reading the Laozi] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 11, p. 449.

be humble like not having any of it.’²⁹ However, Gao Heng 高亨 proposes that *zhi* 致 should be read as *zhi* 至, they borrow each other.³⁰

- II. *zhi* 至: Means ‘go-to, extend, utmost’. Ma Xulun 馬敘倫 quotes *Zhuangzi*’s text, ‘the utmost acclaim lacks acclaim’ and renders *zhi* 至 as the ‘utmost’ form of acclaim.³¹ Zhang Songru cites Yang Shuda’s 楊樹達 *Ci Quan* 詞詮 to support this opinion.³²
- III. *Zao* 造: Means ‘go-to, arrive’. Yan Zun’s version is the only one who writes this.
- IV. *shu* 數: Means ‘count, frequently’. Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽 explains, ‘*shu* 數 means to count and name it.’³³ Jiang Xichang 蔣錫昌 interprets as ‘(Being) noble (seems to) bring acclaim frequently; (in fact) it is not.’³⁴ Moreover, the meaning of *shu* 數 ‘count 計’ has also extended further to represent the meaning of ‘care or concern about something 計較.’ Luo Yunxian 羅運賢 says, ‘*shuyu wuyu* 數譽無譽 means “care about personal acclaim, there will be none”.’³⁵ Zhang Songru holds the same view, ‘*zhi shuyu wuyu* 致數譽無譽,

²⁹ The original text is, ‘謂雖聚有數輿車，當自謙無輿車。’ See Zheng Liangshu 鄭良樹, *Laozi Xinjiao* 老子新校 [New Collation of the Laozi] (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1997), p. 189.

³⁰ Gao Heng 高亨, *Laozi Zhenggu* 老子正詁 [Collation and Explanation of the Laozi] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 14, p. 60.

³¹ Ma Xulun 馬敘倫, *Laozi Hegu* 老子覈詁 [Collation of the Laozi] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 12, p. 797.

³² The original text is ‘致」同「至」，「極」也。說見楊樹達《詞詮》。’ See Zhang Songru 張松如, *Laozi Shuojie*, p. 229.

³³ The original text is ‘數謂計舉之也。’ See Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽, *Zhouqin Daolun Fawei* 周秦道論發微 (Wuhan: Huazhong shifandaxue chubanshe, 2005), p. 98.

³⁴ The original text is ‘貴致數譽，則反無譽。’ See Jiang Xichang 蔣錫昌, *Laozi Jiaogu* 老子校詁 [Collation of the Laozi] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 14, p. 625.

³⁵ The original text is ‘「數譽無譽」，言計譽反無譽也。’ See Luo Yunxian 羅運賢, *Laozi Yuyi* 老子餘誼 [Supplementary Meanings of the Laozi] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 13, p. 112.

means “extremely care about personal praise, there will be no praise.”³⁶ Besides, Ma Xulun suspects that *shu* 數 must be a redundancy character 衍文 that mistaken with the notes written by annotators.³⁷ In fact, the earlier version such as Mawangdui texts A and B and the quotation in chapter *Daoying* 道應 of the *Huainanzi* all have the character *shu* 數. Thus, Ma’s opinion is not proven.

2.3 Philology’s and Phonology’s Aspects.

First of all, the substitute relationships between these characters could be traced from the perspective of philology and phonology.

- I. According to the *Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters* 說文解字, the original meaning of *yu* 輿 is a kind of vehicle.³⁸ *yu* 與, means ‘friends, clan’, and extends to the meaning of ‘together, with’.³⁹ *yu* 輿 and *yu* 與 do not share the definition in common. However, they are both classified in the same rhyme group 韻部 in the Old Chinese 上古音 (hereafter OC), which is *yu* 魚. Wang Li 王力 reconstructed the sound value 音值 of both *yu* 輿, *yu* 與 as [ɿia].⁴⁰ Therefore, these two characters are interchangeable. Some evidence in the ancient texts could be noticed. For instance, in the *Shi* Hexagram 師卦 of the *Book of Changes* 周易, the text reads, ‘dead bodies are on the vehicle.’

³⁶ The original text is ‘極計譽無譽也。’ See Zhang Songru 張松如, *Laozi Shuojie*, p. 229.

³⁷ Ma Xulun 馬敘倫, *Laozi Hegu*, p. 797.

³⁸ Xu Shen 許慎, Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Shuowen Jiezi Zhu* 說文解字注 [Annotations on the Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters] (Taipei: Hungyeh Publishing Co., Ltd, 2016), p. 728.

³⁹ The annotation of Duan Yucai says, ‘黨當作攬。攬，朋群也。’ See Xu Shen 許慎, Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Shuowen Jiezi Zhu*, p. 106.

⁴⁰ For Wang Li’s reconstruction, I follow the *Hanzi Gujin Yinbiao* 漢字古今音表 that adopted Wang’s research in his *Hanyu Shigao* 漢語史稿 with some corrections. See Li Zhenhua 李珍華, Zhou Changji 周長楫, *Hanzi Gujin Yinbiao* 漢字古今音表 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1998), p. 85.

(*Shihuo yushi*, *xiong* 師或輿尸 凶). Yu Yue 俞樾 says, ‘*yu* 輿 should be read as *yu* 與.’⁴¹ He then lists down some names from the *Zuo Zhuan* which contains the character *yu* 與, such as ‘*Zhengyuzi* 正輿子’, ‘*Boyu* 伯輿’ and ‘*Zhanyu* 展輿’. *The Textual Explanations of the Classics* 經典釋文 (hereafter *Shiwen*) annotates, ‘*yu* 輿 is also written as *yu* 與.’⁴² Moreover, the courtesy name of Zengzi 曾子 is written as ‘*zi* 子 *yu* 輿’ in the *Shiji*,⁴³ but the *Kongzi Shijia* 孔子世家 uses *yu* 與 to replace *yu* 輿.⁴⁴ Yu’s view is worth following. *yu* 輿 and *yu* 譽 [ɿa]⁴⁵ also share the same pronunciation in the OC. Li Shuihai proposes that the variant form 異體 of *yu* 輿 is *yu* 輿, which also has a similar form with *yu* 譽, transcribers of *Laozi* might have mistaken the *yu* 輿 as *yu* 譽.⁴⁶ Hence, the relation between *yu* 輿 and *yu* 譽 is the same pronunciation and similar writing form. Wang Niansun 王念孫 says, ‘*Xunzi* 荀子 reads “(although) you gang up with somebody, but still losing friends.” (*bizhou er yuyu shao* 比周而譽俞少). The character *yu* 譽 here should be understood as *yu* 輿 (friends, clan).’⁴⁷ He also notices that in the chapter

⁴¹ Yu Yue 俞樾, *Qunjing Pingyi* 群經平議, in the *Yu Yue Quanjì* 俞樾全集 [Collected Works of Yu Yue] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2016), vol. 1, p. 5.

⁴² Lu Deming 陸德明, *Jingdian Shiwen* 經典釋文 [*The Textual Explanations of the Classics*] in *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 [The Complete Library in Four Sections], comp. by Jiyun 紀昀 et al., (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986), vol. 182, p. 688, 692, 709.

⁴³ Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji*, p. 2665.

⁴⁴ However, I did not find any versions of *Kongzi Jiayu* that writes *yü* 輿 to replace *yü* 輿. See Chen Shike 陳士珂, *Kongzi Jiayu Shuzheng* 孔子家語疏證 [Explanations of the Kongzi Jiayu] (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2018), p. 249.

⁴⁵ Li Zhenhua 李珍華, Zhou Changji 周長楫, *Hanzi Gujin Yinbiao* 漢字古今音表 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1998), p. 85.

⁴⁶ Li Shuihai 李水海, *Boshu Laozi Jiaojian Shipping*, p. 37.

⁴⁷ Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Dushu Zazhi* 讀書雜誌 [Miscellaneous Notes on the Classics] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015), p. 1719.

Sheyi 射義 of the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記) mentions, ‘(when the state) is stable, acclaims will arrive.’ (*zeyan zeyu* 則燕則譽). Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 annotates, ‘*yu* 譽, might also be written as *yu* 與.’⁴⁸ Moreover, the chapter *Yaodian* 堯典 of the *Book of History* 尚書 records a name ‘Bo 伯 *yu* 與’,⁴⁹ while the *Book of Han* 漢書 has it written as ‘Bo 柏 *yu* 譽’.⁵⁰ The textual verifications of Wang have proven that *yu* 與 and *yu* 譽 often borrowed each other in the ancient texts, and yet *yu* 與 is also replaceable with *yu* 輿. Finally, *yu* 輿 and *ju* 車 [kĩa]⁵¹ not only share the similar pronunciation in the OC, *ju* 車 means ‘the general name of all vehicle’ (輿輪之總名也),⁵² which has the close connotation with *yu* 輿. Therefore, these four characters have a philological and phonological relationship in common. Besides, all of them have their vowel raised from [-a] to [-u]) (元音高化). The pronunciation of 車 has separated as *ju* and *che* already since the Han dynasty. Liu Xi 劉熙 claims this in his *Shi Ming* 釋名, ‘the ancient pronunciation is as “*ju* 居”; the recent pronunciation

⁴⁸ Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, Kong Yingda 孔穎達, *Liji Zhengyi* 禮記正義 [The Commentary of the Book of Rites] in the *Shisanjing Zhushu* 十三經注疏 [Exegesis of the Thirteen Classics], ed. by Committee for the Exegesis of the Thirteen Classics 十三經注疏委員會, Li Xueqin 李學勤 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000), p. 1918.

⁴⁹ Kong Anguo 孔安國, Kong Yingda, 孔穎達, *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義 [The Commentary of the Book of History] in the *Shisanjing Zhushu* 十三經注疏 [Exegesis of the Thirteen Classics], ed. by Committee for the Exegesis of the Thirteen Classics 十三經注疏委員會, Li Xueqin 李學勤 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000), p. 92.

⁵⁰ Ban Gu 班固, Yan Shigu 顏師古, *Han Shu* 漢書 [The Book of Han] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2013), p. 879.

⁵¹ Li Zhenhua 李珍華, Zhou Changji 周長楫, *Hanzi Gujin Yinbiao* 漢字古今音表 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1998), p. 84.

⁵² Xu Shen 許慎, Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Shuowen Jiezi Zhu*, p. 727.

is as “*she* 舍”.⁵³ However, either *ju* 居 [kĩa]⁵⁴ and *she* 舍 [cia]⁵⁵ are both in the same rhyme group *yu* 魚, it does not affect the result. To sum up, the relations between them could be illustrated below:

Table 2 Philological and phonological relationships between *yu* 輿, *yu* 與, *yu* 譽 and *ju* 車

Characters	Sound Values in the OC	Rhyme Group in the OC	Meanings
<i>yu</i> 輿	[ɦĩa]	<i>yu</i> 魚	Chariot
<i>yu</i> 與	[ɦĩa]		1. Friend, clan 2. With, together
<i>yu</i> 譽	[ɦĩa]		Acclaim
<i>ju</i> 車	[kĩa]		Vehicle

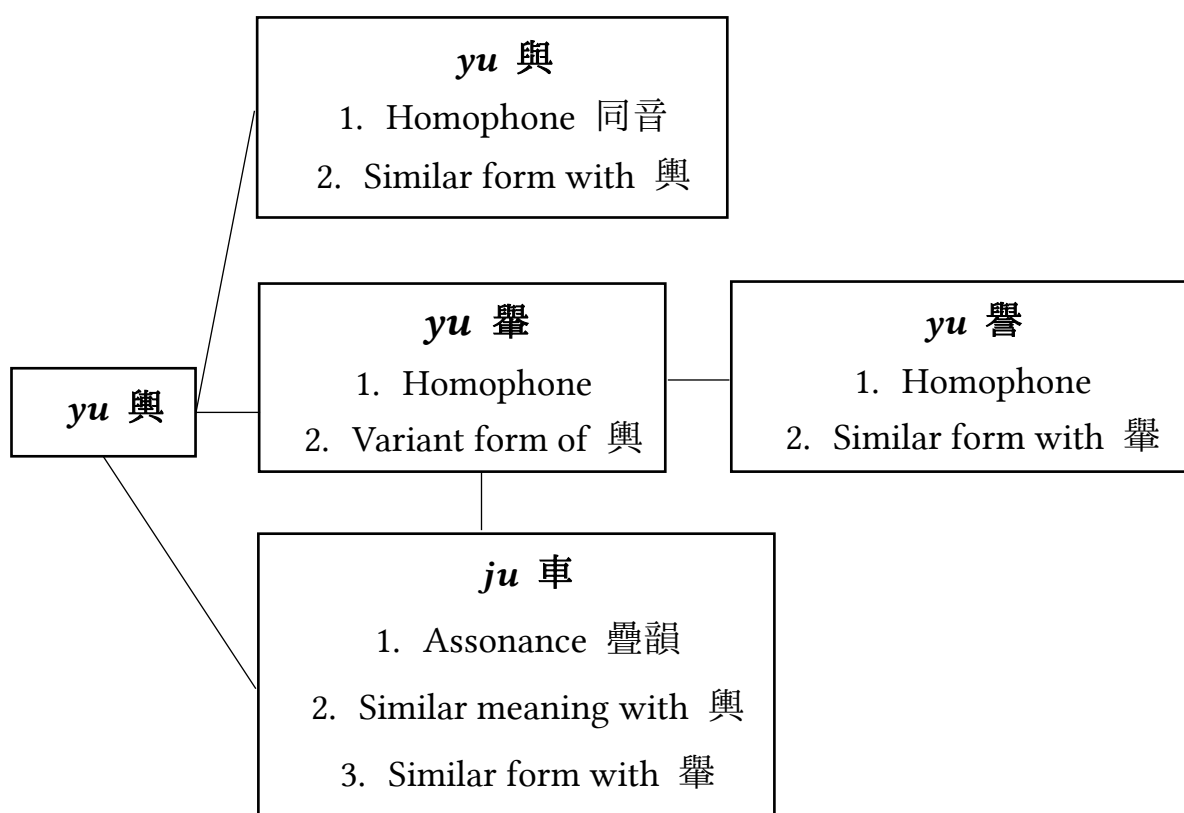
⁵³ Liu Xi 劉熙, Ren Jifang 任繼昉, *Shiming Huijiao* 釋名匯校 [Collations of the Shiming] (Shandong: Qilu shushe, 2006), p. 401.

⁵⁴ Li Zhenhua 李珍華, Zhou Changji 周長楫, *Hanzi Gujin Yinbiao* 漢字古今音表 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1998), p. 84.

⁵⁵ Li Zhenhua 李珍華, Zhou Changji 周長楫, *Hanzi Gujin Yinbiao* 漢字古今音表 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1998), p. 316.

Chart 1 Philological and phonological relationships between

yu 輿, *yu* 與, *yu* 譽 and *ju* 車



II. *zhi* 致 and *zhi* 至 are in the same rhyme group, *zhi* 脂 in the OC, and both reconstructed as [tʃei].⁵⁶ A sentence in the *Zhuangzi* reads, ‘go to the yellow spring’ (*zhi huangquan* 致黃泉). *Shiwen* annotates the character *zhi* 致 as *zhi* 至.⁵⁷ In the *Analects of Confucius*, the text says, ‘might block a lofty target.’ (*zhiyuan kongni* 致遠恐泥); ‘exemplary persons seek to master the Way by learning.’ (*junzi xueyi zhi qi dao* 君子學以致其道). Xing Bing 邢昺⁵⁸ and

⁵⁶ Li Zhenhua 李珍華, Zhou Changji 周長楫, *Hanzi Gujin Yinbiao* 漢字古今音表 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1998), p. 73.

⁵⁷ Lu Deming 陸德明, *Jingdian Shiwen*, p. 874.

⁵⁸ See He Yan 何晏, Xing Bing 邢昺, *Lunyu Zhushu* 論語注疏 [The Commentary of the Analects of Confucius] in the *Shisanjing Zhushu* 十三經注疏 [Exegesis of the Thirteen Classics], ed. by Committee for the Exegesis of the Thirteen Classics 十三經注疏委員會, Li Xueqin 李學勤 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000), p. 293.

Huang Kan 皇侃⁵⁹ each annotates the *zhi* 致 as *zhi* 至. Therefore, they are interchangeable in ancient texts.

The character *zao* 造 [dzu]⁶⁰ has no phonological relationship with both *zhi* 致 and *zhi* 至. However, *zao* 造 means ‘go-to’,⁶¹ which is similar to the meaning of *zhi* 致 (arrive) and *zhi* 至 (go-to), this might be the reason that Yan Zun uses the former to replace the latter.

3. Studies on Various Interpretations

Above all, *yu* 輿, *yu* 與 and *ju* 車 could be merged in a group; *yu* 譽 is alone on itself. *zhi* 致, *zhi* 至 *zao* 造 share a similar meaning as well. After combining these interchangeable characters, there are two interpretations left:

3.2 ‘Acclaim’ (故至譽無譽/故致數譽無譽)

The first interpretation is ‘Therefore, the utmost acclaim lacks acclaim./ Therefore, (although kings and rulers) get much acclaimed, but they take it as nothing.’

Fu Yi’s, Lu Huiqing’s 呂惠卿⁶², Wu Cheng’s version and Wang Pang’s 王雱 annotation⁶³ all have *yu* 輿 written as *yu* 譽. Scholars who support this interpretation have their proof from the quotation in the *Zhuangzi*, ‘utmost acclaim lacks acclaim 至譽無譽’. Aside from Chen Guying, a majority of the translators follow this interpretation, such as:

⁵⁹ See Cheng Shude 程樹德, *Lunyu Jishi* 論語集釋 [Collected Interpretations of the Laozi] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2018), p. 1690.

⁶⁰ Li Zhenhua 李珍華, Zhou Changji 周長楫, *Hanzi Gujin Yinbiao* 漢字古今音表 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1998), p. 284.

⁶¹ Xu Shen 許慎, Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Shuowen Jiezi Zhu*, p. 71.

⁶² Lü Huiqing 呂惠卿, *Daode Zhenjing Zhuan* 道德真經傳 [On the Genuine Daodejing] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 2, p. 672.

⁶³ Wang Pang 王雱, *Laozi Xunzhuan* 老子訓傳 [On the Genuine Laozi] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 2, p. 715.

- I. D. C. Lao 劉殿爵, 'Hence the highest renown is without renown.'⁶⁴
- II. Hongkyung Kim, 'Therefore if you count honours, no honour will arrive.'⁶⁵
- III. Roger T. Ames, David L. Hall, 'The highest renown is to be without renown.'⁶⁶
- IV. Wang Rongpei 汪榮培 and Puffenberger, 'The highest reputation is no reputation.'⁶⁷
- V. Wu, Charles, 'Thus the highest honour is no honour.'⁶⁸
- VI. Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖, 'Therefore, too much honour amounts to no honour.'⁶⁹

As mentioned above, the character 'shu 數' should not be indicated as the redundancy character, as it is written in the manuscript's versions. Thus, explaining this sentence without including *shu* 數 is not suitable. Secondly, the quotation of *Zhuangzi* is not a piece of firm textual evidence. Because among the quotations from the *Laozi* in this book, most of them are not coincide with the original texts, as could be seen at the tables below :

Table 3 Comparison of the quotations in the *Zhuangzi* and original texts in the *Laozi*

No.	<i>Zhuangzi</i>	<i>Laozi</i> (Wang Bi's version)	<i>Laozi</i> (Mawangdui Manuscripts' version)
1.	芒乎芴乎，而無從出乎！ 芒乎芴乎，而無有象乎！⁷⁰ (<i>Utmost Happiness</i> 至樂)	惚兮恍兮，其中有象；恍兮惚兮，其中有物。	Text A: 【忽呵恍】呵，中有象呵。望呵忽呵，中有物呵。

⁶⁴ Lao Tzu *Tao Te Ching*, trans. by D. C. Lao 劉殿爵 (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 46.

⁶⁵ Kim, Hongkyung, *The Old Master: A Syncretic Reading of the Laozi from the Mawangdui Text A Onward* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2012), p. 27.

⁶⁶ Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall, *Daodejing: 'Making This Life Significant': A Philosophical Translation* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003), p. 138.

⁶⁷ *Tao Te Ching*, trans. by Wang Rongpei 汪榮培, Puffenberger, Williams (Shenyang: Liaoning University Press, 1996), p. 107.

⁶⁸ Charles Q. Wu, *Thus spoke Laozi: A New Translation with Commentaries of Daodejing* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), p. 90.

⁶⁹ *The Old Master Modernized Laws Divine and Human: Chinese-English Edition*, trans. by Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖 (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003), p. 88.

⁷⁰ Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Zhuangzi Jijie* 莊子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1999), p. 150.

		⁷¹ (Chapter 21)	Text B: 沕呵望呵，中又象 呵。 ⁷² (Chapter 21)
2.	既雕既琢，復歸於朴。 ⁷³ (<i>Mountain Trees</i> 山木)	爲天下谷，常德 乃足，復歸於 樸。 ⁷⁴ (Chapter 28)	Text A: (Mostly damaged) Text B: 爲天下浴，恆德乃 足。恆德乃足，復歸於樸。 ⁷⁵ (Chapter 28)
3.	自伐者無功，功成者墜， 名成者虧。 ⁷⁶ (<i>Mountain Trees</i> 山木)	自伐者無功，自 矜者不長。 ⁷⁷ (Chapter 24)	Text A and B: 自伐者无功， 自矜者不長。 ⁷⁸ (Chapter 22)
4.	衛生之經，能抱一乎？ ⁷⁹ (<i>Geng Sangchu</i> 庚喪楚)	載營魄抱一，能 無離乎？ ⁸⁰ (Chapter 10)	Text A: (Mostly damaged) Text B: 載營柏抱一，能毋 離乎？ ⁸¹ (Chapter 10)
5.	而睢睢盱盱，而誰與居？ 大白若辱，盛德若不足。 ⁸² (<i>Faber</i> 寓言)	上德若谷，大白 若辱，廣德若不 足。 ⁸³	Text A: (Damaged) Text B: 上德若浴，大白若 辱，廣德如不足。 ⁸⁴

⁷¹ Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi*, p. 52.

⁷² Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, p. 328.

⁷³ Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Zhuangzi Jijie* 莊子集解, p. 170.

⁷⁴ Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi*, p. 74.

⁷⁵ Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, p. 371.

⁷⁶ Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Zhuangzi Jijie* 莊子集解, p. 171.

⁷⁷ Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi*, p. 60.

⁷⁸ Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, p. 334.

⁷⁹ Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Zhuangzi Jijie* 莊子集解, p. 199.

⁸⁰ Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi*, p. 22.

⁸¹ Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, p. 262.

⁸² Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Zhuangzi Jijie* 莊子集解, p. 249.

⁸³ Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi*, p. 112.

⁸⁴ Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, pp. 21-22.

		(Chapter 41)	(Chapter 40)
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From above, it could be seen that quotations in the *Zhuangzi* might have been reinterpreted by the author, whereas not the original texts from the Laozi. Although in the chapter *On Letting Alone* 在宥, the quotation of chapter 13 of the Laozi is with the manuscript's version instead of Wang Bi's,⁸⁵ but this is an exception and might be a minor transcribing mistake by Wang only. Furthermore, quoting texts with reinterpretation is also a common practice of the pre-Qin's academic field. We can find some examples from other pre-Qin texts as well:

Table 4 Comparison of the quotations in the other pre-Qin texts and original texts in the *Laozi*

No.	<i>Laozi</i> (Wang Bi's version)	<i>Laozi</i> (Manuscripts' version)	Other pre-Qin texts
1.	禍兮福之所倚，福兮禍之所伏。孰知其極？其無正，正復爲奇，善復爲妖。 ⁸⁶ (Chapter 58)	Text A: 𡇗，福之所倚；福，𡇗之所伏，【孰知其極】？ Text B: 【禍，福之所倚；福，禍之】所伏，孰知其極？ ⁸⁷ (Chapter 58)	禍乎福之所倚，福乎禍之所伏。禍與福如糾纏。渾沌錯紛，其狀若一，交解行狀，孰知其則。 ⁸⁸ (<i>Shi Bing, Heguan Zi</i> 鶡冠子·世兵)
2.	夫慈，以戰則勝，以守則	Text A: 夫茲，【以戰】	以守則固，以征則

⁸⁵ Wang's version writes, '故貴以身爲天下，若可寄天下；愛以身爲天下，若可托天下。' *Zhuangzi* quotes, '貴以身於爲天下，則可以托天下；愛以身於爲天下，則可以寄天下。' The character 'ji 寄' and 'tuo 托' are in opposite order, which is match with the manuscript's version. See Gao Ming, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, pp. 279-280. Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Zhuangzi Jijie* 莊子集解, p. 91.

⁸⁶ Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi*, p. 152.

⁸⁷ Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, p. 110.

⁸⁸ Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, *Heguan Zi Jiaozhu* 鶡冠子校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2014), p. 282.

	固。 ⁸⁹ (Chapter 67)	則勝，以守則固。 Text B: 夫茲，以單則朕， 以守則固。 ⁹⁰ (Chapter 69)	強。 ⁹¹ (Yi Bing, Xunzi 荀 子·議兵)
3.	大方無隅，大器晚成，大 音希聲。 ⁹² (Chapter 41)	Text A: (Damaged) Text B: 大方無隅，大器免 成，大音希聲。 ⁹³ (Chapter 40)	大智不形，大器晚 成，大音希聲。 ⁹⁴ (Le Cheng, Lüshi Chunqiu 呂氏春 秋·樂成)
4.	知，不知，上；不知， 知，病。 ⁹⁵ (Chapter 71)	Text A: 知，不知，尙 矣；不知不知，病矣。 Text B: 知，不知，尙矣； 不知知，病矣。 ⁹⁶ (Chapter 73)	知，不知，上矣。 過者之患，不知而 自以爲知。 ⁹⁷ (Bielei, Lüshi Chunqiu 呂氏春 秋·別類)

Finally, interprets *yu* 與 as *yu* 譽 does not seem to connect with the context of this chapter, because it does not make sense when linked with *zhi* 致 *shu* 數. As Lin Yutang 林語堂 mentions, ‘apart from the substitution of words, this reading makes no sense in the context.’⁹⁸ Luo Yunxian defines *shu* 數 as ‘care’ and

⁸⁹ Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi*, p. 170.

⁹⁰ Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, p. 163.

⁹¹ Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Xunzi Jijie* 荀子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2016), p. 343.

⁹² Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi*, p. 112-113.

⁹³ Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, p. 24.

⁹⁴ Xu Weiyu 許維通, *Lüshi Chunqiu Jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2010), p. 412.

⁹⁵ Wang Bi 王弼, Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi Daode Zhenjing Zhu Jiaoshi*, p. 178.

⁹⁶ Gao Ming 高明, *Boshu Laozi Jiaozhu*, p. 177.

⁹⁷ Xu Weiyu 許維通, *Lüshi Chunqiu Jishi*, p. 661.

⁹⁸ Lin Yutang 林語堂, *The Wisdom of Laotze* 老子的智慧 (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 2009), p. 627.

interprets this sentence as, ‘lords and kings refer to themselves as “orphaned,” “widowed,” and “without possessions call themselves”, this means they do not care about being acclaimed; however, they will still receive acclaim eventually. Therefore, it is clear that there will be no acclaim when your care about it.’⁹⁹ But Luo does not explain about *zhi* 致. Ma Xulun defines *zhi* 致 as *zhi* 至 ‘utmost acclaim’ but ignores *shu* 數 at the same time.

3.3 ‘Chariot’ (故致數輿無輿/數車無車)

The second interpretation is ‘Therefore, if you merely enumerate the many parts of the chariot, there will be no complete chariot.’

Scholars and annotators who follow this interpretation assume that everything is formed by many components, therefore by calling a particular name, will dismiss the other components at the same time. Heshang Gong says, ‘If we count the parts of a chariot, there are spoke, wheels, hub, scale, shaft and axel. These components do not have the name of “chariot”, therefore could form a “chariot”. Such as the lords and kings do not (conceitedly) call themselves as venerable, then the honour will arrive.’¹⁰⁰

Zhang Shunhui addresses this concept in a more detail way,

yu 輿 is the general name of chariots 車. *Kaogongji* 考工記 mentions, ‘A chariot is the thing that requires many works.’..... A chariot is built up by wheels, spokes, cover, board, scale.....if we only pointed out the general name ‘chariots’, how are we supposed to know the functions and usage of its components?..... Ancient people often use this as an analogy of governing, in which to expound the governing of a country is based on the wisdom and efforts of everyone, instead of personal effort of the leader.....if the leader claims the credit of collective work for oneself, it is the chance to take failure.....The meaning of this sentence follows the upper sentence ‘the lords and kings use “friendless”, “unworthy”, and “inept” as terms to refer to themselves and provides

⁹⁹ The original text is, ‘侯王自謂孤寡不穀，此不計譽矣，而譽自歸之，然則計譽無譽明甚。’ See Luo Yunxian 羅運賢, *Laozi Yuyi*, vol. 13, p. 112.

¹⁰⁰ The original text is ‘人就車數之，為輻、為輪、為轂、為衡、為轅、為軸，無有名為車者，故成為車，以喻侯王不以尊號之名，故能成其貴。’ See Heshang Gong 河上公, *Daode Zhenjing Zhu*, vol. 1, p. 157.

an analogy to explain it. It makes sense to read with the original character *yu* 輿.¹⁰¹

However, some scholars explain in the opposite way. Cheng Xuanying proposes that ‘*yu* 輿 means “chariot”. A compartment, spokes, hubs and rims are provisionally pieced together to form a chariot. There is a “chariot” in name only. When its parts are enumerated, it becomes clear that there is no real entity “carriage” 無有名爲車者. Our physical bodies forms are likewise illusory. Since the body is a floating insubstantiality 浮虛, how can a superior position attach itself permanently to it?’¹⁰² Cheng’s thought might derive from Buddhism, as his living era was the Tang dynasty. Zhu Qianzhi noticed this and points out that, in the existing *pali* text 巴利文 *sutra Milinda Pañha* 彌蘭王問經 (or the Chinese translation *Naxian Biqu Sutra* 那先比丘經)¹⁰³, a similar paragraph could be identified. The venerable Nagasena 那先 once asked Milinda the King 彌蘭王 during a discussion,

‘How did you come, on foot, or in a chariot?’ ‘I did not come, Sir, on foot. I came in a carriage.’ ‘Then if you came, Sire, in a carriage, explain to me what that is. Is it the pole that is the chariot?’ ‘I did not say that.’ ‘Is it the axle that is the chariot?’ ‘Certainly not.’ ‘Is it the wheels, or the framework, or the ropes? Or the yoke, or the spokes of the

¹⁰¹ The original text is ‘輿乃車之通名。《考工記》云：「一器而工聚焉者，車爲多。」……蓋車之爲物，由輪、輻、蓋、軫、衡……若但舉車輿大名，何足以見其全體之用……古人常取此以喻治道，明一國之治，亦由眾智羣力所集，而非人主一人所能爲……若自居成功，貪爲己力，適足以取敗耳……此句承上文「是以侯王自謂孤寡不穀」之下，而因近取譬，以喻君道，照原文讀可通，不必改字也。’ See Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽, *Zhouqin Daolun Fawei* 周秦道論發微, p. 98.

¹⁰² The original text is ‘輿，車也。箱、輻、轂、輞假和而成，徒有車名，數卽無實。五物四大，爲幻亦然。所以身旣浮虛，貴將安寄？’ Translation adopted from Qian Zhongshu with modifications. See Cheng Xuanying 成玄英, *Daode Zhenjing Kaitixujue Yishu* 老子道德經開題序訣義疏 [A Hermeneutic Study of the Subject Revealing and the Knack Ordering of the Daodejing] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), p. 317.

¹⁰³ The Chinese translation is ‘那先問王言名車何所爲車者軸爲車耶。王言軸不爲車。那先言輞爲車耶。王言輞不爲車。那先言輻爲車耶。王言輻不爲車。那先言轂爲車耶。王言轂不爲車。那先言輗爲車耶。王言輗不爲車。那先言軛爲車耶。王言軛不爲車。那先言輿爲車耶。王言輿不爲車。那先言扛爲車耶。王言扛不爲車。那先言蓋爲車耶。王言蓋不爲車。那先言合聚是諸材木著一面寧爲車耶。王言合聚是諸材木著一面不爲車也。那先言假令不合聚是諸材木寧爲車耶。王言不合聚是諸材木不爲車。那先言音聲爲車耶。王言音聲不爲車。那先言何所爲車者。王便默然不語。’ See *Naxian Biqu Jing* 那先比丘經 (Naxian Biqu Sutra), CBETA, available at: http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T32n1670A_001, accessed 20 March 2021.

wheels, or the goad, that are the chariots?’ And to all these, he still answered no. ‘Then is it all these parts of it that are the chariot?’ ‘No, sir.’ ‘But is there anything outside them that is the chariot?’ And still, he answered no. ‘Then thus, ask as I may, I can discover no chariot. Chariot is a mere empty sound. What then is the chariot you say you came in? It is a falsehood that your Majesty has spoken, an untruth! There is no such thing as a chariot!’¹⁰⁴

The venerable Nagasena takes this analogy to expound that all beings in this world are not real existing, the so-called ‘chariot’, or the name of ‘human body’ that formed by ‘thirty-two kinds of organic’ is only ‘a designation in common use’ for general understanding.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, the *Diamond Sutra* 金剛經 mentions, ‘everything with form is unreal. If all forms are seen as unreal, the Tathagata will be perceived. 凡所有相，皆是虛妄，若見諸相非相，則見如來’¹⁰⁶ This paragraph shows the cosmology 宇宙論 and ontology 存有論 of Buddhism, which flourished and reached its summit during the Tang dynasty. From this perspective, it seems reasonable that Cheng Xuanying’s thought was blended with Buddhism.

On the contrary, some scholars do not agree with Cheng using the philosophy of Buddhism to annotate Daoism texts. Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, in his *Limited Views* 管錐編, indicates that Buddhism and the *Laozi* might have denoted the same but what they signify might be different 指同而旨不必同. He then criticises Cheng’s indiscriminately annotates Buddhism’s philosophy on Laozi’s words, just by noticing Buddhist sutras and Laozi both mentioned the analogy of ‘chariot’. In fact, the Venerable master Chengguan 澄觀 from the Tang dynasty as well had pointed out Cheng’s mistake, ‘In recent times, Cheng Xuanying is working on the annotations of *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, while often cites Buddhist sutras to read Daoism texts. Although he sees the slight similarities on literal understanding, but could he notice the major differences in meaning?’¹⁰⁷ Qian believes that Laozi and Zhuangzi’s

¹⁰⁴ *The Questions of King Milinda*, ed. and tr by Davids, T. W. Rhys with modifications (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1890-94), pp. 43-44.

¹⁰⁵ *The Questions of King Milinda*, ed. and tr by Davids, T. W. Rhys with, p. 44.

¹⁰⁶ Translation adopted from online resources with modifications. See *Jingang Jing* 金剛經 (The Diamond Sutra), CBETA, available at http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T08n0235_001, accessed 20 March 2021.

¹⁰⁷ See Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Limited Views: Essays on Ideas and Letters*, trans. by Ronal Egan (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 292.

purpose is to refute the ‘*fallacy of division* (or *fallacia divisionis*)’ 分散智論 raised by the Logicians (or The School of Name) 名家. As *Zhuangzi* says,

Discordant elements unite to form a harmonious whole. Take away this unity and each has a separate individuality. Point at any one of the many parts of a horse, and that is not a horse, although there is the horse before you. It is the combination of all which makes the horse. 今指馬百體而不得馬,而繫馬於前者,立其百體而謂之馬也。¹⁰⁸

Qian believes that Laozi’s statement about ‘missing the complete carriage’ 無輿 is similar to *Zhuangzi*’s about not finding the horse 不得馬. Because neither the hub nor wheels could be called a ‘carriage’, as if neither the hoof nor tails could be called a ‘horse’. ‘The composite whole is divided into its many parts (units 各一) in order to destroy that which they jointly compose (unity 同一)’¹⁰⁹ Therefore, Qian assumes that this manner of thinking, ‘for all its appeal, is not valid, and both *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* refer to it only to reject it.’ He expands further, ‘if things are divided and their parts enumerated separately.....so that the “One” 一 is broken apart and will never be recovered.’ He also quotes Ji Kang’s 嵇康 words to explain *Laozi*’s idea from the opposite perspective, ‘These several longevity techniques must be combined together to become useful. None may be omitted. They are like shafts, axle, wheels, and linchpins in the carriage, none of which can be lacking from the entire vehicle.’ Qian continues to argue that, such ideas of ‘unless they are combined together, these various pieces of wood do not make a carriage’ had never been existed in Chinese writings before the arrival of Buddhism. The analogy of *Laozi*, is not similar to the ‘*fallacia divisionis*’.¹¹⁰ Indeed, there is a separate entity ‘carriage’, a ‘One’, which is not supported by Buddhism. Buddhism states that every ‘being’ or ‘thing’ is non-existent, as everything could be divided into many constituent parts. Obviously, *Laozi*’s thought and Buddhism go contrary in directions at this point.

To sum up Zhang’s and Qian’s commentaries, one aspect could be clarified -- The ‘chariot’ is analogous to the ‘oneness’, which is the *Dao*, or at least an approach

¹⁰⁸ *Chuang Tzu: Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer*, trans. by Herbert A. Giles (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1889), p.347.

¹⁰⁹ See Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Limited Views: Essays on Ideas and Letters*, p. 291.

¹¹⁰ See Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Limited Views: Essays on Ideas and Letters*, p. 291.

to the *Dao*. For instance, Lin Xiyi 林希逸 says, “‘oneness’ is the *Dao*.”¹¹¹ Yan Lingfeng 嚴靈峰 states that ‘achieving “oneness” is like saying achieving the *Dao*.’¹¹² This is a crucial point to understand *Laozi*’s philosophy. In chapter 42, the text reads, ‘*With the Dao, there is oneness; with oneness, there is twoness; with twoness, there is threeness; with threeness, there are myriad things.*’ Here I adopted Moeller’s translation. He analyses, ‘The *Dao* is based on unity, and this unity is both the internal unity of the empty centre 中空 and the external unity of the whole function 全體.’ He claims that the number ‘one’ symbolizes both the empty centre and the whole, ‘it stands for both “singleness 一”. and “totality 全”.’ The ‘emptiness’ of the ‘oneness’, is the key that allows ‘twoness’ (*Yin* 陰 and *Yang* 陽) to proceed, generates, add up to ‘threeness’ and myriad things. However, this could not be understood as a ‘historical process’ 歷史進程 of generation which creates the cosmos. On contrary, Moeller clarifies, ‘Oneness, twoness, threeness, and multiplicity do not follow each other in a sequence, they rather go along with each other.....they do not represent an evolutionary history.’ The inner ‘emptiness’ is the centre to provide the process or function of the ‘wholeness’, as Moeller mentions, is like the heart of the body, the hub of the wheel and the ruler of the state. The inner centre can unite the organs in the body, spikes in the wheel and people in the state into ‘one mechanism or organism’ 一個有機體或機制.¹¹³

On the other hand, Ames translates the ‘oneness’ as ‘continuity’ 連續性.¹¹⁴ In which the ‘oneness’ and ‘continuity’ is the mutual implications of opposites. For instance, beauty is only considered as beauty when in contrast with the ugly; a virtue is only considered as a virtue when in contrast with evil. Thus, everything has its

¹¹¹ The original text is ‘一者，道也。’ See Lin Xiyi 林希逸, *Daode Zhenjing Kouyi* 道德真經口義 [Interpretation of the Laozi in Everyday Language] in the *Laozi Jicheng* 老子集成 [A Collections of Editions and Commentaries for the Laozi] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), vol. 4, p. 511.

¹¹² The original text is ‘道通爲一。’ See Yan Lingfeng 嚴靈峰, *Laozi Dajie* 老子達解 [Comprehensive Interpretation of the Laozi] (Taipei: Huazheng shuju, 2008), p. 207.

¹¹³ Moeller, Hans-Georg, *The Philosophy of the Daodejing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 40.

¹¹⁴ Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall, *Daodejing: ‘Making This Life Significant’: A Philosophical Translation*, philosophical introduction, p. 21.

opposite sites which sustain them, including the honoured leader. If the balance is ignored or broken, the danger will then approach. Moreover, Ames supposes that our world is ecologically like a 'natural habitat' (similar to the 'organism' proposed by Moeller), and this habitat will facilitate the process 'only by deferring to the importance of each element within it.' Therefore, the system 'is merely a function of the flourishing of each participant, with the importance residing in these constituents.' There is never a 'superordinated' ruler system, everything is in an interdependence relationship, yet is in a continuous process of change.¹¹⁵ Broadly speaking, human beings are just one of the many realities part of this cosmos, as we are all part of a whole and partake of the whole.

If we integrate these interpretations with *Laozi's* texts, teaching on leadership could clearly be depicted. Firstly, is to be humble, the previous text mentions that 'Therefore, the noble takes the base as its root the higher takes the lower as its foundation. In this way, lords and kings refer to themselves as "orphaned," "widowed," and "without possessions."' Here, Laozi puts forward that rulers should not leave room for complacency, while treating all people below him/her with equal seriousness and respect (such as the trivial components of a chariot), get rid of the distinction between one's person and the world in which we live. This is developed through the mental of the 'oneness', understanding that everyone is a 'natural habitat' or 'organism', whereas none can be the absolute ruler.

Li Shuihai follows Zhang's and Qian's opinion, and interprets this line as 'Hence, it does not work if you strongly point out the (noble) name of the chariot, but without enumerating the many trivial parts of it.'¹¹⁶ However, Li might have extended the meaning too far and added too many words within it.

4. Conclusion

In summary, the second interpretation will be more reliable. Firstly, from the textual perspective, the Mawangdui manuscript's version, which is the earliest version that

¹¹⁵ Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall, *Daodejing: 'Making This Life Significant': A Philosophical Translation*, p. 131.

¹¹⁶ The original text is '所以，這就譬比極力舉車輿的尊貴之名，（卻不計舉車輿上眾多卑小部件之功用），而實際上是沒有尊車輿一樣。' See Li Shuihai 李水海, *Boshu Laozi Jiaojian Shipping*, p. 41.

could be seen now, also writes ‘yu 輿’. Secondly, it fits the context of chapter 39 which discusses the relationship between the innate essence of the *Dao* --‘oneness’ (一) and the ‘multiness’ (*shu* 數/ *duo* 多) in *Laozi*’s philosophy. In which I interpret this sentence as, ‘Therefore (故), enumerate (數) the chariot (輿) into separated (致) parts, the [function of] the chariot will be lost (無輿).’¹¹⁷ By this, the philosophy of ‘oneness’ will be more projected. Separated parts of the chariot are analogous to the ‘myriad/ ten thousand things 萬物’ in chapter 41, whereas could be understood as every ‘being’ on this planet. Countless ‘beings’ have different forms, usages, abilities, etc., but all are rooted from the formless ‘oneness’, as it has been said by the *Zhuangzi*, ‘the universe and I came into being together; and I, and everything therein, are One.’¹¹⁸ Trivial components could not form a chariot if they work independently, as if myriad things could function normally only by embracing the ‘oneness’. Therefore, the essence of ‘oneness’ is the main idea that *Laozi* wanted to bring out in this sentence.

With this understanding, we could divide chapter 39 into three paragraphs: The first paragraph discusses the importance and function of the ‘oneness’ that the world can be without:

Of those who once received oneness:
 heaven received oneness—to be clear;
 earth received oneness—to be at rest;
 spirits received oneness—to be animated;
 valleys received oneness—to be full;
 lords and kings received oneness—to set the world straight.¹¹⁹

The second paragraph continues to narrate the negative impact if one detached from the ‘oneness’:

In other words, if the heavens cannot maintain their clarity and brightness, then they will likely shatter;
 if the earth cannot maintain its stillness and tranquillity, then it will likely collapse;
 if spirits cannot maintain their ingenuity and wonderfulness, then they will likely

¹¹⁷ Here I extend the meaning of *zhi* 致, ‘utmost’ to the ‘smallest part of the carriage that can be separated.’

¹¹⁸ *Chuang Tzu: Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer*, trans. by Herbert A. Giles, p.23.

¹¹⁹ Moeller, Hans-Georg, *The Philosophy of the Daodejing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 41.

disappear;
if the river valleys cannot maintain their plentifulness and fullness, then they will likely dry up;
if all things cannot maintain their cultivation and nourishment, then they will likely become extinguished;
if lords and kings cannot maintain their clarity and stillness, then they will likely be toppled.¹²⁰

In the third paragraph, Laozi pulls back the focus on our living world and reminds leaders and rulers should be humble and stay in a low position. Because there is never a ‘superordinated’ ruler system, everyone is in an interdependence relationship in this ‘oneness’.

Therefore, the noble takes the base as its root the higher takes the lower as its foundation. In this way, lords and kings refer to themselves as “orphaned,” “widowed,” and “without possessions.” Is not this what it means to take the low and base as the root? Is it not?¹²¹ Therefore, enumerate the chariot into separated parts, the [function of] chariot will be lost. Rather than jingle like jade, rumble like rocks.¹²²

In this article, I tried to combine the resources of unearthed manuscripts and annotations on paper to study and interpret *Laozi*. Since the late Qing dynasty, after the ‘Dual Evidence Method 二重證據法’ had been proposed by Wang Guowei 王國維,¹²³ this is also a common method get used in textual verification of the ancient texts. Recently, Liu Xiaogan 劉笑敢 points out the hidden danger of this, in which distorting the ideas inherent in the texts through emendation. When scholars (as well as ancient editors) deeply convinced that the original or earliest manuscript should be the most logical and precise version, they may use the manuscript version to edit the extant version, thereby working to restore the ‘original’ version. However,

¹²⁰ I adopted Chen Guying’s translation with modifications. See Chen Guying 陳鼓應, *The Annotated Critical Laozi: With Contemporary Explication and Traditional Commentary*, pp. 247-248.

¹²¹ Chen Guying 陳鼓應, *The Annotated Critical Laozi: With Contemporary Explication and Traditional Commentary*, pp. 247-248.

¹²² The last two sentences are Lin Yutang’s translation. See Lin Yutang 林語堂, *The Wisdom of Lao-tse*, p. 627.

¹²³ The original text is, ‘吾輩生於今日，幸於紙上之材料外，更得地下之新材料。由此種材料，我輩固得據以補正紙上之材料，亦得證明古書之某部分全為實錄，即百家不雅馴之言亦不無表示一面之事實。此二重證據法，惟在今日始得為之。’ See Wang Guowei 王國維, *Gushi Xinzheng 古史新證*, in *Wang Guowei Quanji 王國維全集* [Collected Works of Wang Guowei] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2009), vol. 11, pp. 241-242.

as Liu states, ‘the bamboo and silk versions give evidence that the earliest versions were not as logical and coherent as later scholars thought and wished.’¹²⁴ Qian Zhongshu once told Wang Shuizhao 王水照, when a French scholar asked him the reason for not mentioning the recently unearthed Mawangdui manuscripts’ version in his *Limited Views*. He answered, ‘I have not seen it, yet not willing to see.’ He then asked the scholar in return, ‘you must have seen it.....do you notice any new sources to push on the study of the mysticism of the *Laozi*?’ ‘Absolutely nothing.’ Wang concludes, ‘Mr Qian wanted to teach me, although academic study relies on materials and sources, but do not attach on it stubbornly.’¹²⁵ Therefore, modern textual studies 文獻學 and textual verification 考據學 are the basis to study ancient texts, but it does not claim the certain conclusion, instead, focusing on the connection and idea of the context, is the key to sum up with a logical and coherent explanation.

¹²⁴ Liu Xiaogan 劉笑敢, ‘From Bamboo Slips to Received Versions: Common Features in the Transformation of the “Laozi”’, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 63. No. 2 (2003), p. 382.

¹²⁵ He Hui 何暉, Fang Tianxing 方天星, *Yicun Qiansi: Yi Qian Zhongshu Xiansheng*, p. 230.

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