Some preliminary remarks on notational systems in two medical manuscripts from Mawangdui

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SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS 
ON NOTATIONAL SYSTEMS IN TWO MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM MAWANGDUI

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1. Introduction

1.1 The tombs of Mawangdui

This paper compares two manuscripts on sexual body techniques which were found in tomb 3 at Mawangdui 馬王堆. This is a village near Changsha, the current provincial capital of Hunan. The place was in the territory of the old state of Chu 楚.1 Mawangdui, which means literally "the hillock of king Ma," is a small hill formed by the three burial places. During the cultural revolution tomb 1 was opened in 1972, tombs 2 and 3 in 1973–74. A full archeological report exists only for tomb 1.2

2 See the archaeological report Hunansheng Bowuguan 湖南省博物館 and Zhongguo Ke-xueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所, Changsha Mawangdui yi hao Han-mu (shang, xia ji) 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓(上，下集), Beijing 1973. The youngest burial place is tomb 1. It was closed shortly after 168 B.C. Because of the works on it, tombs 2 and 3 got damaged. It held the very well preserved corpse of an about fifty year old woman. This is probably the wife of Li Cang; on a seal she is called Xin Zhui 辛追.
Her husband, Li Cang, lies in tomb 2. From 193 B.C. he was marquis of Dai (Dai hou 大候, according to Shi ji, Hui Jing hou ze nian biao, and Han shu), and chancellor of the kingdom of Changsha (Changsha cheng xiang 長沙丞相). This is testified by the presence of two bronze seals for rank and title, together with a personal jade seal. He died in 183 B.C. (For illustrations of the seals, see Fu Juyou 傅舉有 and Chen Songchang 陳松長, Mawangdui Hanmu wenwu 馬王堆漢墓文物 — The Cultural Relics Unearthed from the Han tombs at Mawangdui, (translations by Zhou Shiyi 周士一 and Chen Kefeng 陳可風, Changsha 1992, page 40, or He Jiejun 何介鈞 and Zhang Weiming 張維明, Mawangdui Hanmu 馬王堆漢墓, Beijing 1982, pages 6–29, illustrations 4–7, and 9.)
One assumes that the about 30 year old man in tomb 3 could be Li Xi 利稀, the second marquis of Dai. But this is not certain. There is some inconsistency: tomb 3 was closed in 168 B.C., but according to Shi ji and Han shu he should have died in 165 B.C. Therefore the tomb owner could be another son of Li Cang 利蒼, the first marquis of Dai.

At Mawangdui we see a burial place of the high ranking family Li 利 which was in power in Changsha shortly after the establishment of the empire of the Han and which remained prominent in the region until at least 110 B.C. This is attested not only by the extraordinary rich archaeological remains, but also by the transmitted historiographical writings.

1.2 The manuscripts

In tomb 3 a library was discovered with manuscripts on many issues. For the corpus of fourteen medical manuscripts, there is now an English translation by Donald Harper in his monography Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts. Harpers prolegomena of about 200 pages give a detailed panoramic description on matters of content, as well as on other medical finds of the time.

1.3 Physical description of the compared manuscripts

For the sake of simplicity I compare only short passages from two manuscripts: first, Tian xia zhi dao tan 天下至道談—"The discussion on the utmost method under the skies" (shortened to "Discussion" in the remainder of this paper), and second, He yin yang 合陰陽—"On uniting yin and yang" (shortened to "On uniting").

3 For which see the excellent photographic illustrations in Fu Juyou and Chen Songchang (fn. 2).
5 There were two versions of Lao zi, an Yi jing, and several philosophical texts with the title "Four Canons of the Yellow Emperor" Huang di si jing, all written on silk. There are technical texts on celestial phenomena, as well as 14 medical manuscripts (either on silk or on bamboo slips). Some excerpts are photographed in Fu Juyou and Chen Songchang (fn. 2).
7 Both titles were given to the texts by the Chinese editors; all references to slip numbers are to the transcription of Mawangdui Hanmu boshu zhengli xiaozu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小
The "Discussion" consists of 56 bamboo slips, which are about 28 cm long and 0.5 cm wide; "On uniting" consists of 32 bamboo slips, which are about 23 cm long and 1 cm wide. The slips of the "Discussion" are very regularly cut at the tips, and there are marks of the binding on three registers. Writing and binding marks do not overlap. This is different with "On uniting", where there are only two registers of binding marks, and writing and binding marks sometimes do overlap. Moreover, the tips of the bamboo slips are cut in an irregular way. It seems that they were originally a few centimeters longer; being broken at the ends they were perhaps cut again to reshape them.

Due to their respective measurements, character size was not the same for the two manuscripts. The "Discussion" has much more text than "On uniting" on comparable space. Writing was done by two different scribes. Both used the Han clerical script lishu. Because of a possible taboo and the writing features of the characters, it is thought that they were copied within a time span of ten or twenty years before tomb closure (168 B.C.). Nothing is known about the authorship.

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8 This follows Harper (fn. 4), 28-30.
9 This can be seen in the reproductions of the slips, as seen in Jao Tsung I and Chen Fong Ching (chief editors) et al., CHANT (Chinese Ancient Texts) Database. III. Excavated Wood/Bamboo and Silk Texts. Volume I, Hong Kong: CHANT (Chinese Ancient Texts) Center, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong 1999, Distributed by the Chinese University Press. [CD-ROM]
10 A possibility for internal dating exists only for "On uniting", which seems to respect the taboo on the personal name—i.e. Liu Heng 劉恒—of the Han emperor Wen (reigned 179 to 157 B.C.). Slip 103 writes chang shan 常山 instead of heng shan 恒山 to name the mons veneris (cf. Mawangdui Hanmu bosu zhengli xiaozu (fn. 7), 155 n. 3.). According to this, copying should fall between 179 and 168 B.C. (tomb closure). The "Discussion" might have been copied earlier, because it uses older graphic forms. In addition, it writes the character ying 盈, which was tabooed during or after the reign of emperor Hui of the Han, from 194 to 187 B.C. (On these taboos, see Chen Yuan 陳垣, Shi hui ju li 史諱舉例, Hong Kong 1971, 130.) Of course these are not statements on the age of the contents of the texts, which could be much older, forming part of an orally transmitted sexual lore.
2. Questions and aims

2.1 Comparability of the two manuscripts

The two selected manuscripts are easy to compare because both treat sexual body techniques, and both offer passages which are largely identical. They revolve around the basic question: Why is it that, compared to the entire body, the private parts *yin* 陰 (of a man) die first? With other words, what is the reason that the male sexual function and the uro-genital system will develop disorders and illnesses so easily, and why do they undergo premature aging processes?\(^{11}\) The subject treated is therefore the "hidden weakness" of the male sex. The men of thirty, forty, or fifty years which—on the outside—occupy important social positions might be at a loss in the inner quarters. This scandalizing discrepancy forged the basic question. Both texts try to give a practical answer. They provide the addressed men with knowledge about the adequate measures to take during sexual intercourse. Measures not only to prevent "premature dying" of the penis, but also how to gain additional profit from sexual encounters.

2.2 Aims of the comparison

In the following, I will concentrate on semantic aspects of the writing process. How are certain words written, and which variations do occur? We will treat *intertextual* as well as *intratextual* variations in wording. There seems to be a confusing and very extensive loan practice in the Mawangdui manuscripts. Is it possible to get to know how this practice worked?\(^{12}\)

Not each and every loan proposal, which is given as a reading in the transcriptions, is in fact a loan.\(^{13}\) Sometimes it is nothing more than a service to

\(^{11}\) This basic question is found in slight variations not only in the "Discussion", slip 12, but also in the Mawangdui-manuscript "Ten Interviews" *Shi wen* 十問, in the third interview, slip 15, in the fifth interview, slips 43–45, and in the seventh interview, slip 61. Each text gives an answer within the framework of sexual body techniques.

\(^{12}\) It should be possible to go one step further than A. F. P Hulsewé, who wrote in his *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal Administrative Rules of the 3rd Century B.C. Discovered in Yin-meng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province in 1975*, Leiden 1985, 5: "These texts contain a great many loan characters, as has been duly noted by the editors. However, they not unfrequently fail to produce convincing arguments to support their suggestions regarding the words actually intended."

\(^{13}\) Qiu Xigui 裵錫圭 says in his *Chinese Writing*, translated by Gilbert Louis Mattos and Jerry Norman, [Early China Special Monograph Series, No. 4] New Haven, CT 2000, 295: "It is
the modern reader, or an adaptation to current orthographical conventions. Even if there are good phonological reasons to accept a given loan proposal, this is sometimes not enough for a decision. Semantical and interpretative considerations, especially regarding the textual cohesion, should possibly complement them. There may be no strict rules for this, but what kind of flexibility is asked for?

Manuscripts written in almost the same time period differ in the ways they write the same words. Is there any system in this? If a manuscript would do this systematically we probably could see restrictions and liberties regarding grammar, phonology, ways of writing, etc. Are there any graphical traits which mark out certain readings? At best such observations could be used for interpretative and other linguistic purposes.

In this paper, I will call a notational system the way a certain manuscript writes its words, and try to compare it to a second manuscript, to work out the intertextual variations of their notational systems. The term ‘notational system’ does not include what is meant by ‘writing style,’ or the individual characteristics the script of a scribe bears. In our case, both manuscripts use the same ‘writing system,’ namely Chinese characters or sinographs.

Even within a manuscript certain notational differences occur. These I call intratextual variations of a notational system. If possible, these too should be analyzed. In addition to graphic variation they show not only mistakes of the scribe, as is often assumed, but it might well turn out, that there was some manipulation of the content involved. As will be seen below in one example, such remnants of cognitive activity could include word plays, deliberate re-writings, etc. These are unique features of each manuscript.

More attention than in previous studies should also be given to paratextual elements; this means to address questions of how the writing space is organized and used, and whether there are spaces left open? What is the communicational intent of graphical or schematic representations?

My aim in this paper is of course not to give full answers to the above outline of questions, but just to demonstrate with a few examples, which consequences they might have for the interpretation of manuscript texts.

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regrettably that in present-day publications erroneous explanations involving graphic borrowing are as numerous as the hairs on an ox."
3. Comparisons

3.1 Intertextual comparisons

3.1.1 Variations in the choice of words

Let us begin the communication of intertextual comparisons with the simple case where the two manuscripts use different words for the same content, with *variations in the choice of words*.

Example (1):

"Discussion" slip 46

- 一曰高之
  二曰下之
  三曰左之
  四曰右之
  五曰深(深)之
  六曰浅之
  七曰疾之
  八曰徐之
  此謂八道  

The first is called upwards.
The second is called downwards.
The third is called to the left.
The fourth is called to the right.
The fifth is called deep.
The sixth is called shallow.
The seventh is called quickly.
The eighth is called leisurely.
These are said the eight ways.

"On uniting" slips 118–199

- 一曰上之
  二曰下之
  三曰左之
  四曰右之
  五曰疾之
  六曰徐之
  七曰徐之
  八曰深之
  十曰深之  

The ten embellishments:
The first is called upwards
The second is called downwards.
The third is called to the left.
The fourth is called to the right.
The fifth is called quickly.
The sixth is called leisurely.
The seventh is called intermittent.
The eighth is called regular.
The ninth is called shallow.
The tenth is called deep.

First, a word on the transcription: Throughout this paper I use  to mark the end of a bamboo slip. This is an indication of the spatial relationships and a reminder on the used writing material. The two parallel strokes || mark unwritten space in the manuscript. The black dot • occurs already in the original. It is
methodically important to study the paratextual relationships of manuscripts.\textsuperscript{14} Elements such as the black dot \(\bullet\) at the beginning and the leaving of a blank space at the end of a line (\(\|\)) mark in both texts, and by unambiguous optical means, a thematically closed unit or topic of the text.

The two passages of example (1) show some differing and some equal traits. The order of the list is not the same, and in "On uniting" we find two more items listed, namely 'intermittent' \(xi\) \(zhi\) 希之 and 'regular' \(shuo\) \(zhi\) 数之. 'To the top, upwards' \(gao\) \(zhi\) 高之 and 'upwards' \(shang\) \(zhi\) 上之 are examples of a simple variation in the choice of words.\textsuperscript{15} Another kind of intertextual variation is the notational variation between older and younger characters, here we find the two graphs \(shen\) 萬 and \(shen\) 深 for 'deep' in example (1).\textsuperscript{16}

The two passages refer to other parts of their texts by means of a title, which is either given at the top of the sequence or at the end of it. The expressions used in the titles work here as textual links, and simple words create a technical language within such a framework. In fact, these traits show that the two manuscript texts are hypertexts. They ask their model readers to travel with the eyes from topic to topic; this in contrast to texts which you read in a linear way from the beginning to the end. Out of relatively short units they build a network. The units can be either short lists—like in example (1)—or expositions of them. One has to search the network to find adequate linking structures and mentally compose the overall meaning.\textsuperscript{17} As hypertexts they differ in a marked way from other text forms found in the medical corpus of Mawangdui, for example, collections of recipes, which tend to be additive, with weak linking structures, or dialogues, which follow simple question-answer structures.

\textsuperscript{14} On paratexts, see Gérard Genette, \textit{Paratexte: Das Buch vom Beiwerk des Buches}, Frankfurt am Main 1989.

\textsuperscript{15} At the end of this paper some more examples of each group are listed in the SYNOPSIS, see \textit{a. Variations in the choice of words}.

\textsuperscript{16} One more example is found in the SYNOPSIS, see \textit{b. The notational variation between older and younger characters}.

\textsuperscript{17} Jay David Bolter, \textit{Writing Space. The Computer, Hypertext, and the History of Writing}, Hillsdale, NJ and London 1991, 24, defines a hypertext in the following way: "[...] a hypertext consists of topics and their connections, where again the topics may be paragraphs, sentences, individual words, or indeed digitized graphics. A hypertext is like a printed book that the author has attacked with a pair of scissors and cut into convenient verbal sizes. The difference is that the electronic hypertext does not simply dissolve into a disordered bundle of slips, as the printed book must." (Italics are mine.)
The reader may have anticipated that the four directions, the two indications of speed and the two on relative depth, along with the two additional rhythms in "On uniting" refer to the variation of the movements during penetration. Men should not move like sewing machines, but try to integrate the "eight ways" or the "ten embellishments" into their repertoire of hip movements.

The "Discussion" has the following linking text on slip 47:

- 十條暨(既)備
  - 十執(勢)豫陳
  - 八道雜 19

The ten embellishments18 are to be completely prepared, the ten positions are to be arranged in advance, and the eight ways are to be varied.

Here the "eight ways" are contextualised; the scenario of the sexual encounter demand of a man to combine several elements to a diversified experience.

3.1.2 Reading strategies: either to show or to even a semantic difference

Example (2) on the "eight movements" will be used to show how different reading strategies influence first the transcription and second the interpretation. The question is whether we should make explicit and show the semantic differences between our two compared texts, or, as others have already done, even out one with the other. Note that the second strategy leaves us with only one text where we first had two or more.

In example (2) two ways of transcription are presented: First, a structural transcription which tries to render the graphical structure of the characters as faithfully as possible into a printable type; second, a normalizing transcription which intends to give a readable text to the modern reader of Old Chinese. The second transcription already includes a strong semantic interpretation. It is a statement on meaning. But the latter is the usual transcription found in manuscript sources.

18 These are different ones than those discussed in "On uniting".
19 The sentence marker originally used in the manuscripts is transcribed as ✓ in this paper.
Example (2)—Part 1: "Discussion" slips 49, 52–53

structural transcription  

normalizing transcription

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- 八動  
- 八日接手  
- 二曰伸肘  
- 三曰平踊  
- 四曰直踵  
- 五日交股  
- 六日振變  
- 七曰側銜  
- 八曰上鈦

The eight movements:

- the first is called joining hands;
- the second is called extending elbows;
- the third is called gently bobbing;
- the fourth is called straightening of the heels;
- the fifth is called crossing the thighs;
- the sixth is called shaking vibration;
- the seventh is called sideways contorsion;
- the eighth is called up-lifting.

[...]

When she is joining hands, approaching of the bellies is wanted;

when she is extending elbows, the dinging of the upper side along with resting on the hands is wanted.

when she is sideward contorted, a dinging of the sides is wanted.

when she is crossing the thighs, the jabbing is too excessive;

when she is straightening the heels, the depth is not enough;

when she is lifting herself up below the center is not tense;

when she is gently bobbing, shallow [penetration] is wanted;

when she is in shaking vibration, it reaches eminence;

these are called the eight observations.21

20 Here I give basically the transcription/interpretation found in Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu Zhengli Xiaozu (fn. 7), but with adaptations for the current purposes of this paper. Underlined in the normalizing transcription are such interpretations of graphs that this work proposes, but which are questioned in this paper.
Example (2)—Part 2: “On uniting” slips 121–124

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>structural transcription</th>
<th>normalizing transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>一曰接手</td>
<td>一日接手</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>二曰伸肘</td>
<td>二曰伸肘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>三曰直踵</td>
<td>三曰直踵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>四曰侧句</td>
<td>四曰侧句</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>五曰上句</td>
<td>五曰上句</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>六曰交股</td>
<td>六曰交股</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>七曰平甭</td>
<td>七曰平甭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>末</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The eight movements:
- The first is called joining hands;
- The second is called extending elbows;
- The third is called straightening of the heels;
- The fourth is called bending sideways;
- The fifth is called bending upwards;
- The sixth is called crossing the thighs;
- The seventh is called gently bobbing;
- [The eighth is called] shaking vibration

Now, when she is joining hands, approaching of the bellies is wanted; when she is extending elbows, the dinging of the upper side along with a distancing is wanted; when she is straightening of the heels, the depth is not enough; when she is sideways bending, a dinging of the sides is wanted; when she is upwards bending, a downward dinging is wanted; when she is crossing the thighs, the jabbing is too excessive; when she is gently bobbing, shallow [penetration] is wanted; when she is in shaking vibration, the man’s endurance and holding it is wanted.\(^2^3\)

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21 An alternative translation, according to the normalizing transcription, is given by Harper (fn. 4), 434–435: “When she clasps hands, she wants her abdomen pressed; when she extends elbows, she wants the upper part rubbed and scratched; when she hooks the flanks, she wants the sides rubbed; when she crosses thighs, penetration is excessive; when she straightens heels, entry is insufficiently deep; when she hooks up above, the lower part is not reaching the heart; when she makes a level upspring, she wants shallow entry; when she shakes, superbness is culminant. These are the eight observations.”

22 Here, a probable omission by the scribe is inserted by the editors.—The omission is interesting, because the sentence marker ✓ shows the care the scribe took to punctuate the text. Therefore, we see a careful writer committing a lapsus.
Comparison: In both texts we find a list of eight items, called the "eight movements"—or the "eight observations"—of the female sexual reaction. But in the "Discussion" the text is discontinuous, slip 51 intervenes with the exposition on slips 52–53, which deals with the appropriate masculine action to the observed female bodily reactions. Please note, the man is here given the role of an observer who reads female behavior.

Moreover, the order of the "movements" is not the same in the list of the "Discussion", slip 49, as in the exposition on slips 52–53; moreover it is not the same as in "On uniting". Therefore, "On uniting" has a better ordered textual organisation and succeeds better in fulfilling modern expectations on a logical textual sequence.24

For the sake of brevity I will not discuss every sentence in example (2). The following two sentences have been selected, because they allow treatment of more complex cases of semantic differentiation.

Example (3) — the close reading of a sentence in example (2)

A. "Discussion" slip 52:

MY TRANSLATION:

信肘者欲上之靡且(Graphics)

when she is extending elbows, the dinging of the upper side along with resting on the hands is wanted.

PROPOSED READING:

伸肘者欲上之靡且(Graphics)

When she clasps hands, she wants her abdomen pressed; when she extends elbows, she wants the upper part rubbed and scratched; when she straightens heels, entry is insufficiently deep; when she hooks the flanks, she wants the sides rubbed; when she hooks above, she wants the lower part rubbed; when she crosses thighs, penetration is excessive; when she makes a level upspring, she wants shallow entry; when she shakes, she wants the man to continue holding for a long time."

23 Harper (fn. 4), 419 translates the lower section as follows: "The eight movements: [...] When she clasps hands, she wants her abdomen pressed; when she extends elbows, she wants the upper part rubbed and scratched; when she straightens heels, entry is insufficiently deep; when she hooks the flanks, she wants the sides rubbed; when she hooks above, she wants the lower part rubbed; when she crosses thighs, penetration is excessive; when she makes a level upspring, she wants shallow entry; when she shakes, she wants the man to continue holding for a long time."

24 I surmise that the different sequences of the two texts might be an implicit clue to the intention of the text. Maybe there was no intention to speak of a time sequence, and that means, each of the "eight movements" could occur at any point of the female sexual reaction. On the other hand, they do give clear signals to the man as to her state.
B. "On uniting" slips 122–123:

when she is extending elbows, the dinging of the upper side along with a distancing is wanted;

PROPOSED READING:

All interpretations assume that the graphs zhou 扇 and cun 扇 stand for the word zhou 扇 'elbow'. Such cases seem relatively unproblematic. Even though it remains unexplained why zhou 扇 was not used, since this graph is found in other texts of the Mawangdui medical corpus. Now, let us consider more tricky issues.

3.1.2.1 ju 據 — ju 距.

Interpretations of the sentences in example (3) vary widely. Douglas Wile understands the sentence of the "Discussion" as follows: "Straightening her elbows' means that she desires her upper body to be rubbed and scratched."27

With scratching the body we enter a scenario which might be more common in an Old Indian text, and for which I could not find any hint in the Chinese texts on sexual techniques. Donald Harper located the action in the vagina, but quite astonishingly, the wording of the translation remained similar: "[...]; when she extends elbows, she wants the upper part rubbed and scratched."28 I find the metaphor of a "scratching penis" unsatisfying. It is true that ju 據 sometimes means 'to claw' or 'to grip with the claws' when speaking of wild animals. But the semantic extension to 'scratch (with the nails)' I have not yet found. On the other hand, in the manuscript Yin shu 引書 ("Writings on Stretching") of the 2nd century B.C., found in tomb 247 in Zhangjiashan, the word is used to denote 'to rely on, to support oneself with the hands, to rest on the hand(s)' in therapeutical gymnastics. We read:

25 Similar cases are listed below in the SYNOPSIS as c2. Differing loans express the same word.
26 Cf. the index of Emura Haruki 江村治樹 (chief ed.) et al., Ma-ô-tai shutsudo isho jikei bunrui sakun 馬王堆出土醫書字形分類索引, privately published 1987, 105; or Ma Jixing 馬繼興, Mawangdui gu yishu kaoshi 馬王堆古醫書考釋, Changsha 1992, 1120; Harper (fn. 4), 515 'elbow'.
28 Harper (fn. 4), 434 n. 7, makes clear that a stimulation of the vagina is intended by the text.
In this exercise stretching and shifting of the body weight is used to counter the cramps in the sides. It is perfectly clear that one hand rests on the hip and the other against the wall, thus attesting the meaning of *ju* 据.\(^\text{30}\)

Returning to the sentence of example (3) in the "Discussion" we find two actions mentioned. They are connected with the conjunction *qie* 且 ‘along with, also, moreover’ which expresses simultaneous actions. Based on the above development of the meaning of *ju* 据, I am of the opinion that the man should support himself on his hands, in order, first, to disburden the woman from the weight of his body, and, second, to direct the thrusting of the penis even better to the upper wall of the vagina.\(^\text{31}\) Therefore I translate: "When she extends her

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\(^{30}\) This development of the meaning of *ju* 据 is consistent with the definition in the *Shuo wen jie zi*, cf. Duan Yucai 段玉裁 [Qing, 1735–1815], *Shuowen jiezi zhu 說文解字注*, Shanghai [1815] 1986, 12A, 597: "*ju*, that is ‘to hold a stick’ / ‘to support oneself with a stick’.” 据杖曰也. Duan Yucai notes: "This means to support oneself with a stick and holding it." 謂倚杖而持之也. Xu Shen chose a concrete picture to make transparent the basic sense of the word, which is, however, often used more figuratively for ‘to rely on somebody, to be supported by someone’.

elbows, the dinging [hard thrusting] of the upper side [of the vagina] along with resting on the hands is wanted [of the male partner].”

The editor’s loan proposal *ju* 擉 > *ju* 距 in the “Discussion” being unnecessary, one would prefer—instead of now changing the direction of the assumed loan to *ju* 擉 > *ju* 距 in “On uniting”—, to read *ju* 距 in its proper sense of ‘keep at a distance’. This gives: “When she extends her elbows, the dinging of the upper side [of the vagina] along with a distancing is wanted [of the man].”

This fits the text nicely, and makes the same statement as the “Discussion”, namely not to cling to the female body in this situation. (Compare also in example (2)—part 2 the contrast between “approaching of the bellies” in the first with “a distancing” in the second “movement” of the woman.) With this new interpretation of the second action in the sentences of example (3) no loan is needed. The same content was just worded in slightly different ways.

To follow the loan proposal *ju* 擉 > *ju* 距 means to adhere to a reading strategy which constructs a single text out of two and leaves us with a flat middle ground of meaning. This strategy I call *levelling*.32

3.1.2.2 *ma* 麻 — *mi* 掴 — *mo* 摩.

Still we have not discussed the notation of the first action in example (3). The graph *ma* 麻 ‘hemp’ in the “Discussion” can only be a loan graph; and together with the rare *mi* 掴 in “On uniting” it is treated as standing for the word meaning *mo* 摩 ‘to rub’.

Let us first have a look at *mi* 掴. Its *locus classicus* is the “Kao gong ji” chapter of the *Zhou li*, which speaks rather tersely about the technical terms regarding the parts of a chime bell:

于上之 掴謂之隧      The ‘hitting place’ *mi* above the [arch-shaped] ‘lips of the bell’ *yú* is called ‘indentation’ *sui*.33

**Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) comments:**

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organisms during coitus. In the “missionary position” the penis has the shape of a boomerang. It seems, that figure 3 shows a man lying flat on the woman; if he would ‘support himself on his hands’ or ‘keep a distance’, this would change the rake of penis and backbone (when flat it is about 60°). At least, it might lead to the subjective sensation of thrusting more in an upward direction.

32 For more cases, see SYNOPSIS, c3. *Levelling strategy: semantical differences gone.*

33 *Zhou li zheng yi* 周禮正義, ed. *Si bu bei yao*, juan 78, 12b.
The traditional view has it that the ‘hitting place’ *mi* 撚 is on the lower outside part of the bell. In order to produce a clear sound, it must be hit precisely. This was done with a T-shaped mallet of about 60 cm in length, or even with lacquered wooden poles of more than 2 m in length which had metallic tips. With time the ‘hitting place’ will turn shiny from the hitting, and it becomes slightly indented; therefore it is also called ‘indentation’ *sui* 隧.

34 Other commentaries are cited by Sun Yiran in *Zhou li zheng yi* (fn. 33), *juan* 78, 12b–13a. Drawings with indication of the traditional nomenclature can be found in Dai Zhen 戴震 [Qing, 1724–1777], *Kao gong ji tu* 考工紀圖, ( *Wan you wenku huiyao* 萬有文庫會要), Taipei 1965, 43, and in Li Jinghua 李京華 and Hua Jueming 華覺明 “Bianzhong de zhongmi zhongsui xinkao” 編鐘的鐘撲鐘隧新考, in: *Kejishi wenji* 科技史文集, vol. 13 (1985), 40–46, esp. 41, figures 1–3.

35 Some bells show small drawings of birds to mark tone B, others bear inscriptions with the names of the sound system in the ‘striking area’ at the lower side of the bell. Tone A is found in its middle, tone B to its sides. (Cf. Li Chunyi 李純一, “Zhongyuan diqu Xi Zhou bianzhong de zhuo” 中原地區西周編鐘的組合, in: *Wenwu yu tiandi* 文物與天地 5 (1990), 22–25, and Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspected Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford 1993, 15–16, figures 12 and 13, as well as the discussion of the musical theory of the Zeng inscriptions in chapter 8, pages 280ff.)

36 Tomb number 1 in Leigudun (Suizhou, Hubei) enclosed six T-shaped lacquered wooden mallets of 62 cm in length, and two round lacquered wooden poles of 2.15 m in length. In tomb number 2 in Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan) metallic tips of a similar pole were found. (Lothar von Falkenhausen, fn. 35, 210–211, figure 107.)

37 After the archaeological discovery of the chime bells described by Lothar von Falkenhausen (fn. 35) this traditional view was challenged in the article on *mi* 撞 and *sui* 隧 of Li Jinghua and Hua Jueming (fn. 34): They claimed that the troughs on the inside wall of the bell, underneath the striking platform, were meant by the term ‘indentation’ *sui* 隧. The irregularly distributed troughs are the products of the attempts to improve the tonal quality of a bell after its casting by altering the shape of the bells’ wall. Von Falkenhausen (op. cit. page 73) followed them and translated the sentence from *Kao gong ji* as follows: “The hollowed-out part above the *yu* is called *sui* 隧.” The *sui* 隧 would be a “trough underneath [the] striking platform”, a concave wall portion located beneath the center of the ‘striking area’. This new interpretation sees *mi* 撞 as ‘hollowing out (sc. metal)’ or even ‘chiseling off’, that is a very hard hitting of a hard surface.
The above considered, I conclude that *mi 撅 in its verbal use meant the 'hard hitting (of a metallic surface),' and translate it with 'to ding' which carries well the metallic connotation.38

Next, we check the grounds for the loan *ma 麻 > *mi 撅 in the "Discussion". Lu Deming 陸德明 (fl. 550–630) notes three different readings of *mi 撅 in his Jing dian shi wen.39

1. *mò 撅 < *ma < *maj 'to rub'.40
2. *mi 撅 < *mje < *mraj 'to batter, to hit hard' > 'to ding'.
3. *mò 撅 < *maH < *majs 'the hitting place (of a bell)'.41

For technical details, cf. von Falkenhausen (fn. 35), 80 ff., 118ff. on the tuning; figure 51 and page 120 on the modulation of the thickness of the wall with a chisel. On chiseling-out, see also Li Jinghua and Hua Jueming (fn. 34), 42, figure 4; visible cuts of the chisel can be clearly seen in figure 25 of Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, "Shang Zhou qingtong shuangyin-zhong 商周青銅雙音鐘 — The two-pitch bronze bells of the Shang-Zhou period", Kaogu xuebao 考古學報 1 (1981), 131–146. The irregular distribution of the troughs is discussed in Li Chunyi (fn. 35).

38 More figuratively *mi 撅 was also used for the destruction of an enemy in wartime. See Hou Han shu (ed. Zhong hua shu jiu 1997) 80A, 2600, where it is said that the people of the Wu-Huan were 'crushed, crunched, smashed' 東搗烏桓. The meaning 'annihilate' as an extension of 'to rub' > 'to crunch (a people)' is also found in Fang yan, see Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, Fang yan jiao jian (fu suo yin) 方言校箋 (附索引), Beijing 1993, 13/86/127. Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary 1913: 「Ding (Ding)」 v. t. [imp. & p. p. Dinged Dang or Dung (Obs.); p. pr. & vb. n. Dinging.] [OE. dingen, dengen; akin to AS. dencgan to knock, 1cel. denga to beat, hammer, Sw. dänga, G. dengeln.]


40 Reading ① is the same as *mo 摩 < *ma < *maj ‘to rub'; it is in favour of the interpretation given by the Chinese editors and virtually all subsequent commentators. Phonological criteria do not speak against it: *ma 麻 < *mae < *mraj ‘hemp' has the same initial and rhyme as *mo 摩 < *ma < *maj. The only difference lies in the medial *r- of *ma 麻 < *mraj.
Reading ② has only a difference in Middle Chinese to ma 麻 < maेअ < *mraj ‘hemp’ which is an A-syllable in grade II, whereas mi 撮 < mje < *m(r)aj ‘to ding’ is a B-syllable in grade III. The A/B-contrast is controversial in historical phonology, but there is also nothing to say against this loan.42

It is important to note that the notational system of the “Discussion” uses ma 麻 < *mraj in contradistinction to the word mi 撮 < mje < *m(r)aj which is used in the sense of ‘to boil (over)’ bones to gelatine.43 But in another passage of the text the very same graph must be read mo 摩 < ma < *maज in the sense ‘to rub’ of the homophonic mo 摩.44

There arises the possibility that in this text we see an intentional graphic distinction of a word with medial *-r- (麻), to distinguish it from others with which it could have been confused, i.e. those of uncertain (毸) or no medial *-r- (摩). In any case it would seem highly uneconomical and arbitrary to use with ma 麻 < *mraj yet another graph to write mo 摩 < *maज.

In my view, these kinds of intratextual distributions will be decisive in helping to develop a better understanding of the loan process and of the writing conventions at a given time and place. Only with the recent manuscript discoveries could they come into view, because the transmitted literature probably underwent considerable re-writing. New forms of script lead to considerable change on this notational level.

In accordance with Laurent Sagart’s hypothesis,45 it is possible to interpret medial *-r- in ma 麻 < *mraj as a functional marking of intensity and repetition. This matches well the sense of ‘to ding’—to hit hard and rhythmically on a metallic surface—, and it would also fit rather well to the semantic relations within the word family.46

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41 Reading ③ could be interpreted as a derivation of reading ① with *s-suffix, on which see Laurent Sagart (fn. 39), 131–133.
43 See in “Discussion”, slip 57. The word could also be written with the two characters mi 撮 摴 < mjwe < *m(r)aj.
44 See in “Discussion”, slip 64.
45 Cf. Sagart (fn. 39), 111–120.
46 ‘To ding, to hit hard’ marks just one extreme end of a semantic continuum which describes actions of ‘rubbing to and fro’ (with the hand or instruments). The other extreme is to rub something fine in order to ‘polish’ it, to ‘make it fine’; in between are also ‘to pestle, to smash, to grind’; and going over to faster actions, where rubbing finds more resistance, where one has ‘to beat, to hit’ the material. (This paper only discusses the following words.
When the two Mawangdui texts speak in example (3) of the “dinging of the upper part” of the vagina, they use metaphorically the hard and precise striking of a bell as a model. In the context of the “eight movements” this means a specific way of penetration, namely a hard and forceful pushing with the penis against the sides and the top of the vagina. This specification is expressed with the word *mraj, which is written either 麻 or 擊. Other interpretations do not note anything special in example (3). But why would one call it a ‘rubbing’ *maj 麻摩? Better to call it a friction. Quite probably this hard thrusting is technically relevant knowledge—it is even contrasted with “jabbing” excessively, meaning that he could overdo it. In recent sexological research a strong stimulation of the anterior upper wall of the vagina is considered a prerequisite to letting the erotogenic zone—now called the Gräfenberg zone—swell, and trigger orgasms. This is probably a comparable observation of our times.47

3.2 Intratextual comparisons

Coming now to the intratextual comparisons, I will use examples from the “Discussion” only.48 There is a list of “seven impairments” of the inner ‘flow events’ or qi 氣 in the body of a male person. The third of which reads on slip 32 as follows:

Example (4)

三曰渴(竭) The third [impairment] is called ‘to exhaust oneself’.

Slips 37–39 explain all of the “seven impairments” in a context of potentially damaging effects of sexual actions. The third is explained on slip 37:

為之不已曰竭(竭) To act [sexually] and not to pause is called ‘to exhaust oneself’.

According to the editors of the transcription the two homophonic graphs jie 渴 and jie 業 < gjet < *gat are to be read as jie 渴 < jot < *gat in the sense of

of this family, but there are others: 麻撾摩摩摩摩. See Bernhard Karlgren, Grammata serica recensa, Stockholm [1957] 1972, group 17.)


48 See SYNOPSIS d. Intratextual variation in the “Discussion”.


‘to dry out, to run dry, to exhaust oneself’.\(^{49}\) Nobody would object against this loan. Also, the use of graph jie 濡 in this sense is common.\(^{50}\) In the medical corpus of Mawangdui both graphs are used to write the word ‘to dry, to exhaust’.\(^{51}\) Compare the advice to the man on slips 109–110 of “On uniting”:

因復下反之  
毋使其 氣歇  
而女乃大竭  

Draw repeatedly [the penis] down and back,  
but do not cause its flow events to be spilled,  
for the woman afterwards would dry out greatly.\(^{52}\)

Maybe this means, that he should not just penetrate deeply and thrust carelessly, but at times change the direction of the thrusting downwards while drawing back the penis. This is done for his own benefit, to better hold his erection, and for building up the ‘flow events’ qi 氣 or the tumescence of the member. If they ‘spill out’ xie 歇 it flattens, and the lubrication (and arousal) of the woman would run dry. In this text ‘to dry’ jie 濁 is more or less a local event, whereas I consider ‘to exhaust oneself’ in example (4) to be of a more general kind, where the sexual encounter without pauses of stimulation generate an impairment of the all-body ‘flow events’ qi 氣.\(^{53}\)

From a text-critical viewpoint, we have a simple finding: One text uses jie 濁, the other uses jie 濁 for the same word, but with different shades to its meaning. The notation jie 濁 > jie 濁 in example (4) does not mark a real loan, because they are synonymous and homophonous in this sense.\(^{54}\) To note jie 濁 in parentheses is nothing more than a reading aid for modern readers.

\(^{49}\) Ma Jixing (fn. 26), 1037 n. 3, categorizes the case as one of approximately homophonous graphs.

\(^{50}\) Duan Yucai (fn. 30), 11A.2, 559 treats jie 濁 as the older notation compared to jie 濁, but the graph jie 濁 would have preferably been used for the meaning ‘to dry’. This finding is attested in manuscript sources: the Lao zi recensions from Mawangdui use jie 濁 in those places where the textus receptus, paragraph 39, uses jie 濁. (Manuscript A, line 6; B, line 178, cf. Gao Ming 廖明, Boshu Laosongjiaozhu 岳書老子校注, Beijing 1996, 11.) Shima Kunio 島邦男, Rōshi kōsei 老子校正, Tokyo 1973, does not include any variants at this place; this could be a hint that jie 濁 might indeed be an older graph for the word ‘to dry’.

\(^{51}\) Cf. Emura Haruki (fn. 26), 20, 37.

\(^{52}\) Compare Harper’s translation (fn. 4), 416: “Then once again bring it back down. Do not let the vapor spill out, lest the woman become greatly parched.”

\(^{53}\) But Harper (fn. 4), 431 and n. 5 understands jie 濁 and jie 濁 to mean “parched”.

\(^{54}\) Apparently there is a semantic field of closely related semantic values: ‘to dry’ in contrast to ‘to exhaust something/oneself’, ‘to use up’, and also—this is the reading ke < k'at < *k'at of the graph 濁—‘to have a dry mouth’ > ‘to be thirsty’.
But there is one point which offers resistance to this simple state of affairs. Why is there a character jie 棺? Ma Jixing explains the case as a theoretically unproblematic loan of homophonous graphs (jie 棺 > jie 赤). With William Boltz we could say, it is a case of desemantized writing; this means jie 赤 lost its own semantic value and stands only for a sound *grat. But all this does not explain why the scribe, while putting down the "Discussion", uses at one point a "semantized" verb jie 赤 ‘to dry, to exhaust’, and at another, only a few lines later, the desemantized jie 赤 < *grat. Was it pure pleasure of writing? Or is it an unknown element of style?

Let us check what semantic aspect was lost with jie 棺. First, we note that this graph, although old, is rare not only in the transmitted literature, but also in Qin-Han manuscripts. Its locus classicus is the "Qiu guan" 秋官 chapter of the Zhou li, i.e la shi 蜡氏:

若有死于道路者 If there are corpses on roads and ways,
則令埋而置棺焉 let them be buried and erect a 'memorial pole' jie.

To this Zheng Zhong 鄭衆 (died A.D. 83) comments:

橤欲令其譴取之 A 'memorial pole' jie should catch [the event] to commemorate it;
今時橤槤是也 nowadays this is a 'commemorative pole' jie zhu.59

According to the conventional interpretation of example (4), the relatively rare and special word 'memorial pole' jie 棺 should stand for the common word 'to dry, to exhaust' jie 赤.

But let us consider an alternative: could it be that the text here comments ironically upon itself? Is it possible that the "Discussion" created a pun by using 'memorial pole' jie 棺 in the sexual context? A pole for a dead person

55 Ma Jixing (fn. 26), 53, 1044 n. 4.
56 William G. Boltz, The Origin and Early Development of the Chinese Writing System [American Oriental Series, Volume 78], New Haven, Connecticut 1994, 179: "Desemantization: loss of the semantic aspect [...] of a graph, such that the graph comes to stand only for a sound without any associated meaning."
57 An old occurrence is noted in Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒 (chief ed.), Hanyu guwenzi zixingbiao 漢語古文字字形表, s.l. 1981/1985, 226. Cf. Bernhard Karlgren (fn. 46), 313 o. The reading qia 棺 < k′at < *k′rat with the two meanings 'a kind of musical instrument' and 'wooden vase', both found in Li ji, can be neglected in the current discussion.
58 Zhou li zheng yi (fn. 33), juan 70, 6b, 7a (commentary).
59 This word is also written jie zhu 棺槤.
would become a ‘dead pole’—for a man ‘exhausting’ himself one should be ready to erect a memorial pole? ‘Dried out’ in this manner, is he to be considered as ‘dead wood’ himself?

The two homophonous words (*sgat 橔渴) allow for a verfremdungseffekt, giving way to combine things that are wide apart: ‘a picket, dead wood (memento mori)’ in contrast to ‘sexual exhaustion, a dead virile member’. The ironic concept finds its graphic expression in the subtle change of the semantic determinative ‘water’ (💧) into ‘wood’ (🌳). By doing this the content of the passage is not distorted. But the possible irritation of the readers leads them inevitably back to slip 32 in order to check the issue. And exactly this kind of checking enables and quickens the play of words! This is a very elegant way to introduce an ironic comment; it even treats the content of the text with some distance. Such playful writing requires quite an understanding readership. The thought of the pun which likens dead wood to an exhausted man accords well with the following sentence on slip 26 of the “Discussion”:

七十下枯上流（脱） With seventy [years of age] he withers below and releases above.

The ‘private parts’ yin 陰 of the old man ‘wither’ ku 枯 because they are no longer reached adequately by the ‘hidden flow events’ yin qi 陰氣. Again, a malfunction is metaphorically the same as to dry out. Whereas below there is dryness, above there are all kinds of fluids released, a slobbering old man.

This picture adds the required touch of cohesion to the pun for it points out that our ironic reading might have been similarly conceived at the time of the writing of the text. It gives therefore invaluable information on the ‘postulated encyclopedia’ of the time which otherwise would be difficult to bring about. Michael Friedrich wrote on similar lines in his analysis of differences in the two Mawangdui recensions of the Lao zi 老子:

Bevor nicht die Manuskripte nach allen Regeln der philologischen und historischen Kunst untersucht worden sind, bevor nicht Kriterien dafür entwickelt werden, was einfache Ver-
schreibungen und was absichtliche Verballhornung ist, bevor also die Intention hinter den
Manuskripten als Gesamtkompositionen nicht aufgeschlossen ist, bleibt jede Interpretation
beliebig. 61

Beiträge 2 (1996), 105–117, quote page 117, italics are mine.
Hopefully, examples (1) to (4) showed that to work with the concept of a notational system in a given manuscript has some potential in helping to gain access to the multi-layered complexities of interpretative tasks. On suspicion of irony, I see the pun of example (4) as intentional and translate it explicitly in the sentence of the “Discussion”. This is comparatively clumsy, but will not serve as a kind of “corrective” loan, which overwrites an amusing aspect of an interesting text.62 As a concluding reminder, it reads:

爲之不已曰楯（竭） To act [sexually] and not to pause call it ‘getting a memorial pole for a road accident’ (or ‘to exhaust oneself’).

62 My thanks go to John Moffett, librarian at the Needham Research Institute (Cambridge), for providing me with an article on the chime bells; to Robert H. Gassmann, Wojciech Simson (Zurich), Elisabeth Hsu (Cambridge), and the participants of the conference “Textual Scholarship in Chinese Studies” in Munich for their many valuable comments, and to David Cusack (Basel) for his help with English matters.
Synopsis of Intertextual Variation

see Example (1)

A. VARIATIONS IN THE CHOICE OF WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Discussion&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;On uniting&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gao zhi 高之</td>
<td>shang zhi 上之</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi gu 骨</td>
<td>fan gu 燦骨</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuan ju 爱(猿)居</td>
<td>yuan bu 爱捕</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. NOTATIONAL VARIATION BETWEEN OLDER AND YOUNGER CHARACTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Discussion&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;On uniting&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shen 稽</td>
<td>shen 深</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jue 夫</td>
<td>jue 决</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(said of the ejaculation)

C. LOAN GRAPHS

C1. THE LOAN GRAPH EXPRESSES AN UNRELATED OR NON-OBSVIOUS MEANING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Discussion&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;On uniting&quot;</th>
<th>intended meaning:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ce 前 ‘latrine’</td>
<td>ce 側 ‘sideways’</td>
<td>‘sideways’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homophon, known loan graph</td>
<td>regular graph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hou 後 ‘later’</td>
<td>hou 後 ‘empress, ruler’</td>
<td>ran hou 然後 ‘thereafter’ written as 然后</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular graph</td>
<td>homophon, desemantized use (also current use)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiu 糬 ‘soaked parched grain’</td>
<td>chou 臭 ‘to stink’</td>
<td>‘slime’ (used to describe the consistency of a fluid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>isometrical word, desemantized use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**C2. DIFFERING LOANS EXPRESS THE SAME WORD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Discussion&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;On uniting&quot;</th>
<th>both graphs used for a third graph with the meaning:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhou 尺</td>
<td>cun 尺</td>
<td>zhou 尺 'elbow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhong 隆</td>
<td>dong 動</td>
<td>dong 動 'to move'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qun ju 困倦</td>
<td>qun chu 困鎖/械</td>
<td>jun chu 困鎖 'river deer butting' (a figura veneris)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qing-ling 青靈</td>
<td>qing-ling 青令</td>
<td>qing-ling 青蛉 'dragonflies' (a figura veneris)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi yu 尺扛</td>
<td>chi huo 斜幷</td>
<td>chi huo 尺孃 'the geometer' (a figura veneris)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**C3. LEVELLING STRATEGY: SEMANTICAL DIFFERENCES GONE**

see Examples (2) and (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Discussion&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;On uniting&quot;</th>
<th>interpretation as levelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ju 據 'to hold, to rely on'</td>
<td>ju 據 'keep at a distance'</td>
<td>ju 據 'to scratch' (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma 麻 'hemp'</td>
<td>mo 據 'to rub hard' &gt; 'to ding'</td>
<td>mo 據 'to rub' (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gou 枧 'to form a hook (like wood inside out)' &gt; 'to contort' (movement from within as a result of sexual reaction)</td>
<td>gou 旬 'to form a hook (with the body)' &gt; 'to bend' (movement from within as a result of sexual reaction)</td>
<td>gou 枧 'to hook (with the legs)' (active movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ju 據 'to bend (upwards)' (movement from within as a result of sexual reaction)</td>
<td>gou 旬 'to bend' (movement from within as a result of sexual reaction)</td>
<td>gou 枧 'to hook (with the legs)' (active movement)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D. INTRATEXTUAL VARIATION IN THE "DISCUSSION"

see Example (4)

D1. VARIATION MARKS SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE

"Discussion"          "On uniting"            levelling:

wordplay (?): see 3.2.
jie 浴 'to dry, to exhaust'  jie 榫 'memorial pole'  jie 竭 'to exhaust'

phonological contrast, but similar meaning:
xi 靡 < sej < *saj  chi 逵 drij < *draj  chi 逵 'slow'

obscure metaphor (?):
jie 榕 'to graft'  jie 接 'to cross, to join (the hands)'  jie 接 'to cross, to join (the hands)'

D2. GRAPHIC VARIATION WITHOUT SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE

"Discussion"          "On uniting"          modern usage:

without radical:          with radical:
wei 胃             wei 謂             wei 謂 'to say, to mean'

use of a homophon:
hou xi 侒息             hou xi 侒息             hou xi 喉息 'to breathe from the throat'

use of words with similar sense and reading:
xu qi 畜氣             xu qi 畜氣             'to hoard the flow'

Note: The list of examples in the synopsis is not exhaustive, many more could be found in the two compared manuscripts.